





Class D521

Book G8

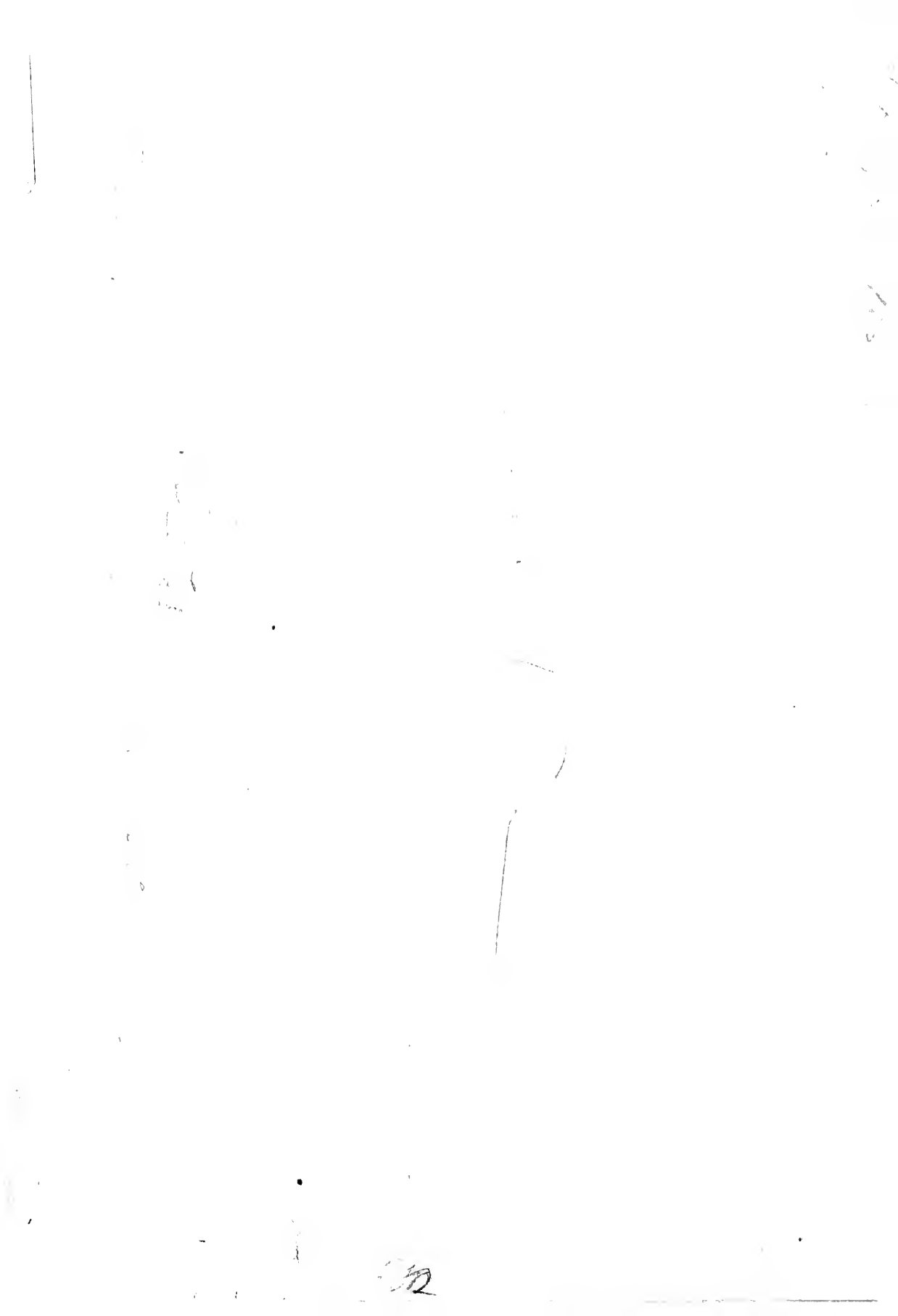
Copyright N<sup>o</sup> \_\_\_\_\_

**COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.**

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.

1577  
1677  
1777

1877







A REFERENCE HISTORY OF THE WAR





A  
REFERENCE HISTORY  
OF THE WAR

COMPILED AND WRITTEN BY  
IRWIN SCOFIELD GUERNSEY, M.A.

WITH A PREFACE BY  
FRANK MOORE COLBY  
EDITOR OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

NEW YORK  
DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY

*monograph*

II 521  
.G 8

Copyright, 1920, by  
DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, INC.

NOV 11 1920

©CL.A601548

## PREFACE

This volume has been prepared in order to meet the ever increasing demand for a reliable authentic history of the war in all its phases in one volume. Almost all the histories of the war that have been published to date have been written on specific aspects of the tremendous struggle. Those that cover the entire subject have been set before the public in many volumes, and, as a consequence, demand a large amount of time on the part of the reader. After the armistice was signed and the Peace Conference finished, the publishers of this volume determined to offer the reading public a compact history of the war in a single volume. This has been done with the result that a comprehensive but not detailed history of the war has been produced. It is narrated in an entertaining, scholarly style. The various chapter headings, War in Brief, Underlying Causes of the War, Military Operations, Naval Operations, Aërial Operations, Destruction of Art and Architecture, Alleged Atrocities, Peace Terms and War Aims, Neutral Nations, Economic and Financial Aspects, Peace Conference and Peace Treaties, etc., will show at a glance the scope of the volume. An index and bibliography of the most accessible books on the war have also been included. The material for the history of the war was gathered from the most reliable contemporary sources, and was edited from time to time in order to include new facts that were unearthed or to delete material that had been assumed true at the time it was incorporated but later proved contrary to fact. The basic material presented for the first two years was contributed by several members of the staff of the New International Encyclopædia, namely, Colonel Cornélis De Witt Wilcox, U. S. A.; Professor F. H. Hankins; Professor Nelson P. Mead; Captain Lewis Sayre Van Duzer, U. S. N.; Mr. Herbert T. Wade; and Mr. Irwin Scofield Guernsey. The bulk of the work has been done by Mr. Irwin Scofield Guernsey.

FRANK MOORE COLBY, Editor-in-Chief,  
New International Encyclopædia.



## CONTENTS

- I. THE WAR IN BRIEF . . . 1
- II. UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE  
WAR . . . . . 5  
National Antagonisms; Pan-Germanism; Military Alliances; Economic Causes.
- III. OUTBREAK OF THE WAR . . 18  
Austria's Demands; the Serbian Reply; Germany and Russia; Germany and France; Great Britain and Germany; Question of Belgian Neutrality; Italy's Position; Japan's Position; The Balkan States, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania; Portugal; Czecho-Slovakia.
- IV. MILITARY OPERATIONS . . . 39  
Mobilization and Concentration; General Strategy and Resources; Equipment of the Armies; Western Theatre; American Expeditionary Force; Eastern Theatre; Russian Revolution; The Bolsheviks; Southern Theatre; Southeastern Theatre; Colonies.
- V. NAVAL OPERATIONS . . . 177  
Operations in the North Sea and the Waters about Great Britain; Operations in the Mediterranean; Operations in the Black Sea and Dardanelles; Cruiser Operations in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans; Naval Strategy of the War; Some Naval Lessons of the War.
- VI. AËRIAL OPERATIONS . . . 207  
Estimated Participants and Casualties.
- VII. ALLEGED ATROCITIES . . 219  
Belgium; Armenia; Poland; Serbia; France.
- VIII. DESTRUCTION OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE . . . 225
- IX. NEUTRAL NATIONS AT BEGINNING OF WAR . . . . . 227  
United States; Scandinavian Countries; Netherlands; Switzerland; South American Countries; Other Countries.
- X. PEACE PROPOSALS AND STATEMENTS OF WAR AIMS 273
- XI. RELIEF MEASURES . . . 298  
Commission for Relief in Belgium; Belgium Relief Fund; Jewish Relief; Other Funds; Red Cross.
- XII. FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS . . . . . 304  
International Exchange and Banking Problems; Currency; Employment and Wages; American Foreign Trade; World Trade; Foreign Credits; Prices and Food Supplies; Cost of the War.
- XIII. P E A C E C O N F E R E N C E A N D T R E A T I E S O F P E A C E 331
- XIV. BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 386  
Historical Background; Military Operations; Naval Operations; Aërial Operations; Economic Aspects; Finances.



# A REFERENCE HISTORY OF THE WAR

## I. THE WAR IN BRIEF

On June 28, 1914, the Austrian heir-apparent, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. Accusing Serbia of complicity in the crime and alleging that the anti-Austrian machinations of Serbian patriots menaced the integrity of the Hapsburg Empire, Austria-Hungary on July 23, 1914, delivered an ultimatum containing demands with which the Serbian government would only partially comply. Despite the diplomatic remonstrances of other powers, Austria-Hungary refused to submit the matter to peaceful arbitration and declared war on Serbia, July 28, 1914. The Russian government, frankly sympathetic with Serbia, ordered the mobilization of the Russian army and declined to countermand the order, whereupon the German government declared what it considered to be a defensive war against Russia, August 1, 1914. Two days later Germany declared war against Russia's ally, France. Preparatory to an invasion of France, German troops had already occupied Luxemburg, August 2, and begun to invade Belgium, August 4, notwithstanding Belgium's opposition. The British government construed the German violation of Bel-

gian neutrality as a *casus belli* and declared war against Germany, August 4. Serbia and the "Allies," or Entente Powers—Russia, France, and Great Britain — were subsequently joined by Montenegro (August 7, 1914), Japan (August 23, 1914), Italy (May 23, 1915), San Marino (May 24, 1915), Portugal (March 9, 1916), Rumania (August 27, 1916), United States (April 6, 1917), Panama and Cuba (April 7, 1917), Greece (July 2, 1917), Siam (July 21, 1917), Liberia (August 4, 1917), China (August 14, 1917), Brazil (October 26, 1917), Guatemala (April 22, 1918), Costa Rica (May 23, 1918), Nicaragua (May 24, 1918), Haiti (July 15, 1918), and Honduras (July 19, 1918). The "Teutonic" or Central Powers—Austria-Hungary and Germany—on the other hand, while they failed to receive the support of their former ally, Italy, succeeded in enlisting the aid of Turkey ("state of war" with Russia, October 30; attacked by Great Britain and France, November 5, 1914) and Bulgaria (October 14, 1915).

From the outset the Allied navies controlled the seas, putting an end to German overseas commerce and compelling the German battleships for the

most part to remain in home waters under the protection of coast defenses and mines, although the main German battle fleet ventured out to fight an indecisive battle, off Jutland, May 31, 1916, and swift German battle cruisers repeatedly raided the British coast. The naval engagements in the Bight of Heligoland (August 24, 1914), off Coronel (November 1, 1914), near Dogger Bank (January 24, 1915), and in the Gulf of Riga (October, 1917) were of secondary importance. A few daring German commerce raiders and the surprisingly effective German submarines were able to inflict considerable damage upon the Allied and neutral merchant marines, but not to break the virtual blockade by means of which Great Britain hoped to starve out her principal enemy. By the terms of the armistice which ended the war the greater part of the battle fleets and submarines of the Central Powers had to be turned over to the Allies (November, 1918).

The military operations may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) In the Franco-Belgian theatre, the gallant defense of Liège (August 4-5, 1914), the stand at the Mons-Namur-Charleroi (August 21-24, 1914), and a counter invasion of Alsace-Lorraine (August, 1914) failed to stop the onward sweep of the German armies through Belgium, Luxemburg, and Lorraine toward Paris. The high tide of the German invasion was reached in the Battle of the Marne (September 6-10, 1914), after which the German right wing fell back upon the Aisne River and extended itself northward through Picardy, Artois, and Flanders to the Belgian coast. From October, 1914, to July, 1918, the long intrenched battleline from the coast to Switzerland remained almost sta-

tionary, although terrific attempts to break through were made by the Germans in Flanders (October-November, 1914), again at Ypres (April-May, 1915), in the Argonne (July, 1915), at Verdun (February-July, 1916), between St. Quentin and La Fère toward Amiens (March, 1918), in the Ypres sector (April, 1918), at the Chemin des Dames (May-June, 1918), between Rheims and Soissons (June-July, 1918), and at the Marne (July, 1918); as well by the Allies at Neuve Chapelle (March 10, 1915), in the region just north of Arras (May-June, 1915), in Champagne (September-October, 1915), in Artois, near Lens (September-October, 1915), in the Valley of the Somme (July, 1916-March, 1917), near Arras (April-June, 1917), on the Aisne (April-November, 1917), in Flanders (July-December, 1917). After the failure of the five great German attempts between March and July, 1918, the Allies found themselves in a position to take the offensive. They did not depend upon the customary single huge blow but struck a series of smaller blows which set the whole line rocking from the sea to the Swiss border. The second Marne was won in July, the third Somme in August and by September the whole German line from Rheims to Ypres was in a backward movement. In September the St. Mihiel salient was wiped out and an advance on both sides of the Argonne forest begun. Toward the end of the same month Foch struck in Flanders and so on. By the end of the month the Germans were back to the starting place of March 21. In October the Allies smashed the Hindenburg line, cleared the Belgian coast, and advanced along the Meuse, threatening all communications, and compelling the



Germans to ask for an armistice which was granted on November 11, 1918. (2) In the East the initial Russian offensive in East Prussia was shattered by Hindenburg at Tannenberg (August 26-31, 1914); an Austro-German counter-invasion of Russian Poland was checked before Warsaw (February, 1915); the Russian armies invading Galicia attained the passes of the Carpathians early in 1915, but were completely expelled from Austrian territory by "Mackensen's Drive" (May-June); and an Austro-German invasion of Russia under the masterly direction of Hindenburg, after conquering Warsaw (August 4, 1915), Brest-Litovsk (August 25), and Vilna (September 18, 1915) was halted only by the swamps before Riga, the lakes around Dwinsk, and the Pripet marshes. The Russians returning to the attack in 1916 (June-August) recaptured the Volhynian fortresses of Lutsk and Dubno, conquered the Bukowina, and penetrated up the Dniester River as far as Halicz. The Russian revolution brought operations on the East Front to a standstill, the only outstanding feature being the unsuccessful Russian offensive (July) and the fall of Riga (September-October, 1917). After the Bolsheviks came into power they evinced a strong desire to make peace and ultimately signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March, 1918). The Allies determined to save Russia from herself and from Germany and sent an army into Siberia (to aid the Czecho-Slovaks) and landed two small forces at Archangel and Murman (July, 1918). They hoped by these means to re-establish an Eastern Front. After varying success the fighting in Russia was still continuing after all the Central Powers had signed an armistice. (3)

After two important Austro-Hungarian attempts to "punish Serbia" had failed (in August and December, 1914), a new Austro-German invasion of Serbia was undertaken in October, 1915, with the aid of Bulgaria, and by December 5, 1915, Serbia was completely conquered. Anglo-French forces endeavoring to succor Serbia were defeated in the battle of the Vardar (December, 1915), and driven back on their base at Saloniki, in Greek territory. Montenegro and northern Albania were overrun by Austrian and Bulgar armies (January-February, 1916). In the summer of 1916, the Allied army at Saloniki assumed the offensive and wrested the Serbian town of Monastir from the Bulgarians (November 19), but were unable to advance very much beyond that point in 1917, owing to the complete downfall of Russia and Rumania. During July, 1918, after initial successes an Allied offensive in Albania failed. During the succeeding months after careful preparation, the Allies broke the Bulgarian defenses and after a series of remarkable victories compelled them to accept an armistice (September, 1918), which amounted to an unconditional surrender. (4) Rumania, entering the war on August 27, 1916, too rashly sent her armies to "emancipate" Transylvania, leaving the Dobrudja undefended against Mackensen; the Rumanian invaders of Transylvania were thrown back by Falkenhayn; and all of Rumania, excepting a small part of Moldavia, was conquered by the Central Powers. Disclosures made by the Russian revolutionists show that Rumania was betrayed by the Germanophile Russian premier, Stürmer, who failed to send the promised army to protect Rumania's flank. She was compelled

to sign a humiliating peace with the Central Powers in March, 1918. (5) Turkish armies held the Dardanelles against Anglo-French attacks (February, 1915, to January 8, 1916); delivered futile attacks upon the Suez Canal; captured a British army under Gen. Townshend in Mesopotamia (April 28, 1916); and expelled the Russians from Kermanshah (July 5, 1916) and Hamadan (August 10, 1916), but were unable to defend the important Armenian cities of Erzerum (February 16, 1916), Trebizond (April 18), and Erzincan (July 25) against Grand Duke Nicholas's advance. Assuming the offensive in 1917 the Allies took Kut-el-Amara (February 24), Bagdad (March 10) and Jerusalem (December 10). During 1918 the Allies continued their offensive against the Turko-German forces in Asia Minor and succeeded in practically wiping them out. The capitulation of Bulgaria placed Turkey in a precarious position and compelled her to sue for an armistice (October, 1918). The conditions granted her also amounted to an unconditional surrender. (6) The Italians, having painfully penetrated into the Trentino a few miles, were rudely repulsed in May,

1916; towards Trieste the Italians made slow progress and finally captured Gorizia, August 9, 1916. Striking out on the Carso and Bainsizza plateaus in the summer of 1917, the Italians were making substantial progress towards Laibach and Trieste, when they were again rudely repulsed by a German-Austro force and hurled back to the Piave River (October-December, 1917). Contrary to expectations the Central Powers did not attempt to force the Piave when the fighting season of 1918 opened. The attempt was not made until June and then it was severely checked. Assuming the offensive in August and September, 1918, the Allies completely broke through the enemy lines and threw them back in a disorderly rout. Austria-Hungary sued for an armistice and received terms amounting to unconditional surrender (November, 1918). (7) All of the German colonies were taken: Kiaochow (in China) by the Japanese (November 6, 1914); the German island possessions in the Pacific by British and Japanese expeditions; Togoland (August, 1914), Kamerun (February, 1916), German Southwest Africa (July, 1916), and German East Africa (November, 1918).

## II. UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE WAR

In July, 1914, the murder of Francis Ferdinand, a member of the Austrian royal family, set in motion a train of events which culminated in the terrible catastrophe of a great European war. It was clear, however, that this crime was not the real cause of the tremendous struggle which many of the statesmen and diplomats of Europe had anticipated and all had feared for many years. The underlying causes of this great War of the Nations reach far back into the past and cannot be reduced to any simple formula. Some knowledge of the important political and economic forces which have shaped the history of Europe during the past century is necessary for an adequate appreciation of the causes of the great cataclysm. Among the many and complex influences which have been suggested as causes of the war, there are three forces which appear to have contributed most directly in bringing about the critical situation in Europe in 1914. These were (1) the clashing of national interests and ideals, (2) the maintenance of a system of military alliances, and (3) the economic rivalry among the nations of Europe.

**National Antagonisms.** Viewed broadly, the political history of Europe in the nineteenth century centres about two movements which were the inheritance of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, (1) the growth of democracy and (2) the realization of national liberty. When the diplomats of the Great Powers met at the Congress of Vienna in 1815

to readjust the map of Europe, many expressed the hope that the Congress would be guided in its work by these two principles. There was much talk of "the reconstruction of the moral order," "the regeneration of the political system of Europe," of the establishment "of an enduring peace founded on a just distribution of political forces," and of the formation of an effective and permanent international tribunal. Unfortunately these fair promises were not realized and the Congress, instead of establishing a new era, did its utmost to restore the old one. The principles of popular freedom and national liberty were ignored wherever it was necessary to do so to satisfy the dynastic and personal influences which dominated the Congress.

In the first place, as an inheritance of the French Revolution these principles were anathema to the reactionaries and, in the second place, Metternich,\* the reactionary Austrian Chancellor who dominated the Congress, realized that encouragement of

\* METTERNICH, CLEMENS WENZEL NEPOMUK LOTHAR, PRINCE (1773-1859). A noted Austrian diplomat, born at Coblenz. Educated at University of Strassburg and studied law at Mainz. Diplomatic career commenced at Congress of Rastadt (1797-1799). Became Austrian Ambassador at Dresden (1801). Two years later became ambassador to Prussia where he negotiated treaty of alliance between Austria, Prussia and Russia against France in 1805. Went to Paris in 1806 as ambassador. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1809. Opposed dismemberment of France for fear Russia and Prussia would become too powerful. Presiding officer of Congress of Vienna. Inspiring genius of reactionary policy of Restoration period. Austrian Chancellor, 1821. Aimed to restore old order as far as possible.

the nationalist principle would endanger the heterogeneous Austrian dominions. Consequently the work of the Congress of Vienna was an effort to establish the *status quo ante bellum*. The consummation of this aim caused numerous violations of the principle of nationality. The history of the nineteenth century shows a number of revolutionary periods such as 1830, 1848, 1866, and 1870 which were caused by the determined efforts of the liberals and radicals of Europe to put into effect the three cardinal principles of the French Revolution, liberty, equality, and fraternity. The last term is practically synonymous with the term nationality. Some of the cruder violations of the principle were done away with in the course of the century. For example, Belgium was separated from Holland and Venetia and other Italian-speaking sections were taken away from Austria and joined to the newly created Italian kingdom. There remained, however, at the close of the nineteenth century, a number of situations which clearly violated the principle of national sovereignty. The completion of German unity in 1871 was accompanied by the violation of the principle of French nationality in the annexation of the territories of Alsace and Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian War. The reasons for the annexations of these territories were partially economic and partially political. The Germans wished to wipe out the memories of French aggression after the Battle of Jena during the Napoleonic period. They also wished to obtain the extremely valuable coal and iron mines which were in these territories. It was an ever present challenge to the French people to attempt to regain these lost provinces

and a constant reminder of the humiliation which they had suffered at the hands of Germany. On the other hand it was used by Bismarck \* and the Prussian military party to justify their programme of huge military armaments in Germany.

Nowhere else in Europe was the problem of nationality so acute during the nineteenth century as in Austria-Hungary. The very existence of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has been a constant challenge to the principle of nationality. Logically carried out this principle would mean the disappearance of Austria-Hungary and the distribution of its territory among the surrounding nations. The appreciation of this fact by the Austrian authorities made them apprehensive of all nationalist movements, and especially that of the southern Slavs. As will be seen it was the outgrowth of one of these movements which precipitated the crisis which led to the outbreak of the war.

The Balkan states presented a peculiarly vexing problem in the realization of the principle of nationality. The intricate mixture of racial groups in this region made it an almost hope-

\* BISMARCK-SCHÖNHAUSEN, KARL OTTO EDUARD LEOPOLD VON, PRINCE (1815-98). A famous Prussian diplomat and statesman, born in the district of Magdeburg, Prussia. From 1832-33 he was a student of jurisprudence and political science. Entered First General Diet of Prussia (1847). Champion of ultra-conservative measures. Advocated increased powers of monarchy in Erfurt Parliament (1850). As Prussian Ambassador to Germanic Diet at Frankfort adopted policy of hostility to Austria. Head of Prussian cabinet and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1862). Governed without a budget and parliamentary majority. To unify Germany under Prussia adopted ruthless policy, "mighty problems of age to be solved by blood and iron." Forced out Austria and in 1871 Germanic states formed an empire with Prussian King as Emperor. Introduced state socialism as a means of fighting socialism. He was a bitter opponent of the Roman Catholic church, being the author of the famous "May Laws," of 1873-74-75.

less task to arrange geographical boundaries to correspond with national lines. The problem was complicated, moreover, by the clashing of the interests of the great European Powers, especially Austria and Russia, in this territory. The condition of chronic disorder and strife in this region during the nineteenth century was a source of almost constant concern to the diplomats of the great European states.

While the triumph of the ideal of nationality has done much to advance European civilization, it has not been an unmixed blessing. Too often national patriotism became a fetish. Love of one's country meant a lack of appreciation of or a contempt for the people of other countries; a feeling that the "kultur" of one's country was not only different from but distinctly superior to that of any other country. From this it naturally followed that it was a laudable ambition to wish to impose one's superior civilization upon an inferior people.

"If it were possible," says Prince Bernhard von Bülow\* in his book on *Imperial Germany*, "for members of different nationalities, with different language and customs, and an intellectual life of a different kind, to live side by side in one and the same state, without succumbing to the temptation of each trying to force his own

nationality on the other, things on earth would look a good deal more peaceful. But it is a law of life and development in history that where two national civilizations meet they fight for ascendancy. In the struggle between nationalities, one nation is the hammer and the other the anvil; one is the victor and the other the vanquished." Prince von Bülow's words really go to the root of the whole trouble in European politics. They show clearly that exaggerated idea of the inevitable antagonism of national interests which dominated European politics during the nineteenth century.

In its extreme form this national spirit has found expression in movements to unite various related ethnic and racial groups into one political group. Such movements have been more or less prominent in Germany, Russia, and the Balkan states under the names Pan-Germanism, Panslavism, Pan-Serbianism, etc. It is doubtful whether any of these movements had passed beyond the state of vague aspirations held by a comparatively small group of people. As a contributing cause of the war the Panslavic and Pan-Serbian movements were of some importance. The growth of such propaganda was a source of concern to Austria-Hungary, with its large Slavic population.

*Pan-Germanism.*—The Pan-German movement was an outgrowth of German imperialism and of the exaggerated race consciousness of the Germans. Roughly stated, this movement conceives the German people wherever located as forming one great nationality. Some Pan-Germanists deny any political or territorial ambitions and assert that they wish merely to spread the knowledge of German culture

\* BÜLOW, BERNHARD, PRINCE VON. A former German Chancellor, born (1849) at Klein-Flottbeck, Holstein. Studied at Lausanne, Leipsic, and Berlin. Served in Franco-Prussian War and entered German Foreign Office in 1874. Served as secretary of legations at various capitals and also ambassador. Appointed Foreign Secretary in 1897 and Chancellor of the German Empire and Prime Minister of Prussia in 1900. His diplomacy shaped by emperor. Against ambition of France in Morocco and led to Algeiras conference (1906). Able to control majority in Reichstag until 1909 when failure of budget led to resignation.

throughout the world. Others, more radical, proclaimed the ultimate domination of the world by the German race. The German authorities repeatedly stated that the Pan-German movement had no official sanction and that it was the work of only a very small part of the German people. However, what the movement has lacked in numbers it has made up in activity. Prominent historians, scientists, and other writers expounded its views, while numerous societies had been formed to advance German ideas of culture and civilization throughout the civilized world.

One or two quotations will serve to show the attitude of some of the leaders of the Pan-German movement. Von Bernhardt said on one occasion: "Our next war will be fought for the highest interests of our country and of mankind. This will invest it with importance in the world's history. 'World power or downfall!' will be our rallying cry.

"Keeping this idea before us, we must prepare for war with the confident intention of conquering and with the iron resolve to persevere to the end, come what may."

The French Yellow Book quotes from an official secret report the following: "Neither ridiculous shriekings for revenge by French chauvinists, nor the Englishmen's gnashing of teeth, nor the wild gestures of the Slavs will turn us from our aim of protecting and extending *Deutschtum* (German influence) all the world over."

The Kaiser said in the course of a speech in July, 1900: "Germany's greatness makes it impossible for her to do without the ocean, but the ocean also proves that even in the distance, and on its farther side, without Ger-

many and the German Emperor no great decision dare henceforth be taken.

"I do not believe that thirty years ago our German people, under the leadership of their princes, bled and conquered in order that they might be shoved aside when great decisions are to be made in foreign politics. If that could happen, the idea that the German people are to be considered a world power would be dead and done for, and it is not my will that this would happen. To this end it is only my duty and my finest privilege to use the proper and, if need be, the most drastic means without fear of consequences. I am convinced that in this course I have the German princes and the German people firmly behind me."

In another speech in October, 1900, the Kaiser said: "Our German Fatherland, (to) which I hope will be granted, through the harmonious cooperation of princes and peoples, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world-empire was, and that, just as in the old times they said 'Civis romanus sum,' hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say 'I am a German citizen.'"

**Military Alliances.** The obsession of national jealousy led inevitably to the view that it was necessary to defend nationalism with huge armaments. The remarkable success of Bismarck in uniting Germany by a policy of blood and iron was used as an object lesson by the militarists of Germany and other nations. War was glorified as an institution in itself, not simply as a means to an end. Says Bernhardt,\*

\* FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI, born (1849) at St. Petersburg, son of a German diplomat; served in Franco-Prussian War; general of cavalry and commander of the Seventh Army

one of the leading exponents of this school, "War is in itself a good thing. It is a biological necessity of the first importance." And again, "The inevitableness, the idealism, the blessing of war as an indispensable and stimulating law of development must be repeatedly emphasized." John Adam Cramb,\* an English historian, predicted a war between Germany and England and warned England to prepare for it. Everywhere the doctrine of military preparedness was advocated and it bore fruit in the tremendous standing armies and huge navies of the different European countries. It led also to the grouping of the great European Powers into two hostile military alliances.

When the representatives of the European Powers met at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, there was organized the so-called Concert of Europe, by which it was hoped that the problems of European politics would be adjusted. For some years congresses representing the Great Powers were held at which international questions were considered and efforts made to maintain the balance of power in Europe. After the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the influence of this

Corps (1908); retired (1909), but in 1915, during the European War, assigned to field command at his own request. His writings, for which he is known internationally, are concerned with German military progress and with an expected war for the advancement of Pan-Germanism and expansion. In English have appeared: *Cavalry in War and Peace* (1910); *On War of To-Day, Britain as Germany's Vassal*, and *Germany and the Next War* (all 1914); *The New Bernhardi: "World Power or Downfall"* (1915), a collection of articles written during the European War.

\* John Adam Cramb (1862-1913), educated at Glasgow and Bonn; from 1893 to his death professor of modern history at Queen's College, London; also lectured at other institutions and gave private courses; author of *Germany and England* (1914) and *The Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain and Nineteenth Century Europe* (1915).

Concert was materially weakened.

A political transformation of Europe occurred in the decade between 1860 and 1870, culminating in the creation of two new European states, Germany and Italy. The appearance of these two states in the family of European nations seriously disturbed the old political relations. Bismarck, who had been largely instrumental in the creation of the German Empire, adopted as his guiding principle a system of firm alliances rather than dependence upon the more loosely constituted European Concert. In an effort to isolate France, he first strove to unite Russia, Germany, and Austria in a defensive alliance. When Russia withdrew from this alliance on account of antagonism to Austria, Bismarck devoted his efforts to binding together more closely the two Teutonic Powers. Italy later (1882) joined with the Central Powers to form the Triple Alliance.

Italy's alliance with the Teutonic Powers was largely a result of her resentment against France because of the latter's acquisition of Tunis in 1881. Checkmated by France, Italy turned to the Germanic Powers and joined an unnatural alliance. It was unnatural because Austria had consistently opposed Italian unity as well as on account of clashes of economic interests in the Balkan peninsula.

This organization of the states of central Europe into a strong military alliance was an invitation to the other states of Europe to create an opposing alliance in order to maintain the balance of power. First France and Russia, drawn together by mutual hostility to Germany, formed a Dual Alliance (1895) and finally Great Britain, aroused by the threatening naval policy of Germany, abandoned her pol-

icy of "splendid isolation," and joined with France and Russia to form a second diplomatic group known as the Triple Entente. England was compelled to smooth over difficulties which existed between herself and her two allies. She clashed with France in Northern Africa, in Siam, and over the Newfoundland fisheries. She was opposed to the extension of Russian influence in the Balkans as well as to the advance towards India in Asia. Due largely to the efforts of Sir Edward Grey, these misunderstandings were cleared up and a "diplomatic group" was established. The precise nature of this understanding was indefinite, there being no treaty agreement specifying its scope. The formation of these two rival military groups created a situation in Europe where every disturbance of the political or diplomatic *status quo* brought on a crisis. Since 1905 Europe has passed through several such crises, each one increasing the tension among the Great Powers and each making the maintenance of peace more difficult.

The first of these crises came in 1905 in a dispute over Morocco. A part of the understanding reached between England and France in 1904 provided that France should have a free hand in Morocco, while England was given a free hand in Egypt. Germany, which had abandoned Bismarck's policy of opposition to colonial expansion, was looking about for such stray portions of undeveloped land as had not been appropriated by England and France. Germany had to choose between two courses. Either she could frankly recognize the inevitable consequences of her geographical position and her late entrance into the field as a colonial power, which

handicapped her development as a world state, or she might determine to challenge the more fortunately situated and longer established world powers and create for herself a larger "place in the sun." She chose the latter alternative. With a rapidly increasing population, it became a question whether even her remarkable industrial development would accommodate the added millions of population. It is true that at this time Germany imported unskilled agricultural labor from Russia, and that there was no alarming emigration from Germany. But the future held out the prospect of a large emigration of Germans to other countries, and the Germans resented the loss of this good German stock to the Fatherland. Colonies where Germans might be kept under German control were felt to be the great need. Germany therefore determined not to stand quietly by and allow further colonial acquisitions by the other great European Powers without making an effort to share in the spoils.

The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) had revealed the military weakness and inefficiency of Russia. This situation made Russia's support of France much less valuable and Germany felt that it was an opportune time to assert her position in regard to Morocco. On March 21, 1905, the German Emperor, while on a voyage to Constantinople, disembarked at Tangier and encouraged the Sultan to reject the scheme of reforms proposed by France. He, moreover, succeeded in forcing France to submit the whole Moroccan question to a conference of the Powers held at Algieras in January, 1906. England firmly supported France and let it be known that any interference with France's



predominant position in Morocco would be resisted by her. Italy, moreover, refused to support her ally, with the result that France scored a distinct diplomatic victory.

One phase of Germany's policy of colonial and commercial expansion contemplated the extension of Teutonic commercial and political interests in the Balkans and Turkey. In this "Drang nach Osten" Germany, in conjunction with Austria, hoped to create a great economic, if not political, sphere of influence extending through the Balkans to Constantinople and thence through Turkey in Asia to the Persian Gulf. German engineers and German capitalists began to develop Turkish resources. German military officials trained the Turkish forces.

As an example of the importance that the Pan-Germanist element placed upon the movement toward the southeast, the following quotation is given from a book entitled, *Asia*, by Friedrich Naumann (1900): "All weakening of German national energy by pacifist associations or analogous activities reinforces the formidably increasing power of those who rule to-day from the Cape to Cairo, from Ceylon to the Polar Sea. . . . No truce with England. Let our policy be a national policy.

"This must be the mainspring of our action in the eastern question. This is the fundamental reason which necessitates our political indifference to the sufferings of Christians in the Turkish Empire, painful as these must be to our private feelings. If Turkey were disintegrated to-day, the fragments of her empire would become the sport of the great powers, and we would be left with nothing, as has happened so often in the past. We must retard

the catastrophe. Let Turkey have any constitution she likes, so long as she can keep herself afloat a while longer.

"Bismarck taught us to make a distinction between our foreign policy and our domestic policy. The same thing applies to the Christian missions. As Christians we desire the propagation of the faith by which we were saved. But it is not the task of our policy to concern itself with Christian missions.

"The truth here, as elsewhere, is that we must find out which is the greatest and morally the most important task. When the choice has been made, there must be no tergiversation. William II has made his choice; he is the friend of the Padishah, because he believes in a greater Germany. . . .

"Imagine a few firm, rigid, incorruptible officials at the head of a territory like Palestine scouring the country on horseback with European promptitude. They would be as much abused as Satan, but as useful as angels. . . .

"A sort of amicable dictatorship would be set up, which would often address Turkey as the bird of the proverb was addressed, 'Eat or die.' . . . Meanwhile Germans would be settling upon all the shores of the Mediterranean. Good luck to you, my brethren. Work hard. Bestir yourselves. The old sea will yet behold many things. You hold in your hands a morsel of Germany's future life."

In July, 1908, a revolution, led by the Young Turks, broke out in Constantinople. Taking advantage of this situation Bulgaria annexed eastern Rumelia and declared her complete independence of Turkey. Austria felt the time opportune to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been

placed under her administration in 1878 by the Congress of Berlin, mainly through the efforts of Bismarck. This action of Austria irritated Italy and aroused Serbia, which latter had hoped to bring these provinces, closely related to her in blood, into a Greater Serbia. Russia protested against Austria's violation of the Treaty of Berlin, but Germany stood by her ally, and Russia, unprepared for war, was forced to submit. The Teutonic allies had scored a distinct diplomatic success and another European crisis was passed.

Once again in 1911, the Moroccan question brought Europe to the verge of war. Germany had not accepted with good grace her diplomatic defeat at Algeiras, and watched with an increasing irritation the extension of French influence and control in Morocco. Germany complained that France was not observing the policy of equal commercial opportunity for all nations and on July 1, 1911, the German cruiser *Panther* appeared off Agadir with the avowed purpose of protecting German interests. Both England and France likewise sent ships there, and for several months European peace hung in the balance. A compromise was finally reached whereby Germany recognized France's predominant position in Morocco while in return Germany received 100,000 square miles of the French Congo.

Hardly had this second Moroccan crisis been passed when the delicate balance in European politics was disturbed by the Turco-Italian War. Disappointed in her desire to obtain Tunis, Italy turned her attentions to the neighboring Turkish province of Tripoli and gradually extended her economic interests there. Friction developed with the corrupt and inefficient

Turkish authorities and in September, 1911, the Italian government demanded that Turkey place the provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica under Italian control. Upon Turkey's refusal Italy declared war and after a long campaign succeeded in occupying the territory. Germany was placed in the difficult position of seeing her protégé Turkey despoiled by her ally Italy. She was, however, powerless to prevent Italy from carrying through her designs for fear that the latter might desert the Triple Alliance and join the Entente.

The Turco-Italian War was a prelude to a much more serious and far-reaching upheaval in the Turkish dominions. The policy of the Young Turks after the revolution of 1908, in attempting to build up a strong, unified Ottoman nation, stirred the smoldering embers of the rival nationalities in the Balkans. The Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Montenegrins resented the attempt to Ottomanize their fellow nationals in Macedonia and Albania. Putting aside for the moment their own rivalries these four Powers organized the Balkan League, and submitted to Turkey a demand for far-reaching reforms in Macedonia. The European Powers quickly saw the danger of a European war if the Balkan situation was disturbed and they served notice on the Allies that under no conditions would they allow a modification of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkans. Undeterred by this threat of European intervention the Allies declared war on Turkey in October, 1912, and after a series of brilliant campaigns, completely routed the Turks and drove them to the gates of Constantinople. As the Allies had anticipated, the European Powers did not make good their threat to restore

the *status quo*. When it came to a division of the spoils the old rivalries among the Allies once more appeared. Serbia had been thwarted in her desire to obtain Albania by the opposition of Italy and Austria. This led to a demand by Serbia for a modification of the agreement for the divisions of the territory made by the Allies before the war. To this Bulgaria would not consent and Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro combined against their former ally. Rumania and Turkey also joined Bulgaria's enemies with the result that Bulgaria's forces were quickly overwhelmed. The struggle closed in August, 1913, and Bulgaria was forced to give up a large part of the conquered Turkish territory.

As a result of interference by the great Powers of Europe an autonomous Albania was established under the kingship of William Frederick of Wied, a German mediatized prince. This effectively thwarted Serbia's desire for a seaport on the Adriatic.

The outcome of the Balkan wars was a bitter disappointment to Germany and Austria. Not only had their protégé Turkey been practically driven from Europe, but the creation of a greater Serbia and the strengthening of Greece and Bulgaria checked the plans of Austria to reach the Ægean Sea at Saloniki. Russian influence, too, had been greatly increased in the Balkans by the strengthening of the Slavic states.

That Germany appreciated the serious blow which had been dealt to Teutonic influence in the Balkans was indicated by the introduction in February, 1913, of a new army bill. This was defended on the ground that the outcome of the Balkan wars had seriously disturbed the balance of power

in central Europe to the detriment of Austria and Germany.

To the peace footing of the German army were added 117,000 men and 19,000 officers, bringing the total strength of the peace army, including auxiliary services, up to 870,000. Immediately the Superior Council of War in France replied to the German challenge by proposing March 4, that the term of military service be increased from 2 to 3 years, in order to augment the strength and improve the organization of the French army. It should be noted that the German increase was proposed first, that it was approved by the Bundesrath on March 28, and that it was finally passed by the Reichstag on June 30, 1913, three weeks before the French Three-Year Law was passed by the Chamber of Deputies, July 19. Russia, the ally of France, and Austria-Hungary, the ally of Germany, likewise made warlike preparations. In July the Duma authorized a new army budget and the lengthening of military service from 3 to 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  years; General Joffre, the French commander-in-chief, visited Russia in August, 1913, to confer on the reorganization of the Russian army. Austria-Hungary introduced a new scheme whereby her peace army was increased from 463,000 to 560,000; and enormous sums were appropriated for the provision of artillery. Even the smaller states of the Balkan, Iberian, and Scandinavian peninsulas caught the contagion of the army fever. The most ominous feature of all this military preparation was the fear and hatred it inspired. France introduced three-year service because she feared the German army, with its corps at Metz, Saarbrücken, and Strassburg. When little Belgium introduced universal military service

and planned to create a field army of 150,000 in addition to garrisons of 130,000 men, the explanation was frankly made that the recent construction of German railways leading to the Belgian frontier, without obvious economic purpose, signified that Germany was preparing to transport troops into and through Belgium in case of a Franco-German war. Similarly Germany was alarmed by the projected construction of new Russian railways, which would facilitate Russian mobilization against Germany. And in the spring of 1914 a veritable panic was created in the German and Austro-Hungarian press, by articles in the *Cologne Gazette*, *Germania*, the *Post*, and the *Berliner Tageblatt*, commenting on the Russian preparations, which would be perfected in a year or two. Bernhardt, in the *Post*, warned Germany to be ready for a war in the near future. On the other hand, the St. Petersburg (Petrograd) *Birshewija Wjedomosti* on June 13, 1914, declared that, "France and Russia do not desire war, but Russia is prepared, and hopes that France will likewise be prepared." Thus national militarism created the situation out of which grew the War of the Nations—the nations of Europe armed to the teeth, regarding each other with insane fear, awaiting the inevitable conflict.

**Economic Causes.** Some advocates of the economic interpretation of history seek to place all historical facts on an economic basis. To this school of historical writers this war is explained almost entirely on economic grounds. While it is quite possible to exaggerate this economic motive, there is no question that economic considerations played an important part in bringing about the situation which

precipitated the European crisis. Some of these economic influences may be briefly stated.

At the close of the eighteenth century there occurred in Europe a complete transformation of industrial conditions known as the industrial revolution. The invention of improved methods of spinning and weaving, the application of steam power, the substitution of the factory system for the former method of cottage industry, and the appearance of distinct capitalist and laboring classes were the most striking features of this revolution in industrial life.

England was the first country to feel the effects of this change. Factories began to turn out large quantities of manufactured commodities, more than enough to supply the home market. For a time England had a practical monopoly of the field, and had no difficulty in disposing of her surplus products in the markets of the world. But the industrial revolution in time reached other countries; France in the period after 1830, the United States in the period following the Civil War, and Germany in the period after 1880. The great industrial interests in these countries began to compete with those of England for the control of the markets of the world. England had the advantage of having vast colonial possessions which might serve both as a market for her manufactured products and as a field for the investment of surplus capital in the development of their natural resources. France and the United States, in a lesser degree, also enjoyed this advantage. Germany, on the other hand, because of her late appearance as a great power, was practically without colonial possessions of any potential value. She felt that her

industrial development was being hampered through no fault of her own, but simply because the best parts of the world had been appropriated by other countries.

It has been argued, with considerable force, that a nation does not benefit commercially by the control of colonies or weak states. The case of Germany is cited to show how marvelously a state may expand commercially without colonies. But there is no doubt that certain economic interests within a nation do gain by national control of undeveloped parts of the world. There are government contracts to be let, franchises to be given, concessions to be granted, and possibly preferential tariffs to be established. The financial interests in close touch with the governmental authorities of a great power undoubtedly have a great advantage.

In the German apologies for the war, Great Britain is bitterly accused of envying German prosperity and of welcoming the war as an opportunity to crush German commercial and industrial competition. The strenuous efforts of British business men during the war to capture German trade are cited as proof. The British apologists reply that Great Britain entered the war only after extreme hesitation, after warning Germany not to violate Belgian neutrality; that Great Britain had not welcomed the war, far less caused it; and that the war on German trade was a result rather than the purpose of the armed conflict.

On the other side, Germany is accused of waging war for economic aggrandizement. In explanation, let us refer to the origin of the German Empire. Besides a sentimental yearning for national unity, two factors worked together to weld the many petty Ger-

man States into a united nation. The spectacular part was played by the Prussian army, under the control of domineering, landowning aristocrats, like Prince Bismarck. Equally important, if less striking, was the work of the industrial capitalists. They had built railways binding the Germanies together with bands of steel; they had economically federated the Germanies in the Tariff League (*Zollverein*), preparing the way for political union. After the formation of the German Empire (1871), the influence of the two elements, the landed aristocracy of army officers and the business aristocracy of wealth, was manifested in the demand for a protective tariff. The former demanded a high tariff on imported foodstuffs to raise the price of their own farm products; the latter required a tariff wall to keep foreign manufacturers from entering into competition with German articles in the home market. Bismarck adopted the protective tariff policy in 1879. It is easy to see how such a policy might endanger peace. For example, consider Russo-German relations. In 1904 Russia and Germany signed a commercial treaty whereby each country made certain reductions in its tariff duties on imports from the other country. The Russians felt that Germany had the best of the bargain. In 1914, as the date approached for the renewal or modification of the treaty, fear was expressed in the German press lest Russia's improved army would enable her to demand more favorable terms. In this fashion the desire of each nation to tax foreign imports and at the same time to obtain free admission of its own products into foreign countries, stimulated militarism and provoked warlike sentiments among the Powers. The United Kingdom, it

should be observed, adhered to its free trade policy, and, with few exceptions, admitted the products of all lands on an equal footing. The British self-governing colonies, however, had adopted protection.

Whether it was due to the protection of the tariff wall, or to the German genius for applying natural science to industry, or to German thoroughness, or to aggressive commercial methods, the business interests prospered mightily under the ægis of the German Empire. Mills and mines multiplied wealth. Titanic ocean steamships carried German wares to the ends of the earth. By 1912, British excelled German foreign commerce by about \$1,300,000,000; but German commerce had trebled itself since 1883, while British commerce had not quite doubled. The German government derived rich revenues from the customs duties on an expanding commerce, and viewed with satisfaction the prodigious increase in wealth and population (population increased from 41 to 66 millions between 1871 and 1912) which furnished men and money for an ever-growing army. And on the other hand, the industrial and landowning classes considered the army as protection and insurance for their interests. In one respect, however, the German business community was dissatisfied. The German merchant marine, although it had rapidly expanded, was still four times outweighed by British shipping. Great Britain's superiority was ascribed to her earlier economic development, to the fact that Germany had very little Atlantic sea-coast, to the superiority of the British navy. Germany, therefore, set herself to overcome these handicaps. And without imputing aggressive motives to the German gov-

ernment, the historian may and should affirm that certain German businessmen consciously hoped for the overthrow of British naval power and for the annexation of an Atlantic port by Germany. The open confession of such desires by German journalists like Maximilian Harden and by German shipping magnates like Herr Ballin, explains why the Belgians feared the loss of Antwerp and Ostend, and the British the loss of the sea. In parenthesis, it may be observed that similar desires for advantageous seaports were urging Russia on to Constantinople and to the Southern Baltic, Serbia on to the Adriatic, and Austria-Hungary on to Saloniki.

In a third respect the economic ambitions of Germany conflicted with those of other nations. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century certain groups of business men awoke to the opportunities which the vast uncivilized areas of Africa and Oceanica offered for the sale of cheap cotton goods, cheap liquors, and other manufactures, for the highly remunerative investment of money in the construction of railways, the development of mines, and the traffic in rubber, ivory, and oil. King Leopold of Belgium, one of the first to realize the opportunity, acquired control of the Congo region in the heart of Africa. France carved out a mighty colonial empire, and Great Britain added to hers. Germany, a belated arrival in the field, was permitted, even encouraged by the British government, to acquire territories in Africa. But when Germany, becoming aggressive in world politics, and demanding an ever larger "place in the sun," challenged the French in Morocco and appeared envious of the British and French possessions, the prospect of a war for

world-empire began to fill Europe with uneasy forebodings.

Concessions as well as colonies were contended for by Germans as against British and French capitalists. For example, when in 1914 Bulgaria arranged in return for a loan to concede to German capitalists valuable railway and mining privileges in Bulgaria, a rival bid was unsuccessfully made by the French. The financing of the Bagdad railway occasioned considerable rivalry between France and Germany, until an agreement was reached. In 1914 the envious cry was raised in Germany that German interests were being outstripped by the other Powers; that the English were greedily helping themselves to the oil product of Persia and striving to secure the oil fields of Latin America; that the French capitalists were securing new railway contracts in China, in Russia, and in Greece.

Of all the economic interests inimical to peace, the most dangerous was the arms-manufacturing business. It is commonly known that in 1913 Karl Liebknecht\* horrified the German Reichstag by alleging that the Krupps, the world-famous makers of guns and armor, systematically

stirred up hostility between France and Germany in order to obtain larger orders for arms. Every Army Bill, every dreadnought, every war, meant profits for the armament firms. The Balkan Wars were fought with weapons forged in Germany and France. As the Krupps had made the Turkish guns, the defeat of Turkey meant diminished prestige and smaller sales for Krupp wares, unless another war should reestablish the fame of cannon "made in Germany." English firms—Armstrong & Vickers, and Witworth—were engaged to build an ordnance factory in Russia, and to construct battleships for Spain, for Brazil, for Turkey. For Krupps, as well as for their rivals, the War of the Nations was a golden opportunity. The Belgian armament manufacturers at Liège alone were unfortunate, for Liège was captured by German troops.

Finally, a word may be added regarding the banking interests and the war. Articles have appeared in support of the argument that the panic and consternation in financial circles at the outbreak of the war proved conclusively that "capital" did not want the war. While there is doubtless much truth in this reasoning, the fact must not be overlooked that in panics large fortunes are won as well as fortunes lost. The huge war loans, moreover, offered unexampled opportunities for financial speculation. The statement is also made that the capitalists welcomed the war as a relief from the intolerable burden of militarism: for by means of income-, property-, and inheritance-taxes, Socialistically-inclined legislators were shifting the burden of militarism so as to bear more and more heavily on the wealthier classes.

\* LIEBKNECHT, KARL (PAUL AUGUST FERDINAND) (1871-1919). Born at Leipsic, where he studied law. Became practicing attorney in Berlin. Chosen Selectman of City of Berlin (1902); member Prussian House of Deputies (1908), and elected to Reichstag (1912) and soon recognized as a leader among Socialist deputies. In 1913 made charges leading to revelation of Krupp scandals and in 1914 only member to vote against war credits. His work *Militarismus und Antimilitarismus* (1907) forbidden circulation and led to charge of high treason, for which he was convicted. Despite protests, mustered into army (1915). Arrested (1916) for making a speech at May Day demonstration. On signing of armistice and flight of Emperor became leader of extreme Socialist group known as Spartacides. Killed (January 15, 1919) by military officers while under arrest.

### III. OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand,\* nephew of Emperor Francis Joseph and heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his morganatic wife, the Duchess of Hohenburg, were assassinated by Serbian sympathizers while on an official visit to the town of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. It was generally believed in Austria that the crime was instigated by Pan-Serbian agitators, who had maintained a persistent propaganda for the acquisition of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina ever since they had been annexed by Austria in 1908. These provinces had once formed part of the old Serbian Empire, and about half of the population was related to the Serbs in race and speech. Despite the fact that Serbia had agreed in 1909 to recognize the annexation of these provinces by Austria as a *fait accompli*, the Pan-Serbian movement was allowed to continue in Serbia, unhampered by the government authorities.

In Austria this movement was resented for two reasons. In the first place, Serbia had emerged from the second Balkan war doubled in size, and any further strengthening of this country ran counter to Austria's commercial interests in the Balkans. As it was, Serbia stood in the way of Austria's realizing her ambition of

reaching the Ægean Sea at Saloniki as well as obstructing the Berlin to Bagdad route. In the second place, the Pan-Serbian movement was a positive danger to the integrity of the Austrian Empire. If successful, it might encourage other racial groups within the Empire to disrupt completely the Hapsburg dominions. Austria had therefore good reasons for regarding the Pan-Serbian propaganda with fear and resentment. Investigations carried on by the Austrian officials at Serajevo led to the conclusion that the assassination of the Archduke had been planned by the conspirators at Belgrade and that the pistols and bombs used had been smuggled into Bosnia from Serbia with the connivance of Serbian officials. Having established these alleged facts, the Austrian government felt justified in proceeding in the most summary manner to crush once and for all the Pan-Serbian movement. With this in view there was presented to Serbia, by Austria, on July 23, 1914, an ultimatum couched in the most vigorous language. Count Berchtold\* was the Austrian Foreign Minister.

The note began by recalling the declaration made by Serbia on the 31st of March, 1909, wherein Serbia recognized the *fait accompli* regarding Bosnia and agreed to renounce any atti-

\* FRANCIS FERDINAND (1863-1914). Archduke of Austria-Este. Born at Graz. On death of Crown Prince Rudolph (1889) and his own father, became heir apparent to crowns of Austria and Hungary. Assassinated with his wife at Serajevo, Bosnia (June 28, 1914), as result of political plot due to absorption of Bosnia into Austro-Hungarian Empire (1908).

\* BERCHTOLD, LEOPOLD ANTHONY JOHANN SIGMUND, COUNT VON. Born (1863) in Vienna. Entered diplomatic service at early age, and in 1895 appointed secretary of Austrian Embassy in Paris. In 1899 appointed counselor of Embassy in London and in 1903 same position in St. Petersburg. 1912 became Foreign Minister of Dual Monarchy.



tude of protest or opposition to the annexation of Bosnia by Austria. The Austrian note then went on to complain that Serbia had not lived up to this undertaking, and had made it necessary for Austria to take action to protect herself against the Pan-Serbian propaganda. Austria insisted that Serbia should make an official and public condemnation of this propaganda and express regret at its consequences.

The note then submitted ten specific demands and required an answer from Serbia by six o'clock on Saturday evening, July 25, within 48 hours of its presentation.

These demands required that Serbia should suppress every publication which excited hatred of the Dual Monarchy; that the Serbian government dissolve certain societies accused of fomenting the propaganda hostile to Austria; that teachers guilty of instigating hatred of Austria be dismissed and that objectionable matter in the textbooks be eliminated; that Serbia dismiss from her army and governmental employ all officers and officials found taking part in the propaganda; that Serbia accept the collaboration of agents of the Austro-Hungarian government in suppression of the subversive movement against Austria; that Austro-Hungarian representatives be allowed to take part in the investigation of persons in Serbia accused of complicity in the murder of the Archduke; that Serbia take action against two specified officials, who were accused of complicity in the crime at Serajevo; that Serbia take effective measures to stop the smuggling of arms and ammunition across her border; and finally that Serbia give explanation of the expressions of hostility toward Austria-Hungary on the

part of certain high Serbian officials.

The publication of this note immediately aroused great apprehension in the chancelleries of the European Powers. It was clear that Europe was confronted with another serious crisis.

It is a striking fact that each of the Powers of the Triple Entente was confronted by serious internal difficulties at this most critical time. Great Britain was threatened by serious disturbances in Ireland resulting from the passage of the Home Rule Bill; St. Petersburg was involved in a great strike; in France the Caillaux affair had affected seriously the prestige of the government and the Minister of War declared that the army was in a deplorable state of unpreparedness.

The first move of Sir Edward Grey,\* the British Foreign Secretary, was to urge upon Austria-Hungary the necessity of extending the time limit of the ultimatum. In this he was strongly supported by M. Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister. Germany, however, was not inclined to bring pressure upon her ally in this matter and Austria flatly refused any extension of time.

Failing in this move, the British and Russian Ministers turned their efforts to persuading Serbia to accept, as far as possible, the demands made by Austria. In this they were largely successful.

**The Serbian Reply.** Serbia's reply

\* GREY, SIR EDWARD. BORN (1862) in Northumberland. Educated at Winchester and Balliol College, Oxford. Entered Parliament, 1885. Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1892-95. Made Privy Councillor 1902. In 1905 became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and soon became most commanding figure in European diplomacy. Consummated Triple Entente, uniting Great Britain, France, and Russia. Opposed German expansion in North Africa. In Balkan crisis of 1912 brought about conference in London and presided over its deliberations. Unable to prevent the great world war, despite strenuous efforts.

to the Austrian ultimatum was handed to the Austrian Minister at Belgrade on July 25, only two minutes before the expiration of the time limit. The reply began by stating that the Serbian government was not aware of any official action since 1909 protesting against the political status of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the only representation made by Austria, that concerning a school book, had been explained to the satisfaction of the Austrian government. To this the Austrian government replied in an official rejoinder that it was not sufficient to indicate that there had been no official action against Austria. It was the failure of Serbia to use energetic measures to suppress unofficial agitation directed against the territorial integrity of Austria of which complaint was made.

The Serbian reply further stated that the Serbian government did not consider that they could be held responsible for the opinions expressed by private individuals, such as articles appearing in the press and the peaceful proceedings of societies. Serbia agreed, however, to amend her constitution to permit the enactment of legislation to suppress such publications. Most of the other demands were agreed to by Serbia with slight verbal changes. There were two points, however, with which Serbia did not comply. In the first place, to the demand that Serbia accept the collaboration of agents of the Austrian government in the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Dual Monarchy, Serbia replied that she did not understand exactly the meaning of the demand, but that she was ready to accept such collaboration as should conform to the principles of interna-

tional law and criminal procedure. The Austrian rejoinder stated that it was not a question of international law but of the exercise of police powers which could be settled by agreement between the parties concerned. In the second place the demand made by Austria that Austrian officials be permitted to take part in the investigation relating to the judicial proceedings in Serbia against persons involved in the Serejevo crime, the Serbian government would not concede on the ground that such action would violate the Serbian constitution. The Austrian rejoinder accused the Serbian government of deliberately misrepresenting the Austrian demand, which contemplated simply a participation in the preliminary investigation to the judicial proceedings. Finally the Serbian government agreed, in case the Austrian government should find the reply unsatisfactory, to submit the disputed questions to The Hague Tribunal or the Great Powers for decision.

The representatives of the Entente Powers were satisfied that Serbia's reply was a substantial agreement to the Austrian demands. Austria, however, claimed to find the reply wholly unsatisfactory and in this view she was apparently supported by Germany, which country adopted the view that she could not infringe on Austria's sovereignty.

From the time of the presentation of the Austrian ultimatum, it was recognized on all sides that the great danger was that any move on the part of Austria would precipitate a general European war. The delicate balance of interests in the Balkans could not be disturbed without involving serious consequences. Russia in particular felt that she was deeply interested in the fate of the small Slav nations in

the Balkan Peninsula. The Russian Ambassador at Vienna stated on July 24 that "any action taken by Austria to humiliate Serbia could not leave Russia indifferent." (B.W.P. No. 7.) At Berlin, too, it was clearly recognized that Austria's action would probably involve Russia. The German memorandum states that Germany was fully aware that "warlike moves on the part of Austria-Hungary against Serbia, would bring Russia into the question and might draw Germany into a war in accordance with her duty as Austria's ally." (G.W.B. p. 4.) \*

Despite Austria's assurance that she had no intention of annexing Serbian territory or disturbing the balance of power in the Balkans, Russia felt that, apart from the acquisition of territory, the crushing of Serbia would reduce her to a vassal state of Austria, and that this would imperil the balance of power in the Balkans. In view of this situation the Russian Foreign Minister stated that Russia would mobilize against Austria on the day that the Austrian army crossed the Serbian frontier. (B.W.P. No. 72.)

This determined attitude of Russia made any efforts which the Powers might make to localize the struggle futile. The next question of vital interest was the attitude which Germany would take. How far was she prepared to support her ally Austria in her uncompromising position towards Serbia? In defining its position the German government declared "The attitude of the Imperial government in this question is clearly indicated. The agitation carried on by the Pan-Slavs in Austria-

Hungary has for its goal the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which carries with it the shattering or weakening of the Triple Alliance and, in consequence, the complete isolation of the German Empire. Our nearest interests, therefore, summon us to the support of Austria-Hungary." (G.W.B. exhibit 2.) And further "A morally weakened Austria under the pressure of Pan-slavism would be no longer an ally on whom we could count and in whom we could have confidence, such as we must have, in view of the increasingly menacing attitudes of our neighbors on the east and west." (G. W.B. memo. p. 5.) It is clear therefore that Germany felt that her interests as well as those of Austria were vitally affected. It was generally believed, and openly stated, that Germany knew the nature of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was sent and had urged Austria to precipitate a crisis by presenting demands which Serbia would not accept. This was categorically denied by the German authorities. (B.W.P. No. 25.) Nevertheless Germany thoroughly approved of the Austrian demands and insisted that the quarrel should be considered simply as an affair between Austria and Serbia.

Obviously it was of the utmost importance to prevent, or at least delay, the first hostile move by Austria against Serbia. On July 26, Sir Edward Grey suggested a conference of the representatives of the four Powers, England, France, Germany, and Italy, for the purpose of discovering an issue which would prevent complications between Austria and Russia. (B.W.P. No. 36.) To this suggestion France and Italy agreed. Germany, however, declined to fall in with this plan. The German Foreign Minister stated that

\* In referring to the official documents, the following abbreviations are used: British White Paper, B.W.P.; German White Book, G.W.B.; Austrian Red Book, A.R.B.; Russian Orange Book, R.O.B.; French Yellow Book, F.Y.B.; Belgian Gray Book, B.G.B.; Italian Green Book, I.G.B.

"a conference such as Sir Edward Grey suggested would amount to a court of arbitration and could not, in his opinion, be called together except at the request of Austria and Russia" (B.W.P. No. 43); and furthermore that "he did not think it [the conference] would be effective, because such a conference would in his opinion have had the appearance of an Areopagus consisting of two Powers of each group sitting in judgment upon the two remaining Powers." (B.W.P. No. 71; G.W.B. memo. p. 8.)

Direct negotiations between Russia and Austria were unsuccessful, Austria refusing to consider a modification of the terms of her ultimatum to Serbia. (B.W.P. No. 93; R.O.B. No. 45.) Further efforts on the part of England to have Germany propose some formula which would be acceptable proved unavailing (B.W.P. No. 111), and on July 28, 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia. This action on the part of Austria appears explicable on one of two grounds. Either she was convinced that Russia was bluffing and would back down as she did in 1908, or else that Austria was prepared deliberately to precipitate a European war.

**Germany and Russia.** The Russian government had very definitely declared that Russia could not remain indifferent to the fate of Serbia. It was generally believed in Russia that Austria's action was directed against her quite as much as against Serbia. (R.O.B. No. 75.) Consequently on July 29, 1914, Russia declared partial mobilization against Austria-Hungary. At the same time the Russian Foreign Minister stated that this action was in no way directed against Germany. (R.O.B. No. 49.) These military preparations stimulated the diplomats in

their final efforts to find some solution which would prevent a European conflagration. Various formulas were suggested but none was acceptable. On July 29, Sir Edward Grey urged that "the German government should suggest any method by which the influence of the four Powers could be used to prevent war between Austria and Russia. France agreed. Italy agreed. The whole idea of mediation or mediating influence was ready to be put in operation by any method that Germany thought possible, if only Germany would press the button in the interests of peace." (B.W.P. No. 84.) Germany did press the button to the extent of urging Austria to renew negotiations with Russia. At the same time Russia was requested to prepare a formula which would be satisfactory to her. M. Sazonov accordingly submitted the following suggestion: "If Austria, recognizing that her conflict with Serbia has assumed the character of a question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate the principle of the sovereignty of Serbia, Russia engages to stop all military preparations." This formula was wholly unsatisfactory to Germany and Austria, and at the suggestion of Sir Edward Grey the Russian formula was modified to read: "If Austria will agree to check the advance of her troops on Serbian territory; if, recognizing the fact that the dispute between Austria and Serbia has assumed a character of European interest, she will allow the Great Powers to look into the matter and determine whether Serbia could satisfy the Austro-Hungarian government without impairing her rights as a sovereign state or her independence, Russia will undertake to maintain her waiting attitude."

One final effort was made by England and Germany to prevent a break between Austria and Russia. Sir Edward Grey, on July 31, said that if Germany would suggest any reasonable proposal which would preserve peace, and if France and Russia rejected such a proposal, Great Britain would not support them, but on the other hand if no such proposal were made and France became involved, Great Britain would be drawn in. (B. W.P. No. 111.) Germany, on her part, brought pressure on Austria to agree to discuss with Russia the terms of the Austrian ultimatum, and at the last moment, on July 31, Austria agreed to do so. (A.R.B. Nos. 49-50.) This slim chance of preventing a break at the eleventh hour was nullified by the demand made by Germany that Russia should cease her military preparations and demobilize her army. At midnight on July 31, 1914, the German Ambassador delivered an ultimatum to Russia demanding that she demobilize her forces not only against Germany but also against Austria-Hungary. (R.O.B. No. 70.) As Russia returned no reply to this demand the German Ambassador was ordered on August 1, at 5 P.M., to notify the Russian government that Germany considered that a state of war existed between the two countries. (G.W.B. exhibit 26; R.O.B. No. 76.)

**Germany and France.** At the same time that Germany presented the ultimatum to Russia, a communication was sent to France informing her of Germany's action and asking what attitude France would take in the event of war between Germany and Russia. An answer was demanded within 18 hours. (F.Y.B. No. 116; G.W.B. exhibit 25.) To this demand the French Premier replied on August 1, that

"France would take such action as her interests might require." (G.W.B. exhibit 27.) Despite this unsatisfactory answer the German Ambassador did not leave Paris until August 3. In the meantime charges and countercharges were made by the French and German authorities that warlike moves had been made on the frontier.

A document which was purported to be instructions from the Imperial German government to its ambassador at Paris was published about the middle of 1918 in the French press at the instance of the government. The German Ambassador was to ask the French Government if it would remain neutral in case of war between Russia and Germany. If the answer was "Yes," the German Ambassador was to demand the surrender of Verdun, Nancy, Toul, and Belfort and other strategic points as a guarantee that France would keep her word and remain neutral. Inasmuch as this would be a severe infringement upon the sovereignty of France and would likely be met by a flat refusal, the inference is drawn that Germany did not want France to remain neutral, but wished to draw her into a world conflict.

**Great Britain and Germany.** From the first it was evident that the question of England's attitude in the face of the great European crisis was of the most vital importance. In that most critical week following the presentation of the Austrian ultimatum, Sir Edward Grey worked early and late to arrive at some peaceful solution of the difficulty. From the very beginning France and Russia had urged Great Britain to come out with a definite statement that if war was precipitated she would support them, pointing out that such a stand by Great Britain would deter Germany

from entering the war. M. Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, said "he did not believe that Germany really wanted war, but her attitude was decided by England's. If she took her stand firmly with France and Russia there would be no war." (B.W.P. No. 17.) The President of France, M. Poincaré,\* went so far as to appeal directly to King George stating "I am profoundly convinced that at the present moment the more Great Britain, France, and Russia can give a deep impression that they are united in their diplomatic action, the more possible it will be to count upon the preservation of peace." Sir Edward Grey did not accept their suggestions. It was his view that Great Britain could work most effectively for peace by playing the part of mediator. At the same time he made it clear to the German Ambassador that if Germany and France became involved "the issue might be so great that it would involve European interests and he did not wish him to be misled into thinking that Great Britain would stand aside." (B.W.P. No. 89.) Germany fully appreciated the importance of keeping Great Britain neutral, if possible. With this end in view the German Chancellor proposed that if Great Britain would remain neutral Germany

would guarantee that no territorial acquisitions would be made at the expense of France. He was unwilling, however, to make a similar undertaking in regard to the French colonies. (B.W.P. No. 85.) This suggestion was declined by Great Britain on the ground that France might be so crushed as to lose her position as a great power, without having territory taken from her. Furthermore that other contingencies might arise which would justify Great Britain's entrance into the war. (B.W.P. No. 101.) A further request from Germany that Sir Edward Grey formulate conditions on which Great Britain would remain neutral was declined. He stated that "he could only say that they must keep their hands free." (B.W.P. No. 123.) The British government, therefore, up to the very last day of European peace refused either to bind herself to come to the aid of France and Russia or to remain neutral.

**Question of Belgian Neutrality.** The Congress of Vienna in 1815 turned over the Austrian Netherlands, or Belgium, to Holland in compensation for certain Dutch colonial possessions retained by Great Britain. This union was opposed by the Belgians and at the first favorable opportunity (1830) they revolted. France was anxious to annex the provinces but Great Britain, following her traditional policy, opposed their union with any great power. This opposition was due to the proximity of the Belgian coast to her shores and also because of the important commercial interests of Great Britain in these rich provinces, which might suffer if they passed into the hands of some great European power. Great Britain's interests would be best served by erecting Belgium into an independent state and by guaranteeing

POINCARÉ, RAYMOND. Born (1860) in Bar-le-Duc, Lorraine. Educated early at lycées of Bar-le-Duc and Louis-le-Grand. Later made brilliant record as law student in Paris. Practiced law for short time. At age of 27 elected to Chamber of Deputies. Opposed separation of church and state. Made Minister of Public Instruction (1893); Minister of Finance (1894). Held various ministries. Elected to Senate (1903). Prime Minister (1912) and took portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Vigorous supporter of alliance with Russia and of the entente with England. Elected President (1913). Believed President should not be figurehead and made himself influential. Favored three-year military service bill. Admitted to French Academy (1909). Author of several books.

the permanence of this independent status by making the country perpetually neutral. Accordingly in 1831 the principal European Powers, Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia, joined in guaranteeing the independence and perpetual neutrality of Belgium. This treaty was replaced by treaties signed in 1839 after Holland had agreed to recognize Belgian independence. When in 1870, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, it seemed possible that one or both of the combatants might violate the neutrality of Belgium, a separate treaty was signed between Great Britain and each of the belligerents, by which Great Britain agreed that if either belligerent should violate Belgian neutrality the other could rely upon England as an ally in defense of the treaty of 1839.

When on July 31, 1914, the outbreak of a European war seemed unavoidable, Sir Edward Grey telegraphed the British ambassadors at Paris and Berlin to request the French and German governments to state whether they were prepared to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as no other power violated it. To this the French authorities returned an affirmative answer. The German Secretary of State, however, stated that it was doubtful if Germany could return any reply without disclosing a certain amount of her plan of campaign. On August 2, 1914, the German Minister presented to the Belgian Foreign Minister an ultimatum which stated that Germany had "reliable information . . . of the intention of France to march through Belgian territory," that it was "an imperative duty for the preservation of Germany to forestall this attack." Germany agreed to evacuate Belgian territory as soon as

the war was over and to indemnify Belgium for all damages if she would maintain an attitude of "friendly neutrality." In case of refusal Germany stated that Belgium would be considered as an enemy and the question would be left "to a decision of arms." (B.G.B. No. 20.) To this demand the Belgian government returned a flat refusal and stated that they were "firmly resolved to repulse by every means within their power any attack upon their rights." (B.G.B. No. 22.) At the same time Belgium called upon Great Britain, France, and Russia, as signatories of the treaty of 1839, to carry out the guarantee of Belgian neutrality. In response to this request Sir Edward Grey on August 4, 1914, sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding a satisfactory reply to her request that Belgian neutrality be respected and requiring an answer by midnight of the same day. Upon Germany's refusal to give such a guarantee Great Britain declared war on Germany. While the violation of Belgian neutrality was the ostensible reason for Great Britain's declaration of war, she had, as a matter of fact, intervened in the war two days before the dispatch of her ultimatum to Germany. In a speech made in the House of Commons on August 2, 1914, Sir Edward Grey stated that he had on that day assured the French government that the British fleet would protect the northern coast of France from any attack by the German fleet. By this act Great Britain had tentatively intervened in the war, and the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany changed this partial and tentative intervention into full participation in the war.

German authorities clearly appreciated that Germany's action in invading Belgium would arouse public sen-

timent in most neutral countries and strenuous efforts were made subsequently to justify their action. In a speech in the Reichstag on August 4, 1914, the German Chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg,\* said: "Gentlemen, we are now acting in self-defense. Necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have possibly already entered on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, this is a breach of international law." But other grounds than that of bald necessity have been advanced by German apologists to justify their action. It has been claimed that Prussia, and not the German Empire, signed the treaty of 1839 and hence the latter was not bound by its provisions. To this it has been answered that the German Empire succeeded to the obligations of its component parts and that all treaties survived that were not formally renounced. It has also been stated that the treaty of 1839 was superseded by the treaties of 1870 which latter had lapsed. From the debates in the British Parliament at the time of the proposal of the treaties of 1870 there is no indication that the treaty of 1839 was to be superseded but rather to be strengthened. Germany furthermore claimed that certain secret documents which were discovered among the papers of the Belgian government at Brussels go to prove that Belgium had by its own acts relieved Germany of the obligation to respect

\* BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, THEOBALD THEODORE FREDERIC ALFRED VON. Born (1856) in Brandenburg, Germany. Educated at College of Pforta and at universities of Strassburg, Leipsic and Berlin. Appointed Landrat of Oberbarnim, Brandenburg. President Province of Brandenburg (1901), Minister of Interior (1905), appointed Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior and Vice President of the Prussian Council (1907), and Chancellor of the German Empire (1909). A mild conservative, but non-partisan in domestic affairs.

her neutrality. These documents contain an account of certain conversations between the Chief of the Belgian General Staff and the British Military Attaché at Brussels, relative to the sending of British military forces to Belgium in case of an invasion of the latter by Germany. The German authorities claim that this amounted to an Anglo-Belgian alliance against Germany. In answer to this charge King Albert\* of Belgium stated, according to an interview in the *New York World* (March 22, 1915), that the conversations referred to had been long known to the German authorities, having been communicated to the German Military Attaché at Brussels so as to avoid any semblance of entering into an unneutral agreement. Germany also complained that Belgian military preparations for the defense of her neutrality, instead of being impartially directed against the possibility of an attack from any of the Powers, were made entirely against Germany. To this it is answered that the fortress of Namur was directed against France as Liége was directed against Germany. Furthermore that if greater energy had been directed towards fortifying the German than the French frontier, this was but natural in view of the German activity in building military railways leading up to the Belgian frontier. Finally Germany declared that her invasion of Belgium was in response to violations of Belgian neutrality by France. But of this no satisfactory evidence has been pro-

\* ALBERT I., King of the Belgians. Born in 1875. Carefully educated. Democratic and friendly in manner. Traveled widely and student of economics and politics. Made tour of Belgian Congo and advocated reform in the treatment of natives. When he became King (December, 1909) many improvements were made in the administration of the colony. One of the heroic figures of the great war.



duced. To the impartial observer, therefore, it would appear that German justification for the violation of Belgian neutrality must rest entirely on the ground of military necessity.

**The Lichnowsky Memorandum.** Notes taken by Prince Lichnowsky, formerly German Ambassador in London, were made public early in 1918 and caused a sensation in the press of the belligerent powers by their revelation of the friendly attitude of England and her desire to maintain peace in the period just preceding the war. The memorandum, which bears the title *My London Mission, 1912-14*, was dated August 16, 1916. When called to account by his government the prince said that the document was meant for the family archives and that it had found its way outside that circle as a result of a breach of confidence. He expressed his regret and resigned his rank as ambassador. The government forbade the prince to write articles for the press. Space is lacking for the quotation of the letters, but the following summary indicates his general attitude. In the first place he emphasized the conciliatory attitude of the British statesmen, especially Sir Edward Grey. Reviewing the policy of the German government just before the war, he said that although it had made repeated errors there, everything was still open as late as July, 1914. Agreement with England had been reached. If a representative of average ability had been sent to St. Petersburg he might have convinced Russia of Germany's peaceful intentions. The German government could have proven to Russia that it had no desire to seize the Dardanelles or to destroy the Serbs. At this time M. Sazonov was saying, "Leave Austria and we will leave the French," and the French

ambassador was saying, "You need not follow Austria everywhere." He said that there was no need then of either alliances or wars, but only of treaties that would protect Germany and others and guarantee Germany an economic development. After Russia had been relieved of trouble in the west she would have turned again to the east which would have saved the situation. He said that Germany might also have taken up the matter of the limitation of armaments. He summed up the case against his own government as follows:

"As appears from all official publications, without the facts being controverted by our own White Book, which, owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:

(1). We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved, and the danger of a world war must have been known to us—whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.

(2). In the days between July 23 and July 30, 1914, when M. Sazonov emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack on Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.

(3). On July 30, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria's having attacked, replied to Russia's mere mobilization by sending an ultimatum to St. Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world outside Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the world's war."

In one of his papers the prince asks the following questions: "Is it not intelligible that our enemies declare that they will not rest until a system is destroyed which constitutes a perma-

ment threatening of our neighbors?" . . . "Were those people not right who declared that it was the spirit of Treitschke and Bernhardi which dominated the German people—the spirit which glorifies war as an aim in itself and does not abhor it as an evil?"

**Italy's Position.** At the outbreak of the European War, Italy found herself in a most trying position. To Austria and Germany she was bound by the defensive treaty of the Triple Alliance. Her position as a member of this alliance had from the beginning been unnatural. Ever since Italy obtained national unity in 1870, there has been a strong movement to obtain the Italian-speaking provinces of Trieste and Trentino, still held by Austria. This aspiration in Italy for what is called "Italia Irredenta," or unredeemed Italy, has been a source of friction between Italy and Austria.

The first indication of Italy's wavering in the support of her allies was when she threw her influence against Germany at the Algeiras Conference in 1906. Again in 1908 Italy was much irritated when Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, thereby strengthening her position on the Adriatic Sea. But the most serious blow to the diplomatic group of the Triple Alliance was given by Italy in 1911 when she declared war on Turkey, a country which had come to be regarded as a member of the Triple Alliance group. Germany and Austria were forced to stand by and allow Italy to weaken the influence of the Triple Alliance by dismembering Turkey. All of these events indicated that Italy's attitude at the outbreak of a European war would be uncertain. Her position was made more precarious by her extensive coast line. Any war which involved Great Britain as an

enemy would expose Italy to attack by the powerful British navy.

Apart, however, from questions of vital self-interest, Italy maintained that under the terms of the Triple Alliance she was not bound to come to the aid of Germany and Austria-Hungary, because, in her view, Austria-Hungary had been the aggressor and Italy's obligations under the treaty contemplated only a defensive war. Accordingly on August 1, 1914, Italy declared that she would remain neutral. Italy's declaration of neutrality did not, as the Italian Foreign Minister stated, "signify the relinquishment of Italian interests in the Balkans and in the Adriatic, but, on the contrary, the persuasion that such interests and aspirations shall be validly supported while the neutrality be maintained." (I.G.B. No. 2.)

Italy's next step was a most difficult one to determine. Should she remain neutral she could expect to gain little from either side, and she had to fear from her former allies, Germany and Austria, in case of their military success, a revengeful attitude. On the other hand to join the Entente allies was a difficult policy to pursue. In the first place it involved the moral question of turning against her former allies. In the second place the Russian and Serbian policy in the Balkans was not certain to be in agreement with Italy's ambition to control the Adriatic. Other considerations also caused Italy to hesitate before casting in her lot with the Entente allies. Such were the unfavorable financial condition of the country, the pro-German sympathies of the royal family, and the opposition of ex-Premier Giolitti,\*

\* GIOLITTI, GIOVANNI. Born (1843) at Mondovì in Province of Cuneo. Educated at Turin. Served in a department of Ministry of Finance. Elected to Chamber of Deputies. 1889 became

who, with a strong personal following in the Italian Parliament, maintained that Italy should not enter the war.

For 10 months the contest between the neutralists and the interventionists went on in Italy. Great efforts were made by Germany and Austria, especially through Prince von Bülow and his Italian wife, to influence public opinion in Italy. It was clear, however, that there was a steady drift of popular sentiment in favor of the Entente. This movement was strengthened, too, by the death of the Marquis di San Giuliano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in October, 1914, who was popularly regarded as a strong sympathizer with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Baron Sidney Sonnino,\* who succeeded him, is regarded as one of the most astute Italian statesmen since Cavour. In the meantime the Italian government had entered upon a series of communications with Austria-Hungary looking to a satisfaction of Italian aspirations and interests in the Balkans. The Italian Foreign Minister began by setting forth that, under Article VII of the Triple Alliance, Italy was entitled to compensations, in the event of any occupation of Serbian territory, even temporarily, by Austria-Hungary. The Austrian officials

Minister of the Treasury and following year Minister of Finance. Forced to resign because of his policy of extreme economy. Became President of Ministry in 1892. Introduced many reforms in favor of lower classes. In 1893 compelled to resign because of bank scandals. Became Minister of the Interior in 1901, resigned May, 1903. Prime Minister several times. Resigned last time in 1914 on veto of colonial budget.

\* SONNINO, SIDNEY, BARON. Born (1847) at Pisa. Graduated from university there (1865). In diplomatic service (1867-72), and after 1880 deputy in Italian legislature. Minister of Finance (1893-94). Minister of Treasury, Premier and Minister of the Interior in 1906 and 1909-10. Accepted portfolio of Foreign Affairs December, 1914, when Italy made preparations to enter European war. Author of works on social and political topics.

were not inclined to admit, at first, that Italy had any valid claim to compensations under the terms of the treaty of alliances.

From this stand, however, Austria soon receded, probably under pressure from Germany, and conceded the principle that Italy was entitled to compensations. There followed several months of protracted negotiations. Italy demanded as the minimum that she would accept in the way of compensations "the district of the Trentino, a new district on the Isonzo, the special treatment of Trieste, the cession of some islands of the Curzolari Archipelago, a declaration of Austria's disinterestedness in Albania, and the recognition of our possession of Valona and Dodecanesia." To these demands Austria was willing to concede only a portion of the Trentino and was unwilling to make any cession before the end of the war.

These fruitless negotiations culminated in the declaration by Italy, on May 4, that she no longer considered herself bound by the provisions of the Triple Alliance. After three weeks of hesitation during which public excitement in Italy reached a high pitch, Italy finally declared war on Austria, May 24, 1915. Just before the final break, according to a statement made by the German Chancellor, Austria-Hungary made a last attempt to purchase Italy's neutrality offering (1) the Italian part of the Tirol; (2) the western bank of the Isonzo "in so far as the population is purely Italian," and the town of Gradisca; (3) sovereignty over Valona and a free hand in Albania; (4) special treatment of Italian nationals in Austria and amnesty for political prisoners who were natives in the ceded provinces; (5) Trieste to be made an Imperial free

city, and to have an Italian University. Furthermore, it was stated that Austria would make these concessions at once and not wait for the conclusion of the war.

**Japan's Position.** Japan's entrance into the European War was due to her treaty of alliance with Great Britain. After the Chinese-Japanese War Japan was deprived of the fruits of her victory, when Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula had to be returned to China at the demand of Russia, France, and Germany. Smarting under this humiliation, Japan turned to Great Britain and in 1902 negotiated a treaty of alliance, according to the terms of which Japan agreed to come to the defense of Great Britain's eastern possessions if she were attacked by more than one Power. Great Britain on the other hand insured Japan against a European coalition such as had intervened at the conclusion of the Chinese-Japanese War.

At the outbreak of the European War Japan saw her opportunity to revenge her humiliation at the close of the Chinese War. Actuated also by a determination to carry out her obligations to Great Britain, the Japanese representative in Berlin presented an ultimatum on August 19, 1914, "advising" Germany to withdraw all warships from Asiatic waters and turn over to Japan the territory of Kiaochow before September 15, 1914, which territory Japan promised eventually to restore to China. This port and surrounding territory had been obtained by Germany from China in 1897 as a compensation for the murder of two German missionaries. The Germans had fortified the harbor strongly and had made it a fine naval base. As Germany refused to reply to the Japanese demand, Japan declared

war on August 23, 1914. The Japanese Foreign Minister defended this action on the ground that Japan was bound by treaty obligations to come to the aid of her ally, Great Britain, and that Germany's position at Kiaochow gravely threatened the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the independence and integrity of China which Japan had bound herself to maintain.

**Turkey.** Germanic influence had for a number of years prior to the outbreak of the war been predominant in Turkey. It was natural, therefore, that Turkish sympathies would be with the Teutonic allies. But Turkey hesitated, at first, to make common cause with Germany because of her exposed position and the fact that her recent experiences in the Balkan wars had left her exhausted. Events, however, rapidly forced Turkey to abandon her attitude of quasi-neutrality. Shortly after the outbreak of the war two German warships, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, in order to escape capture by the British and French fleets, sought refuge in the Dardanelles. The demand of England and France that these ships should either be forced to put to sea or be interned was answered by Turkey stating that she had purchased the ships from Germany. Turkey also refused to remove the German crews of the two vessels. The Triple Entente also resented the action of Turkey in closing the Dardanelles and in serving notice that the "capitulations," under the terms of which the national subjects of various Powers were given special privileges in Turkey, would be revoked on October 1, 1914.

When on October 29 the former German warship, the *Breslau*, bombarded the Russian Black Sea port of Theodosia, Russia accepted this as a declaration of war and the following day

the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople demanded his passports. This action of Russia was followed by France and England declaring war on Turkey, November 5, 1914. Turkey's entrance into the war aroused the hope in Germany and some fear in Great Britain and France that a Holy War would be proclaimed by the Sultan which would arouse the Moslem populations in India, Egypt, and Morocco. The Sultan's efforts in this direction proved unavailing, and no serious uprising occurred among the Mohammedan subjects of Great Britain and France.

**The Balkan States.** The opening of the European War found the Balkan Peninsula in the political shape given to it by the Treaty of Bucharest, August 10, 1913, which closed the second Balkan War. This treaty, which represented the latest effort on the part of the European Powers to adjust the Balkan situation, proved unsatisfactory to nearly all of the parties concerned. Turkey did not accept with good grace the loss of nearly all of her European territory. Bulgaria was bitter towards her former allies, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro, who she felt had treacherously combined to deprive her of her just rewards. Serbia resented the action of Austria, Italy, and Germany in depriving her of an outlet to the Adriatic. Montenegro was disappointed in being forced to surrender Scutari. Finally Albania, the new state created by the Powers to thwart Serbia's ambition to reach the Adriatic, was in a state of ill-disguised anarchy under the shadowy control of Prince William of Wied.\*

\* WILLIAM OF WIED, PRINCE (WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEINRICH). Born (1876) at Neuwied, Prussia. Studied law and political science at Jena. Later graduated with distinction at the Kriegsakademie. Accepted throne of Albania

As has been seen, Serbia had been involved in the war from the beginning and Montenegro soon threw in her lot with her neighbor. The attitude of the other Balkan states was a matter of great concern to the diplomats of the allied groups. During the months succeeding the outbreak of the war, a diplomatic struggle ensued in these states, with the aim of winning their support to one or the other side.

In this struggle the diplomats of the Teutonic Powers had certain distinct advantages. In the first place the monarchs (Constantine I,\* Ferdinand I,† Charles I‡) of the three states,

offered to him by great Powers of Europe (1914). Reign troubled and forced to leave country September, 1914. Albanian Senate elected as ruler Burhan Eddin, the son of the former sultan of Turkey. His bitter opponent and rival for the throne was Essad Pascha.

\* CONSTANTINE I., King of Greece, born (1868) in Athens, son of King George I. and Olga, niece of Czar Nicholas I. Studied at the Universities of Berlin and Leipsic. Married (1889) a sister of Emperor William II. of Germany. Received careful military training. Commander in chief of Greek forces in Turkish War of 1897. In the Balkan War (1912-13) acquitted himself so well, he was hailed as national hero. Became King of the Hellenes on March 21, 1913. Continued campaigns against Turks and Bulgarians and doubled area of country. During the European war he maintained a strong pro-German attitude as a result of which he was compelled to abdicate by the Entente Allies. He was succeeded by his second son Alexander.

† FERDINAND I. Born (1861) in Vienna. Received excellent education. Offered throne of Bulgaria (1886) and took oath to constitution and title of Prince (1887). Not recognized by Great Powers or Turkey until 1896. In 1908 proclaimed full independence of Bulgaria and assumed title of King. Royal title recognized by Powers and Turkey in 1909. Favored formation of Balkan League and prosecution of Balkan War (1912-13). As a result of this war territory increased, but not sufficiently to satisfy Ferdinand.

‡ CHARLES I. Born (1839). Served in Prussian army. Elected Prince of Rumania (1866). Country in wretched condition. Showed tact and statesmanship in work of reorganization. Helped Russia in Russo-Turkish War (1877). Declared independence of Rumania shortly after beginning of war. In 1881 crowned King. Country developed, education advanced. Held aloof from recent war in Balkans. Beloved by peasants, but opposed by landowning *Bojards* (lower nobility).

Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania, were related by blood and marriage with the Teutonic royal families. Moreover, as the British Prime Minister (H. H. Asquith\*) indicated in a speech in the House of Commons, Germany had a distinct advantage in that she could conduct her negotiations with a singleness of purpose, as her interests and those of Austria-Hungary were identical. On the other hand, the Entente diplomats had to consider the interests, not always identical, of three and, later, four Powers. Finally the Entente allies were handicapped by the fact that Russian ambitions in the Balkans conflicted with the national aspirations of the smaller Balkan states; that Italy's territorial ambitions in Albania ran counter to the legitimate aspirations of Serbia, and that Greece resented the attempt of Italy to gain a foothold on the coast of Asia Minor, which was racially and historically Greek.

In view of these conditions it is not surprising that the efforts of the Entente diplomats, even had they been conducted more skillfully than they appear to have been, should have failed.

*Bulgaria.*—The second Balkan War left, as has been noted, a heritage of bitterness and hatred among the former Balkan allies. The Bulgars, smarting under the humiliation of the Treaty of Bucharest, welcomed the opportunity

\* ASQUITH, HERBERT HENRY. Born (1852) in Yorkshire. Admitted to bar after graduation from Oxford. Became member of Parliament and won favor of Gladstone. Made Home Secretary (1882). Favored free trade. Helped turn Conservatives out of office (1905) and became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and because of feeble health of Prime Minister, virtual head of government. Favored old-age pension bill, which was passed. Became Prime Minister (1908) and a liberal programme accelerated. House of Lords sheared of power of veto, because opposed to social legislation and defeat of budget. He resigned on December 5, 1916, and was succeeded by David Lloyd George.

to revenge themselves upon their former allies. Completely disillusioned by their experiences of the past few years, they put aside all feeling of generosity or gratitude and frankly adopted a programme of "real politik." To the diplomats of the Entente and the Teutonic allies the Bulgarian authorities made it clear that all question of sentiment, so far as Bulgaria was concerned, was to be disregarded and that they were prepared to sell out to the highest bidder. Great Britain and France brought pressure to bear on Rumania, Serbia, and Greece to satisfy, in part, the territorial demands of Bulgaria. The Teutonic Powers made counter proposals promising Bulgaria a large part of Serbian territory in case of the success of the Central Powers. For more than a year Bulgaria hesitated, apparently weighing the relative advantages of the rival proposals. In the meantime the Bulgarian army was mobilized, in order to be prepared when the final decision was reached. It became increasingly evident as the months passed that the attitude of King Ferdinand and the military leaders was favorable to the Teutonic allies. Matters were brought to a head when, on Oct. 3, 1915, Russia notified Bulgaria that if she did not, within 24 hours, break with the Teutonic Powers, the Russian Minister would withdraw from Sofia. A similar demand was made by France, while Great Britain stated that if Bulgaria precipitated hostilities in the Balkans she would break off relations with her. On Oct. 8, 1915, Bulgaria replied, rejecting these demands and throwing her support to the Teutonic Powers. In a manifesto issued by M. Radoslavoff,\* the Bulgarian Pre-

\* Vaseil Radoslavoff, born in Lowatsch; studied law at Heidelberg; at various times served as Minister of Justice, Minister of the Interior,

mier, there was set forth the reasons for Bulgaria's decision. He stated frankly that considerations of self-interest had dictated the step. He pointed out that Bulgaria's chief economic interests were with the Teutonic Powers and Turkey, and that these interests would be seriously menaced if Constantinople fell into the hands of Russia. In reviewing the proposals of concessions made to Bulgaria by the opposing groups, he held that the Teutonic proposals were more advantageous to Bulgaria. And finally he had reached the conclusion that the progress of the war indicated the probable success of the Central Powers, and it was vital to the interests of Bulgaria to be on the side of the victors.

*Greece.*—Conflicting influences and interests complicated the situation in Greece at the outbreak of the war. On the one hand, the royal family was closely related to the Hohenzollerns, the Greek Queen Sophia being a sister of the German Emperor, William II. On the other hand, the Premier Venizelos \* felt that the best interests of Greece would be served by joining the Entente allies. Popular sympathy in the country appeared to be with the Entente group, and especially with France. In addition, Greece was bound by a treaty of alliance with Serbia which obligated her to come to the aid of Serbia if she

and Premier; did much as Premier in 1913 to bring Balkan War to an end; became Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs (October, 1915) during European War; made important declarations of Bulgarian policy; shot at twice (March, 1916).

\* VENIZELOS, ELEUTHERIOS. Born (1864) on island of Crete. Graduated (1886) from University of Athens in law. Made brilliant reputation as a lawyer. At 25 chosen to Cretan legislature. Minister of Justice in 1899. Favored political union of Crete and Greece. Chosen Premier of Crete (1910). Central figure in events in the Balkans. Greek premier in 1910. Had prominent part in revising Greek constitution. Championed side of Triple Entente.

were attacked by Bulgaria. During the first months of the war the diplomats of France and Great Britain directed their efforts to winning all of the Balkan states to the support of the Entente. With this end in view both Greece and Serbia were urged to make territorial concessions to Bulgaria. These efforts were seconded by M. Venizelos, but the Greek King flatly opposed any territorial concessions and maintained that the best interests of Greece would be served by the observance of strict neutrality. The break between the King and his chief Minister led to the resignation of the latter in March, 1915. His return to office shortly after as a result of popular approval expressed in the elections to the new Chamber was hailed as a victory for the Entente, and it was generally expected that Greece would soon enter the war. The situation became acute when, in September, 1915, Bulgaria mobilized her army and Greece did likewise. Bulgaria's entrance into the war on the side of the Teutonic Powers raised the question of Greece's obligation under the treaty of alliance with Serbia. M. Venizelos maintained that Greece was bound to come to Serbia's aid, but the King once more interposed his objections, holding that the treaty contemplated only a local Balkan war and not one in which the Great Powers were involved. Again M. Venizelos resigned. In the meantime arrangements had been made by the Greek Premier with the Entente allies for the landing of French and English troops at the Greek port of Saloniki, which troops were to be used to aid Serbia. This use of a Greek port was a clear violation of Greek neutrality and the Greek government entered a formal protest. It was understood on all sides that this protest was purely formal, and the

landing of troops continued. The resignation of M. Venizelos aroused some apprehension in France and England and pressure was brought to bear upon the new Premier, M. Zaimis,\* to define his position. He stated that the attitude of Greece would be "neutrality, with the character of sincerest benevolence towards the Entente Powers." King Constantine, however, vigorously protested against the violation of Greek territory by Great Britain and France. He maintained that it was the sheerest hypocrisy for these countries to protest against the violation of Belgian neutrality by the Germans, while they themselves were violating Greek neutrality. He was strongly supported in these views by Stephanos Skouloudis, who succeeded Zaimis as Premier and who also took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

The period of the premiership of Skouloudis was very stormy. The Allies seemed to fear that their Saloniki expedition was threatened from the rear by the Greek army. This fear of an attack compelled General Sarraill to keep a strong force on the Macedonian front. In order to remove this threat the Allies from time to time made demands on the Greek government which weakened the latter's military position. The Allies desired the use of the Peloponnesian railway to transport the regenerated Serbian army from Corfu to Saloniki. This was refused on the ground that it would be a violation of neutrality. After some hesitation the British Foreign Office announced that the troops would be transported by water.

\* ZAIMIS, ALEXANDER. BORN (1855) in Athens. Educated at universities of Athens, Leipsic, Berlin (Ph.D.), and Paris. Elected deputy (1885); Minister of Justice, (1890-92); president of Chamber of Deputies (1895-97); Premier (1897-99 and 1901-02). Brought about annexation of Island of Crete to Greece (1913).

This demand was only a preliminary to those which were to follow. In June, 1916, the Bulgarians crossed the Macedonian frontier and seized several Greek forts. When war was not immediately declared on Bulgaria, the Allied Powers demanded that the Greek army be demobilized. To enforce their demands, they blockaded the Greek ports and seized vessels and supplies in the harbors. Martial law was declared in Saloniki and the Greek military commander was superseded by a Frenchman. The Greek government sent identical notes of protest against interference with her trade by the Entente Powers to the United States and to all the South American governments. Nevertheless the result of the blockade was the demobilization of the 12 senior classes on June 9th.

As soon as order was restored a new set of demands was made on the Greek government. Before they were officially received, however, the Skouloudis government resigned. Former Premier Alexander Zaimis was again called upon to head the cabinet. The first act of his government was to accept unconditionally the demands of the Allies, which included briefly, (1) demobilization of the rest of the Greek army, (2) replacing of the Skouloudis cabinet with a business cabinet favorable to the Allies, (3) dissolution of the chamber and the holding of new elections, and, (4) replacement of certain police functionaries who had permitted insults against the Allied legations. Upon the acceptance of these demands the Allied blockade was withdrawn.

During this period of national unrest there was gradually springing up a strong anti-German party. The seizure of the garrison at Kavala by the Bulgarians, the abandonment of the Macedonian forts without a struggle



and the entrance of Rumania into the war, brought the move to a head. A Committee of National Defense was established by those who were opposed to the supine attitude of the Greek government. It set up a provisional form of government for Macedonia and demanded that the Bulgarians be driven out. In order to aid this movement to succeed the Allies took an active part in it. They seized enemy merchantmen in the Piræus, the port of Athens. They also demanded and received all Greek ports and the use of the telegraph system. On account of inability to handle the situation the Zaimis ministry resigned.

The pro-Ally movement reached its height when a formidable revolution broke out in Crete during the third week in September. Venizelos immediately left Athens with a number of supporters for the seat of the revolution. One of his chief followers was Admiral Coudouriotis, whose desertion of the King left the latter in a very serious predicament. A proclamation establishing a provisional government was issued by Venizelos and Admiral Coudouriotis, and within a very short time Macedonia and all of the Greek islands were under their control. The provisional government declared war on Germany and Bulgaria on Nov. 25, 1916.

The Allies heartily approved the new Venizelos government and proceeded to make further demands on the new Greek government, headed by Spyridon Lambros. The new demands included the turning over to the Allies of the Greek navy, certain strategical railways, forts, mails, telegraphs, police service, naval material and the Piræus. They further demanded that any Greek who so desired be permitted to join the new government. All these demands were acceded to as a result of necessity.

Apparently still fearing an attack in their rear, the Allies demanded that all the arms and munitions belonging to the Greek army and navy be turned over to them. The Greek government was given until Dec. 1, 1916, to grant this last request. King Constantine refused to agree, marines were landed from the Allied fleet, and a scene similar to the days of the French Revolution occurred in Athens. True to his promise, Vice Admiral du Fournet fired upon royalist troops, when the time of his ultimatum expired. Thereupon a regular civil war broke out in Athens. Royalist troops fired upon Venizelists and vice versa. As a result of a truce King Constantine agreed to surrender all the mountain guns of the Greek army. When this was accomplished all the Allied marines were withdrawn to the fleet with the exception of a small guard.

The Entente nations continued to exert a political and economic pressure upon the Greek government. King Constantine adopted a passive attitude of submission to the demands of the Allies and determined to rely on the ultimate recognition by the world that his treatment had been unjust. The long conflict between King Constantine and the Entente came to an end on June 12, 1917, when the King abdicated in favor of his second son Alexander. This step was taken at the dictation of the Allies, who decided, after investigation, that the King and his elder son George were strongly pro-German. Zaimis, the prime minister, resigned and was succeeded by Venizelos, the staunch friend of the Entente. One of the first acts of the new ministry was to declare war on Bulgaria and Germany (July 2). Allied control was withdrawn with the exception of that over telegraphs and press censorship. Immediate steps

were taken to actively join the Entente army around Saloniki. This removed the continual threat of an attack by Greek forces in the rear of General Sarrail's army. See *Southeastern Theatre*.

*Rumania*.—Somewhat the same division of sentiment obtained in Rumania as in Greece at the outbreak of the European War. The King, Charles I, was a member of the Hohenzollern family, and it was rumored that there was a secret treaty between Rumania, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. The mass of the Rumanian population is composed of illiterate peasants, but among the educated classes there was a strong pro-French and especially pro-Italian sentiment. The Rumanians claim descent from Roman colonists; and there has always been a strong sentimental attachment to Italy among the Rumanians. Apart from conflicting sentimental influences, the question of the wisest policy for Rumania to pursue to advance her material interests was not easy to determine. On the one hand a large Rumanian population was included in the Austrian dominions in Transylvania, while on the other hand the Russian province of Bessarabia was equally Rumanian in nationality and more valuable economically than Transylvania.

At the head of the Rumanian ministry was John Bratianu, one of the shrewdest statesmen in the Balkans. He advocated a policy of waiting, with the intention of entering the war at the proper time when the greatest reward could be obtained by the least fighting. The death of King Charles in October, 1914, and the entrance of Italy into the war, were expected to influence Rumania to join forces with the Entente allies. But the failure of the Russian campaign in Galicia and Bulgaria's

alliance with the Teutonic Powers caused Rumania to continue her policy of watchful waiting.

She continued this policy until April 28, 1916, when the Rumanian minister at Vienna presented a note to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister which said that Rumania considered herself at war with Austria-Hungary since nine o'clock the previous evening. She maintained that her treaties with the Central Powers had been continually broken since the war began and that Rumanians in Austria-Hungary were being persecuted. She intervened to prevent these persecutions, to shorten the war if possible, and to realize her national ideal. She thought an alliance with the Entente allies would best enable her to accomplish the last purpose.

*Portugal*. Portugal was bound by a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, and at the outbreak of the European War Portugal stated that she was prepared to carry out her treaty obligations whenever Great Britain desired her to do so. However, Portugal did not enter the war until more than a year after the beginning of hostilities, although there were clashes between Portuguese and German troops in Africa. On Feb. 24, 1916, at the request of Great Britain, Portugal seized a number of German and Austrian ships lying in Portuguese harbors. On March 8, 1916, Germany declared war on Portugal, stating that the seizure of German vessels was done at the dictation of Great Britain, and could be regarded in no other light than as a hostile move against Germany.

*Czecho-Slovakia*. This is the name of a new nation which was born as a result of the war. It comprises the former Austrian states of Bohemia, Moravia, part of Silesia, and the dis-

trict of Hungary known as Slovakia. It has a population of about 13 millions with an area of 52,000 square miles. The natural wealth is estimated at 15 billions of dollars. Its declaration of independence was published at Paris October 18, 1918; the local government was taken over in Prague October 28, 1918, and the republic formally proclaimed the next day. The republic had maintained four armies, one in Bohemia, one in France, one in Italy, and a force of approximately 75,000 men operating in Russia and Siberia partially at the request of the Allied governments. The first president of the republic was Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, who was also one of the chief leaders in the movement for an independent Czecho-Slovakia.

In the first part of August, 1918, the British government formally recognized the Czecho-Slovaks as an Allied nation. The Italian and French governments had made special agreements with the Czecho-Slovak National Council in regard to the Czecho-Slovak army which had been formed in each of those countries (*see below*). The British government definitely recognized the unity of that army and said that in consideration of their efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regarded the Czecho-Slovak armies as constituting an Allied and pledged army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany. It also recognized the Czecho-Slovak National Council as the representative of the future government. At the beginning of September the United States government also recognized the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a belligerent government clothed with proper authority and recognized the state of war between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. At this

time the Czecho-Slovak forces were in the neighborhood of Chita and the composite Allied force was advancing in the Ussuri Province from Vladivostok. For an account of their military campaigns see **MILITARY OPERATIONS, EASTERN FRONT.**

For the purposes of convenience the following dates of the declaration of war are given:

CENTRAL POWERS

- Austria against Serbia—July 28, 1914.
- Austria against Russia—August 6, 1914.
- Austria against Montenegro—August 9, 1914.
- Austria against Japan—August 27, 1914.
- Austria against Belgium—August 28, 1914.
- Bulgaria against Serbia—October 14, 1915.
- Germany against Russia—August 1, 1914.
- Germany against France—August 3, 1914.
- Germany against Belgium—August 4, 1914.
- Germany against Portugal—March 9, 1916.
- Germany against Rumania—September 14, 1916.
- Turkey against the Allies—November 23, 1914.
- Turkey against Rumania—August 29, 1916.

ENTENTE ALLIES

- Brazil against Germany—October 26, 1917.
- China against Austria and Germany—August 14, 1917.
- Costa Rica against Germany—May 24, 1918.
- Cuba against Germany—April 7, 1917.
- France against Germany—August 3, 1914.
- France against Austria—August 13, 1914.
- France against Turkey—November 5, 1914.
- France against Bulgaria—October 16, 1915.
- Great Britain against Germany—August 4, 1914.
- Great Britain against Austria—August 13, 1914.
- Great Britain against Turkey—November 5, 1914.
- Great Britain against Bulgaria—October 15, 1914.
- Greece (provisional government) against Germany and Bulgaria—November 28, 1916.
- Greece (Alexander's government) against Germany and Bulgaria—July 2, 1917.
- Guatemala against Germany—April 23, 1918.
- Hayti against Germany—July 15, 1918.
- Honduras against Germany—July 19, 1918.
- Italy against Austria—May 24, 1915.
- Italy against Turkey—August 21, 1915.
- Italy against Bulgaria—October 19, 1915.
- Italy against Germany—August 28, 1916.
- Japan against Germany—August 23, 1914.

- Liberia against Germany—August 4, 1917.  
Montenegro against Germany—August 9, 1914.  
Nicaragua against Germany—May 7, 1918.  
Panama against Germany—April 7, 1917.  
Panama against Austria—December 10, 1917.  
Portugal against Germany—November 23, 1914.  
(Passed resolutions authorizing military interventions as treaty ally of Great Britain.)  
Portugal against Germany—May 19, 1915.  
(Military aid granted.)  
Rumania against Austria—August 27, 1916.  
(Allies of Austria also considered it a declaration against them.)
- Russia against Turkey—November 3, 1914.  
Russia against Bulgaria—October 19, 1915.  
San Marino against Austria—May 24, 1915.  
Serbia against Germany—August 6, 1914.  
Serbia against Turkey—December 2, 1914.  
Serbia against Bulgaria—October 19, 1915.  
Siam against Germany and Austria—July 22, 1917.  
The Hedjaz (Arabia) against Central Powers—June 9, 1916.  
United States against Germany—April 6, 1917.  
United States against Austria—December 7, 1917.

#### IV. MILITARY OPERATIONS

The military operations of the great war, in which the Central Powers were by turns on the offensive and on the defensive, hinge on the plan of the German general staff according to which Austria, with a small German force, was to hold Russia in check, while Germany crushed France, both Central Powers uniting for the subsequent Russian campaign.

The strategy of the war from this viewpoint falls easily under the following main divisions: I, Introduction and discussion of mobilization and resources; II, Western theatre, or campaign against France; III, Eastern theatre, or campaigns against Russia; IV, Southern theatre, or campaigns against Serbia (involving Bulgaria's entry into the war) and Italian campaign; V, Southeastern theatre, or Turkish campaigns, including Suez, Gallipoli, and Caucasus. In no theatre of the war was the strategy unconnected with events taking place or about to take place on other fronts.

**I. Introduction.** The war that broke out in 1914 involved three continents and the seven seas. Not only its combatants, but the killed and wounded, were to be numbered by millions. Every known resource of mechanical ingenuity was drawn upon, and old and forgotten methods of warfare were brought into play side by side with the most powerful modern artillery, while aëronautics for the first time had occasion to show its worth. (See section *Aërial Operations*.) The edifice of international law, of the conventions of warfare, so painfully built up after centuries of

struggle, was toppled over as a thing of no account. With these considerations before us we must remark that in the space here available nothing but a statement of the principal facts can be attempted. But even so, the nature of the struggle on one front, the western, calls for a word or two. When both sides simultaneously reached the sea there began a siege over the whole front that gave the struggle in this theatre a character unique in military history. At certain places in the "line" 32 parallel lines of German trenches were discovered by reconnoissance. The trench systems of this front were estimated, after including communication trenches, to be 25,000 miles long. Frontal attack became a necessity, since flanks there were none, and yet these attacks all proved failures, for the experience gained under the new conditions had not as yet led to such a disposition of forces and resources as to carry them through to a decision. The most desperate efforts were made, first by one and then by the other side, to raise the siege, so to say, by a concentration at some selected point, and thus break through and end a situation that only a few years ago would have been deemed intolerable.

The war was finally won as a result of a series of brilliant flank attacks after the failure of major German frontal attacks.

On the other fronts the phenomena of what may well now be called old-fashioned warfare were more or less reproduced, but even in their case a marked tendency to approximate to the

conditions in France manifested itself—indeed may be said to have established itself on a part of the Russian lines and to a certain extent on the Italian. A marked feature of this war was the so-called mobilization of industries. So great was the draft made on the industrial resources of the countries involved that the struggle, other conditions equal, may be said to have resolved itself into a competition by each side to outstrip the other in supplies and munitions.

**Mobilization and Concentration.** When it became evident that the general European situation was becoming more and more serious, covering troops (*troupes de couverture*) were sent by the French government to the eastern frontier. These troops, five corps in all, or 200,000 men, with cavalry, began their movement on July 31 at 9 p. m., and had completed it on August 3 at noon. They were not to cross a zone 8 kilometers wide along the frontier, in order to prevent any clash with the Germans, so long as war was undeclared. On the German side the Emperor, on July 31, decreed the *Kriegsgefahrzustand*, or a sort of state of martial law, under which certain military measures could be adopted on the frontier, and the telegraph and railway services taken over by the military authorities.

Mobilization proper, however, began in both Germany and in France on August 2, in France at midnight. It was asserted that in Germany the operation was set afoot well before the formal date given above. In both countries it was carried on with the precision that the whole world had learned to expect of Germany, but of which, as regards France, it was somewhat doubtful. The purpose of mobilization, it may be recalled here, is to pass from

peace to war footing. Each man liable to service reports on a given date at a specified point, draws his arms, uniform, and equipment, and joins a designated organization. Companies, battalions, regiments, etc., are thus brought up to war strength; transport material is requisitioned and train service prepared. The French mobilization, in two periods of ten and six days respectively, closed on August 18; the German, according to the French, on the 16th. German authorities, however, give the closing date as the 20th. Mobilization was followed by concentration.

The French armies began their concentration in the east of France from Belfort to the Belgian frontier, thus respecting the neutrality of Belgium and of Luxemburg. By this course the French, incidentally, gave the Germans choice of ground and freedom of manœuvre. It should be recollected, however, that the exact intentions of the German general staff were unknown; they might attack either on the right or the left bank of the Meuse, or attempt a demonstration by the Oise, or even risk a break from Nancy on to Verdun. Further, the possibility of the offensive had to be kept in view, and the offensive, for the French, was possible only in Alsace and Lorraine. In other words, the concentration of the French was both offensive and defensive; while guarding the approaches on the east, they would be ready to face in any direction. As a matter of fact, the plan of concentration could not be fully carried out; it had to be modified because of the German advance through Belgium. Hence, in general terms, the French armies were stretched out from Belfort north and then northwest towards the Sambre, to join hands, if possible, with the English and Belgians.

Certain corps even pushed their way into Belgium itself.

The German problem of concentration was simpler, if, as there is reason to believe, their intention from the first was to smash their way through Belgium. They contented themselves with merely observing the strong eastern (French) frontier, and disposed their other armies northward through Trèves, etc., to Aix-la-Chapelle, in position to inaugurate and carry through a vast sweeping movement through Belgium. They crossed the frontier of this country without waiting for either mobilization or concentration, using for this purpose troops kept immediately available near the frontier.

On the periods of mobilization and concentration of the other combatants it is not necessary to dwell. In Austria-Hungary the operation was merely a repetition of the German process, and, like that, carried out with promptness and accuracy. Russia was expected to be slow, but on the contrary was so energetic as to suggest a belief that she began before the formal declaration of war. England had no army to mobilize, but she prepared her "expeditionary force," crossed it over to the Continent, and got into position opposite the German right in time to offer a resistance that was invaluable to the Allied cause.

#### General Strategy and Resources.

The War of the Nations originated as a struggle on the part of Austria-Hungary and Germany against the "Slavic Peril"—against the huge Slav empire of Russia and the small Slav kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. But from the very beginning of the conflict, defense against Russia was of minor interest as compared with the attack on Belgium, Britain, and France. The reason was quite simple. The German

General Staff\* had planned, so said the military experts, that the bulk of the German army should be hurled first against France, and then, having crushed France, be transferred to the east to turn back the tide of Russia's slow-mobilizing multitudes. For Russia, with all her 171 millions of inhabitants in Europe and in Asia, was spread over so vast an area, and was so deficient in railways that 10 of her 36 army corps (an army corps may be counted as 50,000 men) could not be expected to arrive on the scene in the first month, and the remaining 26 could not begin a serious attack within the first few weeks of the war. Germany could leave 5 of her 25 army corps to cooperate with 12 Austrian corps in holding back the Russian advance guard, while 2 Austrian corps "punished" Serbia, and the remaining 2 Austrian and 19 German corps crushed France. The German armies in the west would sweep across Belgium—with its network of convenient railways and smooth highways—turning the flank of the strong line of French fortifications along the Franco-German frontier, and swoop down upon Paris with irresistible might. The French army annihilated, the German troops could be shifted from the west to the east (it is only a little more than 500 miles from Belgium to Russia, that is, twice the dis-

\* At the outbreak of the war, the Chief of the German General Staff was HELMUTH VON MOLTKE, who was born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1848, served in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, was attached to the General Staff as adjutant under his famous uncle, Field Marshal von Moltke, and was appointed Chief of the General Staff and general of infantry in 1906. During the course of the War of the Nations, he was superseded in chief command of the German forces by GENERAL ERICH VON FALKENHAYN, who was born at Burg Belchau in 1861, served in China several years, acted as chief of staff of the 16th, and later of the 4th Army Corps, and was appointed minister of war in 1913.

tance from Albany to Buffalo) and reserves could be brought up to defeat the advancing Russians. The attack on France and Belgium, however, met with such fierce resistance that although 13 reserve corps were sent into France on the heels of 21 active corps, in August, followed by 4 substitute reserve corps at the end of August, 8 Landwehr corps in September, and 5 semi-corps of reserves in October, in addition to 10 cavalry divisions, the German forces in France and Belgium had to fall back after their first swift stroke and could then do little more than hold a long intrenched battle line against the enemy. This delay in the west gave the dreaded "Russian hordes" time to mass in Poland for an invasion of Austria-Hungary and Germany. The Austro-Hungarian armies, moreover, began to show alarming weakness, and were unable either to conquer the Serbs in the south or to hold back the Russians in the north of the Hapsburg Empire. Germany was now compelled to fight the war on two fronts, shifting her troops back and forth as occasion required, and finding her magnificent strategic railways of incalculable value. Skillful distribution of forces, able generalship, and superior equipment enabled the Germans, with Austrian assistance, to hold back the Russian invaders, and even to take up an advance position in Russian Poland. After five months of the war, Germany was certainly holding her own. Most of Belgium, Northeastern France, and part of Russian Poland were occupied by German troops, whereas only a small corner of Alsace and a bit of East Prussia had been lost to French or Russians. The prospect of ultimate victory for the German arms was, however, becoming rather uncertain. To be sure, the danger of a Russian "tidal

wave" sweeping over Germany from the east was no longer feared; but in a long war, where endurance rather than speed of mobilization wins the victory, Germany would labor under great difficulties. Germany, with a total population of 65,000,000, Austria-Hungary with less than 50,000,000, and later Turkey with about 21,000,000 and Bulgaria with 5,000,000, aggregating 141,000,000, were confronted by a coalition representing 252,000,000 of Europeans, not to speak of Russia's 20,000,000 in Siberia and the vast transmaritime empires of Great Britain and France and later the 110,000,000 inhabitants of the United States. According to the best information obtainable, Germany had placed between 4 and 5 million men in the field by the end of 1914, that is, for every 16 Germans there was 1 soldier. Germany still had second-rate fighting men and freshly matured youths to call upon, but obviously the number was limited. France likewise was limited; an army of 5,000,000 would be one-eighth the population. But Russia boasted, in addition to 5,000,000 trained warriors, a reserve of population which could furnish 5,000,000 more if they could be mustered, trained, and equipped. Great Britain, with a population of over 45,000,000 to draw upon, was already drilling 1,000,000 or more recruits to take part in the battles of France. From the 15,000,000 white inhabitants of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, 100,000 or more soldiers might be sent to the battlefields of western Europe. The contingents of "native" soldiers brought from Africa by Great Britain and France, and the British Indians, were picturesque, but hardly numerous enough to exert an appreciable influence on the final issue. In short, the allies appeared to



possess superior resources of men and munitions for the conduct of a protracted war. If joined by Italy, or by one of the Balkan States, the Allies would enjoy a still more marked advantage. Or again, if Austria-Hungary should be rent by internal dissensions, Germany would be left to fight against overwhelming odds. On the other hand, one of the Allies might conceivably refuse to make further sacrifices, and either make peace or carry on the war in a half-hearted fashion. Or German generalship might win a brilliant victory and destroy part of the Allied army. Into any forecast to the war's outcome, these and similar considerations were bound to inject a considerable amount of uncertainty. The possibility that the Allies would capitulate separately, however, appeared very slight indeed after the agreement signed in London, September 5, by Russia, France, and Great Britain, binding themselves not to make terms with Germany until they could do so jointly.

**Equipment of the Armies.** No less perfect than the organization of the enormous armies was the equipment with which they fought. The War of the Nations was a battle of machines, waged with the help of every deadly device science could invent. The feature of the conflict in the Franco-Belgian theatre was the new Krupp 11-inch howitzer. (A "gun" throws its projectile in almost a straight line; a "howitzer" discharges its shell at an angle of elevation varying from  $15^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$ ; a "mortar" is fired at a still greater angle of elevation, the object being to drop a shell on the top of a fortification or behind the earth-works of the enemy.) The new Krupp howitzer, weighing nearly 40 tons, was hauled by powerful motors on two

heavy motor trucks whose "caterpillar" wheels were shod with great flapping feet so as not to sink in soft ground. Arriving at the scene of action, two trucks were backed up together and the howitzer was ready to throw 11-inch shells at any object within a radius of six miles. The heaviest portable French siege piece had been the 10.7-inch howitzer, drawn in four parts, and difficult to move, assemble, and mount. Still more formidable than the Krupp "11" was the Austrian 12-inch howitzer, built at the Skoda works. But the surpassing achievement of the Krupp gun factory at Essen was the production of a 16-inch (42-centimeter) siege piece which could be transported by rail and readily emplaced on a concrete foundation. From this gun, discharged by electricity, a shell one meter in length, weighing almost a ton, and filled with high explosive, could be hurled some 15 miles. Skilled mechanics from the Essen works accompanied each of the 7 or 8 of these 16-inch pieces which Germany was said to have put in the field. Two of these gigantic howitzers, stationed 10 miles from the inner forts of Antwerp, rendered the elaborate defenses of that city worthless. Even the smaller German howitzers were capable of demolishing the forts at Liège and Namur and wrecking the steel-domed cupolas which had been the pride of Belgium's forts. In the field, much smaller guns were ordinarily used. The German army employed a 3-inch gun capable of throwing 20 15-pound shells per minute at an enemy three miles away. The shell was timed to explode just before striking, and would scatter 250 steel bullets in the ranks of the enemy. Gun and carriage together weighed about a ton. Aëroplanes, whose value in warfare had long been discussed, now rendered service in lo-

cating the enemy, so that the artillery officers could instruct their gunners at what angle to fire at the unseen enemy. The French field gun was of slightly smaller bore than the German, but of greater power and weight. Machine guns or mitrailleuses were also used with telling effect. A machine gun is light enough to be packed on the back of a horse or drawn on a light carriage by a pair of dogs (as in the Belgian army) and even by the individual soldier; it fires from 400 to 500 ordinary rifle bullets per minute. The regular arm of the infantry was the rifle, tipped with the bayonet for hand-to-hand encounters. England used the excellent Lee-Enfield rifle, France the Lebel, Russia the Nagant, Belgium the Mauser, Germany the Mauser, and Austria the Mannlicher; of these various makes, the German Mauser possessed the greatest muzzle velocity, although the French had the longest effective range. Almost as important as artillery or fire-arms was the automobile. Motor cars encased in steel and armed with rapid-fire guns accompanied Von Kluck's cavalry on its swift advance. Speedy automobiles and motorcycles were invaluable for reconnoissance and communication where telephone, wireless telegraph, or aeroplane was not available. Monster searchlights mounted on motor cars illuminated the field of battle by night. The greatest service of the motor, however, was behind the firing lines. An army cannot fight unless it is fed. To feed the millions of fighting men, many thousands of motor trucks were ceaselessly employed in conveying incalculable quantities of foodstuffs. Finally, some of the most brilliant successes of the Germans were won by hurrying troops in motor trucks to the most effective point on the battle line. Other new devices

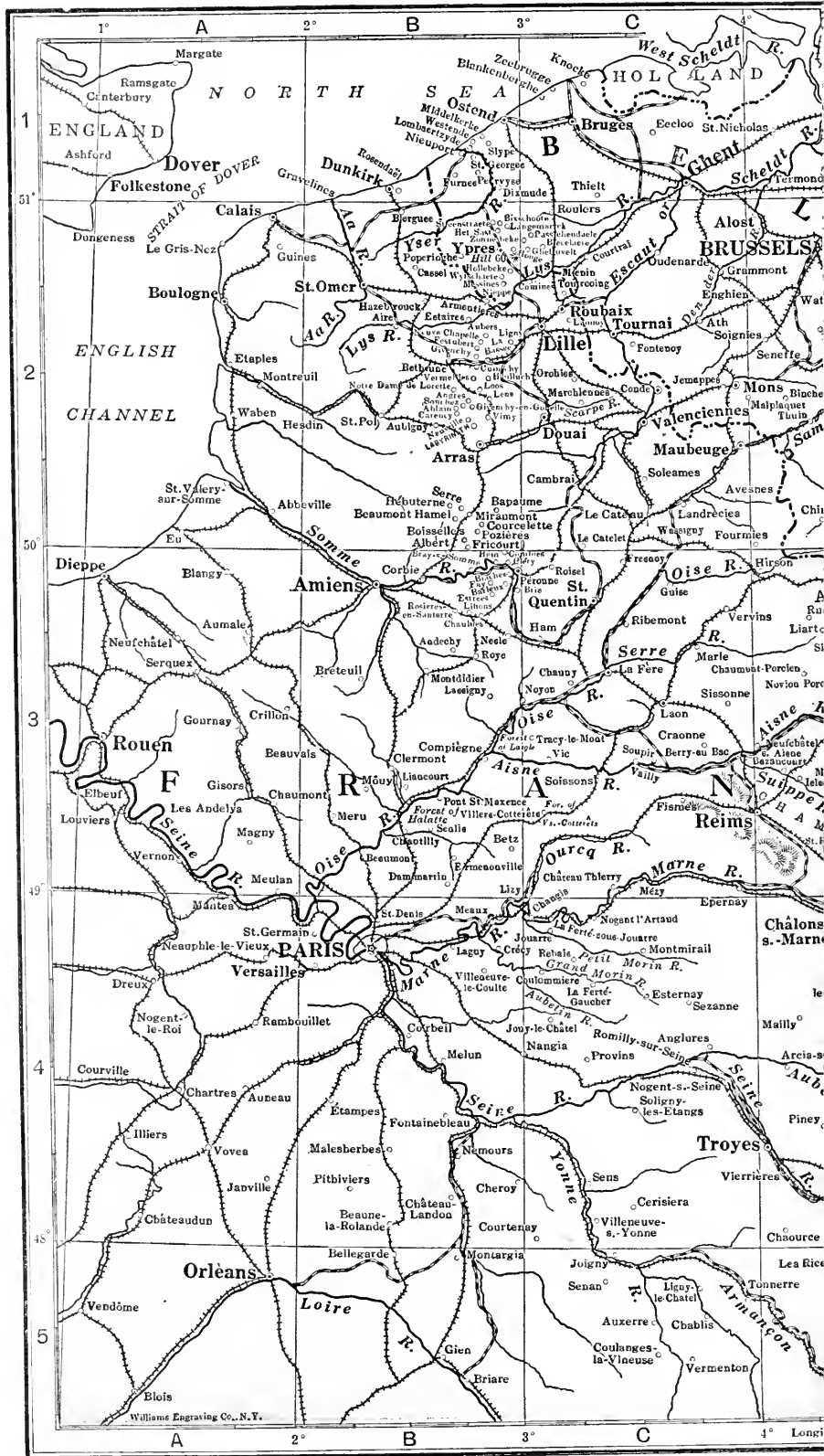
invented and used during the war will be treated in the subsequent military history.

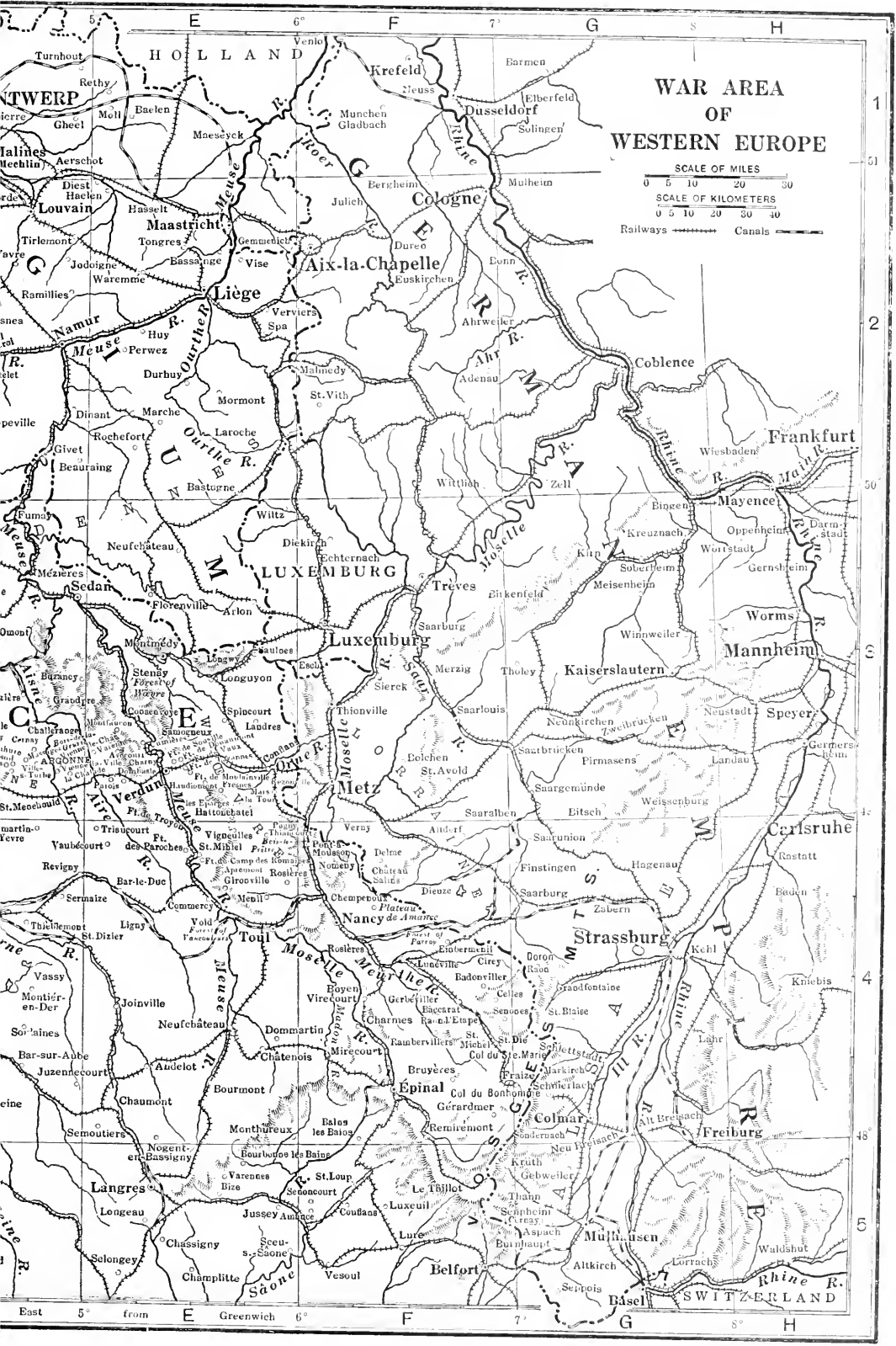
**II. Western Theatre.** The German armies, by a surprise thrust through Belgium in August, 1914, sought to paralyze the French army. This operation failed at the Marne (September).

Trench warfare resulted in the West, and from the North Sea to the Swiss border the line remained substantially unchanged to July, 1916, the battle of Verdun and the joint Allied offensive (July, 1916) forming the high-water marks of this fighting until the campaigns carried out on a grand scale in 1918.

The detailed account of military operations on this front has seven main steps: (1) The fortunes of the Belgian army up to its escape from Antwerp and safe retreat to the Yser Canal; (2) The relative dispositions of the rival armies of the French and German high commands up to and including the battle of the Marne; (3) The race to the seacoast which resulted in the establishment of the entrenched lines from Dixmude to Belfort; (4) The attempts of either side to break the entrenched line, including the battles of Ypres, Lille, Lens, and the Champagne drive inaugurated by Joffre to aid the hardly pressed Russians; (5) The battle for Verdun, in which the Germans sought a decision hoping not so much to shatter the French line as to shatter the morale of the French people and make a breach in Allied solidarity; (6) The Allied offensive in Picardy, in conjunction with the Russian and Italian activities in the East and South. (7) The final attempt made by the Germans to break through in 1918 and the successful Allied counter attack. It seems clear that Germany's plan of ac-







# WAR AREA OF WESTERN EUROPE

SCALE OF MILES  
0 5 10 20 30

SCALE OF KILOMETERS  
0 5 10 20 30

Railways Canals

East 5° from E Greenwich 6° F 7° G 8° H



tion was first to crush France and then to fall upon Russia. What was the shortest road to France? The frontier was heavily fortified; but even otherwise it would have left too narrow a front for the overwhelming armies which Germany intended to set in the field. Hence the shortest road lay through Luxemburg and Belgium. Of natural obstacles there were none; the three fortresses, Liège, Namur, and Maubeuge, were not in supporting relation to one another, the Belgian frontier was only 120 miles from Paris, and the way lay through the easy valleys of the Oise and of the Meuse.

Accordingly the Germans, violating the neutrality of Luxemburg and Belgium, undertook a vast sweeping movement, with its pivot at Mont Donon and its marching flank flung beyond the Sambre and the Oise. The French, on the other hand, respecting the neutrality of the countries just mentioned, had planned to attack the Franco-German frontier directly, under the following distribution of armies: first army (Dubail) \* from the Swiss frontier to Donon; second (de Castelnau) † from Donon towards Metz; third (Ruffey) in the Woëvre, facing the Metz-Thionville frontier region;

\* AUGUSTIN YVON EDMOND DUBAIL, born (1851) at Belfort; educated at Saint-Cyr, served in Franco-Prussian War, and later attended the Ecole de Guerre; general of brigade (1904); at Saint-Cyr was adjunct professor of geography (1874-76) and of military art and history (1880-85) and then commandant; wrote on his specialties; Commander of the Legion of Honor and possessor of various decorations; Military Governor of Paris during European War.

† EDOUARD DE CURIÈRES DE CASTELNAU, born in 1851; served in Franco-Prussian War; colonel attached to general staff (1896); served in Cochin-China and Algeria; commander of "Iron Division" at Nancy (1899); early in European War commanded Second Army of Lorraine and came to be known as the "savior of Nancy"; after battle of the Marne took command of the Army of the Somme; chief of the general staff (December, 1915); went to Greece and helped plan defenses of Saloniki.

fourth and fifth (Langle de Cary and Lanrezac) on the Belgian frontier.

Germany placed in line the following armies: first (Von Kluck) the marching flank; second (Von Bülow); third (Von Hansen); fourth (Duke of Württemberg); ‡ fifth (Crown Prince of Prussia); sixth (Rupprecht, Crown Prince of Bavaria); § seventh (Von Heeringen); eighth (Von Deimling), to remain on the defensive in Alsace. What may be counted as a ninth army, under Von Emmich, made up of elements in immediate readiness, was to act as advance guard to the right wing, and carry Liège, on the expiration of the ultimatum addressed to the Belgian government.

As has been implied, Belgium declined to agree to the demand made by Germany to allow German troops to cross Belgian territory to the French frontier. August 3 and 4, all doubt as to German intentions having been removed, the Belgian authorities ordered bridges destroyed on all probable lines of advance, and the Belgian forces to move forward as follows: the first division from Ghent to Tirlemont; the second, Antwerp to Louvain; the fifth,

‡ ALBRECHT, Duke of Württemberg, born (1865) in Vienna, son of Duke Philip of Württemberg and heir presumptive to the throne of the Kingdom; married (1893) the Archduchess Margareta Sophia of Austria; held commands in regiments of Uhlans, Grenadiers, Dragoons, cavalry, and infantry, rising to be general in command of the Thirteenth Army Corps; in command of German forces in Belgium (October, 1914) after its invasion and temporarily took over command of Crown Prince's army (February, 1916); received Order Pour le Mérite from the Kaiser.

§ RUPPRECHT, Crown Prince of Bavaria, born (1869) in Munich, eldest son of Ludwig (Louis) III, who became King in 1913; married the Duchess Marie Gabriele of Bavaria (1900); had a university education and military training in the Kriegsakademie; traveled extensively in India, Japan, China, etc. (1902-03); general, commanding the First Army Corps (1906); led Bavarian army in European War and received from the Kaiser the Order Pour le Mérite.

Mons to Perwez; the sixth, Brussels to Wavre. The fourth was to remain at Namur, and the third in its position, Hasselt-Liège-Verviers. These movements were covered by the cavalry division (Waremmes), by a mixed brigade at Tongres, and by another at Huy. The strength of this army was about 117,000 men, increased later by 18,500 volunteers, with the King in command. It was, if opposed by superior numbers, to hold good defensive positions barring the enemy's advance, and to await in these positions the arrival of troops from the British and French armies. But if this junction were impossible, then the Belgian army was not to run the risk of severe loss, but was to guard against being enveloped, and act so as to secure its communications, for the purpose ultimately of joining hands with the Allies. Opposed by equal numbers, it was to attack, if conditions were favorable. In any case, Liège, Namur, and Antwerp were to be defended.

*Invasion of Belgium.*—On August 4 two cavalry divisions crossed the frontier, advanced upon Visé, and there found the bridge destroyed. Behind the cavalry forces came an army composed of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh corps. At the same time two other corps were concentrated at and near St. Vith—thus making a force of about 300,000 men on the roads leading into Belgium and converging on Liège. On the 5th a demand was made on the governor of the fortress of Liège, General Léman, to allow an unopposed passage to the German army. This demand refused, the forts east and north-east of the town were attacked, but the Germans were repulsed. On the night of August 5 and 6 an attempt was made to break the Belgian line between the Meuse and the Ourthe, and succeeded in forcing the troops between the in-

tervals of the forts to fall back. The mobile troops of the defense were now withdrawn to join the main army, leaving their garrisons in the forts. On the 12th large calibre fire was opened on the forts of the right bank, and by the 17th the last one had fallen to the Germans. During this time the main Belgian army had taken up a position on the Gette. On the 12th this stream was forced at Hælen, but an attempt to pass on was repulsed. Fresh troops came up and threatened to turn the Belgian left; on the south they occupied Tirlemont; on the 18th the Belgian position was critical. Hence but one course was open to the Belgians: they retired on the 18th at dusk to take a position on the left bank of the Dyle. But the Germans advanced so rapidly that the Belgians could not safely stop, and were forced instead to continue their way to Antwerp, which they reached on the 20th. The Germans entered Louvain on the 10th, Brussels on the 20th, and crossed the French frontier on the 24th.

Namur was taken under fire on the 20th and 21st of August; on the 25th the last fort, Suarlée, fell. Here, as at Liège, heavy calibres were used. The commander of the 4th (Belgian) division withdrew his forces on the night of the 23d and 24th of August, and succeeded 10 days later in entering Antwerp.

A new part now fell to the Belgian army. August 20 it had taken up a position resting on the forts of Antwerp with a detachment at Termonde. Its business now was to detain as large a force as possible, to take the offensive whenever an important engagement took place elsewhere, and to attack in the neighborhood of Antwerp whenever there was any chance of success. Accordingly a sortie was made August 25



and 26; on September 4 a German force that had driven its garrison out of Termonde crossed the Scheldt, but on the appearance of Belgian forces on the left bank crossed back, leaving Termonde once more in Belgian hands. After this date all hostile efforts to cross the river were checked and the line of retreat to the west kept open. Other operations took place, as on September 9, when the Belgians got as far as Louvain and forced the recall of a division from France to Antwerp. One effect of these operations was to delay for two days the march southward of a German corps, at the time when the retreat from the Marne had begun.

The fall of Antwerp was, however, only a question of time; the siege began on September 28, and in a very short time it became clear that the place could no more resist the German artillery than had Liège and Namur. A delicate question then presented itself: to hold Antwerp as long as possible without compromising the retreat. Day by day the Germans continued their work of demolishing the detached forts of the place and drew closer and closer. On October 5 Lierre was occupied and the river crossed below the town. On the 3d and 6th of October they tried without success to cross the Scheldt. Furthermore, in France, the German right was steadily approaching the sea; if they could reach it before the Belgians had made good their retreat these latter might be entirely cut off. The better to secure this retreat Ghent was occupied on the 9th by the French and British (7th division). The retreat, however, began on the evening of the 6th, and by the morning of the next day the entire Belgian army was across the river. The Germans had indeed crossed the Scheldt themselves, on the 6th at Schoonærde, but were unable to inter-

rupt the retreat. On October 10 Antwerp capitulated, and on the 15th the Belgian army took its stand on the Yser, 82,000 strong. The subsequent fortunes of this army are bound up with those of the Franco-British forces on this front.

*Invasion of France.*—When it became evident that France was to be invaded from Belgium, the 3d (French) army moved up (August 10) to Longwy, with the 4th army taking a position further west, and the 5th stationing itself between the Sambre and the Meuse. General French (August 23) stood between the Sambre and the Scheldt, on the line Condé-Binche, with so much of the British expeditionary force, two corps and a cavalry division, as had crossed to the Continent. The German armies that had concentrated on the line Aix-la-Chapelle-Malmédy-Trèves-Metz-Strassburg now moved out, Von Kluck through Belgium, Von Bülow to the Sambre (Namur-Charleroi); Von Hausen and the Duke of Württemberg across the Ardennes on Dinant and Neufchâteau. The Crown Prince crossed Luxemburg. The Crown Prince of Bavaria marched against de Castelnau and in this region the general action opened on August 20, with the driving back of de Castelnau (invasion of Lorraine), who, however, brought up firm before Nancy, September 7. As early as August 15 some French troops had crossed the Belgian frontier and had engaged the Germans in minor affairs (e.g., Dinant). On the 22d Charleroi was taken by the Germans, who on the 23d attacked the French at this place and the British at Mons. As the 3d and 4th (French) armies were compelled to withdraw before an attack coming from Belgian Luxemburg, the right flank of the fifth army extending almost up to Namur was ex-

posed, and that army withdrew. This in turn compelled the withdrawal of the English from Mons, and so the whole Allied army now retreated, vigorously pursued by the Germans, on the line Paris-Verdun. In spite of one or two checks suffered in the advance, as at Guise, it may be said that on the whole this movement was up to a certain point irresistible. That point was reached when the Allies turned on crossing the river Marne, and not only defeated the Germans, but forced them to retreat to the Aisne. The French generalissimo, Joffre, had constantly kept before him the plan of so turning in the retreat from the Belgian frontier, and had selected the line Paris-Marne-Verdun as the proper place, and Sept. 6, 1914, as the proper date.

On Aug. 20, 1914, General Joffre \* assumed command of the Allied armies in France. He had before him the infinitely grave problem of developing suitable powers of resistance, mostly out of beaten and retreating armies, and of selecting the time, place, and manner of applying these powers, which he did at the Marne (to be described later). After that battle the Allied armies under his command successfully held off the Germans, thus upsetting their plans of crushing France before proceeding to conquests elsewhere.

*The Approach to Paris.*—During the retreat two new armies had been formed: one under General Foch † (the

\* JOFFRE, JOSEPH JACQUES CÉSAIRE. BORN (1852) in Rivesaltes, Pyrénées. Student of military engineering at Ecole Polytechnique. Entered active service (1870) in Franco-Prussian War after which returned to Polytechnique. Became captain (1874); fought in Tonkin (1883-84); in Dahomey (1893). Professor in Higher War School for a time and then promoted brigadier general of division. Became chief of general staff (1911). Helped pass the three years' military service law.

† Ferdinand Foch, born (1851) at Tarbes, Hautes Pyrénées, of a Basque family; served in the Franco-Prussian War as a subaltern;

ninth), which took position between d'Esperey's (formerly Lanrezac's) and Langle de Cary's; and another (the sixth) under Manoury from Paris. This last army was to rest on the intrenched camp of the capital, face east on the right bank of the Oureq, and attack Von Kluck's right. It is a sound principle of warfare that victory may be obtained only by beating the hostile army. When therefore the Allied armies passed into the Paris-Verdun gap, Von Kluck, sweeping down on Paris from the north, properly turned south-eastward after the enemy. But he had not reckoned upon the formation of the sixth army sent out from Paris, in motor vehicles of every description to take its place on the battle front. Before, however, taking up the Battle of the Marne, we must very briefly describe what had in the meantime been taking place in eastern France; the pressure in this quarter, indeed, culminated in conflicts contemporaneous with and forming a part of the great battle of September 6. Before the sudden swerve of Von Kluck from Paris on September 4, it seemed as if the prediction that the Germans would be in Paris six weeks from the outbreak of war was about to be fulfilled. General Gallieni had begun to prepare the city for a siege. The noise of the battle could be heard by the Parisians.

*Events before the Marne.*—After the declaration of war the French invaded both Alsace and Lorraine. These invasions came to grief. The French twice occupied Mülhausen; the first time artillery captain at 26; professor of tactics in the Ecole de Guerre for five years and later, as general of brigade, its director; in command of various divisions before European War; during war commander of northern armies in France, gaining victories of the Marne and Ypres; known internationally as a strategist and author of *Principles of War* and *Conduct of War*, published in French, English, Italian and German; received British G.C.B.

they were driven out, the second they retired of their own accord. They had also reached Saarburg and Saarbrücken. These invasions undoubtedly had a political end in view, conditioned of course by the possibility of military success. Incidentally, the Alsace operations were to contain troops that otherwise might have been used to resist the invasion of Lorraine. This invasion opened well enough: the French occupied Dicuze, Morhange, Château-Salins, across the frontier. But it came to naught at Morhange, in which the French, completely beaten, were driven back across the frontier, and were forced to settle down to the real business of protecting their eastern frontier. The Germans, early in August, occupied Cirey, Badonviller, and Baccarat. Farther north the army of Metz got to within 15 miles of Verdun. Still farther north the army of the Crown Prince, which had on August 22 crossed the frontier near Longwy (occupied the 27th), drove back the French, and finally took up a position between Barle-Duc and the Ardennes, facing eastward, and opposed by General Sarrail's army. To the west of the Crown Prince the Duke of Württemberg, who had crossed the Meuse near Mézières, formed up, facing south between the Crown Prince's army and Epernay. The first French army (Dubail) in front of Epinal faced the east; on its left General de Castelnau continued the line east and north of Nancy, along the Meuse, until it rested on the defenses of Verdun. The garrison of Verdun carried it on east, north, and west of the position until it joined with Sarrail's army.

With the armies in these positions Nancy was attacked; its main natural defense in the chain of hills known as the Grand Couronne de Nancy. The

Germans occupied various towns in the east, e.g., St. Dié, but not without some heavy fighting in the Vosges. On the north they pushed the French back to the Grand Couronne, but never got beyond it. The main army marched from Château-Salins and engaged the French in a series of stiff fights around the Forest of Champenoux. At the same time a part of the army of Metz, with its left resting on Pont-à-Mousson, joined in the attack. Six miles north-east of the city, on the plateau of Amance, de Castelnau had assembled his artillery. Before the troops from the north could coöperate with those from the east in attacking this position, Ste. Geneviève, 10 miles or so northwest of Amance, had to be occupied. Here Foch (August 22), with a modest force, defeated the Germans with fearful slaughter. The attack on Nancy from the east through Amance was equally unsuccessful. After much fighting along the entire position the bombardment of Amance began on August 30, 31 and lasted for more than a week. The contest over the entire line increased in intensity; indeed, from the German point of view, it could do no less, for now (September 7-8) their armies were being pushed back from the Marne, and it was vital to their success that they should break through. The Emperor himself was present at the great assaults, six in number, made on Amance, and all driven back with loss. Checked before Nancy, the Germans on September 10 evacuated Pont-à-Mousson, and on the 12th, Lunéville, St. Dié, and some smaller places. They now concentrated their efforts between Toul and Verdun, with the purpose of surrounding the latter place. To this end they bombarded Fort de Troyon on the Meuse south of Verdun and several times attempted to take it by assault.

But the fort made an extremely gallant defense, and although almost reduced to extremities, managed to hold out. The final assault was delivered on the 13th of September. On the 20th a fresh advance was made on the fortresses from the east to cross the Meuse south of Verdun. The garrisons of Verdun and Toul respectively pushed out attacks on the German flanks, while the Germans themselves advanced in the centre and captured the point of St. Mihiel on the Meuse (September 25).

*Grip on St. Mihiel.*—The Germans crossed the river on the 26th and began to march northward towards the Aire valley. A situation was then developed that might have proved of the utmost consequence to the French. To meet it, Sarrail came down from the north, and the twentieth corps was hurried up from near Champenoux. At 5 p. m. of the 26th the advance guard of the corps, which had crossed at Lironville, got contact with the enemy. After some extremely heavy fighting the Germans fell back to the Meuse and intrenched at St. Mihiel, keeping their footing across the river at Camp des Romains.

While these operations were taking place on the east and south, the other German armies had proceeded southward in pursuit of the retreating French and English (as related elsewhere). On September 6, the Crown Prince's army stretched from a point southwest of Verdun to the neighborhood of Bar-le-Duc. Verdun was thus almost completely surrounded. But the tide turned with the German defeat of the Marne; they retreated northward and divided right and left at the forest of Argonne. This rocky, hilly forested ridge, about 30 miles long north and south and 8 miles wide, then

became the scene of incessant close fighting all through the autumn and winter. In the northern part of the Argonne Forest the Aire runs west to fall into the Aisne. This pass, called the Gap of Grand Pré, pierced as it was by a railway, would have been useful to the French, and so was one objective kept constantly in view by them in the operations of this region. These now took on the character that prevailed farther in the west, trench warfare, with the French pressing the Germans slowly back. Farther south there was much fighting on both sides of the St. Mihiel wedge, and in the Bois le Prêtre to the eastward.

In Alsace, after the second evacuation of Mülhausen, the French took up and held an intrenched position in front of Belfort from Thann to Moos until winter, when they fell back a little nearer to Belfort. Trench conditions developed here also, except that there were desperate struggles to take and hold Hartmannsweilerkopf, a mountain about 2900 feet high some miles to the north of Thann, which changed hands several times. Apart from various thrusts and points at German territory, the main purpose of the French was to cover the great position of Belfort. In this they succeeded.

*The Battle of the Marne.*—Between the close of the retreat and the battle about to be described air reconnoissances, etc., had revealed the fact that Von Kluck had changed direction to the southeast. The Battle of the Marne opened on Sunday, September 6. On the 3d the British had fallen back of that river and later had taken up a position behind the Seine. About this time (September 4) Joffre had resolved to take the offensive, wheeling up the left flank of the sixth army, pivoting it on the Marne, to move on the Ourcq.

The British were to fill the gap between the sixth and fifth French armies. German troops had been reported moving southeast along the left bank of the Ourcq on the 4th and were now halted and facing that river. Heads of columns were also seen crossing at Changis, La Ferté, Nogent, Château-Thierry, and Mezy. The Allies' line on the 6th reached from Ermenonville, in front of the left flank of the sixth army, through Lizy on the Marne, Mauperthuis, to Esternay and Charleville, the left of the ninth army under Foch, and so along the front of the ninth, fourth, and third French armies to a point north of Verdun.

Recollecting, then, that the first and second French armies based on Belfort-Verdun were facing the German seventh and sixth, the French order of battle on September 6 was: the third army (Sarrail) Verdun-Bar-le-Duc, opposed by the German third (Crown Prince); the fourth (de Langle de Cary) across the plain of Champagne, south of Vitry-le-François, facing north, and opposed to the German fourth (Prince of Württemberg); the ninth (Foch) Mailly-Sézanne, opposed to the German second (Von Bülow); the fifth (d'Esperey) Esterney-Courtaçon, with Conneau's cavalry on his left. The sixth army (Manoury) held a line north and south, with its right at Meaux and its left near Betz. The fifth and sixth armies were to engage Von Kluck. The gap between the fifth and sixth (French) armies was held by the British five divisions and five cavalry brigades, Ville-neuve-le-Comte to Jouy-le-Château.

Von Kluck left two corps (II and IV) on the east bank of the Ourcq to hold the sixth army, while he proceeded with III, IV, and VII to Coulommiers, Rébais, and La Ferté Gaucher to attack the left and centre of the fifth

(French) army. He had pushed forward two cavalry divisions towards Coulommiers and Crécy to give notice of any attack possibly coming from that quarter, and had occupied the villages on the west bank of the Ourcq.

The battle began at daylight September 6 by the advance of the sixth army against the villages just mentioned, and became general over the whole line from Paris to Verdun. In this struggle the British at once took a hand, and moving northeast, drove back Von Kluck's cavalry and advance guards. In the words of Sir John French, it must have been at about noon "that the enemy realized the powerful threat that was being made against the flank of his columns moving southeast." By night the British had reached the line Dagny-Coulommiers. This retreat of the Germans uncovering the west flank of the troops operating against the fifth army forced these to withdraw and enabled the fifth to reach the Grand Morin between Esternay and La Ferté Gaucher. In the meantime the struggle further east had been most serious. Foch was heavily engaged with Von Bülow, and on his right with Von Hausen. On the whole, the centre had all it could do to hold its own, while the right even fell back a little. The day closed with the balance leaning a little in favor of the Germans, except on their left, when Von Kluck began to realize that he must look to his right as well as to his front. September 7 was a day of desperate struggle, with the Allies progressing in the west, but not elsewhere. On the 8th the German right was definitely turned, and began to retreat. On this day, d'Esperey carried Montmirail, and thus made an opening on Von Bülow's right. Into this opening Foch

pushed his left, and he is reported to have discovered a gap between Von Bülow and Von Hausen, of which he also took advantage. The third and fourth armies on this same day held on only by the most devoted courage in face of the equally devoted attacks made upon them. September 9 saw the scale turn in favor of the Allies. The line of the Oureq was taken; French and d'Esperey joined hands at Château-Thierry in the evening. Foch drove a part of Von Bülow's right into the marshes of Saint-Gond and attacked his left with success, while the Saxons on Von Bülow's left, after heavy losses, were pushed back towards Châlons. The third army still held. By the 10th there could be no doubt that the Allies had won a victory: the Germans retreated, and in good order, to the Aisne, where they occupied a line said to have been prepared in advance.

The Battle of the Marne must be regarded as a significant defeat for the German army. Flushed with success, having the initiative, opposed to troops supposedly dispirited by defeat after defeat during a long and exhausting retreat, the Germans found this check as unexpected as the French found it welcome. On the French side moral forces were developed whose intensity continued undiminished. The Germans, although not disabled, were nevertheless compelled radically to change all their plans of operation.

The German position on the Aisne extended from a point on the Heights of the Meuse north of Verdun, west across the Argonne country and the plain of Champagne to Rheims, northwest across the Aisne, west along the Heights of the Aisne to the Forêt de l'Aigle, north of Compiègne. This position was of great strength, carefully entrenched and thoroughly supplied.

The Allied armies followed the Germans in their retreat. On the morning of the 13th the British advanced, and in spite of the resistance of the Germans passed the Aisne on pontoon bridges, a remarkable military achievement. The Allied lines, September 21, reached from the extreme south of Alsace through St. Dié, Lunéville, Pont-à-Mousson, Consenvoye, Grande Pré, Souain, Craonne, Noyon, to Le Catelet. Strong German forces held St. Quentin. In the east the Germans had pushed their way along the promontory of Hatton Châtel towards St. Mihiel and were shelling the forts of Camp des Romains and des Paroches. On the 26th they crossed the Meuse near St. Mihiel. Ypres was occupied on October 14 by the British seventh division, which had assisted the withdrawal of the Allied troops from Antwerp. A period of deadlock now followed on the Aisne, during which each adversary made the most determined efforts to outflank the other on the west.

*From the Aisne to Flanders.*—These efforts were logical for both sides. An attack on the German left, even if successful, would not interfere with their communications through northern France with Belgium and Germany. A frontal attack would have called for resources not then in the possession of the Allies. To turn their right, however, might result in cutting some of the communications, might even save Antwerp. It would in any case assist the retreat of the Belgians and British from that city. Moreover, it was not impossible that the Germans might strike at Calais and Boulogne; it was not inconceivable that they might even push their way as far southwest as Abbeville. Accordingly about September 20 an army was formed west of Compiègne, and its command given to

de Castelnau, who was to fill the gap between the Oise and the Somme, and to push his lines north of the Somme; as objectives he had St. Quentin and La Fère. On the 21st de Castelnau's right had moved as far as Noyon; there was violent fighting around Lassigny. From Lassigny the French right moved towards Roye, while their left momentarily occupied Péronne. The Germans in the meantime concentrated a large force in the region, formed in part of troops drawn from the centre on the Aisne, and from Lorraine and the Vosges. On the 25th the French near Noyon were pushed back on that day and the next two, and the whole line as far as the Vosges was engaged. De Castelnau was driven from Lassigny, but during the next few days managed to hold his own. There was now some danger that the Germans would themselves outflank the French; to meet this possibility a new army (tenth, Maud'huy) was formed. De Castelnau was now merely to hold his position. Maud'huy's line ran from the Ancre through Arras and Lens to Lille, and his plan would be to move on Valenciennes. The Germans, who were in force in the region of Cambrai and Douai, planned to take Lille, turn on and force back Maud'huy; at the same time other forces would advance on Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk.

The battle opened October 1, and by the 4th the French had been pushed back west of Lens, and were beginning to retire to the hills behind Arras. On the 6th the Germans shelled Arras, and later attempted to take the town, in which they failed. They had succeeded, however, in repelling Maud'huy's offensive, and had prevented the turning of their flank. It was now decided to move the British force from their trenches on the Aisne to the left of

Maud'huy, who now, like de Castelnau before him, would remain on the defensive. The situation of the Allies was critical. Antwerp was about to fall, the Lys had been crossed by the Germans and Ypres occupied by them (October 3). The channel ports as well as Lille were in danger. The presence of Germans in the region about Hazebrouck and Ypres implied an attempt either to intercept the British and Belgians retreating from Antwerp, or to turn Maud'huy's left in the region of Lens. Joffre therefore decided to concentrate still another army between Lens and Dunkirk, which, with the British, was to form the extreme left of the Allies. This army was to be commanded by General d'Urbal, while Foch was to take general charge of the four armies—de Castelnau's, Maud'huy's, French's, and d'Urbal's. The transfer of the British forces was successfully accomplished; they were to take position north of the line Béthune-Lille, attack the enemy opposing Maud'huy's left wing west of La Bassée, and attempt to defend or recover Lille, as the case might be.

The country in which the operations of many months on the left of the Allies were to take place consists essentially of the plain of the Scheldt. This plain is broken by no natural obstacles but is intersected by many canals. The Scheldt bisects it roughly and receives the Lys at Ghent. On the western boundary of the plain rises the higher land running from Calais southeast to Péronne, at the base of which runs a series of waterways, mostly canals, forming as it were a wet ditch to the tableland to the westward. The ditch was held by the French. The Germans occupied Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend, and succeeded in capturing Lille, but were driven east of Ypres by the British.

Further south, the Allies pushed the Germans back towards Lille between the Lys and the Béthune-Lille Canal. While these movements were going on the other French armies still further to the south were in conflict with the Germans from Béthune to Compiègne.

This period is signalized by Joffre's third attempt to turn the German right. Lille, although held by the French, was in danger of being cut off by the advance of the Germans west of the city south of the Lys, and the possibility was still strong that the Germans might make a rush for Calais and Dunkirk, or else try to crush the British and Belgians in retreat from Antwerp. Hence Lille was to be saved, if possible, and at any rate the other purposes of the Germans were to be negated at any cost.

The offensive was taken up by d'Urbal's army, the British Seventh Division, and the main forces of the British coming up from the Aisne. On October 11 the Allies engaged the Germans in a position extending from Mont-des-Cats southwest of Ypres through La Bassée to Vermelles. Part of this position was carried, but the main purpose, to drive the Germans out of La Bassée and to save Lille, failed. On the 10th this city had been bombarded; on the 13th it was surrendered. To the north the Allies had met with some success, driving the enemy from Ypres as their comrades were entering Lille. On the 17th the Allies lay approximately north and south from the Forest of Houthulst, holding the villages of Langemarck, Poelcapelle, Passchendaele, and east from Ypres to Zonnebeke and south to Wytschaete and Nieppe.

*Battle of the Yser.*—On October 16 the Germans attacked Dixmude and opened the Battle of the Yser. The left wing of the Allies now stretched from

Compiègne through Arras, Ypres, and Dixmude to Nieuport. With the command of the sea in the hands of the Allies, the efforts of the Germans were necessarily confined to the fronts Nieuport-Béthune and Béthune-Compiègne. The nature of the ground north of Béthune greatly influenced the character of the operations, at first rolling, and then, as the sea is approached, flat and open, filled with dikes and ditches. From Nieuport to Dixmude the line was held by the Belgians and French colonial infantry. Then from Dixmude past Zonnebeke came French Territorials and cavalry, then British, who continued on to Béthune. From Dixmude to Nieuport the Yser is canalized, and 15-20 feet above the ground to the west, across which runs the embanked railroad between the same points. As the country could be flooded, the bridge crossings were more than usually important. Off the roads the ground was difficult to cross, by reason of ditches, dikes, etc., and, moreover, was marshy, so that artificial cover could not be made. For eight days, by night as well as by day, the Germans assaulted the Belgian position only to be repulsed and beaten back. The British monitor fleet, mounting 6-inch rifles, did great service shelling the German right and rear, during which Knocke was partially destroyed. The conduct of the Belgians and the French colonial infantry during these eight days was beyond all praise: they had held their position against superior numbers backed by artillery under the most terrible and discouraging circumstances, and had successfully prevented the desperate efforts of the Germans to break through across the position to Dunkirk and Calais.

The plan of the Allies had been to fight a defensive battle on the Yser, and



to attack with their centre and right in front of Ypres and south of the Lys respectively. French's specific objective was the capture of Menin on the Lys, halfway between Roulers and Lille, as necessary to an offensive that should take Bruges and thus cut the German communications. To hold the road Menin-Roulers-Ostend was essential to German success, because from it ran out westward all the roads leading to the Allied line between Ypres and the sea. Heavily reënforced on the 19th, the Germans themselves took the offensive, captured Roulers, most of the Roulers-Dixmude road, and all of the Menin-Roulers-Dixmude-Ostend road and railroad.

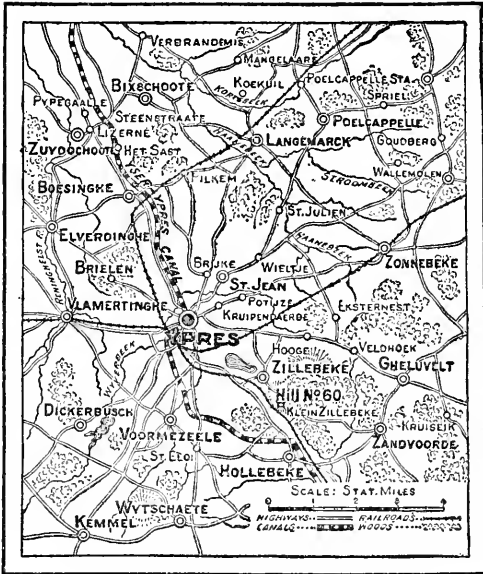
The Menin operation failed. The plan assigned to Sir Douglas Haig,\* to push through and if possible to capture Bruges, became impossible of accomplishment, for the Germans, in spite of the most determined resistance, in spite of frightful losses, were gaining, and it became evident that the best the Allies could hope for was to hold on until reënforcements could come up. By the night of the 22d the Germans had crossed the Yser Canal at Tervaete, and north of Ypres had pierced the Allied lines. South of that city there was only a thin line, and the right of the Allies was withdrawing from the Givenchy-Radinghem ridge. But on the 23d the Allied prospect brightened.

\* SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, born (1861) in Fifeshire; educated at Brasenose College, Oxford; served with distinction in the Sudan and in South Africa; later held important posts of India, being chief of staff (1909-1912); was general officer in command at Aldershot (1912-14); general in command in the First Army from landing of expeditionary force in European War (1914); distinguished himself in the retreat from Mons, at the Aisne, at Ypres, and Neuve Chapelle; succeeded Sir John French as commander in chief of British forces in France and Belgium (December, 1915); G.C.B. and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor of France; author of *Cavalry Studies* (1907).

The Forty-second French Division (Grossetti) with howitzers had reached Furnes and relieved the Belgians in Nieuport. On the night of October 23-24, 14 assaults were made on Dixmude and all repulsed. North of Ypres, British reënforcements had come up, moved on the enemy, captured their trenches, and beat back five attempts at recapture, and in the evening of this day a division of the French Ninth Corps was moved into the line.

So far the Germans had failed to break through. On the 24th the French on the left stormed Lombartzyde and moved on Westende, thus menacing the German right. To prevent this the Germans opened a determined attack on Nieuport, and along the Yser Canal as far south as Dixmude. These attacks failed. The next day the battle was renewed; guns were mounted on the dunes to beat off the fleet. So tremendous was the effort made that Joffre, October 25, resolved to flood the country. But the water was slow to spread over the meadows. In the meantime the Germans continued their attack, and on the 26th seemed to be in a fair way to reach Pervyse, halfway between Nieuport and Dixmude. On the 28th they attacked all along the line. But in the meantime Joffre was hurrying up reënforcements, and the water was rising. The next day attack after attack was made on Pervyse-Ramscapelle, and the latter place was captured that night. The 30th found the British fleet reënforced by five destroyers, the Germans in Ramscapelle and along the railroad, but between it and the canal embankment the water was mounting. All day the struggle continued for Ramscapelle, the embankment, and Pervyse. The 31st saw the Germans driven back across the railroad and the inundated region east of the canal.

*Battle around Ypres.*—The Battle of Ypres is not a separate event from the Battle of the Yser. They really overlapped, and are indeed only periods of increased intensity of combat distinguished by the prominence of a special objective on the part of the Germans, and of a special effort by the Allies to prevent the realization of that objective. Both of these battles are by the French denominated the battles in Flanders, a better name than Yser and



YPRES BATTLE FRONT

Ypres. However this may be, operations on the Yser proper were checked by the inundation spoken of above and by the expulsion of the Germans from Ramschappelle. The scene now shifts to the southward, to the attempts made by the Germans to capture Ypres in the pursuit of the objective still held by them, to wit, to break through the Allied lines to the French channel ports.

On October 24 the Allies lines ran in a great arc from Dixmude through Langemarck, Gheluvelt, through the woods southeast of Ypres, along the eastern ridge of the Mont-des-Cats,

across the Lys, to La Bassée. This position was energetically attacked on this day by the Germans, who very nearly succeeded in taking possession of Gheluvelt. Attacks on Mont-des-Cats were beaten off. At various other points likewise the Allies held. On the 23d a French division had entered Ypres, and for the first time East Indian troops entered the trenches to do battle for the Empire—Gurkhas, Sikhs, etc. They were afterward withdrawn, for climatic reasons, it was said. Fighting continued through the 25th, and on the 26th many attempts were made against the Nieuport-Dixmude line. The advantage this day lay on the whole with the Germans, who had moved up the Menin-Ypres road, capturing Gheluvelt, and, south of the Lys, had got hold of part of Neuve Chapelle. On the 28th Gheluvelt was recaptured by the British, who also drove the enemy to the edge of Neuve Chapelle. Returning to the attack, the Germans recaptured the entire village, only to be driven out again, this time by a force composed in part of East Indian troops. Passing over the fighting of the next day or two, on the 28th a wireless was intercepted, saying that the Germans would attack next morning. On that day (the 29th) the French south of Béthune took the offensive so as to keep as large a force as possible of the enemy from joining in the struggle around Ypres. On the 30th and 31st French reinforcements continued to arrive.

The Allied position on the morning of the 31st ran from Zonnebeke on the north to Festubert on the southwest. The eastern ridges of Mont-des-Cats were still held by the Allies; south of this the line extended to the Lys, crossing it and curving around Armentières to Neuve Chapelle and thence to Festubert. The German plan was to hold on

the flanks and to make their main attack on the centre to Ypres: if the centre could be broken, and the ridge of Mont-des-Cats captured, the Allied forces would be cut in two, and permit either an advance on Boulogne or an attack south of the Lys against the Allies intrenched there, or indeed both. At daybreak the Germans opened an intense fire on the lines southeast of Ypres and drove the British back into their reserve trenches. An equally violent attack was made across the Ypres-Comines Canal, which also drove back the British. At one or two points the lines were momentarily broken. In general the Germans had advanced in the centre and were within a few miles of Ypres. In the north the French had taken Bixschoote and reached Passchendaele. On the Yser, at Ramskapelle, the Germans were hurled across the canal, and farther south the French pushed their offensive in the direction of Roulers. But in the centre a tremendous effort was made to crumple up the British line and capture the ridge of Mont-des-Cats and Ypres. The defense made by the British, outnumbered and outgunned, against the successive attacks of the Germans will ever remain remarkable in their annals. These attacks came very near succeeding; the thin British lines, worn out by their efforts to hold, exposed to artillery fire, began to fall back, and the guns were even withdrawn to Ypres. The roads behind the Germans were filled with motor vehicles ready to take the troops to any point of the field. But at this moment the British stood their ground. The Germans coming up the Menin-Ypres road were stopped, and were driven out of the woods east and southeast of Ypres. To the south the defense was equally spirited, keeping the Germans from reaching the ridge of

Mont-des-Cats. November 1 the Germans took Wytschaete and Messines, villages at the foot of the ridge, but failed to make the ridge itself. The struggle continued during the whole of this day; the Germans were driven out of Wytschaete, but the village was abandoned. On the 2d Neuve Chapelle was carried, but the attempt on Armentières failed. North of the Lys renewed efforts to gain possession of the ridge of Mont-des-Cats proved unsuccessful. On the 3d the French took the offensive from Dixmude-Nordschoote; the effect of this was to hold back forces that otherwise would have moved against the lines farther south.

And so it went day after day. The Germans made another great effort on November 10, when they shelled Dixmude more heavily than ever before, blew up the French trenches and advanced against the town. After a terrible hand-to-hand fight the French withdrew to the west of the Yser. On the remainder of the front artillery played and assaults were made. The 11th opened with tremendous artillery fire from both sides of the Menin-Ypres road, lasting three hours. Immediately afterward 15 battalions of the Prussian Guard advanced from the east, while at the same time charges were undertaken by other troops. Everywhere north of the Lys the Allied front was attacked. Everything failed except the effort of the Prussian Guard, who got up to within a few yards of the trenches only to recoil and finally to retreat before the blasting fire that greeted them. The Battle of Ypres was over, after having lasted one month, with staggering losses on both sides. It must be accounted a German defeat.

The conclusion of the battles of Flanders, November 11, 1914, marks the beginning of what may be called the long

siege of the armies over the whole line from the sea to the Swiss frontier. It was a time of ceaseless watching, of hardship and trial, of continuous fighting with neither side able to advance at the expense of the other. Local advantages gained first by one and then by the other adversary in no way affected the issue, and indeed, as measured by the ground gained, could not be represented on an ordinary map. A word is perhaps not out of place in respect of the nature of the contest that now became the rule over the entire western front. Trench warfare over this front took the place of what may now be called old-fashioned operations in the open. Mining and countermining became the rule: the lines in reality were areas of parallel trenches protected by networks of barbed wire so thickly interlaid and interwoven that only long-sustained artillery fire proved equal to breaking them down in clearing the way for assault. The troops lived in and under the ground, so that the shrapnel, the ideal man-killing projectile against troops in the open, proved nearly useless, and was replaced by the high explosive shell, able to pierce overhead shelter and overwhelm the occupants. Operations degenerated into a struggle of wear and tear. So close did the lines draw to each other that antiquated methods and weapons sprang into new life: hand grenades, knives, and even clubs for close work. Trench mortars came into existence. Asphyxiating gases, in violation of The Hague Convention, were used. Artillery took a position of first importance, as was but natural, seeing that a state of siege warfare had developed. The reason of this state of affairs is to be found, in part at least, in the air service, making surprise well-nigh impossible, and allowing time for the threatened side to make

ample preparations to resist any impending movement. It also greatly increased the efficiency of artillery by enabling batteries to correct their fire, and by discovering and assigning targets invisible from the batteries themselves. In this tremendous struggle some few encounters deserve passing notice before going on to the serious attempts made by the Allies to break through the German lines. Thus the French took Vermelles on December 7; later in the month there was some extremely heavy fighting in and near Givenchy, followed a few days afterward by the capture of St. Georges by the Allies (French and Belgians). Jan. 3-4, 1915, was marked by a French victory at Steinbach in Alsace. Soissons, too, became the scene of great activity. North of this city the French on January 8 captured Hill 132, and pushed their way eastward. The German counter attack, made in force, drove the French in from the east, and finally recaptured Hill 132. The French were compelled to cross the river. Under any other circumstances this action would have constituted a considerable affair; in reality it was only an incident.

The next action standing above the general level was that in the region of La Bassée. On January 25 a German demonstration was made along the whole front, from Festubert to Vermelles and as far north as Ypres. Béthune was shelled. This contest lasted several days and ended in the repulse of the Germans. The French won some success in Champagne during this period, in the neighborhood of Perthes (February 16), and on the whole had rather the better of it until the month of March.

*Battle of Neuve Chapelle.*—The event of this period is, however, the

Battle of Neuve Chapelle, an operation carried out by the British. The immediate purpose of the Allies was to carry this village, as the first step in an effort to pass on and capture the ridge Aubers-Illies, held by the Germans, and curving westward between these two points. If this ridge could be taken, it was not impossible that the attack might even result in the capture of Lille, an event that would have been of the first importance to the Allies, as menacing the German position northward to the sea. Neuve Chapelle itself sits in the easterly angle of a lozenge formed by the roads breaking off from the main road La Bassée-Estaires. The village itself, with the eastern side of the lozenge, was held by the Germans; the western side by the British. Strongly reënforced, the British at 7.30 A.M. on the 10th of March opened a bombardment said to surpass in intensity anything ever heard before. It was effective everywhere except at the extreme north point of the front of attack, where it failed to break down the wire entanglement. After 35 minutes the fire was shifted to Neuve Chapelle, and the British infantry advanced. In the village and south of it the attack succeeded, but to the northeast was held up by wire entanglement just mentioned. It held off the advance until the artillery succeeded in breaking it up. By 11 A.M. the whole village and wood leading from it northeast and southwest had been taken. So well directed was the artillery fire that the attempt of the Germans to bring up troops was completely stopped. The British, however, made no further progress.

The German fire had cut all or nearly all the telephone wires and communication with the rear became almost impossible. Furthermore the orchard north

of the village had remained in German hands and so threatened the flank of the advance towards the Aubers-Illies ridge. There thus arose a delay of four and a half hours, which the Germans took full advantage of to repair their lines, organize fresh defenses in rear, and bring up reënforcements. When the British advanced again, they were stopped both north and south by machine-gun fire.

The next day found the British east of Neuve Chapelle, but the remainder of their plan had miscarried. On the 12th the arrival of German reënforcements put the British on the defensive. That night the British set to work to consolidate the positions won, some 1200 yards on a front of 4000. The 13th was taken up in beating off a few German counter attacks. On the 14th the battle died down on both sides. The British casualties were extremely severe, over 12,000 killed and wounded; so also were the German. The net result of the battle was undeniably a British defeat, in that they had failed to carry through their plans. But it is also undeniable that they had managed to break the enemy lines; whether the price paid was worth it, is doubtful.

*After Ypres and Neuve Chapelle.*—In the next month, April, 1915, the Germans made another great effort on a large scale to break through the Allied lines on the north and so gain the channel ports. In anticipation of their advance the British took the offensive themselves on April 17, with the result that, as before in the same region, the German plan was frustrated. The Allies were posted along an arc running from Steenstraate on the Yperlé Canal east, southeast, southwest, through Langemark, through Broodsende-Becelaere, from which last point the line curved round to Hill 50 and to

the Ypres-Comines Canal. The chord of this arc was formed by the Yperlée Canal to a point about a mile southeast of Hill 60. From this position the Allies were driven back to a line close to Ypres, with especially heavy fighting in and near St. Julien, where the Canadian contingent distinguished itself. The Germans even got across the canal at Steenstraate, and for a time the position of the Allies was precarious. In this particular battle of Ypres the Germans made use of deadly gases. By means of these the French troops defending the northern part of the arc were driven out; these gases were later again and again discharged against the British. Until respirators were furnished later, there was no living in the fumes let loose on the trenches under attack. Day after day the contest went on, the Germans attacking and the Allies resisting, with the utmost desperation. On the 30th a vigorous attack by the French pushed back the enemy on the north of the line. On May 8 a concentrated effort—one of many—was made to reach Ypres. Allied (British) attempts to push back the enemy coming up on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers road were unsuccessful. On the 9th, fresh but unsuccessful attempts were made on Ypres. On this day the French were successful at La Bassée (Carency), the English unsuccessful south of the Lys. On the 11th, Ypres was severely shelled. On the 13th, the British met with some success on the Ypres-Roulers railway, as well as towards the north. The French on May 15 recaptured Steenstraate and got up to the canal; by the 17th they were masters of the left bank.

In its entirety this battle of a month's duration must be regarded as a defeat for the Germans. Setting out to take Ypres and break through, they had, in

spite of many local successes, largely at least at the outset due to their use of poisonous gases, failed to carry out their plan. They had lost many thousands in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

During the later part of the struggle around Ypres the British made a second attempt to carry the Aubers ridge with the capture of Lille as the principal objective. The battle opened May 9 and lasted until May 20. The net result



ARTOIS BATTLEGROUND

was that the Allied lines were advanced some 600 yards over a front of four miles. This battle comprised two actions known as Aubers Ridge and Festubert.

*Battle of Artois.*—Before the contest before Ypres, just described, had closed, the French began the tremendous Battle of Artois, on the plateau of Notre Dame de Lorette and south of it, or the line La Bassée-Arras.

If this operation could be carried through German communications be-

hind it would be threatened and there might be a chance of taking Lille. The German positions on this front were of the strongest.

They held the high ground around Loos, the ridges north of the Souchez stream, and most of the plateau running south of Lens to the banks of the Scarpe. Upon this position had been expended every effort of modern military science to make it secure. Between Souchez and Arras was a network of trenches known as the Labyrinth (underground), about 2 miles square. The ridge of Notre Dame breaks off abruptly to the south in spurs, the eastern one of which, the Souchez spur, commands Ablain St. Nazaire and a sugar refinery between Ablain and Souchez, held by the Germans. From one of these spurs trenches had been constructed across to the Arras-Béthune road. South of Ablain are the heights of Carency, connected by trenches with Ablain and Souchez, and by another series, the "White Works" (white chalk), with La Targette on the Souchez-Arras road. East of La Targette is Neuville St. Vaast, like the Labyrinth, an underground fortress. In other words, not only was the surface of the ground admirably fortified by elaborate trenches and redoubts, supplied with ammunition, etc., but subterranean areas had been excavated to house troops and supplies, where, safe from aerial observation and overhead fire, they could be kept until needed, to repel the enemy already exhausted and reduced by his advance.

General d'Urbal was in immediate command, assisted by Foch and Joffre, but to General Pétain, later to distinguish himself at Verdun, belongs the credit of the reduction of the Labyrinth. Seven corps were engaged, and over 1100 guns of all calibres had been con-

centrated for the preparation. For months the French sappers had been occupied in mining the German defenses. The battle opened at 6 A.M. on Sunday, May 9, by the fire of the 1100 French guns. Three-quarters of an hour later the Carency mines were blown up, as were others on the Notre Dame ridge. The bombardment lasted three hours and at 10 the infantry moved out. All day the battle raged. Three of the five trenches on Notre Dame plateau were carried; when night fell the French dug themselves in. South of Notre Dame, at the same time, the French attacked Carency, took the trenches, but failed to take a work on the east. They nevertheless pushed on to Souchez. La Targette was taken, as was part of the White Works. Passing on, a part of Neuville St. Vaast was then captured. On the 10th the fighting continued. On the 11th the attack on Neuville St. Vaast reduced the cemetery, but the Labyrinth still held out. The next day Notre Dame de Lorette fell, as did Carency. From Carency the French pushed on to Ablain St. Nazaire. But the Germans still held on to a spur of the Notre Dame ridge, the spur of the "White Way." On the 21st, however, the spur was carried, as was most of Ablain. A few Germans, however, still held the cemetery, only to be dislodged on the 28th. Three days later the French took the Souchez refinery and in June captured the Labyrinth. Indeed, fighting went on in this region until the autumn. Each side is estimated to have lost 60,000 men in this tremendous battle. Having regard to the ultimate purpose of the French in taking the offensive, it must be admitted that they failed: they had not broken through the German lines. Lille was still in possession of the enemy whose communications were still open. In all probability,

however, the Germans had been kept so busy as to have no troops to spare for the attempt on Ypres previously described. And it was further proved that with sufficient preparation by artillery and mining German positions could be carried to a considerable depth.

Simultaneously with the Battle of Artois, there was considerable activity further east in the Argonne region and on the St. Mihiel salient, on the western front of which the French succeeded in capturing Les Eparges. They also met with some success on the southern face, on the edge of the Forest of Apremont. Southeast of Lunéville in the Vosges the Germans took the Ban de Sapt on June 22. In July it was recaptured by the French, who also made some small advances in Alsace.

*Battle of Champagne.*—The French check in the Artois country was followed by fighting chiefly in the Vosges, mostly of a local character. This continued until September, when the French opened an offensive for which they had long been making preparations. Apart from the advantage that would accrue if this offensive should succeed, there were reasons of a political order that called for something more from the Allies than mere nibbling at the German lines. The German campaign in the east was meeting with success. To counterbalance this success, and at the same time to relieve the pressure on the Russians, it was regarded as necessary to deal the common enemy a mighty blow in the west. To keep him ignorant of the precise point at which the blow was to fall, for weeks previous substantially the entire German position was subjected to intense bombardment. Beginning in the middle of August, this bombardment was especially heavy on the Belgian front in the

Souchez region, before Arras and Roye, along the Aisne, in Champagne, and finally in the Argonne and Woëvre districts, and in Lorraine. As the time drew near for the infantry work, the bombardment increased in intensity over the front selected for attack. That front was in Champagne, between Auberive on the west and Ville-sur-Tourbe on the east, a distance of some 15 or 16 miles. The centre of the French line was defended by the 6th, 5th, and 4th armies. The front held by the 4th (Langle de Cary) was the one selected from which to deliver the offensive.

Some 4 or 5 miles behind the corresponding German position and roughly parallel to it, runs the Bazancourt-Challerange railway. If the French offensive could reach this railway a mischief would be done to the enemy, for this road communicated with Metz on the east. But the natural strength of the German position had been increased by the arts of the engineer. From Auberive this position followed the crest of the low ridge north of the Suippes River, rising, as it passed through Souain, then by Perthes, with Tahure behind (north of) it, and terminated at Massiges. To say that this whole position was intrenched is scarcely to do justice to the effort spent on its defensive organization; not only were there the usual trenches (lines) facing the enemy position, but cross trenches had been dug over the entire area, from which flanking fire could be delivered upon the enemy if he should succeed in passing the first and subsequent lines. There were really two positions, two miles or so apart, the first immediately in front of the French, the second on the reverse of the ridge. The area between them was a network of trenches and entanglements.

On September 22 the bombardment



increased in intensity and was kept up until the 25th, when the French infantry broke out of its own trenches and gained practically the first line positions of the enemy by 12 o'clock noon. At some points, however, the Germans held, and the work therefore became in some sort a series of isolated and detached actions. On the left the attack was exposed to the German artillery fire from the plateau of Moronvillers, in front it came up against the salients of the ridge. The first line was carried, however, and the right of this attack held all day, and later pushed on deeper and deeper into the German network. To the right of the St. Hilaire-St. Souplet road, much the same thing happened, the French left being stopped while the right managed to advance and took all four lines of trenches. Further east the enemy trenches were penetrated to a depth of about 500 yards, but machine guns stopped the advance. North of Souain the French met with pronounced success, carrying trench after trench almost to the Navarin Farm. Between Souain and Perthes the German position had been most solidly organized, but in its eastern portion the defenses were comparatively weak. Here the French delivered their main attack in this part of the front, the remainder (the left) playing a secondary part. The attack carried the French advance as far as the Souain-Tahure road. In the Mesnil sector (east of Perthes) the greatest difficulties were encountered, but still further east, north of Beauséjour, the French had better fortune, pushing north as far as Maison de Champagne. On the extreme right (Massiges) the colonial troops reached the top of the plateau in an incredibly short time, but could not advance, because of the effective machine-gun fire here developed. The

first day's fighting therefore had pushed back the enemy lines in the centre: the flanks had not been driven in, but the French managed to secure the ground gained. In the west, on the 27th, the French got up to the Epine de Vedegrange, but no farther. On the next day the fighting died down in this sector of the battlefield. In the Souain sector the French on the 28th made contact with the second German position in these parts. Between Souain and Tahure, in front of Perthes, contact with this second position was also established, but here the French remained, digging themselves in, until October 6.

While all these events were occurring in the centre and left, the most desperate struggle of all was going on to the north of Massiges. From the plateau three long spurs ran down like fingers, whence the name given to them and to the plateau from which they spring, La Main de Massiges. These were strongly held by the Germans. The French accordingly attacked across the back of the hand, and got up on the plateau.

The general result of this battle, the local and separate contests of which were not over before October 4, was that the French gained the Massiges plateau, the Tahure ridge, and various points in the German second position. The elaborate intrenchments and work of the first positions were taken. The total number of prisoners officially given was over 23,000; many guns and much war material fell into the hands of the French. But as in all the other cases of real battles, as distinguished from the daily local strife, on the long front, the German lines were not broken; they were merely pushed back. Although, therefore, the Germans had suffered a defeat in that they had been driven out of their positions, yet it must

be admitted, on the other hand, that the French had been disappointed of their purpose. This apart, there can be no question as to the thoroughness of the German defeat. The French staff estimated the German loss in killed, wounded, and missing at 140,000.

*Battle of Loos.*—While this great battle was going on in Champagne, the Allies were renewing their offensive in Artois, the British in the Battle of Loos, the French in that of Vimy. As before in this region, the objective was to push into the plain of the Scheldt. Reinforcements both of men and of guns had given the British the necessary elements to undertake the offensive. Thanks to this increased strength, they had extended their trenches southward to Grenay, opposite to Loos and Lens. It is apparent, therefore, that in the month of September the Allies undertook a general offensive, for in addition to their two mighty efforts in Champagne and Artois, the Germans were kept busy in other regions of the front, by demonstrations on the extreme left, in which the navy took a part, in front of Ypres and also in the Vosges.

In spite of the Battle of Artois, the Germans still held the eastern slopes of Notre Dame de Lorette; from this point their lines stretched north in front of (west of) the Loos-Hulluch-Haisnes ridge to the canal near La Bassée; south, they curved through Angres and Liévin to Souchez, thence eastward of the high road from Béthune to Arras. Between Haisnes and Hulluch lay the powerful Hohenzollern redoubt, a work more or less like the Labyrinth. Their general position thus formed a sort of salient oriented southwestward on the axis Souchez-Lens. The plan contemplated that the British should drive at the northern side of the salient (Loos-Hulluch-Haisnes), the French at the

southern (Vimy Heights). The capture of either of these positions would force the evacuation of Lens. The terrain over which the British were to advance was covered with villages, pits, galleries, slag heaps, and mine works generally, all connected by trenches. Moreover, the industrial pits and galleries had been taken over and extended by the Germans for war purposes. The entire area had been defensively organized, and equipped with machine guns, artillery, and small works and trenches generally. In front of the French position, northeast of Neuville St. Vaast, lay the wooded heights of Vimy running northwest to Givenchy with hills 140 and 119 as conspicuous elevations.

Preparations for the great offensive were completed by September 24. Specifically the British were to capture Auchy, Haisnes, Pit No. 8, and the Hohenzollern Redoubt; further south the ridge between Hulluch was to be the objective, involving the capture of Loos, and Hill 70 to the east of the town. The French, as stated, were to attack the Vimy Heights. Amply provided with artillery, the British besides were to employ, for the first time, a gas that stupefied but did not kill. The action opened with artillery preparation on the 24th. During this day the entire German position within range was taken under fire by both the French and the British artillery. On the 25th this fire was renewed very early in the morning, and suspended two hours later in order to allow the infantry to advance. This they did at 6.30 A.M. The French, however, continued the artillery preparation until noon. On the extreme left, between the canal and Pit No. 8, the British met with a serious repulse. Part of the Hohenzollern Redoubt was carried, so was Pit No. 8. Haisnes was taken as early as 8 A.M.,

but had to be abandoned by 5 P.M. Loos, after a terrible struggle, fell to the English, as did Hill No. 70. A counter-attack by the Germans recovered most of Hill 70. As night fell, the British line ran around the south of Loos to the western part of Hill 70, past the west of Hulluch quarries to Pit No. 8, then east of Hohenzollern Redoubt, and so back to the original position. The fighting was renewed the next day with no material results on either side. By night the line ran back from Hill 70 to the Loos-La Bassée road, then north along this road, then northeast of Hulluch. The remainder of the line was unchanged. On the 27th the Germans recaptured Pit. No. 8 and forced their enemies back to the eastern part of Hohenzollern Redoubt. The next few days were filled with desperate fighting, more or less localized. The net result, so far as the British were concerned, was the capture of Loos and a portion of Hill 70.

The French, on their side, advancing a little after 12 o'clock noon, had made but slight progress. They took the Souchez cemetery, but lost it later, and reached the lower slopes of Hill 119. The German garrison of Souchez retired to Hill 119. On the 28th Vimy Heights were attacked; the western slopes and a large part of the wood of Givenchy were taken.

This battle must be regarded as a failure on the part of the Allies. It would seem that the British had no reserves available to clinch the results obtained in their advance. The Germans thus had time to rally and counterattack. It would seem too that the French perhaps made a mistake in delaying their advance on the 25th by six hours. Had they moved out at the same time, the French left and the British right might have joined hands. The

Allies' losses were very heavy. The British alone lost 50,000 men in this battle. Disappointed, however, as were the Allies in respect of the main purpose they had in view, both in Champagne and in Artois, they had, nevertheless, made some real gains. In the latter regions they were gradually pushing the Germans to the rim of the plain of the Scheldt. The British gain had, as it were, pushed a salient in between La Bassée on the north and Lens on the south, thus creating in some sort two German salients.

After the battle the French relieved the British from the French left up to and including the village of Loos and a part of Hill 70. The position of the Allies in this new salient of Loos was none too secure. But apart from this, it was clearly incumbent on the Germans to try to recover the terrain they had just lost. They accordingly, on September 29, attacked the northwest face of the British salient, but were beaten off. The French on their side advanced to Hill 140. The next day the German attempts on the northwest face were renewed. October 1 the French made more progress on Vimy Heights. October 3 was marked by a fresh attack on the northwestern face, and most of the Hohenzollern Redoubt was recaptured. On the 8th a counter-attack was made on the British position. It was repulsed with loss, as were the attempts made on the French near Neuville St. Vaast. Later, October 13, these attempts on the French were renewed with very much the same results. On this day the British themselves took the offensive in an effort to extend the northern face of their salient. This effort very nearly succeeded in gaining the Hohenzollern Redoubt for the English, a part of which only was held, however. October 19 the British line ran

from Auchez-Hohenzollern, St. Elie, and then, so as to encircle Loos on the east and south, back to the old trenches.

The close of the year 1915 saw the adversaries confronting one another on this as on other portions of the front. But in respect of the northern region it must be remarked that unsuccessful as the Anglo-French efforts to break through had proved, yet they had succeeded in pushing back the Germans to the last ridge of hills separating the area of conflict from the plain of the Scheldt. One more drive like the September one, and the Germans might be pushed into the plain and so lose this part of France. Hence they reënforced their hold by reënforcements estimated at 600,000, and throughout the winter obtained a few minor successes.

*Verdun.*—But these, as well as all the other events, gave way in February, 1916, to the most determined attempt yet made by any of the combatants on any front to win a decision. On the 21st of this month the Germans opened their assault on Verdun. But this place had changed its character since the opening days of the war. Warned by the fate of Liège, Namur, and Maubeuge, it had passed from the condition of fortress pure and simple to that of fortress related to an army in the field. Hence its reduction was no longer a matter of sufficient pounding by 42-centimeter guns. General Pétain\* was summoned to conduct the offense.

\* HENRI PHILIPPE PÉTAÏN, born in 1857; delivered notable lectures at the Ecole de Guerre, for which he was decorated by King Ferdinand of Bulgaria; at beginning of European War was colonel of the Thirty-third Regiment of Infantry at Arras; distinguished himself in the retreat from Charleroi to the Marne; promoted general of division; in command of an army corps took Carency, breaking through the German front; in 1915 was in command of part of the "Iron Division" of Colonials in Artois and Champagne; given command of armies around Verdun.

The first German drive was delivered against the point of the Verdun salient by heavy columns, over a 7-mile front, from Consenvoye to Azannes. After a prolonged bombardment of heavy artillery—it is estimated that during the first four days no fewer than 2,000,000 shells were fired—these columns struck the French advanced lines, and at the end of a week had advanced 4 miles towards Verdun. The right, advancing along the Meuse, had reached Champneuville; the centre, after taking Beaumont, faced the ridge known as the Côte de Poivre; while the left, after capturing Ornes, threw itself against Fort Douaumont, the most northerly of the permanent forts of Verdun. After several costly repulses this fort was stormed and held by the 24th Brandenburg regiment.

The second phase of the attack shifts to the east. Pushed back to a line running west from Douaumont along the Côte de Poivre to the Meuse, the French now lost Mauheulle and Fresnes. From these points the Germans made their way across the Woëvre plain to the edge of the plateau on which the permanent forts are constructed, and advanced to Eix, about 5 miles from Verdun. The total gains so far amounted to over 100 square miles.

Operations in this sector culminated in assaults on the fort and the village of Vaux, 2 miles southeast of Fort Douaumont. From conflicting reports it would seem that the German infantry finally won the village, but failed to carry the fort and the slopes to the east.

The Germans now turned their attention to the territory west of the Meuse. Their advance east of the river had found its flank exposed to artillery fire from the west. Moreover, it might be possible to cut the western railroad

communication of Verdun. Opening in this region on March 6 the Germans, after taking Forges and Regnéville, found further progress barred by two fortified heights—the Côte de l'Oie and Le Mort Homme, both over 800 feet high. On the lower hills between these points is the wood known as the Bois des Corbeaux, strengthened with entanglements and batteries. Here, finally, the Germans made some gains, so that their advance, some 2 miles south of Forges, brought their line into approximate alignment with their positions farther east, and threatened the French line, strongly posted on Le Mort Homme. Moreover, they had some success as far west as Mélan-court.

In the fifth week of the campaign the point of attack was shifted still farther west, about 3 miles beyond Le Mort Homme. On March 21 the wood north-east of Avocourt, and on the 22d Haucourt Hill, were captured. This left the French positions at Mélan-court and Béthincourt exposed. The greater part of Le Mort Homme, as well as the woods that flanked it, was now held by the Germans.

On the night of March 30 the town of Mélan-court was attacked from three sides, and at dawn carried. The Bé-thincourt position was thus rendered still more precarious, though the French had succeeded in retaking a small section of Avocourt Wood.

In the meanwhile Douaumont ridge and vicinity were first shelled and then attacked by infantry. A sudden attack gave the village of Vaux to the Germans. The next day Caillette Wood, between Vaux and Douaumont, was penetrated by a strong German attack, but the French first lines, about 300 meters south of Douaumont village, held against a German assault, in which

the attack was made in successive waves of great strength.

The struggle over Caillette Wood, the first week in April, although severe, yields in interest to the operations now resumed west of the Meuse. On April 5 the Germans took Haucourt, half a mile southeast of Mélan-court. The withdrawal from Béthincourt was now rendered inevitable, and skillfully made on April 8, with small losses; the new French line was established a mile to the south. Still keeping the offensive and continuing to make gains in this sector, the Germans penetrated the French lines on hills 265 and 295 (near Le Mort Homme), and captured a mile and a quarter of French trenches on Termiten Hill. This latter gain marks substantial progress towards Hill 304, the key position of this whole region. An interesting and novel illustration of the future powers of air craft in actual battle was furnished at Côte de Poivre. As the Germans were bringing up a battery to shell this ridge an air squadron came up and dropped bombs on the battery from an altitude of less than 1000 feet. The first round of bombs killed 9 horses and 30 men, and wounded and frightened so many others that the guns had to be abandoned.

At the end of three months' continuous fighting, the Verdun campaign had not reached a decisive issue. Whatever gains were made, however, were made by the Germans. Up to this time they had occupied about 150 square miles of territory, and approximately 30 villages. Their lines were shortened 10 miles (40 to 30) and they had pushed forward an average of about three miles.

On May 4, the Germans again renewed their offensive with increased ferocity. The main attack was again directed against Hill 304 which dominated the ridge west of the Meuse. The

German artillery preparation had been scarcely if ever equaled for rapidity and intensity of concentration. In one week the Teutons made seven attacks. Ultimately east of Hill 304, all the trenches and shelters were destroyed and then carried chiefly by means of poisonous gases. Despite this the hill itself could not be taken. They attacked Le Mort Homme from all sides and finally succeeded in establishing a foothold between it and Hill 304. They then attacked from a new angle and captured Cumières, a village close to the Meuse. A strong French counter attack only succeeded in recapturing a part of the village. The Germans made their farthest advance up to this time when, on May 30, attacking with fresh soldiers drawn from another quarter, they captured Caurette Wood on the east of Le Mort Homme. They now occupied the northern slope and positions well around on each side and threatened to cut the French off from their line of communications.

In the meanwhile the action on the east bank of the Meuse had been rapid. The French by a surprise attack captured Fort Douaumont on May 22, but were unable to maintain their position, inasmuch as the Germans recaptured it in ten days as well as Caillette Wood. Upwards of 2000 prisoners were taken by the German forces. On the east of Fort Vaux the Teutonic forces also made advances. It was surrounded on three sides and its fall was only a matter of a few days. A small garrison of 1000 men was left in the fort to defend it. By most courageous fighting this handful of men held the Germans at bay for five days. They were finally compelled to surrender on June 7.

In the latter part of June the Germans captured the village of Fleury which is only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast of

Verdun. The French counterattacked and won back a foothold in the village which they stubbornly maintained and thus offset to some extent the importance of the German victory. West of the Meuse, the efforts of the Germans seemed to be in vain at Avocourt, Cumières, and Hill 304, although they held almost all of Le Mort Homme. However they captured Thiaumont by assault on July 3, and held it until early August when they were driven out by the French. Then followed the spectacle of almost daily changes in possession of the work. It remained ultimately in the hands of the Germans.

The struggle for Verdun now became a deadlock, neither side being able to advance. The Germans were forced to withdraw some of their men from the Verdun front in order to reinforce their position on the Somme. This deadlock continued until the latter part of October, when the French regained in three hours what it had taken the Germans months of effort to attain. It was the most brilliant action of the whole Verdun campaign. General Nivelle planned his attack so that it would occur when the German lines were the weakest and thus have a greater chance of success. His artillery preparations were brief but of exceedingly great intensity. Then came the infantry attack on October 24. It advanced in four columns. The first was between Pepper Hill and Thiaumont Farm. This division advanced about a mile and carried Thiaumont Farm and Thiaumont Work and the Haudroment Quarries.

The second division was to take Hill 320 and the Caillette Wood. It carried both these positions by an irresistible rush. Although this was all they were supposed to accomplish the commander decided to continue his push forward. Consequently they proceeded beyond

the wood and surrounded the Douaumont Fort. The village of Douaumont on the west was captured and then a rush was made for the fort itself. The Prussian defenders refused to surrender and nearly every one of them was killed before the French completely occupied the work.

The third division advanced about half a mile, capturing the remainder of Vaux-Chapitre Wood and all of Fumin Wood. The fourth division pushed the Germans from Chenois and Laufee woods, captured Damloup battery and encircled Vaux Fort on the east, south and west. After the failure of German counter attacks, the French began to finish the encircling of the fort on the next day. It fell on the night of November 1-2.

During the next six weeks there were scarcely any infantry engagements and the artillery actions which occurred were only of minor importance. On the 15th of December, however, General Nivelle executed another great *coup*. He attacked on a front of 6 miles after a three-day artillery preparation. He succeeded in penetrating the German front for a distance of nearly 2 miles, and according to a Paris report captured over 11,000 prisoners. Vacherauville, Louvemont, Chambrette Farm, Harcourt and Bezouvaux were taken. On the 16th and 17th new gains consolidated the French positions.

After this advance the Verdun front once again became quiet, each adversary watching the other and being content to remain on the defensive. After 10 months of heavy fighting the Verdun struggle was virtually over. In the last analysis it was a great French victory. The moral effects on the French troops and French nation can scarcely be estimated. As a reward for his heroic work at Verdun, General Nivelle was

made commander-in-chief of all the French armies, succeeding General Joffre.

The purpose of the Germans in selecting Verdun as a point of attack gave rise to much discussion. The date of the attack was well chosen, in anticipation of a general Allied offensive on the western front, but Verdun itself had long ago ceased to be a fortress in the technical sense of the word. Hence the German effort falls into the same class as all others, whether German or Allied, to obtain a decision in the west. The effort made at Verdun might have produced better results if made nearer to Paris. Even if successful it would result, moral effect apart, in merely straightening the German lines (accompanied of course by a similar straightening on the French side), unless, indeed, it was believed that a real breach could be made, opening the way for a real advance into the heart of France. It is declared in some quarters that the determining condition of the selection was for political and dynastic reasons the need of a victory for the Crown Prince; and it is further declared that Von Hindenburg and Von Mackensen both opposed Verdun as the theatre of the new offensive. One thing stands out: the enormous losses of the Germans for the sake, so far, of a few square miles of French territory.

*Campaign in Picardy.*—The expected Allied offensive on the western front began in the last week of June by a continuous shelling of the German lines on the British front. The point chosen for the attack was at last seen to be the junction of the British and French lines near the Somme River.

The preparation for the advance was unique. The new mortars of the Allies were first concentrated on the first line trenches of the Germans. They

were kept in that position for 10 minutes and then concentrated on the second line of trenches. While firing on these the Allied troops rushed out and easily took the first line. In many cases the trenches were completely destroyed, and the attackers in some instances swept on to the second and third lines. Another unique thing about the battle on this front was the institution of the trench-raiding system, after prolonged shelling. At night a raiding party would rush into an enemy trench and would abandon it as soon as the occupants were bombed or captured. This was also important as a method of finding out the effectiveness of the artillery firing.

The objective of this campaign was the capture of Bapaume and Péronne. The British were to take the former and the French the latter. By the end of the first week the French had advanced about 4 miles and had captured Curulu, Estrées and Heure. They took about 800 prisoners. During the same week the British advanced about 2 miles and captured La Boisselle, Thiepval, and Contalmaison. They took about 6000 prisoners. It was apparently the plan of campaign for the French and British armies to advance *pari passu*, inasmuch as in the second week the French just held the positions won and waited for the British to come abreast of them. The British captured Trones Wood for the second time on July 11, and again took Mametz Wood on the next day. On the 15th they captured the village of Pozières and 2000 prisoners. In the meantime the French had advanced eastward and captured Biaches, only 2 miles from Péronne. They had also taken Hill 97, the highest land in the neighborhood and a position which controlled the Somme valley for some distance. The latter part of

July saw the French positions consolidated and the British firmly entrenched in Pozières.

In the first week of August the British and Australian troops advanced from their trenches north of Pozières and captured the top of a crest which overlooks Courcellette and Martinpuich. This gave them a direct outlook on their immediate objective Bapaume, which was 6 miles distant over a stretch of rolling country. On August 8 a combined French and British offensive made important gains towards Guillemont, west of Combles. The result was a gain of from 300 to 500 yards on a front of about 4 miles. German counter attacks with the aid of liquid fire succeeded in taking 50 yards of trenches from the Australians northwest of Pozières.

The next Allied advance occurred north of the Somme. The French moved forward from a point opposite Hardecourt (where they joined the British) to the Somme. The advance stopped. The pushing in of this wedge placed Cléry and Guillemont in a pocket. Northwest of Pozières the British, on the 14th, advanced about 350 yards on a front of approximately a mile, while the French further strengthened their position on Hill 109. On the 16th the French made substantial gains north of Maurepas and also south of that town, between it and Santerre. The efforts of the French in driving eastward toward Guillemont, Cléry and Maurepas seemed to indicate that they were going to try to approach Péronne from the north rather than to expose themselves to a frontal attack.

On the 24th Maurepas fell and the French pushed several hundred yards beyond on a  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile front. This left Cléry almost completely surrounded and left the French in front of Combles, an



important railroad centre. The British advanced 300 yards south of Thiepval and put this town in a similar position to that of Cléry. The month ended with the British seizing ground between Guillemont and Ginchy. Strong German counter attacks had been repulsed all along the line.

During the month of September Combles and Thiepval were captured by the French and British respectively. The French salient between Ginchy and Cléry was deepened by the capture of several small villages. The result was that the new French lines were established on the outskirts of Combles. Then south of the Somme a great effort on the part of the French succeeded in capturing Berny, Soyecourt, almost all of Vermandovillers, Chilly and about 2 miles of the railroad running from Roye to Chaulnes. During the second week the British thrust out west of Combles and succeeded in taking the entire village of Ginchy. The British lines were now within a few hundred yards of Combles. Taking advantage of this thrust, the French prepared to complete the pocket around Combles. After a heavy artillery preparation, the infantry advanced on the 12th. They advanced a distance of about 2 miles and gained the Péronne-Bapaume road just south of Rancourt. The next day they captured Bouchavesnes and Hill 76. On the 16th and 17th the Allied armies stormed German positions over 4 miles in length. In this advance the British captured the famous "Danube Trench." They also captured the almost impregnable Mouquet Farm which had been the scene of several hard struggles.

On the 20th the Germans made strong counter attacks in order to regain the ground lost to the French north of the Somme. They attacked on a three-mile front for a period of al-

most 10 hours but were repulsed.

On the 25th, another great forward movement of the Allies began and resulted in victories on a front almost 15 miles long. The British captured the villages of Morval and Lesbœufs, north of Combles. The French took Rancourt and went right up to the village of Fregicourt. These two movements completely cut off all means of escape from Combles. On the 26th it was taken. The British swept in from the north and the French from the south. A large quantity of war supplies fell to the victors. The British also took Thiepval, which was of even greater importance than the taking of Combles, because it had checked them ever since the campaign began. Not content with these gains, the Allies pushed on. The British captured a very strong redoubt northeast of Thiepval and were now less than 3 miles from Bapaume. The French advanced east of Rancourt and also entered the St. Pierre Vaast Wood east of Fregicourt.

The first week in October saw a comparative lull in the battle on the Somme. The British and the French made some small advances but seemed to be resting up for a renewed effort. This began on October 7. The Allies by a concerted movement pushed forward over half a mile on an eight-mile front. The British captured Le Sars. The French, breaking through the German Morval-Bouchavesnes trenches, pushed their line to the top of Sailly-Saillisel ridge and were right at the entrance to the village of Sailly. South of the Somme the French occupied the village of Boven on the 10th, and also took a large part of Chaulnes Wood. In the next two weeks the Allies extended their lines up to the village of Le Transloy and the French gained a foothold in the village of Sailly-Saillisel.

On October 30 the Germans began strong counter attacks. They succeeded in driving the Allies out of part of La Maisonette and took several hundred prisoners as well as several lines of trenches. The positions gained were the most threatening to Péronne held by the French. The heavy fighting was done by German troops which had been withdrawn from the Verdun front.

In November it appeared that the Allied offensive had spent itself without accomplishing its objective. The heaviest fighting was in the Ancre Brook region, at the northern end of the Somme battle front. Before this operation took place the French had succeeded in tightening their hold on the Le Transloy region and in taking the greater portion of Saillisel. They also captured Ablaincourt, Ablaincourt Cemetery and Pressoire. On the 11th they took the rest of Saillisel. On the 13th began the great drive in the Ancre region. By a surprise attack the British penetrated the whole German front. On the 14th they advanced up the Ancre valley and captured the village of Beaucourt. This gave them a position overlooking Bapaume and straightened out a salient which threatened their lines in this region. Strong German counter attacks in the vicinity of Pressoire resulted in the retaking of part of that village. On the 16th the French counterattacked and succeeded in regaining these positions.

During the months of December, 1916, and January, 1917, the positions on the Somme front remained practically the same. The days were broken by skirmishes and artillery duels and the nights by trench raids, but the extremely cold weather, the fog and enormous shell holes filled with water made any real advances out of the question. Another unique feature of the

Somme battle ought to be mentioned here. It was the use by the Allies of great armored tractors. They were carried along on giant caterpillar wheels and could go right over trenches and shell holes without having their progress impeded. They were armed with machine guns and wrought considerable havoc, especially where the ground was anyway level.

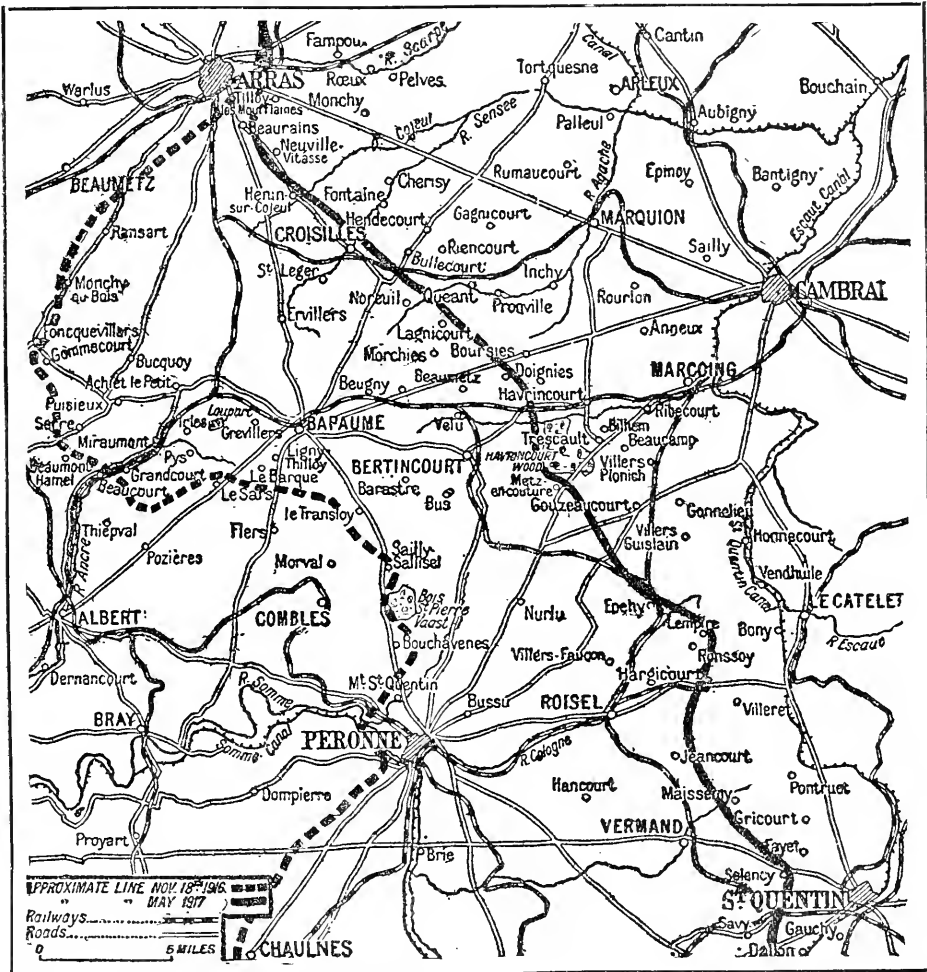
The new Allied attack in the west was part of a general plan whereby the Allies attacking simultaneously on all fronts—France, Russia, Italy—hoped to deprive the Central Powers of the advantage they hitherto derived from their interior position of being able to move troops quickly from one threatened position to another. The success achieved in the early part of the new offensive proved the soundness of this plan.

*Continuation of the Campaign in Picardy (Battle of the Somme).*—During the month of December the Allied army devoted almost its entire energies to the improvement of its positions. New trenches were built and the old ones improved. Roads and other means of communications behind them were put in the highest state of efficiency. When the weather permitted further operations the first British object was to drive the Germans from the remainder of the Beaumont Hamel Spur and the Beaucourt Valley. By the end of January, as a result of a series of minor operations, the high ground north and east of Beaumont Hamel was occupied and they had pushed across the Beaucourt Valley and had gained a footing on the southern slopes to the west.

The possession of this spur gave the British complete artillery control of the Beaucourt Valley and the western slope. The capture of German trenches

on the western slope on the night of February 3-4 made the German hold on Grandcourt and the positions west of that place and south of the Ancre Valley very uncertain. The result was that these positions were abandoned and

this were successful it would bring into view hostile batteries in the upper Ancre Valley and would command the approaches to Miraumont on the west. These two attacks were executed on the night of February 17, and continued



From *Current History Magazine*, New York Times Co.

SCENE OF THE GERMAN WITHDRAWAL

Grandcourt was occupied on February 7.

The British High Command now devised a scheme to carry its line along the spur which runs northward from the Morval-Thiepval ridge about Courcellette and so gain possession of the high ground at its northern extremity. If

next day. The fighting was severe and fraught with counter attacks. The British plans succeeded, nevertheless, with the result that, after a heavy bombardment the villages of Pys, Miraumont and Serre were found to be evacuated and were occupied.

The capture of Puiseux-au-Mont on

February 27-28 and the villages of Le Barque, Ligny-Thillois and Thillois on March 2, had driven the Germans back to the Le Transloy-Loupart line with the exception of the salient formed by the village of Irlès. This was taken by assault on March 10. The Le Transloy-Loupart line was now so heavily bombarded that the Germans were compelled to retire to a parallel system of trenches on the other side of the village.

*The German Withdrawal.*—General Haig in his report on May 31, 1917, stated that for some time previous to the middle of March observations seemed to indicate that the area of German withdrawal would be greater than the one described above. It was learned that the Germans were preparing a new defensive line called the "Hindenburg Line," which branched off from the original line at Arras, ran southeastward to Queant and then passed west of Cambrai toward Saint Quentin. Hindenburg apparently feared the salient between Le Transloy and Arras which became more difficult to hold as the British pushed up the Ancre Valley.

On March 14, it was discovered that practically all the German first line trenches before St. Pierre Vaast Wood had been evacuated. About the same time it was discovered that the German forces south of the Somme had been greatly weakened. As a result of these observations, the British and French High Commands ordered a general advance for March 17. By the evening of the same day Chaulnes and Bapaume had been captured. These were defended by machine guns and infantry left to cover the retreat. On March 18, Péronne was taken by the British in conjunction with the French. By March 20, the British had crossed the Somme River in large numbers and had

established a line from south of Germaine, where they joined the French, through Havcourt to Bus. This movement necessitated hasty building of bridges across the Somme. All the old bridges had been destroyed by the retreating Germans. Northeast of Bapaume, Morchies had been occupied.

The Allied advance continued, meeting with little opposition, so that by the first week in April, the British were established on a line running through Selency, Jeancourt, Epehy, Ryaulcourt, Doignies, Mercatel, and Beauvains. This line brought the British and French into contact with the "Hindenburg Line" from Arras to Saint Quentin. This withdrawal on the part of the Germans returned to France approximately 1500 square miles of territory. It was the first time since trench warfare had started that cavalry and large bodies of troops had participated in an open battle. The retreating Germans had completely devastated the country as they withdrew. Roads, railways, and bridges were systematically destroyed. Houses, wells, and orchards were blown up with dynamite. Not a thing was left which could be of the least value to the advancing armies.

*Battle of Arras.*—One of the reasons for the German withdrawal was to nullify any preparations the Allies had made for a spring offensive. This object failed of realization when scarcely a week later the British began an offensive on a 12-mile front north and south of Arras. The battle gradually extended to an offensive over the whole line from Arras to Saint Quentin. The heaviest fighting was done on a line extending from Givenchy, southwest of Lens, to Henin, southeast of Arras. This line has commonly been called the hinge on which Hindenburg swung his

retreat after the battle of the Somme. A four-day artillery preparation of almost unprecedented violence paved the way for the advance. On the first day of the battle, Canadian troops stormed Vimy Ridge, the top of which was literally blown off by the artillery. Four thousand prisoners and large quantities of war material were captured here. On April 10, the British advanced to the outskirts of Monchy-le-Preux, which threatened Mochy and the entire Arras-Cambrai road. On April 11, Monchy fell and on the next day Wancourt and Heninel did likewise.

On April 13, the battle took an entirely new turn. Sweeping northward from their new positions east of Arras the British drove the Germans back on a 12-mile front, capturing six villages and seriously threatening the coal city of Lens. On the 14th the British pushed closer to Lens and on the 15th entered the outskirts of the city itself. For several days no further progress was made because of severe artillery duels, violent counter attacks, and consolidation of positions.

On April 24, the British pushed forward east of Monchy and the next day advanced south of the Scarpe River. Three days later they broke the "Oppy Line," a switch of the Hindenburg line, by the capture of Arleux-en-Gohelle. They also occupied a part of Oppy village (29th), but were compelled to retire from it in the face of heavy artillery fire. On May 3, the British took Fresnoy and part of Bullecourt, but were later forced to give them up on account of heavy counter attacks. It may help to realize the fierceness of the fighting when it is stated that Gavrelle changed hands eight times in one day. The British reentered Bullecourt on May 12, and also took part of Rœux. In the next three days these po-

sitions changed hands three times, with the Germans having the better of the counter attacks.

The battle of Arras had now practically come to a standstill. In the first two weeks of June the British were driven back east of Loos, from Bullecourt and east of Monchy-le-Preux. The Germans had lost 15,000 prisoners and nearly 200 guns. The total effects of the battle of Arras was the placing of Lens in a pocket, the mouth of which was ever growing smaller. This city was a nest of machine guns and all the houses had been leveled so that the German artillery might get a full sweep. The British suddenly shifted their operations to the Ypres sector. (*See below*).

*Aisne Offensive (April, 1917).*—The French pursuit of the Germans after their great retirement was very rapid. Their advance was directed toward La Fère. Without any serious opposition the French reached Tergnier, 2 miles from La Fère. Further south, however, the French struck a snag in the Ailette River which protected the forests of Coucy and St. Gobain. They succeeded in crossing the river and capturing the village of Coucy, but were unsuccessful in their attempts to capture the forest of St. Gobain, which was one of the main defenses of the Hindenburg line. Moving their line eastward, the French pushed the Germans back along the Oise River and thus threatened the German hold on St. Quentin. In the meantime the British had thrown a semi-circle around St. Quentin on the north and west of the town so that the artillery controlled the approaches to it. All attempts on the part of the Allies to take the city failed, however.

On April 16, the French launched a great offensive on the Aisne River.

They attacked on a 25-mile front from Soissons to Rheims. The Germans had held this line since their retreat from the Marne. For 10 days French artillery had prepared for the offensive and for a similar length of time the Germans had been bringing up great quantities of men and guns to meet the expected attack. A successful attack by the French would threaten the important city of Laon. On the first day the entire German positions on the front line were taken along with 10,000 prisoners. By the end of the third day the French had taken 17,000 prisoners and 75 guns. The villages of Chavonne, Chivy, Ostel, and Bray-en-Laonnois were captured. Further west on the southern bank of the Aisne the French captured all of Vailly and an important bridgehead. Hindenburg brought up thousands of fresh troops and on April 19, delivered one of the strongest counter attacks of the entire war between Juvincourt and Berry-aubac, but they were thrown back in disorder after furious fighting. On the same day the French advanced on the eastern end of the battle front in western Champagne and threatened the town of Moronvillers.

On April 20, the French pressed the Germans back toward the Chemin des Dames, an important road running along the top of the heights north of the Aisne River. In this sector Malmaison fort protecting the road from Soissons to Laon prevented further French advances. For the next 10 days there were severe artillery duels and numerous local engagements and counter attacks, with the advantage usually with the French. The terrain of the Aisne territory was peculiar. It consisted of limestone cliffs, which were honeycombed with natural and artificial caverns, which were practically immune

to French artillery fire. This necessitated fierce hand to hand struggles, sometimes far underground.

On May 4, Craonne and several strong points north and east of it, as well as the German first-line positions on a front  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles northwest of Rheims were taken by the French. Craonne is on the southern end of the Chemin des Dames ridge. Counter attacks of unprecedented violence failed to shake the French grip on the Ladies' Road (so called because it was built by Louis XV as a promenade for his daughters). They gradually pushed ahead from the eastern and western slopes until they controlled the entire road and thus overlooked the Ailette River and valley from which the heights of Laon rise. Almost ceaseless counter attacks were made against the newly won French positions but completely failed, despite temporary local successes. The French completed their operations by driving the Germans across the Ailette River (October, 1917), and then turned their energies to the Battle of Flanders (*see below*).

*French Success at Verdun.*—On Aug. 20, 1917, after nine months of comparative quiet the French resumed the offensive at Verdun. After a three-day bombardment they advanced on both sides of the Meuse and penetrated a mile and a quarter on an 11-mile front. They captured Avocourt Wood, Le Mort Homme, Corbeaux and Cumières woods, Côte de Talou, Chapneuville, Mormont farm, Hill 240 and 4000 prisoners. In the next four days smashing blows were delivered which resulted in the capture of Regnéville, Samogneux, Côte de l'Oie and 15,000 prisoners. By the 15th of September the French had recovered 100 square miles of the 120 the Germans had seized in their great offensive. They now held all the dominating posi-

tions in the Verdun sector and strong German counter attacks failed to dislodge them.

*Battle of Flanders.*—On June 7, 1917, occurred one of the most spectacular battles of the entire war, that for the Messines-Wytschaete ridge. This ridge formed a salient which dominated the entire Ypres sector and which was literally a thorn in the sides of the Allies. For over two years British sappers had been burrowing under this ridge and finally succeeded in placing in position, undetected by the Germans, 19 mines containing more than 1,000,000 pounds of ammonite. These were exploded by electricity on the morning of June 7. It was like a tremendous earthquake. The whole tops of the hills were blown off and the roar could be heard for a distance of 150 miles. A tremendous shell fire which had been playing on the ridge for two weeks reached its greatest intensity as the mines were exploded. After the explosion the British infantry rushed forward and by the end of the day had wiped out the entire salient. Seven thousand prisoners and many guns were taken with relatively small losses to the attackers. Even the rear protecting positions were taken. The attack was on a 5-mile front and penetrated to a depth of 3 miles.

The Germans retaliated for this allied success by a successful attack on the Allied line at its most northern extremity in Belgium. On July 11, after strong artillery preparation, the Germans made a strong infantry attack on the British positions east of the Yser River. The British line at this point was about 600 yards east of the river. Their entire lines of communication had to cross the river to supply the first-line trenches. The Germans completely destroyed the lines of approach and

captured or killed the entire British force east of the river (about 3000). Twelve hundred prisoners were taken.

The reduction of the Messines-Wytschaete salient prepared the way for further Allied activities in the Ypres sector. Consequently, on July 31, 1917, the British and French began an offensive which lasted intermittently down to the beginning of 1918, when weather conditions forced a halt. The objects of this offensive were to compel the Germans to give up their submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge and to envelop the important industrial centre of Lille. For three weeks previous to the above date, the artillery preparations on both sides had been stupendous. The infantry attack was on a 20-mile front from Dixmude to Warneton. The first attack passed the German third-line trenches. On August 1, a severe rainstorm lasting 50 hours began, and perforce held up further operations. On August 10, Westhoek village and ridge were carried by storm. The French took Bixschoote. The next day the British attacked in Glencorse Wood. The artillery battle reached heights never before attained. Both sides seemed to have unlimited supplies of ammunition. The German and allied barrage fires were wonderful to watch. On one occasion five distinct British barrages were counted. The Germans devised on this front a new method of defense. The trench system was practically given up and concrete redoubts, called by the British "pill-boxes," were erected in the shell holes. They were nests of machine guns and were often invisible to airplanes. This did away with the necessity of keeping great quantities of troops in the forward trenches and allowed the advance lines to be held by scattered forces. The terrain was also peculiar. The

heavy torrents of rain made the flat ground a veritable quagmire. The infantry sank up to their knees in mud and it was almost impossible to bring up heavy artillery.

On August 16 the Allies struck again on a 9-mile front north and east of Ypres and carried practically all their objectives. On the left the French drove the Germans from the salient between the Yser Canal and Martjevaart and captured the bridgehead at Dreigrachten. In the centre the British captured the strongly fortified position of Langemark and pushed forward for another mile. On the right the British failed to capture the high ground almost due east of Ypres. They seized it in their first assault but were compelled to give it up. Weather conditions prevented any further operations for an entire month.

From the middle of September to the middle of October five brutal assaults by the allies made a great salient into the enemy positions. On September 20, an attack began on an 8-mile front between the Ypres-Comines canal and the Ypres-Staden railway. This resulted in the capture of Inverness Copse, Glencorse Wood, Nonne Boshen, Potsdam Vampir, Iberian farm, and Gallipoli. All of these places were named by the Allied troops in front of them. In the centre Veldhoek and part of Polygon Wood were taken. All of these gains were consolidated. On September 26 came another great smash at the German lines. Driving on a 6-mile front, Tower Hamlets Spur, the remainder of Polygon Wood and Zonnebeke were taken. The advance was approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. On October 4, the Allies again attacked on an 8-mile front. The British gained control of the Passchendaele ridge (their immediate object in the Flanders battle) as

far as Broodseinde. The weather prevented any further attacks or counter attacks. On the 9th, a fourth concerted blow captured St. Jean de Mangelaere and Poelcappelle. On the 12th, another attack, interrupted by the weather, brought the Allies up to within 500 yards of the town of Passchendaele. These five blows captured an area of approximately 23 square miles and carried the Allies to the Ypres-Roulers road on the northeast as well as an advance of a mile over the Ypres-Menin road. Roulers was now in the range of the heavy artillery, which was also able to sweep the Flanders plain. The losses of the Allies were comparatively slight.

After a brief lull the Battle of Flanders was continued on October 22. On that day the British and French advanced on both sides of the Ypres-Staden railroad. The French secured the southern part of Houthoult Forest and a number of fortified farms. The 26th saw another big advance in the same direction. The British advanced west of Passchendaele and north of Gheluvelt, while the French took Draebank and several more fortified farms. On the 28th the French and part of the reorganized Belgian army captured the Mereken peninsula (formed by canals on three sides) south of Dixmude. On the 30th the British advanced from the positions won by them on the 26th and captured most of Passchendaele, but were compelled to retire in the face of heavy counter attacks. A week later after heavy bombardment, the Canadians advanced, took the town and continued 800 yards beyond it. Furious German counter attacks in the next few days failed to penetrate the new British line. The British then proceeded to clear the rest of the spur by advancing northwest of the town. They



were now within 5 miles of Roulers. The entire Ypres front remained practically the same until the beginning of 1918. The British efforts were turned to the battle that developed at Cambrai and the Belgian front was the scene of heavy artillery duels and trench raids carried out to relieve the pressure on the Cambrai front.

*Battle around Cambrai.*—On Nov. 21, 1917, began one of the greatest battles of the year in the region around Cambrai. For a time it appeared as if the British were going to smash the Hindenburg line to pieces. Then the Germans started a counter offensive which almost nullified the British gains. The battle was a surprise attack without artillery preparation, a method practically unheard of in the present war. The attack was on a 35-mile front between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River, although the main part of it was due west of Cambrai. Huge "tanks" screened by smoke led the advance and plunged through the German defenses as though they were paper. The first day netted 5 miles, 8000 prisoners and a number of guns. General Julian H. G. Byng was in direct command of the operations. The villages of Benavis, La Vacquerie, Ribecourt, Havrincourt, Marcoing, Graincourt, Anneux, and Noyelles-sur-l'Escaut were captured as well as several forests and fortified farms. Part of Bourlon Wood, the dominating height around Cambrai, and part of Bullecourt were also taken. The village of Fontaine Notre Dame,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from Cambrai, was captured but the Germans retook it the next day. Open fighting prevailed and the cavalry played a big part in the British advance.

On November 23 the British attack was renewed and a bitter struggle en-

sued in the neighborhood of Mœuvres (south of Bourlon Wood) and at Crèvecœur, south of Cambrai. The British took a hill dominating the former position. Cambrai was under British shell fire and Quéant was in serious danger. Bourlon Wood and village changed hands several times. The Germans made tremendous efforts to hold these dominating positions, but the British held on to them tenaciously until encircled by German troops and finally driven out of the village. Cambrai was heavily shelled from the Bourlon Wood.

On November 30 the Germans began a grand counter offensive on a 16-mile front on the north, south, and east sides of the British wedge. On the north and east they failed to gain, but on the south they reached La Vacquerie and Gouzeaucourt taken by the British on the first day of their offensive. On December 2, after ten attacks the Germans occupied Masnières. The German reports stated that 6000 prisoners and 100 guns had been taken by them up to December 4.

The success of the German counter drive on the south compelled the British to rectify their line on the eastern side. Consequently they withdrew from Bourlon Wood and gave up Noyelle-sur-l'Escaut, Anneux, Cantaing, Graincourt, and Marcoing. Approximately one-half of the territory gained by the British was regained by the Germans. American engineers, working behind the British lines, were caught when the Germans broke through. They seized guns from fallen soldiers and fought valiantly. Several lost their lives.

The entire western front was now alive with artillery action from the sea to Switzerland. All the European newspapers predicted a big drive "somewhere on the front." A furious attack

west of Cambrai on December 13 was repulsed by the British. The Germans attacked between Bullecourt and Quéant (10 miles) in mass formation but were unable to break through. The line on the entire front was the same at the beginning of 1918, because winter put an end to any further operations.

*Allied Unity.*—The prime ministers of France, Italy, and Great Britain met at Rapallo, Italy, on November 9 and formed the Supreme War Council, which was to coordinate the military powers of the Allies and wage war as a unified group and not as individuals. The members of the Supreme War Staff were to be Generals Cadorna (Italy), Foch (France), and Wilson (British). According to the agreement, "The Supreme War Council has for its mission to watch over the general conduct of the war. It prepares recommendations for the considerations of the governments and keeps itself informed of the execution and reports thereon to the respective governments."

On November 7, 1917, a United States Commission headed by Colonel E. M. House arrived in London to consult with the Allies. Secretary of State Lansing announced that the object of the mission was "a more complete coordination of the activities of the various nations engaged in the conflict and a more comprehensive understanding of their respective needs, in order that the co-belligerents may attain the highest efficiency." He strongly emphasized the fact that it was a war and not a peace conference. Most of the other Allies sent representatives with the same objects in view. President Wilson cabled to Colonel House that "unity of plan and control" were essential and he told him to attend the first meeting of the Supreme War Council. Colonel House returned in late December, and urged

the hasty despatch of American forces to Europe, as well as the speeding up of shipbuilding, and the securing of Allied unity.

*American Expeditionary Force.*—The first contingents of a United States Army to fight in Europe arrived at a French port on June 26-27, 1917. They were commanded by Major-General William L. Sibert and received a tremendous ovation from the French people. The transports on the way over had been unsuccessfully attacked twice by submarines. Gen. John J. Pershing,\* the Commander-in-Chief of the American force, had been in France for some time preparing for the coming of the "Sammies," as the French characterized the American soldiers.

Training camps for the American troops had been located in various parts of France and were ready for occupancy when the soldiers arrived. Infantry, artillery, aviation, and medical bases were established. The number of men gradually increased, many of them stopping in England before going over to France. An intensive system of training was entered upon during the latter part of July. The instructors were officers and men of the British and French armies. The American transportation service took over all railways leading to American bases and a section of French forest was turned over to Amer-

\* PERSHING, JOHN J. Born in 1860 and graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1886. First American to command American troops on European battlefields. Graduate of West Point; entered regular army as second lieutenant in 1886. Fought in Indian wars against Apaches and Sioux. Engaged in war with Spain in Cuba, and after peace declared ordered to Philippines. Then a captain. Fought with great bravery against Moros and made brigadier general in 1906, being jumped over 862 senior officers. Subdued Moros in 1913 and returned to United States and stationed at El Paso, Texas. After Villa raid on Columbus, N. M., led punitive raid into Mexico. Known as "Black Jack" in army.

ican lumbermen to supply the needs of the expeditionary force.

The news that American forces were in action "somewhere in France" was given out in a dispatch on Oct. 27, 1917, which stated that the artillery had fired the first shot and that the infantry had entered the first-line trenches. The activities did not mean that American troops were taking over a section of trenches on the western front, but that they were completing their training under actual war conditions. A few nights later the Americans crept out into "No Man's Land" on reconnoitering expeditions. Every so often the troops in the trenches were changed so that as many troops as possible could get a taste of real war conditions. On November 3, the Germans announced the capture of American prisoners when a salient which they occupied was cut off from the main trenches by a barrage fire. The Americans lost 3 killed, 11 wounded, and 11 missing. Although no official announcement was made as to the exact location of the sector, a comparison of the various reports seemed to show that the region was in the Vosges Mountains where the Rhine-Marne Canal crosses the boundary line between France and Lorraine. During November and December, 1917, intermittent artillery duels and engagements between patrols occurred, but no conflict of any size developed.

*The Last Year of the War on the Western Front.*—The months of January and February, 1918, were months of comparative inactivity along the battle line from the North Sea to the Swiss border, as well as in Italy, the Balkans, and Asia Minor. The outstanding feature of the war at the close of 1917 was the signing of an armistice between the Central Powers on the one hand and Rumania and the *de facto* government

of Russia on the other. The defection of Russia from the side of the Allies was the signal for a tremendous publicity campaign in Germany, which predicted a gigantic blow on the western front which would completely crush the British and French armies before the American forces could land in sufficient numbers to give any substantial aid. The depression in allied countries caused by the abolition of the eastern front was somewhat overcome by Allenby's victories in Asia Minor and the unexpected rapidity with which the United States rushed men and material to Europe.

The chief cause for the optimistic tone of the Teutonic press was the fact that huge quantities of material and a large number of men could now be transferred from the eastern front for immediate service on the western front. The German High Command adopted a policy of careful selection of the men who were to be transported westward. As a skeleton for the new divisions to be formed they picked out all the soldiers in Russia between the ages of 25 and 35. They realized that it would be impossible to withdraw all the men from Russia inasmuch as the terms of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk provided for the occupation of a considerable amount of Russian territory by German troops. While it was generally known that the personnel and morale of the Germans on the eastern front were considerably lower than on the western front, nevertheless the German Command hoped to build up from eastern material about 59 or 60 divisions of 12,000 men each. This would increase the fighting strength on the western front by about 700,000 men. About the middle of February according to a French official statement it was estimated that there were already on the western front

2,100,000 men and that further increments from the east and from new recruits would bring the highest total of men available to 2,340,000 men. This total would approximately equal the total number of men France and England had available. American, Belgian, and Portuguese troops practically assured the Allies a numerical superiority over the whole front although not necessarily in any one sector. Any numerical advantage that the Allies possessed was more than counterbalanced by the superiority of the German railway systems. The Germans were fighting on interior lines and the Allies on exterior lines. The German railway system may be likened to a huge wheel. All lines radiated from the hub and could feed any part of the rim (battle line), while on the other hand the Allies in order to supply their lines were compelled to travel around the outside of the rim, a much longer process.

On the western front during the first ten weeks of the year the fighting consisted of a series of almost unending trench and aerial raids, carried out for the purposes of reconnaissances. Sometimes the trench raids would follow heavy bombardments, but generally speaking they were carried out by small patrols under cover of darkness. The Germans with varying success carried out raids in Flanders, Artois, Picardy, the Verdun sector, Champagne, and Lorraine, with the evident intention of ferreting out the weak points of the allied line for the much heralded offensive on the western front. The purpose of the allied raids was to discover, if possible, the places on the German lines where any unusual concentrations were being made. The aerial raids to a large extent were carried out over the Rhine and Moselle river valleys, where it was known that the troops transported from

the eastern front were being refitted for service on the western front.

The American troops, which had been pouring into France in an ever increasing stream, and which had been gradually concentrating in camps at Toul and Nancy, had finally reached the stage of training when they were ready to take over a section of the battle line. The sector allotted to them was about eight miles long and was on the southern side of the St. Mihiel salient, which had been established by the Germans, advancing from Metz, in 1914, and which had withstood several attempts on the part of the French to "pinch" it. The American line was roughly between Flirey and Remenauville on the east and Apremont on the west. The Germans lost no time in trying out the new American forces by means of heavy bombardments of high explosives and gas shells.

*The Second Battle of Picardy.*—On March 21, 1918, came the great blow which the German press and public had been so continually prophesying since the collapse of Russia and Rumania. The German plan was based upon sound military strategy. It recalls to mind the famous campaign carried on by Napoleon in Italy in 1796-97. Napoleon at the head of an army which had just crossed the Alps found himself facing superior forces composed of Austrians and Sardinians. He struck at Montenotte, the point where the two enemy armies joined, forced his way through, rolled up the Sardinian army on its base and compelled Sardinia to sign a separate peace. Then he faced and conquered Austria. The German conception was strikingly similar. It was to strike the Anglo-French line where the two armies joined, break through and reach the channel ports, and thus either confine the British, Belgian, and

Portuguese armies in the narrow region between the Somme and the Belgian border or drive them into the sea, and then turn their attention southward to the French armies and make a direct advance on Paris. This attack was so timed as to offset any increase to the allied force from the United States. The success of this scheme depended entirely on a complete breakthrough at the junction point of the British and French armies. A tremendous gap was made and for four or five days it appeared as though they were about to accomplish their purpose, but, fortunately for the Allies, it was closed in time to prevent a complete disaster.

The front chosen for the attack was between Marcoing, near Cambrai, and the Oise river, and was held by the British 5th army, under General Gough. This section of the battle line was taken over by the British from the French at the beginning of the year. The 5th army was composed of about 14 divisions or roughly 170,000 men, which had to protect a line about 50 miles long. It is difficult to understand why this particular section of the line was held so lightly. This inadequate force was attacked by a force composed of between 40 and 50 divisions, amounting to approximately 750,000 men, about 150,000 of which were concentrated between St. Quentin and La Fère. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the British army was brushed aside by such a superiority of men, and by the dogged determination on the part of the Germans to get through at any cost.

The line held by the British was very carefully constructed and admirably suited to defense by a force comparatively inferior to the attacking force. It really consisted of three separate defensive positions, an outpost line, a resistance line, and then in case these were

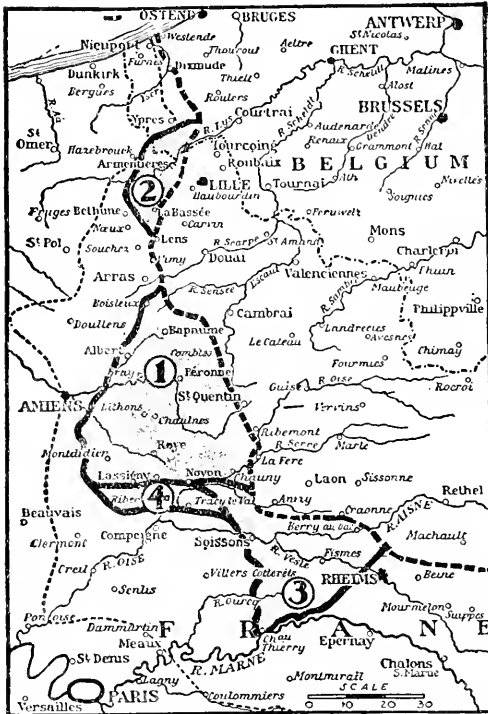
penetrated, a battle line, where the main battle was to be fought. The outposts were so arranged that a terrible enflading fire could be poured into the Germans as soon as they penetrated this outpost line. The German armies facing the battle line were under the supreme command of Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, and the individual armies under the leadership of von Below, von der Marwitz, and von Hutier. The plan of attack was drawn up by the last named general.

The weather favored the Germans to a very large extent. The attack was begun a little before 5 o'clock on the morning of the 21st under the cover of such a heavy fog and mist that it was impossible to see more than 100 feet ahead. General Gough knew from documents taken from German prisoners that the assault was impending and had made preparation to meet it, but his preparations were practically nullified by the weather conditions. The first line of defense, i. e. the outpost line, was taken before the British were cognizant of the fact that the attack had begun. The tremendous superiority of numbers forced the resistance line very quickly and enabled the Germans to rush up to the battle line, or last system of defense. Here again the inequality of numbers ultimately told and the German armies forced their way through where some of Gough's divisions joined. Apparently the British had made no provisions for a breakthrough, because there were no defense positions behind the third defense system. The road to Amiens seemed opened and only heroic efforts saved it.

As has been stated above, the terrific battle of Picardy began shortly before 5 A. M. on March 21. It was preceded by a brief but very intense artillery fire which was composed mainly of high ex-

plosives and gas shells. Simultaneously a heavy artillery fire broke out in the Champagne and Lorraine sectors with the obvious purpose of preventing the bringing up of reinforcements to the vital places attacked. The Germans

of Cambrai, as far as La Fère. The first infantry attack broke through the first and second lines of British trenches on a 16-mile front from Lagnicourt to just south of Gouzeaucourt. The result of this attack was the evacuation of the British positions in the salient that remained after the battle of Cambrai at the close of 1917. On the 22nd, the Germans after more heavy artillery preparation smashed through the entire British position along the whole front. The British 5th army was now completely cut off from the permanent French position at La Fère and the permanent British positions at Arras. Between these two points there was a struggling mass of humanity with practically no organization as far as the Allies were concerned. The Teutonic armies were advancing along the road to Péronne and Albert, along the direct route from St. Quentin to Amiens, and down the Oise river valley along two roads, one of which led to Paris and the other to the south of Amiens. For four days it seemed certain that the German plan was to succeed and a permanent wedge inserted between the French and the British armies. On the 23rd the British were defeated near Monchy, St. Quentin, La Fère, and opposite Cambrai, and the British second positions between Fontaine les Croiselles and Mœuvres were penetrated. The Allies hoped to be able to hold the line of the Somme, but were unable to do so because no adequate defenses had been constructed there. On the 24th the Germans took Péronne, Chauny, and Ham, and crossed the Somme river at various points south of the first mentioned place, by means of a pontoon bridge and rafts. The British were unable to completely destroy the bridge because of the haste with which they were withdrawing their artillery.



From *Current History Magazine*, published by the New York Times Co.

SHADED PORTIONS SHOW TOTAL GAINS OF THE GREAT GERMAN OFFENSIVE. THE NUMERALS INDICATE THE SEQUENCE OF THE FOUR BATTLES OR PHASES. THE DRIVE ON THE SOMME WAS LAUNCHED MARCH 21, THAT IN FLANDERS APRIL 9, THE CHAMPAGNE DRIVE MAY 27, AND THE OFFENSIVE ON THE OISE JUNE 9.

also bombarded Paris with a long range gun placed in the forest of St. Gobain, approximately 75 miles away. This gun killed many civilians and did much material damage in Paris, but instead of causing the Parisians to become panicky, it seemed to renew their grim determination to carry on. The battle line of the German offensive extended from southeast of Arras in the direction

Continuing to advance on the 25th, the Germans captured Bapaume, Nesle, Etalon, Barleux, Biaches, and Guiscard. On this day the French War Office announced that British lines south of St. Quentin and around Noyon had been taken over by a French army, thus showing that at last the Allies were making some successful attempts to stem the tide of invasion. On the 26th, the Germans crossed the old battle line of 1916 in several places and captured Noyon, Roye, and Lihon. The 26th was the decisive day of the Battle of Picardy. This day saw the closing of the gap caused by the breakthrough of the 21st. The French came up along the southern front from the Oise to the Avre, and west of the Avre, where they united with the British at Moreuil. The 26th also saw the organization of a new British army under General Sandeman Carey, who had received orders to hold a gap made by the Germans. With rare judgment and skill he improvised an army from sappers, laborers, engineers, in fact anybody he could find, and with this cosmopolitan army faced the Germans for six days, fighting over unknown ground, and with officers in charge of men they had never seen before.

A word should be mentioned here of the method used by the Germans to relieve men who were exhausted by constant attacking or shot to pieces by the heroic British resistance. Reserve divisions were kept directly behind the battle line and when advanced divisions needed replacement, the reserves were passed through the forward divisions, and the latter were rested and reformed, and then they became the reserve. By this means the Germans were able to continually present fresh men to the British, who had been fighting without rest or relief since the tremendous battle

began. Another thing to be noticed about this battle was the ease with which the Germans were able to manœuvre their attacking columns. The attack was made with three or four columns of several divisions each, and when they were stopped in one direction they were able to turn without loss of power in another direction. As most of the new ideas worked out in this battle were devised by von Hutier, this plan of attack became known as the von Hutier method. Many of its features were later adopted by the Allies.

The 27th saw the first perceptible signs of the slowing up of the German forward movement. The British, now reinforced, checked the Germans, and recaptured Morlancourt and Chipilly north of the Somme, and advanced to Proyart south of the Somme. These gains were offset, however, by the capture of Albert and the crossing of the Ancre river north and south of that city, and forcing of the French backwards east of Montdidier. The 28th saw the fall of Montdidier, but it also saw the complete repulse of a tremendous German attack on Arras. The artillery preparation was terrific and the Germans' orders were not only to take the city but Vimy Ridge also, at all costs. The Germans used about 20 divisions in this huge effort, and after suffering appalling losses, which materially reduced their numbers, were compelled to give up the attempt, after an all day battle which equalled in intensity anything that the war had produced.

The German effort had now almost spent itself and the German High Command found itself caught in a rather difficult position. The Germans had pushed a 35-mile salient towards Amiens, which was quite narrow at its extreme tip. The northern side of the salient was bounded roughly by the

Ancre river, and the southern side by the Avre. These water barriers were, comparatively speaking, no protection to the French and British, but the high ground on the allied sides was an ideal spot for artillery emplacements, which commanded all the German positions in the tip of the salient. The German problem was to break the sides of this wedge and broaden the salient or face a possible disaster. The attempt at Arras, as has been noted above, failed. During the first week of April tremendous assaults were made from Albert at the Ancre line on the north, and on the Avre line from Grivesnes to north of the Amiens-Roye road on the south. Although local successes were gained by the Germans, they failed in their main purpose, i. e., breaking the lines of the Avre and the Ancre and widening the salient. The chief reason for this was the time element, which had permitted the British and French to bring up men and guns and thus to stabilize their lines. Another contributory cause was the fact that a heavy rain had turned the Somme battlefield into a desolate sea of mud, and hindered the Germans' transportation of men, munitions, and supplies.

The failure during the first week of April to smash the sides of the Amiens salient ended what might be called the Second Battle of the Somme as well as the Battle of Picardy. As to results the main German plan was frustrated. The French and British were still united and held strong defensive positions. The Germans had taken practically all the ground they held at the beginning of the Battle of the Somme in 1916, and some more besides, approximately 1,500 square miles. A report from Berlin stated that 90,000 prisoners, 1,300 guns, and 100 tanks had been captured. The British maintained that these fig-

ures were too high, but to neutral critics and observers they seem approximately correct. Both sides suffered severe losses. A conservative estimate would place the German casualties at a quarter of a million men, while the Allies' were probably 50,000 less. Most of the Allies' losses were borne by the British.

*Ferdinand Foch—Allied Commander-in-Chief.*—The terrific blow struck at the British 5th army on the 21st of March, with the subsequent demoralization and almost complete defeat of the Allies, compelled them to take a step, which up to this time they had been loath to do. That was to appoint one man as the leader of all the Allied armies. It is idle to speculate on what might have happened if this had been done previously, but many critics have stated that the great March disaster would have been avoided under a unified command. On November 12, 1917, after the creation of the Supreme War Council, Lloyd George said concerning it, ". . . The Italian disaster necessitated action without delay to repair it. . . It is true we sent troops to Saloniki to succor Serbia, but as always they were sent too late. Half the men who fell in the vain effort to pierce the Western Front in September that year would have saved Serbia, saved the Balkans, and completed the blockade of Germany . . . 1915 was the year of the Serbian tragedy; 1916 was the year of the Rumanian tragedy, which was a repetition of the Serbian story almost without change. . . National and professional traditions, questions of prestige and susceptibilities, all conspired to render our best decisions vain. . . The war has been prolonged by particularism. It will be shortened by solidarity." (*See above.*) These words seemed to point to a unified command, but Lloyd George was compelled to go back on



them, because the British General Staff, which was opposed to the scheme, was too influential with the British public and Parliament. The move was characterized as an attempt to subordinate the military to the political leaders. But Allied failure on the western front, such as at Cambrai, the collapse of Italy and the colossal defeat just suffered by the British arms, converted the British public to Lloyd George's point of view.

Ever since the United States entered the war, President Wilson had argued unity of command as well as the pooling of all the resources of the Allies. When the Germans struck in March, General Pershing offered the small American forces in France to the Allies for use in any way they saw fit, either to be used as an independent unit or to be broken up and brigaded with the British or the French. This act on the part of the American commander finally overruled the last objections on the part of the British Staff. General Foch, whose ability, achievements, and popularity, in the allied countries, eminently fitted him for the task, was named commander-in-chief of all the Allied armies. His first statement was an assurance that Amiens would not fall. In all the countries involved he was heartily welcomed as the savior of the world by the press and the public. Painlevé's words spoken at the same time as those of Lloyd George, quoted above, now became an actuality. "A single front, a single army, a single nation—that is the programme requisite for future victory."

*The Battle of the Lys River.*—As has been stated above the German High Command found itself, during the first week of April, in a rather dangerous salient from which it was unable to extricate itself. A stable position had

been reached by the Allies, and, if they were to be driven back, considerable more men and guns than the Germans had brought along with them on their 35-mile advance would be necessary. Possibly as a result of the von Hutier idea of changing the direction of the attack or possibly as a result of the check they received before Amiens, the Germans suddenly launched an attack between the high ground north of Ypres and Arras. The main part of the attack was aimed between the first mentioned positions and La Bassée, astride the Lys River. The Teutonic strategy was practically the same as that used in the Battle of Picardy. Instead of trying to separate the French from the British, the plan was to separate the British army at Ypres from that at Arras, and then roll up each part and reach the channel ports. A successful breakthrough would mean that the British army at Arras would be almost automatically thrown back upon the British and French armies that had retreated during the great March offensive. Apparently the Germans hoped to create a gap in the British forces under the command of General Horne, as they had done in Gough's 5th army the previous month, and then pour through the gap and spread out. This was another feature of the von Hutier method of attack. This was usually accomplished by concentrating a huge mass of men on a relatively small front. A breakthrough of any size would seriously imperil the channel ports, inasmuch as the British had scarcely 40 miles to manœuvre in. An advance similar to that before Amiens would have resulted in the capture of Calais, one of the chief bases of supply of the British armies. The chief objectives of the first German thrust were Béthune, Bailleul, and Hazebrouck. The last

named place was a little over 15 miles from the starting place of the attack, and if captured meant the fall of Ypres and the dislocation of the entire railway line behind the British and Belgian armies.

On April 9, the German High Command struck at a portion of the line between Estaires and Bac St. Maur, held by a Portuguese division, and smashed it completely, capturing Richebourceq-St. Vaast and Laventie. This attack created a gap of about three miles in the British lines and through this opening German troops began to pour and spread out in ever increasing numbers. On the 10th, the Germans crossed the Lys river at several points between Estaires and Armentières, and launched a terrific assault at the base of Messines Ridge, which resulted in the capture of the village and forest of Ploegsteert. These movements caused the fall of Armentières, which had been encircled, and its garrison, amounting to several thousand men. Attempts to take Givenchy and Festubert in the La Bassée sector were frustrated after a day of bitter fighting (the 11th). On the same day the Germans launched an attack all along the front from La Bassée to the Ypres-Comines Canal and took Estaires and Steenwerck. The Teutons as in their previous offensive were making rapid advances in the centre toward Hazebrouck, but were checked by the defenses around the wings at Ypres and Arras. Unless one or the other of these wings could be pierced the German advance was bound to be stopped before it could reach its main objective at Hazebrouck. On the 12th, Merville was taken and by the next day the Germans were only five miles from Hazebrouck. The seriousness of the British position may be gathered from General Haig's statement

to his troops on April 12. ". . . Many among us are now tired. To those I would say that victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest. . . . Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

On the 14th, it appeared that the German offensive had slowed up. They were held on both wings and in the centre of the salient, the British making a particularly desperate resistance at Neuve Eglise. The Allies, however, met with severe reverses on the 15th. The heroic defenders of Neuve Eglise were forced out and a terrific assault towards Bailleul and Wulverghem resulted in the capture of Bailleul, Wytschaete, and Spanbroeckmolen. On the 17th, the British after a bitter attack recaptured Wytschaete, but were almost immediately driven out again. On this same day the Germans occupied Poelcappelle, Langemark, and Passchendaele, which the British were compelled to evacuate, in order to escape the dangers of a salient, the base of supplies of which was nearer to the Germans than to the British themselves.

The capture of Wytschaete placed the British positions around Ypres in a very precarious situation. Messines Ridge on which this was located dominated all the British positions in Ypres and overlooked the means of communication with that city. The capture of Messines Ridge and the consequent possibility of cutting off Ypres, further seriously endangered the British positions on Passchendaele Ridge, which had been captured by the British at a tremendously heavy cost (estimated at

500,000 men) in the closing months of 1917. (*See above.*) In order to prevent a serious catastrophe the British retired to a line that ran from Bixschote to the neighborhood of Zonnebeke. As noted above the British failed to re-take Messines Ridge on the 17th. This failure compelled them to give up more ground, so that on the 18th their positions were almost identical with those they held after the first Battle of Ypres in 1914. The surrender of this territory was a terrible blow to British morale and pride. The first and second Battles of Ypres had made that city, in the eyes of all Englishmen, what Verdun was to the Frenchmen. The slogan, "They shall not pass," applied to both historic cities. While it is true that Ypres did not fall it was certainly on the verge of falling several times. Later events, however, proved that the resultant shortening of the British lines strengthened their general position. On the 18th and 19th the British lines, both new and old, held everywhere, and French reserves had arrived and were immediately in action in the neighborhood of Bailleul.

The Germans, checked for the time being in the north, made a heavy assault on Villers Bretonneux, southeast of Amiens, on the 24th. With the aid of a number of tanks (used for the first time since the great offensive began), they captured the village. At the same time just south of this French and American forces were compelled to abandon an unimportant salient near Hangard, in the valley of the Luce river.

Mount Kemmel, which seemed to be the only remaining key to the Ypres salient, was the scene of extremely bitter fighting from April 24th to the 27th. The Germans, prodigal of men as at Verdun, made frontal and flank attacks on the positions, until by sheer

weight of men and metal, they compelled the British and French to relinquish the height, as well as the villages of Kemmel and Dranoutre. Hundreds of Frenchmen refused to retreat and fought until they were killed, wounded or captured. The foggy weather again permitted the Germans to creep up to the allied positions before they were discovered. It is stated that the losses suffered by General von Arnim's army were so great that he was unable to follow up the fruits of his victory. Ypres did not fall as was expected because of the failure on the part of the Germans to capture Mont Rouge, Mont des Cats, Scherpenberg, and several other hills that belonged to the same range as Mount Kemmel. Heavy attacks in the neighborhood of Voormezelle, Scherpenberg, and Mont Rouge, were repulsed with such heavy losses that von Arnim was compelled to intrench and accept a defensive attitude. As a result, before fighting died down on this front about the middle of May, the French and British won local successes between Loere and Dranoutre (May 5) and Hill 44, north of Kemmel (May 12). German offensives toward Béthune and south of Dickebusch Lake not only failed, but were followed by Allied counter-attacks which won back considerable ground. Thus ended the second great German thrust. It failed to accomplish its purpose, although approximately 800 square miles of French and Belgian territory were occupied. The significant fact that remained after these two German attempts to gain a decision, was, that the 15-mile front between Lens and Arras held. This prevented the Germans from broadening their salients and thus, in a sense, limited the depth of their penetration, inasmuch as a narrow salient is constantly in danger of being "pinched."

*The Forcing of the Aisne and the Marne.*—As has been stated above, the purpose of the second great German offensive was to broaden the Picardy salient on its northern side so that the tip could be made wider and thus permit the centre to advance. The fact that the defensive around Arras, particularly Vimy Ridge, and around Ypres, particularly Mont Rouge, held against all assaults, forced the Germans to turn to the southern side of the Picardy salient and attempt to widen it there. Although their initial successes were great, they failed to achieve their object and merely created a new salient similar to those before Amiens and in the vicinity of Ypres. From the point of view of attrition, the third offensive, which reached the Marne at Château-Thierry, was really an allied victory, inasmuch as no real strategical gain resulted, despite the sacrifice of great numbers of men and a vast quantity of material. The Germans struck on a 30-mile front, which was later extended 20 miles further in the direction of Noyon. When the offensive ended they had penetrated 30 miles, but their fighting front had been reduced to six miles. Attempts to broaden this failed, and a salient, dangerous for the Germans, was formed.

A few days previous to the beginning of the Battle of the Aisne heavy artillery fire in the Picardy and Ypres salients seemed to presage an attack in those localities. When the real direction of the attack was revealed and the Germans forced the Chemin des Dames positions and the Aisne river with comparative ease, many critics believed that Marshal Foch had been out-generalled and out-manceuvred. Later events proved that he had adopted the best course of action, because, while he could doubtlessly have held these positions at

great cost, he achieved far better results by permitting the Germans to advance in the centre, while holding them on the wings, thus placing them in a vulnerable position.

On the 27th of May the third German offensive began. As in the previous two, great concentrations of men and material were made by the Germans with comparative ease, and apparently without the knowledge of the allies. The ability to concentrate large forces on a comparatively limited front was due to the fact that the Germans, not only were fighting on interior lines, but had a railway system which radiated like the spokes of a wheel from the hub to the rim. The Allies had to travel all around the rim before they could even bring up reinforcements. A three-hour artillery preparation, composed mainly of gas with a sprinkling of high explosives, preceded the infantry attack. The attacking force comprised 250,000 of the best fighting men in the German army. The British and French defenders consisted of between 50,000 and 75,000 men. The attack was on a 40-mile front from around Vauxaillon, near the Ailette, to Rheims. The chief attack was near Craonne and its purpose was to outflank the Chemin des Dames, in case it could not be taken by frontal assault. The entire Chemin des Dames line was overrun on the 27th, and the Allies retreated across the Aisne between Vailly and Berry-au-Bac, a distance of 18 miles, in relatively good order. On the 28th, the Germans drove forward about six miles on a 9-mile front, between Vauxaillon and Cauroy, took about 20 towns and villages, crossed the Aisne and Vesle rivers, and reached Fismes on the southern bank of the latter river. The allies were falling back in the centre, but on the Rheims side they held the Thillois-

Savigny-Brouillet line which protected the city. An attempt was made to do the same on the western side to protect Soissons, but the line failed to hold. The same day also saw the end of the German assaults in the Ypres and Picardy sectors, which were intended to divert attention from the main battle. The Allies recovered their lines on the Lys-Ypres front east of Dickebusch Lake and the Americans took Cantigny, near Montdidier, after a brilliant assault, and held it against several strong counter-attacks.

On the 29th, Soissons fell after an extremely heavy bombardment of high explosive and incendiary shells. Bitter street fighting occurred in which the French were, at first, uniformly successful, but as German reinforcements were continually arriving, they were finally compelled to retire. Soissons, an unfortified city, was a smoking ruin. On the 30th, the Germans continued their advance in the centre but were checked on the flanks. They captured Fère-en-Tardenois and Vezilly, and forced the Allies back on Rheims, but in the west were held along the Soissons-Château-Thierry highroad. They succeeded in wiping out the salient south of Noyon from the Oise canal to Soissons. The 31st saw an 8-mile drive to the Marne, which was reached on a 6-mile front from Château-Thierry to Dormans. Attempts in the next few days to broaden this front, particularly in the direction of Epernay, were severely repulsed.

On June 1st, the Germans began to widen this salient to the westward. They pushed six miles in that direction along the Ourcq, a tributary of the Marne. This push brought them beyond Neuilly and Chony, and reached Nouvron and Fontenoy northwest of Soissons. A heavy assault against

Rheims, with the intention of smashing the eastern side of the salient, was severely checked before it made any headway. The tide of battle was now slowly but surely swinging to the side of the Allies. Although the Germans had almost half a million men across the Aisne, General Foch, by calling on British, French, Italian, and American reserves, presented at least an equal number to them. On the next day French counter-attacks in force slowed up the German drive westward. The latter captured Troesnes, Longport, Corey, and Faverolles, but were almost immediately thrown out again after extremely bitter fighting. Faverolles changed hands several times, but ultimately remained in the hands of the Allies. On the 3rd, the Germans gained slightly west of Nouvron and Fontenoy and advanced a short distance west of Château-Thierry.

The German advance had now practically stopped and during the next few days, the French, with the assistance of the Americans, not only stopped the Germans, but drove them back in the neighborhood of Château-Thierry. On June 6, Franco-American troops advanced nearly a mile in the vicinity of Veully-la-Poterie, and American marines advanced more than two miles on a 3-mile front northwest of Château-Thierry. On the next day Veully-la-Poterie was captured and the Americans took Torcy and Bouresches, which they held against strong counter assaults. The subsequent activities of the Americans in this sector will be treated in the section dealing with the Battle of the Oise. On June 18, a terrific attack on Rheims, carried out by 40,000 Germans, was completely crushed. This blow was similar to that against Arras during the first German offensive of the year.

The German War Office announced that they had taken 45,000 prisoners and 400 guns. They had occupied 650 square miles of territory, had advanced a maximum depth of 30 miles, and created another salient with a narrow tip, only six miles along the Marne. No considerable strategical advantage had been gained, unless it be the fact that the Germans were now only 44 miles from Paris at the nearest point, instead of 62. The price paid, to gain what was merely a geographical advantage, was, conservatively, 110,000 men, killed, wounded, and captured.

*The Battle of the Oise.*—The Battle of the Aisne and Marne left the Germans in a very precarious position. The salient had to be widened, strongly fortified, or else, abandoned. The line from Château-Thierry was in the shape of a huge crescent with the bend facing towards the Germans. The German plan was to link up the Picardy salient with the Marne salient and thus wipe out the huge bulge in their line and besides capture Compiègne, Compiègne Forest, and Villers Cotterets Forest, and then use the first mentioned place for a direct attack on Paris. The river valleys of the Aisne, Oise, Marne, and Ourcq would then be available for a converging attack on Paris, the nerve centre of France. The strategy of the offensive was sound but its execution failed. In five days the Germans suffered their most ghastly failure of the whole war. This offensive lacked the element of surprise, which, undoubtedly, was the chief cause of the initial successes of the earlier offensives. The French command had made a minute survey of the field and placed artillery and machine guns in such positions as to enfilade all avenues of attack. They also made provisions in case of initial German successes, to check their forward movement

on second and third defense lines, as carefully prepared as the first. The French plan was to hold the front line lightly and resist the enemy on the combat lines, which were out of range of the German light artillery.

The attack was preceded by a heavy artillery attack, again mainly composed of gas, which lasted from midnight until 4:30 in the morning of the 9th of June. The Germans endeavored to bombard the back areas of the French front, with the hope of breaking up the reserves, which were known to be concentrated there. Following the policy adopted in the earlier offensives, heavy bombardments were carried out in the Picardy and Armentières salients. The attack began at 4:30 in the morning on a 20-mile front from Montdidier to Noyon. As in the previous battles the Germans advanced in the centre but were held on the flanks. The total advance on the first day was 2½ miles and was only attained after frightful losses. The Germans captured Reissons-sur-Matz and Mareuil-la-Motte. The French made a heavy counter-attack on the very first day between the Oise and the Aisne, which showed that the forces on both sides were nearly equal. On the next day the Germans advanced about three miles further and captured, after extremely bitter fighting, Mery, Belloy, and St. Maur. They also advanced from Thiescourt wood. The Teuton penetration was now about five miles and this was approximately the depth of their entire advance.

On the third day the Germans were compelled to bring up fresh divisions, and, with their aid, reached the Aronde river, a small stream on the western side of the battle line. They also advanced a mile along both banks of the Matz river and almost reached its junction with the Oise on its northern bank. On

the eastern end of the battle line, Ours-camps forest was enveloped. This day was the turning point of the battle, because, before it was over, two French counter-attacks had driven the Germans back between Ribescourt and St. Maur, and recaptured Belloy, Senlis wood, and the heights between Mortemer and Courcelles. They also captured Antheuil, but were compelled to give up Ribescourt and some ground along the Oise, which was outflanked by the drive along the Matz. On the next day the French gained further ground between Belloy and St. Maur. The Germans forced a crossing of the Matz and occupied Croix Ricard, Milicocq, and the heights around the latter place. On the 13th, the French again counter-attacked in force and drove the Germans back across the Matz. They also advanced in the vicinity of Courcelles. This ended the German offensive which resulted in the using up of over 300,000 German troops and the actual putting out of action of 80,000.

A word should be mentioned here of the activities of the Franco-American troops in the neighborhood of Château-Thierry. On the 10th the American marines moved forward in the Belleau wood and by the next day had captured all of it. The Americans also crossed the Marne at Château-Thierry on scouting expeditions. In the Lys river sector the British checked the abortive German offensive carried out simultaneous with the Battle of Oise and on June 15 captured and held the German first-line trenches around Béthune.

*The Second Battle of the Marne.*—On July 15, Ludendorff opened his fifth and what proved to be his last offensive of the year. It also proved to be the last German offensive of the war. It was under the personal direction of the German Crown Prince and

was called "Friedensturm" (peace offensive). The whole line attacked was roughly 60 miles long and extended from Château-Thierry to Dormans, around Rheims, and then east almost to the Argonne Forest. It is estimated that the German Crown Prince had more than 800,000 men available for this "peace offensive." The plan of attack was to encircle and capture Rheims by taking the Rheims mountains, and also to get control of the railway centre at Epernay, which would compel the French to give up the entire Champagne line, which was very strongly fortified, and thus leave the centre in a very vulnerable position.

The attack began at six o'clock on the morning of the 15th. The first blow was aimed at the Americans on both sides of Château-Thierry. The attack on Vaux was a mere diversion. The Germans crossed the Marne in force southeast of Château-Thierry between Fossoy and Mezy, compelling the Americans to retire on Condé-en-Brie. Here a counter-attack was immediately organized, which drove the Germans back across the river and left 1,500 prisoners in American hands. On other portions of the front the Germans were more successful. They crossed the Marne east of Dormans and advanced astride it in the direction of Epernay. At Bligny, southwest of Rheims, they penetrated positions held by Italian troops, and thus threatened to get in the rear of Rheims. Southeast of Rheims, the Germans made a fierce attack east of Prunay, with the idea of squeezing out the city, in conjunction with the advance at Bligny. General Gourand's troops put up a magnificent resistance and held the Germans to very slight gains after inflicting appalling losses on them.

On the 16th and 17th, further at-

tacks against the American forces were checked almost before they had started, but the pockets around Bligny and Prunay southwest and southeast of Rheims, respectively, were deepened. Everywhere else the Germans were held or driven back by counter-attacks. The distance across the base of the Rheims salient was scarcely 10 miles, which shows the critical position this allied bulwark was in. The aspect of the entire front was changed on the 18th, when the French and Americans began an offensive from the Marne to the Aisne, which was highly successful, and which changed a dangerous situation for the Allies into a more dangerous one for the Germans. It is estimated that the Crown Prince in this "peace offensive" used 400,000 men, just one-half of those available, and that at the end of three days one-fourth of those employed were on the casualty list.

*The "Pinching" of the Marne Salient.*

—Before the fifth German offensive was launched on July 15, Marshal Foch was considering a plan of counter-attack, drawn up by General Pétain, in conference with Generals Fayolle, Mangin, and Degoutte. This plan was approved by Marshal Foch, and while the Crown Prince was attempting to encircle Rheims and cross the Marne the details were being worked out. As has been related above, various attempts to widen the Marne salient had failed. As a result of these failures, the salient was entirely too deep and narrow to be safe. The Foch plan was to strike on the western side of this salient, along the line between Soissons and Château-Thierry. The preparations for this counter-attack were kept very secret. Vast quantities of supplies were stored up in the Villers-Cotterets forest, which lent itself admirably to the purpose. Great numbers of men of the

army of manœuvre (the existence of which the Germans doubted) were concentrated in the ravines and valleys of this forest without detection by the enemy.

For several weeks previous to the launching of the counter-offensive, small local attacks had prepared the way for the final assault. The Allies attacked on July 18 on a 28-mile front from Amblény, west of Soissons, to Bouresches, northwest of Château-Thierry. It was made without artillery preparation, the advancing infantry being protected by large numbers of tanks and a creeping barrage. The attack was made by Franco-American troops, the latter being most prominent in the Soissons and Château-Thierry regions. The blow took the Germans completely by surprise, and, as a result of it, and the vulnerability of the German lines, the Crown Prince and his armies were driven across the Vesle. The hinge of the entire German retirement was the high ground around Chaudon, southwest of Soissons. The first push netted the allies a six-mile advance to the Crise river, which runs around the Chaudun plateau and which joins the Aisne at Soissons. This brought General Mangin and his Franco-American forces to within a mile of the city, but the German High Command continued to hurl in fresh divisions in this vicinity which effectually prevented the withdrawal from becoming a rout. The Allies also advanced from 2 to 3 miles astride the Ourcq, and the whole German line from Soissons to Château-Thierry began to retreat. Assaults carried out by British, Italian, and French troops, along the line from Château-Thierry to Rheims, won initial successes, but were unable to make a breakthrough similar to that on the western side. Ludendorff was practic-



ing Foch's strategy during the previous drives, i. e., he was holding his wings while the centre retired. The Allies captured more than 16,000 prisoners and 300 guns in the first two days. By the 20th all the German troops south of the Marne had been forced over to the other side.

Château-Thierry was evacuated on the 21st, and on the same day Franco-American troops crossed the Marne and advanced four miles toward the Ourcq. On the next day Epieds was captured after several strong counter-attacks between the Ourcq and the Marne had been repulsed. By the 23rd the entire Soissons - Château - Thierry highroad, with the exception of a small portion south of the city (Soissons), was in the hands of the Allies. On the eastern leg of the salient, the British and Italian troops were striving to break through. At Vrigny and Bouilly they achieved local successes, but were unable to make a hole big enough to threaten the rear of the enemy. They did keep many German divisions actively engaged which might otherwise have been used to stem the allied advance. So far the Allies had captured 25,000 prisoners and more than 400 guns. Added to these was a great amount of war material which the Crown Prince had gathered for his "peace offensive" of July 18. On the 24th the Franco-American forces advanced two miles north of Château-Thierry and the British penetrated the German lines in the neighborhood of Vrigny on the eastern leg of the salient. On the next day the Germans made a heavy assault against the eastern leg, with the hopes of widening the salient, but they were thrown back everywhere. On this day the French captured Oulchy and, together with the Americans, occupied 40 square miles of territory. After a week of severe fight-

ing, the Crown Prince was using every effort to extricate his armies in the best possible shape out of a salient the neck of which was scarcely 20 miles wide. A German counter-offensive was practically out of the question.

By the 27th the Germans were in full retreat and the Franco-Americans advanced along the Ourcq toward Fère-en-Tardenois, which was captured the next day. On the 28th the Germans abandoned the line of the Ourcq, and the Allies crossed it from the south. On the eastern side of the salient the Allies crossed the Rheims-Dormans highway after bitter fighting. This threat to completely crush the Germans resulted in severe fighting in the vicinity of Vrigny and St. Euphraise. The advance to the Vesle river was marked by extremely heavy fighting between the Prussian Guards and the American forces at Sergy and Seringes. The former place changed hands nine times and the latter five before remaining in the hands of the Americans. On the 31st, the Germans made bitter but unsuccessful efforts to keep the Americans from Nesles Forest. On August 1 the allies struck on a 10-mile front north of Fère, penetrated two miles, captured the height north of Grand Rozoy, and advanced to Cramoisselles. This effectively broke the hinge around Soissons and enabled the French to enter the city on the 2nd after bitter street fighting. The advance on the 3rd was six miles deep in some places and recovered more than 50 villages, the most important of which was Fismes. The Germans were now completely behind the Aisne-Vesle line and made desperate attempts to hold the north bank of the latter river with the aid of the heavy artillery on the far side of the Aisne. The results of the first allied offensive of the year were enormous—35,000 prisoners and

more than 500 guns were in allied hands. They suffered comparatively slight losses. The Germans at home, as well as in the field, were convinced that their armies were not invincible. On the other hand, the Allies' morale was considerably heightened.

*The German Retreat to the Hindenburg Line.*—On August 8, 1918, Marshal Foch struck his second great blow. In many ways it resembled the Marne offensive. His aim was to "pinch" the over-extended salient in Picardy, reaching out toward Amiens. He was making his plans and preparations for this attack while the offensive was being carried out on the Marne. A series of local successes between Montdidier and Moreuil resulted in the capture of several admirable "jumping-off" places, such as Aubvillers and Sauvillers, which were located on the heights overlooking the Avre river. The immediate objective was the railroad running from Péronne to Roye.

The attack was on a front approximately 30 miles long from Amiens to Montdidier. Later this front was extended all the way to Soissons. The element of surprise was entirely with the Allies. The misty weather which accompanied the opening of the attack was strikingly similar to that during the beginning of the German attack on March 21. The allied aircraft, artillery and tanks, worked in complete harmony with the infantry. The British under General Rawlinson struck the Germans under General von der Marwitz before Moreuil and in three days drove them back 15 miles in some places and an average of 10 miles along the entire line. Most of the advance was on the plateau just south of the Somme river. During this time the French under General Debenedy, who were supporting the right of the British, crossed

the Avre river, in the face of an extremely destructive artillery fire, and wiped out strong enemy positions, which threatened to flank Rawlinson's advance. When he had accomplished this, he and Rawlinson began a concerted advance in the general direction of the Hindenburg Line. On the 13th, Montdidier fell and the French advanced six miles on a 13-mile front. In the north the British with the aid of a few Americans captured Morlancourt and Chippily ridge and advanced on Bray. The Germans had retreated by the 18th to the Albert-Chaulnes-Roye-Lassigny line and had lost most of the Lassigny plateau. The line bears a striking resemblance to the old Somme battlefront before the big British offensive in July, 1916. On the 13th the French struck between the Oise and the Matz rivers and captured Canny-sur-Matz. This blow also threatened Noyon, since that place was dominated by the artillery along the banks of the Oise.

On August 20, General Mangin, with the aid of American troops, launched an offensive from the Oise, near Ribecourt, to the Aisne, near Soissons. This was a part of Foch's plan to keep the whole line in action so that the German High Command would have great difficulty in bringing up reserves. Probably it was the activity of the Franco-Americans from Montdidier to Rheims that enabled the British to make such huge strides to the Hindenburg Line without suffering severe losses. The object of Mangin's blow was to secure the control of the plateau between the two rivers. On the 21st La Pommeraye was taken and the French in this vicinity had reached the front held before the Chemin des Dames offensive. Ten thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Franco-American troops. On the same day Lassigny fell and the

Germans evacuated Ourscamps forest, which was outflanked by the advance on both sides of the Oise. On the 23rd, the French advanced seven miles along the front from Lassigny to north of Soissons. They captured several villages and crossed the Ailette river. On the 23rd, the Third French Army crossed the Divette river, near Evricourt, and General Mangin's Tenth Army crossed the Oise river and the Oise canal at Manicamp, eight miles east of Noyon, and reached the outskirts of Morlincourt, which seriously threatened the entire Noyon salient.

Roye fell on the 27th, Chaulnes on the 28th, and Noyon on the 29th. The operation which resulted in the capture of Chaulnes drove forward eight miles and made it certain that the German retreat could not stop short of the Hindenburg Line. The fall of Noyon was followed by the French gaining a foothold on Mt. St. Siméon, northeast of that city. This position held up the French advance up the Oise, in the direction of La Fère, 12 miles away. They also crossed the Oise at Morlincourt and captured Beaurains and Quesnoy wood.

On the 30th, Mt. St. Siméon was completely occupied, and the Franco-Americans captured Juvigny, a small town north of Soissons, which was of great strategic importance because it controlled the Juvigny plateau. The entire line of the Roye-Noyon-Soissons railway was now in the hands of the Allies. During the next five days the Franco-Americans saw bitter fighting, but nevertheless made advances of an extremely important nature. They gained a strong foothold on the Soissons-St. Quentin highway, by the capture of Terny-Serny. This highway is on the plateau running along the northern bank of the Aisne. In conjunction

with this advance on and from the Juvigny plateau the French made rapid progress up the Ailette river and captured Crecy-au-Mont and Leury (Sept. 1). The result of this drive between the Oise and the Aisne in the neighborhood of Soissons was to outflank the German positions on the Vesle. Consequently, on Sept. 4, the Germans began a hasty retreat on a 20-mile front from the river, setting fire to ammunition dumps and other supplies that they could not take away with them. Their retreat was covered by the heavy artillery on the north bank of the Aisne and the Chemin des Dames. Franco-American troops forced a crossing of the Vesle on the very first day of the retreat and captured Blanzly, Chassemy, Vauxcère, Branelle, and Bucy-le-Long. By the eighth, the Allied troops were fighting around Villers-en-Prayeres and Revillon. By the middle of the month, the Germans were everywhere thrust behind the Aisne in the region as far as Vailly. The French now began preparations to make a direct assault on the St. Gobain forest and the western end of the Chemin des Dames. Laon could be seen in the distance.

In the meantime the other French armies operating just south of the Somme river were making rapid strides toward the Hindenburg Line. On September 4, the French gained northeast of Noyon and forced the Germans to beat a hasty retreat over the territory between the Canal du Nord and the Oise. On the 6th, Ham and Chaunoy fell, and the French advanced 6 miles in some places east of the Canal du Nord. During the next few days they made slow progress astride the Oise in the direction of La Fère. When the fighting slowed down the French and Americans were practically in the positions held by the French before the Hindenburg

line previous to the huge offensive of March 21.

The beginning of this section related that General Rawlinson smashed the southern side of the Amiens salient by striking from Albert to Montdidier. Foch gave the Germans no rest. After Rawlinson's blow had exhausted its possibilities, he hurled Byng's Third British army north of the Somme and took Bapaume, and when this blow exhausted its possibilities he hurled Horne's First British army astride the Scarpe and actually broke the Hindenburg Line, besides threatening Cambrai and Douai. The 1st, 3rd, and 4th British armies were fighting north of the Bray, Péronne, St. Quentin line. The activities of the French and Americans south of that line have already been described.

On August 21, Byng struck on a 10-mile front from the Ancre river to Moyenneville and took 7 villages. In the course of the next day's fighting the British captured Albert, after bitter street fighting, and advanced 2 miles on a 6-mile front. A similar gain was made the next day from Bray to the vicinity of Grandcourt, which resulted in the seizure of nine villages and an imminent threat to outflank Bapaume. On the 24th, the British captured Bray, on the Somme, 10 other towns, and the famous Thiépval ridge. It had taken approximately 3 months to take this position during the first Battle of the Somme (*see above*). The British swept on despite stiffening resistance and the utter disregard with which the Crown Prince of Bavaria hurled his reserves into the fray. Twelve more villages and the Albert-Bapaume highway were seized on the 25th. After steady pressure the Germans were compelled to give up Bapaume on the 29th, and to begin a retreat along the whole line south-

ward to Péronne and Brie on the Somme. Two days later the Austrians in a brilliant assault stormed Mt. St. Quentin and Feuillaucourt. The former position is the key to Péronne and this city fell on the 1st of September, along with Bouchavesnes and Ran-court.

The interest in the drive toward the Hindenburg Line now centres in the advances made by Horne's army, which struck astride the Scarpe, when General Byng's forward movement began to slow up. Nevertheless it was the success of Byng's push that made Horne's attack possible. Horne's blow was tremendously successful, because it not only broke the famous Hindenburg Line at its northern end but broke the famous Drocourt-Quéant switch line as well. The very first day of the new drive, August 26, saw the piercing of the Hindenburg Line. The Canadians captured Wancourt and Monchy-le-Preux. On the next day they smashed through the Hindenburg Line for four miles southeast of Arras, and occupied Cherisy, Vis-en-Artois, and the Bois-du-Sait. Scotch troops crossed the Sensée river, just south of the Cojeul, and captured Fontaine-les-Croisilles, besides seizing Rosux and Gavrelle, north of the Scarpe. On the 28th the Germans lost Croiselles and the Canadians took Boiry and Pelves, behind the Hindenburg Line. Bullecourt was reached on the 29th, and the British were face to face with the Drocourt-Quéant line which had held them up in their Cambrai offensive at the end of 1917 (*see above*).

The Drocourt-Quéant line was a very formidable line of defense intended to be a second barrier to the great bases at Cambrai and Douai. It branched off from the main line at Quéant and then ran almost parallel to it to Dro-

court. The British attacked it at 5 o'clock on the morning of September 2, under the protection of an extremely heavy barrage fire. The Germans had rushed every available man they had to stem the allied tide. The result was some of the bitterest fighting of the war. In their first attack the British penetrated 6 miles of the lines to a depth of four miles. They captured Dury, Mt. Dury, Cagnicourt wood and village, and Buissy, after desperate fighting. Tanks were often found operating far ahead of the infantry. During the second day, the British, having broken the line, penetrated 6 miles along a front of more than 20. Quéant was taken by storm, along with a dozen towns and villages. More than 10,000 prisoners fell to the British in this one operation.

The British now settled down to a slow but steady advance along the Bapaume-Cambrai road. It might be added here that Lens was evacuated by the Germans on September 4, but the Allies were unable to occupy it because it was saturated with poison gas. On September 8, Villévêque, and part of Havrincourt wood fell to the British. Four days later Havrincourt, Mœuvres, and Trescault were in their hands, and the threat toward Cambrai increased.

What might be called the second part of the Allied offensive was now over. It had begun with Rawlinson's attack on the southern side of the Picardy salient. Then the French and Americans, under Mangin and Debeney, joined in from Montdidier to the Chemin des Dames and the Vesle. After Byng had successfully struck north of the Somme, Horne struck astride the Scarpe and broke the Hindenburg and Drocourt-Quéant lines. The result was everywhere favorable to the Allies. With the exception of Flanders and

along the Aisne, the Germans were everywhere back to their starting place in March. The German people at home, although somewhat buoyed up by false reports, had lost their supreme faith in their army. Vast quantities of supplies and ammunition were captured or destroyed to prevent capture. Eight German divisions had been destroyed, since the beginning of the allied offensive up to the middle of September. Approximately 200,000 prisoners and 2,300 guns had fallen into the hands of the Allies. Almost 300,000 fresh American troops were pouring into France a month. Ludendorff's attempt to retreat to a smaller front was frustrated by Foch's tactics, the fundamental theory of which was to keep the enemy engaged all along the line and not to let him effectively use his reserves.

*The St. Mihiel Salient.*—By September 12, Foch realized that he had exhausted the possibilities of further immediate advance against the Hindenburg Line. Instead of resting, which, of course, would also permit the Germans to rest, he hurled the First American army against the St. Mihiel salient, and reduced it, thus confronting the Germans with the necessity of defending Metz and the Briey iron fields. This salient, enclosing the Woevre plain, and with its tip extending to the Meuse, had existed since the first year of the war. One of the most important results of Pershing's successful offensive was the freeing of the great French railway system running through Verdun, Toul, and Nancy. It was the loss of this railway that greatly hampered the bringing up of reserves during the Crown Prince's tremendous assaults on Verdun.

The plan of attack was to strike on both sides of the salient and crush it by advancing toward the centre. The chief

attack was made on the southern leg of the salient on a front extending about 12 miles due west of Pont-à-Mousson. The attack on the western leg of the salient extended for a distance of about 8 miles between Dommartin and Fresnes. Simultaneous with these attacks the French destroyed the bridges over the Meuse river at St. Mihiel. The attacks were made at 5 A.M. on September 12, after about 4 hours of artillery preparation. Foggy weather aided the attackers. The chief resistance was in the west, where the German positions were defended by the heights on the edge of the Woevre. The Americans stormed these heights, the highest of which is Les Eparges, and took the villages of Herbeuville, Hattonchâtel, Hanonville, Billy, St. Maurice, Thillot, and Hattonville, and during the night entered Vigneulles, which is at the southern end of the line of hills protecting this side of the salient. On the southern leg of the salient the results were just as successful to American arms. During the first day Labayville, St. Bauscant, Vilcey, Essey, and the important town of Thiaucourt were captured. During the night Pannes, Nonsard, Buxieres, and St. Mihiel were captured. Twenty-seven hours after the attack began, the forces advancing from the east and west met at Vigneulles and Heudicourt, and the St. Mihiel salient was no more. The American commanders operating under General Pershing were Generals Liggett, Dickman, and Cameron.

During the next few days the pocket was "mopped up" and the new lines consolidated. Sixteen thousand prisoners, among whom were many Austro-Hungarians, and almost 450 guns were taken. Besides these, vast stores of arms, ammunition, and military supplies were captured. Nearly 175 square

miles of territory and 70 villages were delivered from the enemy. The Allies were now in a position to seriously threaten Metz and the great Metz-Mézières trunk railway, one of Germany's main supply lines. Another important result, for the Germans as well as for the Allies, was to show that the American forces had reached a stage of development where they could be depended upon to take their full share in the war.

*The Argonne-Meuse Offensive.*—As has been related above, Marshal Foch, in the last week of September, began an offensive over the entire front from Switzerland to the sea. He attacked one flank in Flanders, the centre along the Hindenburg line, and now the other flank in Champagne. From the strategic point of view, the Champagne flank was by far the most important front. A break through of any size here would cut the lines of communication between Germany and her armies in France and Belgium. The Argonne-Meuse line was also the hinge of the German retreat in Belgium and northern France, and, if broken, would doubtlessly cause a huge débâcle. The German defenses in this region, both natural and artificial, were exceptionally strong. The bend in the Aisne, west of the Argonne Forest, the forest itself, and the Meuse River, were tremendous natural advantages. Besides these the German High Command, realizing the strategical importance of the sector, had placed many of its best divisions there, as well as profusely sprinkling the area with barbed wire and machine gun emplacements.

After the fall of the St. Mihiel salient, which really paved the way for this offensive, the First American Army took over the lines between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River. This army was to cooperate with General Gour-

and's French army which extended from the neighborhood of Rheims to where it joined the Americans in the Argonne. The attack began on the 26th of September, when the French advanced four miles and the Americans about six. By the 28th, the Americans had taken Montfaucon, Exermont, Garcourt, Cuisy, Septsarges, Malancourt, Ivoiry, Epinonville, Charpentry, Very, and

captured Cesnes, and advanced 2 miles up the Aire river valley. On October 5, the Germans before Gourand retired along a 12-mile front closely pursued by the French army. By the 11th, the French held the whole line of the Suippe river and the Americans had seized the heights dominating the Aire valley. So far the French had taken 21,000 prisoners and 600 guns. On the 14th, the Americans took St. Juvin, and two days later took the important town of Grand Pré and Champigneulle. On the 17th Romagne fell and the Americans were everywhere beyond the Kriemhilde positions. During the next day Bantbéville and Talma Farm were seized in surprise attacks. They changed hands several times before remaining in the possession of the Americans. On the same day the French crossed the Aisne near Vouziers, and made important gains toward Rethel.

The only German defense between the Americans and the Belgian border was the Freya-Stellung which ran from near Dun-sur-Meuse to the Bourgogne wood. About ten miles north of this line was the great trunk railway line running from Metz to Mézières, through Sedan and Montmedy. Part of the Freya line was seized on October 26 and the railway line was bombarded. On November 1, both General Pershing and General Gourand began their final advance. The latter crossed the Aisne between Rethel and Vouziers, and, advancing with Berthelot's army on the left, reached the outskirts of Mézières, when the armistice went into effect (November 11). General Pershing's forces reached Sedan on the 6th. Between that date and the 11th, east of the Meuse, he seized the heights of the Woivre, and had brought Metz into effective gunfire range.

The Franco-American advance in the



From *Current History Magazine*, published by the New York Times Co.

#### SCENES OF BITTEREST FIGHTING IN ARGONNE FOREST REGION.

10,000 prisoners. The French took Sevron, the Butte des Mesnil, and Navarin Farm. The Americans were within range of the Kriemhilde line which extended from Grand Pré to Damvillers across the Meuse. East of the Meuse the Americans captured Marcheville and Rieville, which strengthened the flank of the army west of the Meuse. On the 29th and 30th, General Gourand advanced to within five miles of Vouziers.

On October 4th, the Americans assaulted the Kriemhilde line and smashed their way through part of it. They

Argonne-Meuse region cut the German main line of communication (mentioned above) and foreordained a complete defeat within a very short time for Germany, had the armistice not intervened. Some of the bitterest fighting of the war occurred in this sector. Most of it was hand to hand, and the nature of the ground with its ravines, gullies, forests, etc., made it necessary to wipe out machine gun nests with infantry rather than with artillery. The Americans captured 26,000 prisoners and 468 guns. The French took about 30,000 prisoners and 700 guns. It is estimated that the Germans lost 150,000 men trying to defend their main line of communication.

*The Withdrawal from the Lys Salient.*—In order to save the Crown Prince of Bavaria's army from an overwhelming defeat similar to those suffered during the "pinching" of the Marne and Picardy salients, the German High Command determined to withdraw from the overextended salient south of Ypres. This withdrawal was accelerated by short, sharp blows under the direction of Field Marshal Haig. The first retirement was in the neighborhood of La Bassée on August 5. The British immediately occupied the abandoned trenches. This movement was followed by an attack on the Lawe river which advanced more than half a mile on a 5-mile line. Two days later the British made an advance between the Lawe and the Bourre rivers which penetrated 2000 yards and occupied 5 villages, including Locon. Marshal Haig then struck due west of Armentières, between Bailleul and Vieux-Berquin, and captured Outtersteene. These attacks were on the side of the salient, and besides gaining almost all of its area, placed the tip, pointing toward Nieppe forest, in a serious position.

Merville, almost at the tip of the salient, was entered on August 19, after an advance by the British on a 6-mile front. On August 30, the Germans evacuated Bailleul, and the next day the famous Kemmel Hill. Haig had planned to take this hill by assault with the aid of American divisions, but the German withdrawal forestalled him. The British on the same day advanced along the Lawe river on the southern leg of the salient. On September 2, American troops north of Wytschaete were thrown into battle and captured Voormezele, while the British were taking Neuve Eglise, and some territory east of Estaires. The situation remained almost stationary until the latter part of September, when the Allies began their great drive which wiped out not only the remainder of the Lys salient, but compelled the Germans to retire from the Belgian coast.

*Breaking the Hindenburg Line.*—In the section treating the German retreat to the Hindenburg Line it was narrated how certain sectors of this line were penetrated and how the Quéant-Drocourt was smashed. This section will deal with the breaking of the line, itself, the capture of Cambrai, St. Quentin, and Laon, and the advance across France and Belgium, until the armistice put an end to the fighting. The reader must bear in mind that while this tremendous drive was pushing the German centre back, the Allies were crushing one flank in Flanders and the other in the Meuse-Argonne Forest region. In the bitter fighting that resulted in the breaking of the famous defense system, the 27th and 30th American divisions played conspicuous parts.

Although the main attack was made on September 29, important advances in the direction of Cambrai were made on the 27th, when Generals Byng and



Horne with the American 2d Corps (27th and 30th divisions), struck on a 14-mile front before Cambrai, crossed the Canal du Nord, took 6,000 prisoners and several villages, and pierced the outposts of the Hindenburg Line. On the 28th, Marcoing, Fontaine-Notre-Dame, Cantaing, and Noyelles were taken along with 4,000 more prisoners. On the 29th, General Rawlinson, with the aid of the Americans, struck on a 30-mile front from St. Quentin to the Sensée Canal. The former crossed the Scheldt Canal and the latter, after seizing Bellicourt and Nauroy, entered the suburbs of Cambrai, itself. General Horne now attacked in the Arras sector and advanced toward Douai by capturing Oppy and Biache-St. Vaast. This compelled the Germans to retire from the Lens coal field regions. Byng, by crossing the Scheldt Canal northwest of Cambrai, threatened the city from that direction.

While these operations were going on around Cambrai, the fate of St. Quentin was being sealed. After nibbling operations, the French and British captured Thorigny and Le Tronquoy, about three miles from the city (September 30). On the first of October, General Debeney's army occupied part of the city, and on the next day seized all of it. In the meantime Rawlinson's army forced the Scheldt Canal and occupied Le Catelet and Beauvoir.

On October 9, a great drive covering the whole line from Cambrai to the neighborhood of St. Quentin was begun without artillery preparation. It was a tremendous success, penetrating 9 miles on a 20-mile front. Cambrai was occupied on the very first day, which necessitated a further retreat on the Arras-Lens front toward Douai. By the 10th, the British had advanced their lines to the Selle river between Solesmes

and St. Souplet, and captured the important German base of Le Cateau. On the next day the Germans abandoned the line along the Sensée river, and the Allies were closing in on Douai. This city fell on the 17th. Steady progress was made east of Cambrai and north-east of St. Quentin, in the general direction of Valenciennes, Maubeuge, and Hirson, an important supply centre.

On the 20th, the British forced a crossing of the Selle north of Le Cateau and on the 22d advanced from northwest of Tournai to southwest of Valenciennes, patrols actually reaching the suburbs of the latter city. On the 25th the Valenciennes-Le Quesnoy railway was reached on a 7-mile front. On November 2 Valenciennes fell after a "pinching" operation, and the British advanced along the road to Mons. On November 4, the British and Americans struck on a 20-mile front between the Scheldt and the Oise-Sambre Canal and captured 10,000 prisoners and many guns, thus forcing the Germans to make a 75-mile retreat from the Scheldt to the Aisne. As a result of this the French took the fortified city and railroad centre of Hirson, and the British captured the fortress of Maubeuge on the 9th of November. On the 11th, the last day of fighting, the British captured Mons, the scene of their defeat and retreat in August, 1914.

In considering the breaking of the Hindenburg Line, the events that occurred between the Oise and the Aisne and which resulted in the capture of Laon and the Chemin des Dames, must be included. Foch determined to use his "pincers" method on a large scale in order to take Laon. In order to accomplish this he had to advance through the formidable forest of St. Gobain and recapture the Chemin des Dames positions. After the "pinching"

of the Marne salient (July, 1918), the Franco-Americans had nibbled away at the German positions in order to get a good place to start their offensive. The Americans had taken the Juvigny plateau and later the French seized the Vauxaillon plateau just south of the Aisne. The German Crown Prince made repeated and bitter counter attacks to retake these strategical positions, but they were all futile as well as costly. On September 28, General Mangin's Franco-American army captured Fort de Malmaison, the old lime stone position which is in the rear of the Chemin des Dames positions. Then began a slow advance between these positions and the Ailette river, as well as between the Aisne and the Vesle. General Berthelot, in conjunction with General Mangin, and with the aid of Italian troops, began an advance northwest of Rheims, which resulted in the capture of Berry-au-Bac on October 7. On the 9th, Bazancourt and Vaux-les-Mauron fell. By the 12th, Mangin had succeeded in occupying practically the entire Chemin des Dames positions. The next day saw the success of Foch's strategy, because the St. Gobain Forest, La Fère, and Laon, were evacuated by the Germans with scarcely any fighting.

Mangin now advanced rapidly between the Aisne and the Oise rivers, with the idea of reaching the Franco-Belgian frontier between Hirson and Mézières. When the Germans began their 75-mile retreat from the Scheldt to the Aisne, Mangin, with Debeney on his left, exerted strong pressure on the Teutonic flank. By the 8th of November, he was at the outskirts of Mézières, but was unable to capture it before the armistice was signed on the 11th.

Thus ended the battle or series of

battles which resulted in the breaking of the Hindenburg Line, and which were directly responsible for the Germans suing for an armistice. The fall of the great bases at Cambrai, St. Quentin, La Fère, and Laon, left the Germans with no easily defended line west of the Rhine. It is extremely doubtful whether the Germans could have reached the Rhine with sufficient men, material, and organization, to prevent an invasion of Germany by the Allies, on a grand scale.

*The German Retreat from Belgium.*—By the last week in September, Foch had wiped out the Marne, Picardy, Lys, and St. Mihiel salients and the Germans everywhere were practically back to their lines of March 21, and in some instances behind them. Foch now planned a concerted attack on the flanks and in the centre all the way from the sea to the Alps. On September 28 he struck the German flank which rested on the sea coast, by sea and by land. The land attack was aided by a heavy bombardment all along the coast from Nieuport to Zeebrugge by the British fleet.

The attack was made by the reorganized Belgian army, under the personal direction of King Albert, and the British Second Army, under General Plumer, on a ten-mile front from Dixmude to Passchendaele Ridge, north of Ypres. This initial attack penetrated approximately 4 miles and resulted in the capture of 4000 prisoners and a great quantity of supplies of all kinds. All of Houthulst forest and several villages were also taken. On the next day the Belgians tore a hole in the permanent German lines and captured Dixmude, Passchendaele, Stadenberg, Moorslede, and Zarren, and were only 2 miles from Roulers. This city was won and lost by them in the course of the

next day. On this same day the British took the formidable Messines and Passchendaele ridges, and Gheluvelt. On the 1st of October, the Allies crossed the Menin-Roulers road and struck in a southerly direction, reaching the Lys river between Wervioq and Warneton.

The threat to envelop the industrial centre of Lille had now become so pronounced and had created such a serious position for the German forces, that the German Command determined to evacuate it, which necessitated a retirement from the Belgian coast. Consequently, on the 2nd the Germans began the evacuation of the city and a retreat on both sides of the La Bassée canal. This retreat was accelerated by the joining of General Degoutte's French army to the Belgian and British armies. The Belgians captured Hooglede and Handzeeme northeast of Roulers, and the British seized Rolleghecapelle, between Courtrai and Roulers. Armentières was entered on the same day. So far the Germans had lost 25,000 prisoners and 150 guns.

After a week and a half of further preparation, the Allies struck an extremely heavy blow aimed at clearing the west bank of the Scheldt as far as Ghent. The attack extended from the Lys, near Comines, to the sea. The Belgians drove forward 7 miles north of a line running from Handzeeme to Courtemarck, and the French and British to the Hooglede plateau and Winckelhoek and Lendeledé. The German forced retreat from Belgium now began in earnest. The Belgians advanced steadily along the roads to Bruges and Ostend from Thourout, and the French advanced toward Thielt, while the British advanced along the Lys from Comines. On the 17th the British entered Lille, and naval forces entered Ostend, which had been evacuated. On the next

day Zeebrugge was entered, as well as Bruges, Thielt, Courtrai, Tourcoing, and Roubaix. The total number of prisoners taken was 40,000.

Between the 20th and 25th of October, the French and Belgians added 11,000 more prisoners to the total by forcing the Lys Canal in the direction of Ghent. The British in the south took Bruay and Estain. On the last day of the month, Byng's army, with the aid of the 30th American division, struck between the Lys and the Scheldt from Deyuze to Avelghem and captured several villages and towns. While this operation was going on the British and French were driving the Germans back on Ghent and the line of the Scheldt. The retreat was precipitous. On November 3, the Belgians advanced 10 miles along the Dutch frontier and reached the Terneuzen (Dutch)-Ghent canal. This advance coupled with that of the French and British in the south brought the Allies to within 5 miles of Ghent. The British forced the Scheldt near Pofter and began an advance on Brussels. Tournai fell to the British on November 9 and when the fighting ceased two days later, the line in Belgium ran almost north and south from Terneuzen to north of Audenarde and then southeasterly to Mons.

General Foch had thus successfully turned the German flank and, if the armistice had not intervened, it is safe to predict that supreme disaster awaited the German armies as a result of this movement. General Foch is credited with the statement that the German army would have been captured or destroyed within six weeks (after November 11), but he had agreed to an armistice to save lives. More than 60,000 prisoners and 500 guns of all calibres had been captured in this flank movement.

*The End of the War.*—Negotiations between the United States and Germany which began on October 5 ended on November 5, when President Wilson in his note of that date informed the Germans that General Foch had been authorized by the United States and the Allies to open negotiations with accredited German agents. See section below entitled *Peace Proposals*. This was followed two days later by announcement that German agents had been appointed and were about to leave the German Headquarters at Spa, Belgium. They were received at General Foch's quarters the next day and received the terms of the armistice from him. A request to stop hostilities until the terms had been sent to the German headquarters was refused. After several delays the terms were accepted by Germany on November 11, at 5 o'clock A.M. Paris time. They were as follows:

"I. Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

"II. Immediate evacuation of invaded countries: Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

"III. Repatriation, beginning at once and to be completed within fourteen days, of all inhabitants of the countries above mentioned, including hostages and persons under trial or convicted.

"IV. Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following equipment: Five thousand guns (2,500 heavy, 2,500 field), 30,000 machine guns. Three thousand minenwerfers. Two thousand airplanes (fighters, bombers—firstly, D, seventy-three's and night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in situ to the Allies and the United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the annexed note.

"V. Evacuation by the German armies of the

countries on the left bank of the Rhine. These countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the allied and United States armies of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be determined by allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine—Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne—together with bridgeheads at these points in thirty kilometer radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to it forty kilometers to the east from the frontier of Holland to the parallel of Gernsheim and as far as practicable a distance of thirty kilometers from the east of the stream from this parallel upon the Swiss frontier. Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhine lands shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of eleven days—in all, twenty-five days after the signature of the armistice. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated according to the note annexed.

"VI. In all territory evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No destruction of any kind to be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact as well as military stores of food, munitions, equipment not removed during the periods fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be moved. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroad, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired.

"VII. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives, 50,000 wagons, and 10,000 motor lorries in good working order with all necessary spare parts and fittings shall be delivered to the Associated Powers within the period fixed for the evacuation of Belgium and Luxemburg. The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within the same period, together with all pre-war personnel and material. Further material necessary for the working of railways in the country on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the upkeep of permanent ways, signals and repair shops left entire in situ and kept in an efficient state by Germany during the whole period of armistice. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. A note appended regulates the details of these measures.

"VIII. The German command shall be responsible for revealing all mines or delay-acting fuse disposed on territory evacuated by the German troops, and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. The German command shall also reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or polluting of springs, wells, etc.) under penalty of reprisals.

"IX. The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allies and the United States armies in all occupied territory. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhine land (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

"X. An immediate repatriation without reciprocity according to detailed conditions, which shall be fixed, of all allied and United States prisoners of war. The allied powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of these prisoners as they wish.

"XI. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot with all the medical materials required.

"XII. All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Russia, Rumania or Turkey, shall withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August 1, 1914.

"XIII. Evacuation by German troops to begin at once, and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilian as well as military agents now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

"XIV. German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Rumania and Russia (as defined on August 1, 1914).

"XV. Abandonment of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

"XVI. The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier either through Danzig or by the Vistula in order to convey supplies to the populations of those territories or for any other purpose.

"XVII. Unconditional capitulation of all German forces operating in East Africa within one month.

"XVIII. Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month, in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all civilians interned or deported, who may be citizens of other allied or associated States than those mentioned in Clause Three, Paragraph Nineteen, with the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and the United States of America remain unaffected.

"XIX. The following financial conditions are required: Reparation for damage done. While such armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery or reparation for war losses. Immediate restitution of the cash deposit in the National Bank of Belgium, and in general immediate return of all documents, specie, stocks, shares, paper money, together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries. Restitution of the Russian and Rumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that power. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

"XX. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

"XXI. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of the allied and associated powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

"XXII. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of America of one hundred and sixty German submarines (including all submarine cruisers and mine laying submarines), with their complete armament and equipment in ports which will be specified by the Allies and the United States of America. All other submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the allied powers and the United States of America.

"XXIII. The following German surface warships, which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or for the want of them, in allied ports, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and placed under the surveillance of the Allies and the United States of America, only caretakers being left on board, namely: Six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers, including two mine layers, fifty destroyers of the most modern type. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America. All vessels of the auxiliary fleet, trawlers, motor vessels, etc., are to be disarmed.

"XXIV. The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany

outside German territorial waters and the positions of these are to be indicated.

"XXV. Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers. To secure this the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries and defense works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Cattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters, without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

"XXVI. The existing blockade conditions set up by the allied and associated powers are to remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture.

"XXVII. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

"XXVIII. In evacuating the Belgian coasts and ports, Germany shall abandon all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, cranes and all other harbor materials, all materials for inland navigation, all aircraft and all materials and stores, all arms and armaments, and all stores and apparatus of all kinds.

"XXIX. All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in Clause Twenty-eight are to be abandoned.

"XXX. All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the allied and associated powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

"XXXI. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

"XXXII. The German Government will notify the neutral Governments of the world, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the allied and associated countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of shipbuilding materials or not, are immediately cancelled.

"XXXIII. No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag

are to take place after signature of the armistice.

"XXXIV. The duration of the armistice is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period, on failure of execution of any of the above clauses, the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties on forty-eight hours' previous notice.

"XXXV. This armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy-two hours of notification."

This armistice has been signed the Eleventh of November, Nineteen Eighteen, at 5 o'clock (A.M.) French time.

F. FOCH  
R. E. WEMYSS  
ERZBERGER  
A. OBERNDORFF  
WINTERFELDT  
VON SALOW

The evacuation of the territory west of the Rhine went along very smoothly. The Allies were hailed as deliverers everywhere, especially in Alsace-Lorraine, which was triumphantly entered by French forces. A similar entry was made by King Albert and his Queen riding at the head of his troops. The British took over the administration of the zone around Cologne, the Americans that around Coblenz, and the French that around Mayence.

On December 14, 1918, the terms of the armistice were renewed for a month, or until January 17, 1919. During this period the conditions that were unfulfilled were to be completed. The following provision was also added to the general terms: "The Allied High Command reserves the right to begin, meanwhile, if it thinks it wise in order to assure new guarantees, to occupy the neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine to the north of the bridgehead of Cologne, up to the Dutch frontier. This occupation will be announced by the Allied High Command by giving six days' notice."

Subsequent renewals of the armistice terms occurred during the time that the peace conference was holding its meetings at Paris.

**III. Eastern Theatre.** An unexpected blow by the Russians through East Prussia early in the war would have upset the German plan, but for the superior generalship of Von Hindenburg (Tannenberg). Meanwhile the Austrian advance to hold the main Russian armies failed in the rout through Galicia, and October, 1914, found the Russians astride the Carpathians. To save the Austrians, Germany hurried troops from France and organized a counter-offensive through Poland, which developed during the winter and spring, 1914 and 1915, and drove the Russians far behind their own frontier.

Trench warfare marks this front during 1915-16 until June, 1916, when the Russians, finding Austria advancing in Italy and Germany engaged at Verdun, once more began a successful drive through Galicia that reacted on the Italian and Verdun fronts. This success was followed by the Russian revolution which ultimately prevented that country from being a factor in the war.

The detailed account of these military operations falls under the following heads: (1) Russian drive into East Prussia, outgeneraled by Hindenburg and culminating in defeat at Tannenberg; (2) Austrian advance through Galicia to cut the Kiev-Warsaw railroad; (3) defeat of this Austrian campaign and pursuit by the Russians to the Carpathians; (4) German advance in Poland, including first attack on Warsaw; (5) siege of Przemysl; (6) Austro-German advance in Galicia, with rout of Russians, including loss of Poland, and taking up of intrenched line from Riga to Dvinsk to Lutsk and down

to the outer Bukowina border; (7) Brusiloff's drive into Galicia, June, 1916; (8) the Russian Revolution; (9) Russia under the Bolsheviki. The struggle on the east front was conditioned by a number of circumstances. We have first the German plan itself, to smash the French and then turn upon the Russians before they could get ready. A corollary of this proposition was the retention on the east front of but few troops. Next we must take into account the fact that the Russians mobilized and were in readiness far faster than any one thought they possibly could. Lastly, and of paramount importance, is the nature of the terrain and its organization in view of war, and then the configuration of the frontier itself. The striking feature of this configuration is that Russian Poland projects like a huge bastion between Prussia on the north and Galicia on the south. The political frontier separating the conterminous states is, on the whole, not a military frontier. Hence Russian Poland lies peculiarly exposed to attack from the north, west, and south. On the German frontier of East Prussia lie the Masurian lakes, forming a natural obstacle to invasion either east or west. On the south, and some distance from the political frontier, stretches the Carpathian Range, the natural protection of Hungary. Through this great central plain run many rivers; chief of these are the Niemen in Courland and Kovno, and the Vistula roughly bisecting Russian Poland. In Germany the foresight of the general staff had furnished a complete network of railways, but in Russia and in Russian Poland there were comparatively few. The German frontier was protected by important fortresses—Königsberg, Graudenz, Thorn, Posen. In Russian Poland, besides the fortified

capital, Warsaw, there were Novogeorgievsk, northwest of Warsaw, and Ivan-gorod, southeast, and the line of fortresses along the Narew River terminating in Ossowiec (on the Bobr). East of Warsaw, at the junction of the railways from Petrograd and Kiev, lies Brest-Litovsk on the Bug. It stands on the western rim of a great stretch of almost impenetrable marshes, the Pri-pet Marshes.

Russia at once took the offensive. But it was plain that before she could advance, or attempt any great movement from her own domain of Poland, she would have to clear both East Prussia and Galicia of the Germans and Austrians respectively. The German idea apparently was to hold East Prussia and the remainder of the frontier to Galicia, while Austrian armies were to advance northwest into Poland, and eastward into Volhynia, and thus hold off or engage any Russian forces that might undertake operations in this region. The Russian commander in chief was the Grand Duke Nicholas,\* until superseded by the Czar (Nicholas II) in September, 1915.

*Invasion of East Prussia.*—Whatever the motives that induced the course, the Russians opened the campaign by an invasion of East Prussia. Three railways cross the frontier of this province—the main line Petrograd-Ber-

lin, at Wirballen; the Bialystok-Lyck railway; and the Warsaw-Danzig, through Mlawa and Soldau. The Germans had made no effort to fortify their frontier save in so far as the great positions of Königsberg and Danzig may be said to have fortified it.

In August, 1914, at the outset of the war, the Russians sent in two armies, one from the Niemen, resting on the fortresses of Kovno and Grodno, under General Rennenkampf,† and the other from the Narew under Samsonoff, each of them about 250,000 strong. Rennenkampf was the first to come into contact with the Germans under Von François, who, seriously outnumbered, fell back after fighting delaying actions to Gumbinnen, where on August 20 after a stubborn resistance he was defeated. He retired on Insterburg, but made no attempt to hold the place, which was entered by the Russians on August 24. Rennenkampf now continued his advance west and southwest, clearing the country, and approached closely to Königsberg, without however really menacing that formidable fortress. Samsonoff, marching northward, found only inferior numbers to oppose him, engaging them at Soldau, Neidenburg, Allenstein, and Frankenau. The result of the campaign so far had been to drive the Germans out of a great part of East Prussia, where two armies, totaling nearly 500,000, were about to join hands. Samsonoff's army occupied the line Soldau-Alenstein-Frankenau while Rennenkampf's ran northwest-southeast along the line Friedland-

\* NICHOLAS (NIKOLAI NIKOLAIEVITCH), GRAND DUKE. Born (1856) at St. Petersburg. Graduated from Nikolaiev Military Academy, became a member of Russian General Staff and aide-de-camp to Czar. Began career as junior officer in Russo-Turkish War. Lieutenant General (1893), inspector of cavalry (1895), major general of the Guards and President of Council of Defense (1905), commander of military district of St. Petersburg (1906). Interested in military science and gave special attention to history of European strategy. Leader of aggressive Pan Slavism. Commander in chief of Russian army at outbreak of European War in 1914. Superseded in 1915, by the Czar.

† RENNEKAMPF, PAUL K. VON. Born (1854) in one of the Baltic Provinces. Entered military service (1870) and after attending military academy called to the staff. Given command of Transcaucasian army (1899) and next year made major general. Won distinction by daring raids in Russo-Japanese War. Notoriously severe in his repressive measures in revolution of 1905.





# WAR AREA OF EASTERN EUROPE

SCALE OF STATUTE MILES  
0 20 40 60 80 100 120

SCALE OF KILOMETERS  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

Railroads Canals

16° 18° 20° 22° 24° 26° 28°

58° 56° 54° 52° 50° 48°

A B C D E F

1 2 3 4 5 6

Longitude East from Greenwich 24°



Angerburg. The situation was serious for the Germans, who had left but few troops (5 corps of the active army) in this region of the theatre of war.

After their initial successes in East Prussia the Russians pushed their cavalry patrols almost to the lower reaches of the Vistula. It was even reported that they had begun the investment of Königsberg. Apart from sentimental reasons, the permanent retention by the Russians of East Prussia would have paralyzed German efforts in that region, and affected the whole course of the war in the East.

The business of clearing the country of the enemy was intrusted to Von Hindenburg,\* a retired general thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the region. His first task was to assemble an army, which he did from the troops that had retreated before the Russians, from part of Von François' army and from the Vistula fortresses. He thus got together some 150,000 men, with whom he advanced into East Prussia. The two Russian armies had in the meantime become separated, Rennenkampf going down the railway from Insterburg towards Königsberg, while Samsonoff had got as far west as Osterode, where lay his right with his left further south along the Soldau-Ortelsburg railway. Far outnumbering Von Hindenburg, Samsonoff could derive no advantage from his superior strength because his troops were, so to say, tan-

gled up in the lake-and-swamp region in which they had become involved.

Von Hindenburg stood with his left near Allenstein, across the Osterode-Insterburg railway, his centre near Gilgenburg, and his right at Soldau. With his front protected by the nature of the ground, the roads on his flanks gave him opportunity, should it be necessary, to pass troops around either flank. Having, on August 26, repulsed the Russian attacks, Hindenburg on his right forced the enemy back towards Neidenburg, and thus got control of the road to Mława. To meet this German effort, Samsonoff strengthened his left, and on the 27th tried to win back the road. In this he failed; his centre at the same time fell back. Meanwhile Hindenburg had been sending men by the thousands northeast, past Allenstein, to envelop the Russian right. On the 28th and 29th there was severe fighting for the possession of Passenheim, on the railway from Ortelsburg to the main line, in which the Germans were successful. But one line of retreat was now open to the Russians, the road running east through Ortelsburg towards Lyck, with the Germans well to the eastward of Passenheim. The Russians by this time had both their flanks turned and their centre driven in, and that by an army markedly inferior in numbers. Accordingly on the 30th the retreat began, and on the 31st the destruction of Samsonoff's army was complete. He was himself killed, 90,000, and possibly more, prisoners were taken, 30,000 or more killed and wounded, guns lost by the hundreds, and all sorts of stores abandoned. Samsonoff had marched into a trap and there been crushed by inferior numbers compensated by superior generalship, extreme mobility, freedom of movement, and control of communication. Barely

\* HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORF UND VON, born (1847) in Posen. Entered army in 1866 and same year served in war against Austria, and in Franco-Prussian War (1870-71). Received military education (1872-75). Served in General Staff and as head of War Department. Became major general in 1900 and lieutenant general in 1903. Was retired in 1911 but recalled at beginning of great war in 1914 and given command of campaign against Russia. At Tannenberg won great victory against Russians. Received Iron Cross in 1870 and 1914. Made Field Marshal in 1914.

more than one corps of the five composing the army managed to escape.

The battle over, Hindenburg set out northeastward. But Rennenkampf had fallen back towards the Niemen on hearing of Samsonoff's fate. He fought a rear-guard action at Gumbinnen, followed by more fighting at Augustowo, and retired behind the Niemen, September 23. Von Hindenburg tried the crossings, failed, was pursued by Rennenkampf, and after suffering severely in the Augustowo morasses (October 1-9) was relieved to take command in Poland. In the meantime the centre of interest had shifted to Galicia.

*Conquest of Galicia.*—The German plan of campaign contemplated, as we have seen, the crushing of France, while Russia should be held by the Central Powers. In form, so far as Austria was concerned, this holding was to be an invasion of Russian Poland. South of the frontier two railways run roughly parallel to the boundary, and from these two run branch lines and feeders. The Russians were not nearly so well off in the matter of transportation. Given, therefore, the supposed slowness of Russia's mobilization and the poverty of her rail system, an invasion of Russian Poland seemed to be a promising undertaking. It would at any rate hold Russian forces in the region and thus prevent their coöperation with those invading East Prussia further north. The invasion was made by two armies, the first under General Dankl, of over 300,000 men, with its base on Przemyśl and Jaroslaw, and for its objective to push northeast to Lublin and Kholm, and cut and hold the Warsaw-Kiev railway. This done, Brest-Litovsk would be threatened and with it communication with Warsaw. To protect this army on the right and rear, a second army under General von Auffen-

berg\* was to advance northeast from Lemberg. This army mustered also probably 300,000 men. A third, or reserve army, under the Archduke Frederick, was sent forward on Dankl's left in the direction of Kielce. If with this offensive we couple a German offensive coming down from the north, and the possibility of troops from Silesia joining hands with the 3d Austrian army, it must be admitted that the plan of attack was not without merits. But as a matter of fact, the Russians by the end of August, 1914, had brought into Galicia from Kiev and Odessa armies totaling more than 1,000,000 men. They allowed Dankl to advance, practically unopposed, almost as far as Lublin. There was a battle at Krasnik, in which the Austrians were successful. The real Russian strength all this time was gathering behind Lublin and Kholm, where two armies under Ivanoff waited for the moment to strike. When September came, the Austrians found opposed to them, in this region, forces at least as great as their own.

In the meantime Von Auffenberg had pushed on to Tomaszow, his purpose being, as already stated, to guard Dankl's right. Contact was established August 11 at Brody, and two days later at Sokal, where the Russians were successful. On the 17th began the general advance against Austria. The commander-in-chief on this front was Ruzsky (2d army), assisted on his left by Brusiloff † (3d army), who between them had

\* MORITZ, RITTER VON AUFFENBERG, born (1852) in Troppau, Silesia; became lieutenant (1871); field marshal (1905); Austro-Hungarian Minister of War (1911); general of infantry; commander of a corps at beginning of European War and won victory at Kamarow; retired soon after; accused of plot to sell military secrets to Russia and imprisoned at Spandau (1915).

† ALEXEI ALEXEIEVITCH BRUSILOFF, born (c. 1860) at Kutais in the Russian Caucasus; of a family long distinguished in Russian military and political life; educated at Tiflis and in a

over 600,000 men. On discovering the strength in front of him, Von Auffenberg drew reinforcements from the reserve army. It is possible that on both sides there were not far from 1,200,000 men, with the advantage slightly in favor of the Russians.

On August 17 Ruzsky attacked Von Auffenberg. He crossed the frontier on the 22d, as did Brusiloff further south. On the 23d Brusiloff drove the Austrians out of Tarnopol; they fell back on the Zlota Lipa, where they made a stand, but were finally beaten back in the direction of Halicz. Ruzsky in the meantime had been thrusting at the Austrian left and centre. The Austrians finally took up a strong position 70 or 80 miles long in front of Lemberg, and extending from Busk in the north to Halicz in the south. Here they were attacked on August 26-27 by Brusiloff and Ruzsky together, and beaten, their right having been turned at Halicz, and their left thrown back.

The result of this great battle was that Lemberg fell into Russian hands, and that the Austrians retired in disorder. The losses on both sides were very heavy. In prisoners, the Austrians are said to have lost 100,000. Lemberg, on account of its rail connections, was a valuable capture. On September 4, after the defeat of Von Auffenberg, the Russians opened on Dankl. There had been more or less fighting before this date in the region between the two Austrian armies, e.g., at Tomaszow, where the Austrians were seriously beaten; the Russian

front Lublin-Kholm had itself been attacked, but without effect. Under the pressure of the Russians, Dankl was forced to fall back on a front of 75 or 80 miles, with the Vistula on his left, to the river San (September 12), a retreat that was a running fight between the Austrian rear and the Russian advance. This struggle developed into genuine engagements at various points, as at Krasnik.

Auffenberg, after Lemberg, took up another position, Grodek-Rawa-Ruska. He had been reinforced, and his position was strong. But, nevertheless, his left (Rawa-Ruska) was crushed, after a most gallant resistance lasting over a week, and when Grodek was carried (September 14) his defeat was complete. The Russians pushed on vigorously, captured Jaroslav (September 21), and drove the fragments of Auffenberg's army into the defenses of Przemysl.

The passage of the San cost the Austrians very heavily in men, in supplies, and war material. A Russian force that had crossed the Vistula at Josefow marched up the left bank of that river, and reaching the San at the same time as the main body, defeated an Austrian force on this side and took Sandomierz.

The Russian campaign so far had been successful. Their victory at Tomaszow interposed them between the two Austrian armies. The defeat of the 2d had left the 1st in a serious situation, for which immediate retreat was the only remedy. This retreat was one succession of defeats. The general result was the crowding of the two armies into the region west of Przemysl, leaving the Russians in control of eastern Galicia, with its railways and cities. Przemysl itself was invested on September 26.

After their victories in east Galicia,

military school; gained a reputation for horsemanship and was chosen aid to General Sukhomlinov, then head of the Cavalry School for Officers at St. Petersburg; with Grand Duke Nicholas he witnessed the French army manoeuvres; rose to be general of brigade and of division, and after 1910 commanded an army corps, being stationed successively at Lublin, Warsaw and Vinnitza.

the Russians by the beginning of October had crossed the three eastern passes of the Carpathians, and had advanced some distance toward Cracow, the possession of which would have wrought serious harm to the Central Powers. But the news of the offensive now forming against western Poland put a stop to these plans, and they fell back to the San.

*First German Drive at Warsaw.*—If, as has been noted, it was the German expectation that the Austrians would hold the Russians in Poland, and thus leave Germany free to throw her full weight on France, the Galician campaign must have proved a rude awakening. In spite of Tannenberg, East Prussia had again been invaded, and in the south Cracow would be the next objective of the Russians. But if Poland could be attacked directly and its great fortresses captured, the Central Powers would be in a position to menace the flanks of the Russian armies, and by seizing their communications force them to withdraw. And at any rate it was time to do something to check the Russians, whose efficiency had been as greatly underestimated as their victories had been unexpected. Accordingly the Central Empires opened their first offensive against Warsaw (September 27) with Von Hindenburg (a few days later) in command of the Austro-German forces. Four separate armies advanced—one from Thorn up the Vistula, another from Kalisch towards Lodz, and a third from Breslau towards Novo-Radomsk, the fourth from Cracow towards Kielce. These four armies numbered probably about 1,500,000 men, of whom two-thirds were Germans. The advance was rapid. On October 8 Lodz was occupied, by the 11th contact made with the Russians at Skierniewice. The southernmost army

was on October 13 engaged in the neighborhood of Ivangorod. By the middle of the month the Germans were almost within siege-gun range of Warsaw. That city on the north was well protected by the Vistula and the Narew with their fortresses, but the Germans had turned, so to say, the position by advancing from the south and west. Apparently the Russians had not contemplated the possibility of the offensive now developing, and had made no adequate preparations to defend Warsaw. At any rate the northern army (Von Mackensen\*) greatly outnumbered the Russians available for its defense. In fact there were but few Russians in central Poland. We have then by the 9th of October the following situation: an army at the gates of Warsaw, two others to the west to face any eventuality, and a fourth covering Ivangorod. Warsaw apparently was doomed, and possibly with it the whole of Poland. Such troops as held Warsaw were having the worst of it. But on the 18th Russian reinforcements appeared, and increased on the succeeding days. They crossed the Vistula at Novogeorgievsk, and advanced upon the Germans, who on the 21st were in retreat. Before withdrawing, however, they resisted strongly, but their left was turned at Sochaczew. The Germans succeeded in crossing at Josefov, but were annihilated on the 21st. At

\* AUGUST VON MACKENSEN, born (1849) at Haus Leinnitz, Saxony; served in the Franco-Prussian War; later studied at Halle; at various times attached to the general staff; colonel of the First Regiment of Hussar Body Guards (1894); raised to the nobility (1899); general of cavalry and general in command of the Seventeenth Army Corps (1908); wrote a history of the Hussar Body Guards and a military history; in European War received chief credit for directing the Austro-German drive which swept the Russians back from the Carpathians across the San and resulted in the recapture of Przemysl and later in the fall of Lemberg; received Order Pour le Mérite for early victory (1914) at Lowicz.

Ivangorod the Russians crossed the river (October 20-22) to the western bank, attacked the Austrian right, and after several days' fighting forced their entire army to retreat to Radom, which place, with Lodz, was reoccupied. At Kielce the Austrians on November 3 were severely beaten. The main German armies, after heavy fighting around Rawa, Skierniewice, and Lowicz, continued their retreat, and early in November were once more across their own frontier.

*Second Offensive in Galicia.*—At the same time with the main offensive in Poland the Austrian forces in Galicia, composed in part of Auffenberg's original army and in part of German troops, resumed the offensive, before which the Russians had fallen back behind the San. On October 18 the passage was attempted by the Austrians but failed. There was more or less fighting throughout this region: Bukowina had been cleared of Austrians and Czernowitz captured. On November 4 the Russians had recrossed the San, and two days later completely defeated the Austrians.

The Russians resumed their offensive against Cracow. The cavalry advancing westward passed Kolo November 9, and next day crossed the frontier. This showed that the Germans had no idea of making any stand on the Warta. Hence the Cracow movement was coupled with a movement against the Warta, directed against the left of the Germans, and a general advance began. By November 12 the Uzsook, Lupkow, and Dukla passes were occupied, and by December 6 the Russians had got to within 12 miles of their goal.

On the 8th, however, they were compelled, after a battle under the walls of the place, to fall back, and on the 12th the Dukla was recaptured. This

called for a fresh withdrawal to the Dunajec-Biala line, past Tarnow to Krosno. The Dukla-Lupkow pass was the next to fall to the Austrians (probably Germans), but now the Russians counterattacked, and succeeded in taking the Galician entrances of the western passes.

*Second Drive at Warsaw.*—It was partly to relieve this serious threat against Cracow that Von Hindenburg opened his second offensive against Warsaw. By November 15, he had driven the Russians towards Kutno, who on the 18th crossed their left over the Bzura from Lodz westward. On the 19th, Von Mackensen had broken the enemy's lines between Lodz and Strykov. Into this gap he drove two corps; with the Russian army cut in two, it looked as though a decisive success were at hand. But reënforcements coming up just in time, reëstablished the line; the two German corps, however, after a most desperate struggle, November 24-26, in which they suffered frightful losses, managed to break out to the north. The Russians on December 6 abandoned Lodz; on December 7 there began a three weeks' battle for the possession of Warsaw. When it closed, Warsaw was still in Russian hands, whose line now followed the Bzura-Rawka River to the west of Kielce through Tarnow, joining the forces on the Dunajec. By taking up this position, Lowicz, Petrikov, Tomaszow, and other towns were abandoned to the Germans, but the line was better, and in war it is armies and not cities that count. The year closed with the repulse of German attacks upon this line of the rivers.

*Russian Campaigns; Przemysl.*—In the winter of 1914-15, fighting continued over the whole front from the Baltic through Poland along the Carpathians

to Bukowina. A serious assault on the Bzura-Rawka line, including the considerable battle of Borzynov, ended in a German check. In the north, the Russians had to fall back across the East Prussian frontier, losing Lyck (Feb. 7-20). They, however, repelled the German attempt to reach the Warsaw-Petrograd (St. Petersburg) railway. Ossowiec continued to distinguish itself by resisting a renewed German attempt to take it, and the offensive in this region closed with no special advantage to the Germans. On the Naraw, they were beaten (Feb. 26) near Prasysz, which they had captured on the 24th, thereby threatening Ostrolenka.

In the south a vigorous attempt was made to relieve Przemyśl. This involved the control of the Carpathian passes. One of these, Kirlibaba, was captured by the Russians, Jan. 17, 1915. They already had the crest of Dukla, controlled Lupkow and were in the foothills everywhere else. To turn them out, three Austrian armies attacked the positions. The left made little headway, but east of the Lupkow, all the passes were taken. At Koziowa, a battle lasted from February into March, in which the Austrian assaults were beaten off, thus saving Stryj and Lemberg, and preventing the relief of Przemyśl. In Bukowina, the Austrians took Czernowitz, Kolomea, and Stanislaw, only to be driven out of this latter place, and compelled to fall back to the Kolomea-Czernowitz line. No relief therefore coming, Przemyśl, after a siege of seven months, fell on March 22, 1915. The Russians now renewed their attention to the passes; only by controlling them could they hope to invade Hungary, and whether they should attempt this or not, it was of the first importance to hold the passes

in order to protect their flank against attacks coming from the south. As a result of their efforts, the Russians claimed (April 12-18) the capture of a considerable part of the principal chain. But these operations had little or no effect on the general situation, any more than the Russian capture of Memel (March 17), which they evacuated four days later. More serious was the German invasion of Courland; there was an affair at Shavli (April 29) and Libau was entered on May 8. The Germans had broken ground for severe efforts to be made later.

*Russian Defeat and Withdrawal.*—These and all other contemporaneous events in this theatre, however, pale into insignificance in comparison with the Austro-German offensive on the Duna-jec line. Aroused by the unexpected success of the Russians so far, the Central Powers rose to the occasion, and by an application of their powers of organization prepared during the winter of 1914 and spring of 1915 for a campaign about the issue of which there was from the outset not a shadow of doubt.

At the end of April four German corps stood between the Middle Pilica and the junction of the Nida and the Vistula; on the west Galician front were at least 10 more corps, half German, half Austro-Hungarian, while the Carpathian front was held by 12. The leader of all these forces was General von Mackensen. Opposed to him the Russians had barely 14 corps, commanded by General Ivanoff, who had under him Dmitrieff and Brusiloff. The Austro-Germans for the approaching campaign had brought together a number of guns, and supplies of ammunition, more staggering to the imagination than their concentration of men. It is said that over 4000 guns were



collected, of which over one-half exceeded 8 inches in calibre. The work of preparation, which perhaps is unique in military history, would perhaps have been impossible but for the admirable roads, both rail and ordinary, in the region to the south and west of the scene of the conflict. The campaign was planned by Erich von Falkenhayn.\*

The end now sought by the Central Powers was to crush the Russians so thoroughly that they should no longer be a factor in the war. As early as April 28, Mackensen had advanced against Gorlice. Three days later (May 1) the tremendous batteries opened, and continued for several hours on the 2d. It is said that in this time 700,000 rounds were fired. The Russian first line was powdered out of existence. The Austro-Germans crossed the Dunajec-Biala line at various points; once the front broken in, Von Mackensen advanced sending his right due east to reach Dukla Pass, hoping to catch the Russians in Hungary before they could make their retreat by it; his left and centre changed direction so as to face northeast. This manœuvre forced the Russians to abandon Tarnow and widen the gap already made in their lines near Gorlice.

The campaign that followed the defeat of the Russians in the battle of Gorlice and their dislodgment from the lines of the Dunajec, of the Wisloka,

\* ERICH VON FALKENHAYN, born (1853) at Burg Belchau; entered the army in youth; military attaché to the Legation at Paris (1887); military instructor and favorite of the Crown Prince and Prince Eitel Friedrich (1889); chief of the general staff of the Ninth Army Corps (1898); served in China during Boxer Rebellion (1900); lieutenant general (1906); retired (1910), but became active again in the European War; Minister of War (1914), in which office he upheld the officers whose conduct in Alsace resulted in the Zabern disorders; succeeded Moltke as chief of the general staff (December, 1914), the youngest man ever to hold that office, and was made a general of infantry.

and of the San, respectively, consisted in a pursuit by the Austro-Germans that resulted in a withdrawal from the passes, in the evacuation of Bukowina (June 12) and in the recapture of Jaroslav (May 15), Stryj (May 31), Przemysl (June 3), and of Lemberg (June 22). Galicia was cleared of Russians.

But as may be inferred from these dates, the Russians offered a stubborn resistance at every point and sometimes, as at Opatov (May 15-17) and at the crossings of the Dniester, even repulsed their pursuers. The fact is that, although defeated and driven back, they had not lost their cohesion as troops and were ready, whenever circumstances favored, to give a good account of themselves. We are compelled to believe that in this tremendous campaign the Russians were taken by surprise, that the magnitude of the attack was unexpected by them. It seems to be reasonably certain, moreover, that they lacked the guns and shells to reply effectively to the terrible Austro-German artillery.

*Entire Eastern Front.*—The operations for the fall of Przemysl and Lemberg must be regarded as the prelude of a general offensive on the entire Russian front from the Baltic to the frontier of Rumania. The immediate effect of the Galician campaign was to force the withdrawal of the Russians in this part of the tremendous theatre to a defensive position behind the Zlota Lipa and the upper Bug, which remained the line of separation in this region until August 27. On the side of the Central Powers it was necessary in this region to guard against any counter offensive originating in Volhynia and menacing the right of the forces that turned northward against the line Lublin-Kholm in the general of-

fensive that now gathered headway. This new offensive as just stated extended over the whole eastern front, along a line over 1000 miles long, and opened in the middle of July. But already, on June 28, the advance had been begun against Lublin-Kholm. This advance received a check, however, July 1-7, in the severe defeat of the Austrians at Krasnik, a victory from which, save in the important element of time gained, the Russians derived no benefit. The German campaign had for its main object to bag the Russian armies. It is clear that the Russian situation was most serious. Four lines of railway formed their lines of communication, the Petrograd-Vilna-Warsaw, covered by the Niemen and Narew; two interior lines, Siedlce-Warsaw, and Brest-Litovsk-Ivangorod, without any natural defenses; and the Kovel-Kholm-Ivangorod line in the south. These four lines are interconnected by three others running approximately north and south. If these railways could be seized by the Austro-Germans before the Russians could withdraw by them, a material part of the Russian forces in Poland could be cut off and surrounded.

Pressure was applied everywhere, thus robbing the Russians of the advantage of their interior line; specifically, the Vistula and the Narew and Lublin-Kholm lines were to be forced. In the north Von Bülow was to renew his attacks; if successful, the Petrograd-Vilna-Warsaw line would be cut. In the south the Austrians were to cross the Dniester and roll up Ivanoff's left wing.

A week after the opening of the campaign the Russians had abandoned the line of the Bzura; Von Gallwitz had crossed the Narew between Pultusk and Ostrolenka, where he was held by the stubborn resistance of the Russians.

Further north, Mitau and Shavli were captured. In the south the Austrians failed in the Dniester region; the offensive against Lublin-Kholm, renewed July 15, was successful, the Russians suffering a defeat at Krasnostaw. But they offered so stout a resistance immediately afterward, that it was not until July 30 that Lublin was reached.

*Campaigns around Warsaw.*—But the Austro-Germans were too strong for the Russians, who had managed, west of Warsaw, to hold the Blonie lines as late as July 26. On the 30th, however, the Germans crossed the Vistula, 20 miles north of Ivangorod. This fortress fell on August 4, and Warsaw was evacuated on the 5th. Novogeorgievsk, however, was not evacuated, as it was thought capable of delaying the German advance. It fell, however, under the fire of Von Beseler's guns on August 19. The necessity of abandoning Warsaw had been foreseen, and preparations made for withdrawal. Part of the forces retreated to the Narew, and part joined the forces on the south. This was the opportunity for the Austro-Germans. Could the forces pressing south and north from the Narew and Lublin-Kholm, respectively, join hands in the Siedlce-Lukow region, a lasting victory would have been achieved. But the Russians offered an extremely stiff resistance between the Narew and the Bug. They held so strongly on the Vyshkoff-Ostroff line that the Germans shifted their efforts to the northeastward between Ostrolenka and Vilna. Here they did break through on August 9 and on the 10th captured the fortress of Lomza. But even after this success their advance was slow; and in the meantime the Russians had succeeded in escaping. In the south an equally stiff resistance was offered. Here in the neighborhood of

Lubartoff a serious battle was fought August 6-9; although a Russian defeat, it gained time for the withdrawal of the last forces further north and west.

The attempt made against Riga August 9 to September 8 came to nought, but on August 17 Kovno was taken and the line of the Niemen thus broken. The effect of this German victory was the abandonment of Brest-Litovsk and a withdrawal along the whole front from Ossowiec (abandoned Aug. 22) to Vladimir Volynski. Grodno was evacuated September 1-2. In the south, Kovel was (Aug. 23) entered by the Austro-Germans, and the Russians were compelled to evacuate their line of the Zlota-Lipa and the upper Bug. Pinsk was occupied.

Thus, four weeks after the fall of Warsaw, the Central Powers were in full possession of the entire line Niemen-Bug. They had failed to capture the Russian army, but Poland had fallen into their hands with its fortresses. They now directed their attention to the capture of the railway running from Vilna to Rovno across the Pripet Marshes. East of this railway lies a vast stretch of marshland not traversed by any other north and south line; if this road could be taken from the Russians, the Austro-Germans would have a line of communication between their northern and southern theatres of operation, while the Russians would find their own forces cut in two by the marshes. The operations of the Germans north of the marshes were successful. On September 19, the evacuation of Vilna was ordered. In the south, on August 27, the Austro-Germans had renewed their offensive. The Russians withdrew into Volhynia, were beaten at and lost Lutsk, and forced to cross the Styr. Dubno was entered on the 7th.

But on the 8th the Russians struck back, inflicting a defeat on the Austro-Germans at Tarnopol and again at Tremblowa. On the 23d they succeeded in recapturing Lutsk.

*Baltic Campaign.*—As may be imagined, the fall of Vilna did not end the Austro-German offensive. Once in possession of it, the Germans advanced eastward, sending five cavalry divisions towards Polotsk. Detachments of cavalry were also sent out against the Molodetchno-Polotsk railway, while strong forces were converging on Minsk. Just north of the Pripet Marshes another force undertook an enveloping movement against the line Minsk-Bobruinsk; that is, a movement over a front of 150 miles was initiated, partly to cut off, if possible, the retreating Russians, and partly to confirm the German hold on the Riga-Dvinsk-Vilna line. Contact was made in the region around Vileika. After several days' fighting the Russians managed to straighten their front, and even took the offensive. They cleared the Polotsk line, held on around Vileika and Molodetchno, and further south succeeded in checking the German advance. It is possible that the need of troops in Serbia and on the western front may explain the German failure to continue the offensive.

In the meantime an important attack was being made on Dvinsk. On September 24 a battle was fought between the Dvina and Lake Drisviaty, 20 miles south of Dvinsk, in which the Germans made no gains of any consequence. Later, October 4-18, they concentrated their efforts between Illukst, 15 miles northwest of the city, and Lake Sventen, five or six miles due west. There was severe fighting in this region, but with no particular advantage to the Germans until October 25, when

they captured Illukst, and a day or two later made other advances. But these gains were more than neutralized by the Russian counter offensive, which opened October 31, between Lake Sven-ten and Ilsen (battle of Platokovna, a village between the lakes), and resulted in a German defeat. The Russians followed up this victory by further advances to the north and northwest of Illukst, and towards that place itself. By the end of November, fighting ceased in this particular sector.

*Riga.*—The Germans were no more successful in front of Riga. This city, on the right bank of the Dvina, is protected on the southwest by the Tirul swamp, crossed by the railway and road from Mitau through Olai, which constitutes from this direction the only possible approach. The German lines about mid-October ran south from the sea along the river Aa to Mitau, and thence curved eastward to Friedrichstadt and Jacobstadt on the Dvina, halfway between Riga and Dvinsk. Three possible lines of attack existed—the Tukkum-Riga railway between Lake Babit (west of Riga) and the sea; the Mitau-Olai line; and one from the southeast, from an island (Dalen) in the river. On October 14 the Germans opened, and managed by October 20 to reach the river at Borkowitz, 20 miles up. But they failed to cross the river in spite of all their efforts. Their centre in the meantime had got to Olai, but could go no farther. During the first half of November they tried the first line mentioned above, but on the 10th the Russians, assisted by their fleet, beat them back, and later pushed on beyond Kemmern. These attempts to take Riga proved a failure.

In the beginning of December, 1915, the Germans captured the Borsemünde position on the Dvina, but at Dvinsk

continued to lose ground about Lake Sventen and at Illukst. On the other hand they beat off with great loss an attack on Postavy, 50 miles south of Dvinsk.

During the last ten days of March the Russians developed without effect an offensive against the bridgehead at Jacobstadt and the railroad thence to Mitau. Similarly south of Dvinsk they were defeated near Lake Narocz, where their objective was Sventziany, on the Vilna-Dvinsk railroad.

*Southern Sector.*—We must now turn south to see what was happening in that region. Three days after taking Lutsk (September 23) the Russians abandoned it, and took up a position to the east extending from Rafalovka through Czartorysk and Kolki to a point south of Dubno. Rovno was behind them. The first attempt to converge on that place failed. Von Linsingen then early in October advanced against Sarny, where the Kovel-Kiev railway crosses the Vilna-Rovno line. The capture of Sarny would have meant the loss to the Russians of this latter railway. During the next two months Von Linsingen and Brusiloff were at grips on the middle Styr.

Along the line of the Styr River the struggle continued for the control of the left bank. At the end of the month the Russians took the offensive on the Bessarabian frontier, and advanced along two main lines—first, the Odessa-Czernowitz-Lemberg railroad; second, farther north, the Kiev-Kovel-Warsaw line. In the first region their efforts, centred on the capture of the Bukowinan capital, which had already changed hands five times in the course of the war, met with failure.

In the region of the Styr River, however, they had better fortune. Early in January they succeeded in crossing this

line north of the Kovel-Sarny railroad, and in holding on to their position. Thereupon the village of Czartorysk became a storm centre, and was finally captured by the Russians by assault.

Early in February, 1916, they achieved some gain in the Lutsk-Rovno-Dubno sector; the Germans were reported as standing on the defensive along the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Sereth. Further Russian advances also were reported, the most important being the capture of Uscieczko, on the Dniester, thus again threatening Czernowitz.

In April, 1916, Brusiloff succeeded Ivanoff in command of the armies from the Pripet Marshes to Rumania, and began preparations for a general offensive on this line. Heavily fortified as it was, the Austrians had believed it to be so strong that they had transferred many of its defenders to other fronts.

The Russians opened northwest from Rovno through Lutsk towards Kovel; west along the Rovno-Lemberg railway towards Dubno; northwest from Tarnopol towards Lemberg; and south across the Pruth against Czernowitz. Great success attended the effort. Lutsk, abandoned by the Austrians, fell on June 6; Dubno on June 10, with 35,000 prisoners and 30 guns as additional prize; farther south on the same day Buczacz and Potok Zloty were entered and many more prisoners taken. But now the resistance of the Central Powers stiffened from Tarnopol to Kolki, and the Russian advance was checked, giving way to obstinate fighting by both sides. It is believed that the Germans came to the Austrian rescue on this portion of the front. Beaten at Dobronobtze (18,000 prisoners, 10 guns), the Austrians, June 17, abandoned Czernowitz. The effect of its fall was greatly to imperil Pflanzer's army. A

small part of this army was pushed over the frontier into Rumania and interned; the main body, cut off from communication with Lemberg by the capture of Kolomea and the threat against Stanislau, was crowded against the flanks of the Carpathians.

In this great movement of the Russians the significant thing was the loss of the Austrians in prisoners (250,000) and in killed, wounded, and missing (unknown), an irreparable loss. Hungary alone admitted a loss of 600,000 men in this campaign. In ground gained, the Russians had recovered about 15,000 square miles of territory. By the middle of July (1916) the Russians were still some miles from the railroad centre of Kovel; and in their progress towards Lemberg, had reached the Zlota Lipa River.

The situation on the eastern front became so serious that the German General Staff determined to reënforce the weakened Austrians with German troops. Consequently, General von Linsingen was sent at the head of 200,000 men. These were sent against the Russians west and northwest of Lutsk. Their presence was immediately felt, inasmuch as they won important successes at Kiselin and Lokatchi. Many Russian prisoners fell into their hands. The Russian offensive was checked effectively for the time being at the Stokhod River. The advance on Lemberg was also stopped at the Galician frontier at Brody.

The advance in the south nevertheless went on almost as rapidly as before. After the capture of Czernowitz the Russians again overran the Bukowina. They proceeded down the railroad to Radautz, cut off the retreating Austrians and took over 1000 prisoners. West of Czernowitz the opposition was stiffer, but on July 1 the

important railroad junction at Kolo-meia was captured and a little later the railroad running from Lemberg into Hungary was cut at Delaytyn. This seriously threatened the Austrians in the north. New gains were now made in the Kovel sector. They crossed the Stokhod River at Ulgi by means of pontoon bridges and made another great thrust at Kovel in the face of extremely heavy resistance by Von Linsingen. On July 16 they captured 30 guns and 13,000 prisoners at the battle of Svinusky. On the 28th, they captured Brody and advanced upon Lemberg. Lemberg was now threatened on three sides and was in serious danger of being enveloped.

The Russians now seemed to concentrate all their efforts to capture this stronghold. They advanced from Dubno and Tarnopol on the north and from Stanislaw on the south. They captured this latter place with very little effort. In the Carpathians the Russians also continued their successes, by capturing Jablonica.

South of Brody the Russians captured an entire ridge held by the Teutonic forces on the 5th and 6th of August. The ridge contained six villages. More than 5000 prisoners were taken. On the 8th 8,500 more prisoners were taken in eastern Galicia. The Central Allies continued to retreat in this region as the Russians continued to gain on the Sereth and Zlota Lipa rivers. On the 14th the town of Tustobaby, a strongly fortified point, was taken. This put the Russians several miles west of General Bothmer's front and menaced his flank and rear. So serious was his position that he was compelled to abandon the Strypa River line. Immediately upon the fall of this line General Letchitsky struck on both sides of the Dniester. He drove the

Austrians out of the Jablonica Pass and thus opened up the way to Kutly.

During September the Russians were able to make little progress toward Lemberg. They were checked at Halicz and were not able to advance on the Kovel-Vladimir-Volynsky line. Heavy fighting occurred at Brzezany and very heavy assaults were made further south. The results of these were the abandonment by the Germans of the entire Strypa and Zlota Lipa river lines. Now the only natural boundary between the Russians and Lemberg was the Gnila Lipa River. All attempts to take Halicz, however, failed and a strong German counter offensive compelled the Russians to give up much of the newly captured territory. They also lost about 5000 men in prisoners.

In October the Russians renewed their assaults in the general direction of Lemberg. On October 4 the Zlota Lipa was crossed after a severe three days' battle south of Brzezany. North of Lemberg intense fighting occurred along the Brody-Lemberg railroad. Along the Stokhod the Russians merely kept on the defensive in order to keep the Teutonic allies from starting an offensive movement. The latter, nevertheless, attempted to relieve the pressure on Lemberg by beginning an offensive movement in the Carpathian Mountains. This extended from the Rumanian border to the Jablonica Pass, a front of 75 miles. The Russians were compelled to immediately give way in the Negra valley.

West of Lutsk the Russians made some gains south of the Stokhod along the Luga River. This enabled them seriously to menace the city of Vladimir-Volynsky which controlled the southern entrance to Kovel. The beginning of the severe Russian winter now seemed to put an end to the Rus-

sian forward movements and the Teutons took the opportunity to strengthen their lines. Their weakest point was along the Stokhod. They advanced here as well as on the Navayuvke, which flows near Halicz. On November 9 an extremely heavy attack was made on Russian positions at Bkrobowa in Volhynia. The Russians, after savage resistance, were compelled to fall back to their second line of trenches. Another German blow at Dorna Watra also was successful and compelled the Russians to relinquish newly won positions. In this latter engagement they lost over 4000 prisoners. As a result of the taking of a bridgehead on the Stokhod the German hold on Halicz was considerably strengthened.

In December, 1916, and January, 1917, the entire eastern front was practically quiet. The Germans contented themselves with small sorties and trench raids in order to protect their positions in Volhynia. The chief Russian activities during these months were in the south where they attempted to relieve the tremendous pressure being exerted on Rumania. Their aim was to threaten Von Falkenhayn's rear by crossing the mountains and securing the railroads which were the arteries which fed his troops. The main point of attack through the Trotus valley was unsuccessful, and by the middle of December was abandoned.

In order to relieve this great Teutonic pressure on Rumania, the Russians began an offensive in the Riga sector during the first week of January, 1917. They attacked the German lines in the Lake Babit region west of Riga and advanced more than a mile, capturing a fortified position between the Tirul swamp and the Aa River. Heavy fighting, usually successful to the Russians, occurred along the Dvina and

south of Dvinsk as well as in the neighborhood of Vilna. These gains were held in the face of strong German counter attacks.

During the third week of January the Russian offensive appeared to have broken down. They were compelled to release their hold on the newly won ground between the Tirul swamp and the Aa. On the 25th the Germans attacked on both banks of the Aa and captured several fortified positions along with 2000 prisoners. Strong Russian counter attacks failed and towards the last part of the month they were driven back an additional two-thirds of a mile. For the participation of the Russians in the Rumanian campaign see SOUTHERN THEATRE, *Rumania*.

*Russian Revolution.*—On March 9, 1917, began one of the greatest events in world history. That was the Russian revolution. Its immediate cause was the inefficient handling of food supplies in Petrograd. Its remote cause was the growth of a democratic Russia, which could no longer be controlled by the Czar and his bureaucratic, pro-German government. A vast majority of the Russian people who felt that the overthrow of the Czar would be a hard task were agreeably surprised at the ease with which it was consummated.

The first institution attacked was the cabinet. The revolutionary army rushed into the administrative buildings and arrested or executed the former premier, Stürmer, a Germanophile, Protopopoff, the Minister of Interior, Golitzin, the premier, Rittich, the Minister of Agriculture and many other conservative bureaucrats. The Duma immediately took control of the government and appointed a Committee of Safety headed by Michael Rodzianko, President of the Duma. A delegation

was immediately sent to the Czar demanding his resignation. The Czar abdicated, giving the throne to his brother, Michael Alexandrovitch. Another delegation was sent to Michael which compelled him to give up his claim to the throne. Democratic rule in Petrograd immediately began to destroy all traces of the Romanoff dynasty. The Secret Service, most detestable to the Russians, was abolished. The fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, comparable to the Bastille, was captured, and all the political prisoners released. The Winter Palace, scene of Bloody Sunday in 1905, was taken over as a meeting place for the Duma. Even the orthodox church, which was a stronghold of Czarism, came over to the side of the revolutionists. This event was of almost as great importance as the overthrow of the Czar himself.

The Committee of Safety set the new government in motion by appointing a cabinet. It was composed of the best men in Russia. Prince George Lvoff was made Premier. He was of royalist descent and a man of untiring energy, great business experience and a thorough democrat. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was Paul Miliukoff,\* who was chiefly responsible for the overthrow of the Stürmer ministry. The Minister of War and Navy was Alexander Guchkoff, Minister of Agriculture, Shingareff, Minister of Justice,

\* MILYUKOV, PAVEL NIKOLAEVITCH. Born (1859) near St. Petersburg. Studied in Moscow and tutor in history at the university (1886-95). Banished from Russia because of liberal views; served as professor of history at University of Sofia (1897-98); member of faculty of University of Chicago (1901-05), where he delivered lectures on historical and political subjects. Returned to Russia on outbreak of revolution of 1905 and was imprisoned. Elected to first Duma as Constitutional Democrat. Election annulled and arrested, but soon liberated. Member of Balkan Committee of Inquiry which investigated conduct of War of 1913. Wrote a number of books dealing with Russia.

Kerensky,† who was to play a prominent part in the later history of the revolution, Minister of Education, Manuiloff, Minister of Communications, Nekrasoff, Minister of Trade, Konovaloff, and Controller of the State, Godneff. Roditcheff, a strong advocate of the rights of free nationalities, was appointed Governor-General of Finland. The Jews were given political and religious freedom. The leaders of the Zemstvos were ordered to take over the governorship of the provinces.

The first country to recognize the provisional government was the United States, which sent a message of recognition through Ambassador Francis on March 22. Great Britain, France and Italy did likewise the next day. The new government was put in a smooth running order in a week. Internal abuses were done away with and the work of reorganizing the army was undertaken. Grand Duke Nicholas was removed as Commander-in-Chief and General M. V. Alexieff was appointed his successor.

Events moved rapidly throughout all the Russias during the next few weeks. Czar Nicholas was imprisoned in Tsarskōe Selo, but was later removed to Tobolsk. An excess war profits tax was levied on all war industries. All the imperial lands and monasteries were confiscated. In the cities a mania for organization raged. Trade unions sprang up and the 8-hour working day appeared in almost all the cities. Even the peasants organized a council of peasants' deputies. One hundred thousand exiles made a triumphant journey

† KERENSKY, ALEXANDER. Born at Simbirsk. Graduated from University of Petrograd in law. Became commissioner of oaths in Petrograd. Specialized in political prosecutions, taking side of political offenders. Elected to Fourth Duma and became its leader because of ability as orator. For short time President of Russian Republic set up by revolution.



across Russia from Siberia. Premier Lvoff stated on April 10th, "The object of independent Russia is a permanent peace based on the right of all nations to determine their own destiny." Kerensky stated that if the German people would throw off the yoke of autocracy, the provisional government would offer preliminary peace negotiations.

Despite the celerity and thoroughness with which the provisional government took over the reins of authority, there were signs of unrest throughout the country. A party of Russian radicals under the leadership of Lenine,\* was allowed to pass through Germany from Switzerland to attend a Socialist conference at Stockholm. Another disturbing element was the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. This body, whose name is self-explanatory, passed a resolution of April 16, stating that it was necessary for it to exercise influence and control over the provisional government and called upon the people to back it up as the only body able to put down any reactionary movement. They took military matters into their own hands and arrested several conservative officers.

In the first two weeks of May a decided breach appeared between the government and the Council. It occurred over the war aims of the new government. After a series of radical

\* LENINE, NIKOLAI. Leader with Leon Trotsky of the Russian Bolsheviks. Real name Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanoff. Born (about 1870) at Simbirsk on the Volga. Of noble birth. Became prominent shortly after 1890 as leader of radical Social Democrats. Insisted on literal application of Marxian theories. Elected to second Duma after revolution of 1905 and later exiled. Returned after revolution just after resignation of Miliukoff and began to preach immediate peace and general confiscation. Attacked both Germany and France in his paper the *Pravda*. Author on socialistic subjects. Most important works, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*; *The Soviets at Work*.

outbreaks headed by Lenine, the Council demanded that the government assert its aims. This was done when a note signed by Miliukoff was sent to the Allied countries to the effect that Russia pledged herself against a separate peace and asked for a cordial renewal of bonds between Russia and the Allies. The members of the Council vigorously protested against this stand and stated that they would compel the government to accept their views or else resign. Hostile demonstrations occurred in the streets of Petrograd. Parleying between the Council and the government went on for several days which resulted in the weakening of the latter. General Korniloff and Minister of War Guchkoff resigned because the Council practically took all power from their hands. Appeals to the patriotism of the soldiers and workmen were of no avail.

On May 15, the Council suddenly determined to accept a suggestion offered by Kerensky, some time previously, to form a coalition government. This decision was issued in the form of a manifesto and also declared against a separate peace and fraternizing between German and Russian soldiers. Peace was to be brought about by an appeal to the socialists of Austria and Germany to overthrow autocracy.

Foreign Minister Miliukoff resigned on May 16 because of a dispute in the government over the question of coalition. Thereupon the cabinet was entirely reorganized. Tereshtenko replaced Miliukoff and Kerensky became Minister of War. Kerensky was a Social Revolutionist and one of the most popular men in Russia. The day before the coalition cabinet was formed, President Wilson announced the personnel of a special mission (headed by Elihu Root) which was to go to Russia

to counteract German influences favoring a separate peace. He also announced the sending of a railroad commission which was to aid in the reconstruction of Russian railroads.

The Root mission arrived in Russia on June 4, 1917, and proceeded at once to Petrograd, where on June 15 Mr. Root delivered to the head of the provisional government a communication from President Wilson, a brief summary of which follows:

In view of the approaching visit of the American delegation to Russia, President Wilson desired to express the friendship of the American people for the people of Russia and to discuss the means of coöperation for carrying the war to a successful conclusion. At the same time he thought it necessary to repeat the reasons for America's entry into the war.

America was seeking no material profit. She was seeking no aggrandizement, but was fighting "for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic forces."

The war is beginning to go against Germany and it is using propaganda on both sides of the sea. She has succeeded in linking together nation after nation in an intrigue directed at the peace and liberty of the world. This intrigue must be broken up, but cannot be unless all wrongs are undone and measures taken to prevent their being done again.

The German government is trying to have the war end in the restoration of the *status quo ante*, but as this was the cause of the war, the status must be altered so that such things can never happen again. "We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples." All wrongs are to be first righted and safeguards erected to prevent

their recurrence. The principle to be followed in this settlement is: "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live." No territories to change hands except for benefit of peoples. No indemnities to be required except in payment of manifest wrongs. All readjustments of power to be made to secure future peace of world.

As a guarantee the nations of the world should combine their forces to secure peace and justice. Now is the time for the nations to unite, for if they stand together victory is theirs.

The mission returned to the United States in the first week in August, 1917, and at once made a report to the president. On August 25 Secretary Lansing, for the president, sent the following communication to the Russian Ambassador in response to a note from him transmitting a commission from the Russian minister of foreign affairs:

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 3rd instant in which you transcribe a communication from the minister of foreign affairs of Russia to the government of the United States.

A translation of that communication has been furnished to the president, who, in full appreciation of the vast task confronting the provisional government of Russia in the reconstruction of its forces, and of the energy with which that government is endeavoring, in the face of disloyalty and enemy-inspired propaganda, to uphold the good faith of Russia, welcomes the assurance now given by the provisional government of Russia of its intention, of which the president has had no doubt, of being deterred by no difficulty in pursuing the war to a final triumph. No less gratifying to the president is the announcement, by that government that, like the United States, Russia consecrates all its forces and all its resources to this end. With this tenacity of purpose moving all the allied governments, there can be no doubt of the outcome of the conflict now raging.

I ask you to be so good as to give to your government renewed expression of the president's deep sympathy with them in the burden they have assumed and in the obstacles they

have encountered, and are encountering, and his confidence that, inspired and impelled by their patriotic efforts and guidance, there will emerge from the present conflict a regenerated Russia founded upon those great principles of democracy, freedom and equality, right and justice.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

The reorganized cabinet declared that it stood for a general peace only and that it favored no annexations and no indemnities. Within a week internal dissension caused a partial downfall of the cabinet. Strikes caused by the exorbitant demands of the laborers occurred daily throughout Russia. The Kronstadt Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates declared their independence of the Provisional Government, and General Alexieff resigned as Commander-in-Chief of the army. He was succeeded by General Brusiloff. The outstanding figure in the Revolution now was the Minister of War, Kerensky. It was only his eloquence and patriotism that held in abeyance the complete collapse of the economic and military forces of the government. Backed by the All-Russian Council of Peasant Deputies, which voted against a separate peace, and for a vigorous prosecution of the war, he introduced strong disciplinary methods into the army.

The attention of the country and government was now given to the internal political situation. On June 8, a meeting was held by the commercial, industrial and banking institutions. This body declared against a separate peace. On June 12, a committee of the Duma, composed of 61 members, met to plan for a meeting of a Constituent Assembly, which was to draft a permanent constitution for Russia and to solve internal economic, industrial and racial problems. Both men

and women were to be allowed to vote for the deputies. Changes were made by the government whereby the cantons and communes, which heretofore had no local self-government, were to be governed by peasant administrators elected by universal suffrage. A law was also promulgated which gave Finland complete internal autonomy. All anti-Jewish laws were repealed.

On July 17, there occurred serious riots in Petrograd between the Radical Socialist element under Lenine and government forces. The purposes of these anarchistic demonstrations were to overthrow the provisional government and to recall the armies from the fronts. After four days of heavy fighting in the streets the rioters were dispersed and their leaders ordered arrested. Lenine escaped. Another situation which caused five cabinet members to resign was the Ukrainian problem. The Ukrainian party demanded autonomy for the region in southwest Russia and part of Galicia. It was their demand that autonomy be granted immediately that caused the five Constitutional Democrats to resign from the cabinet.

On July 20, Lvoff, the Prime Minister, resigned. Kerensky was appointed head of the cabinet and also kept the portfolio of War and Munitions. He was made a virtual dictator with unlimited power. He later became the President of the Russian Republic. His government was backed up by the Joint Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Council and of the All-Russia Council of Peasant Delegates. Kerensky immediately ordered all deserters to be shot and all revolutionary agitators to be arrested wherever found. General Brusiloff resigned on August 2 and was succeeded by General Korniloff. The radical disturbances and the spreading of anti-war propaganda had completely

demoralized the army, with the result that they retreated everywhere on the Galician front.

Owing to the serious condition of the entire country, Premier Kerensky called together an "Extraordinary National Council" to meet at Moscow on Aug. 26, 1917. He determined not to wait for the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. The conference was composed of 2500 men, representing practically all the parties in Russia. The internal conditions of the country were outlined by members of the cabinet, and the condition of the army was outlined by Generalissimo Korniloff.

President Wilson on August 26, 1917, sent the following greeting to the members of the Extraordinary National Council:

*"President of the National Council Assembly, Moscow: I take the liberty to send to the members of the great council now meeting in Moscow the cordial greetings of their friends, the people of the United States, to express their confidence in the ultimate triumph of ideals of democracy and self-government against all enemies within and without, and to give their renewed assurance of every material and moral assistance they can extend to the government of Russia in the promotion of the common cause in which the two nations are unselfishly united."*

The conference had the authority to take direct action, but it clearly showed the division of the country. On the one hand was the socialistic element, represented by Kerensky, and on the other hand the conservative bourgeois element, represented by the commanders of the armies and the constitutional democrats. The radical Bolsheviki element, which was to play a commanding part later, was not very strongly represented because of repressive measures taken by the government. Almost contemporaneously with the Moscow conference came the announcement on Sep-

tember 3 of the fall of Riga (*see below*). The effect on Russia was tremendous. Monarchist plots were discovered, and Petrograd feared that the German army would advance on the capital. The government was severely criticized for the lack of discipline in the army.

The crisis came on September 9, when General Korniloff revolted against the provisional government. A representative of the Duma called on Kerensky and demanded that he turn all the powers of the government over to General Korniloff. Kerensky refused outright and then moved with characteristic dispatch and resolution. He deposed Korniloff, arrested his envoy, declared Petrograd and Moscow in a state of siege and asked for and received the combined backing of the Council of Soldiers and Workmen and the Peasants' Council. Kerensky himself became the Commander-in-Chief of the army and advanced to meet the army Korniloff was leading against Petrograd. It had advanced to within 30 miles of Petrograd when the entire revolt collapsed, chiefly through the winning over to the government's side of General Alexieff, who had at first favored the revolution.

On Sept. 27, 1917, there assembled at Moscow a Democratic Congress, called into being by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Central Council. It consisted of 1200 members from all over Russia and was under the control of the ultra-radicals or Bolsheviki (majority). The congress provided for a parliament which was to have a consultative function. Kerensky, who organized a new coalition cabinet without consulting the congress, accepted the idea of the parliament, which was to be called the Temporary Council of the Russian Republic. The parliament had the right to interpolate the government, but the

latter was in no way responsible to the former. This body was to exist until the Constituent Assembly met in December, 1917.

Late in October, the Bolsheviki leaders stated in no uncertain tones that Kerensky's government had lost the confidence of the real revolutionary party of the country and that it soon would be replaced by them. On November 1, Kerensky gave a statement to the Associated Press, which showed that he had practically given up all hope of restoring civil order in Russia and that urgent help was needed from the Allies if Russia was to continue the war. This was his last official utterance to the public.

*Operations of the Russian Armies under the Revolution.*—After the breakdown of the Russian offensive on the Aa River at the beginning of 1917, the Russian front was comparatively quiet until the Russian revolution was well under way. The situation on the entire front was deplorable. Discipline had completely broken down. Generals were appointed and removed or they resigned. The orders issued by the officers had to be approved by the men themselves. Fraternalization between the Russian and German soldiers was carried on to a large extent and could not be checked. The situation could not have been much worse. As a result of this demoralization the Germans and Austrians were able to remove several divisions from the Russian front for use on other fronts. What fighting was done was spasmodic and of a local character.

When Kerensky came into supreme power in Russia he reestablished military discipline in the army and inspired the officers and men with a strong anti-German spirit. The result of Kerensky's efforts was the beginning of a

strong offensive from Brzezany to Zloczow on the upper stretches of the Zlota Lipa River. The objective was the capture of Lemberg. Brusiloff's army surprised the world with their vigor of assault and their seemingly limitless supply of ammunition. Brusiloff made fruitless attempts to break through at Brzezany and Zloczow and then suddenly shifted his attack south of the Dniester, in the neighborhood of Stanislaw, where the Austrian and German lines met. The weight of the onslaught broke the Austrian line and the Russian forces pushed through and crossed the Lukwa and Lomnica rivers. They then occupied Kalucz, which had been the Austrian Army headquarters. This town was on the Lemberg-Stanislaw railway. Then the town of Halicz was taken by storm. So far 50,000 prisoners and vast quantities of war material had been taken. A wedge 20 miles long and 10 miles deep had been driven into the Austro-German line.

This drive turned out to be of no avail. Various sections of the Russian army mutinied with the result that the entire army was compelled to retire all along the front. On July 19, the Germans began a countermovement and penetrated the Russian positions on a wide front near Zloczow. Russian trenches near Brzezany were occupied on the next day, owing to the mutiny of the extreme socialist troops. The whole line in Galicia now began to retire. The Germans and Austrians occupied Tarnopol, Stanislaw, Nadworna, Czernowitz, Kolomea and drove the Russians across their own border out of Galicia. Spasmodic attempts to take the offensive in the north to relieve the pressure in the south were frustrated by mutiny among the troops.

*Fall of Riga.*—The month of September saw the capture by the Ger-

mans of the important city of Riga. Its fall was chiefly due to the superiority of German artillery and the defection of the Russian troops. On August 22, the Germans began to advance from Kemmern, between the Baltic and the Aa, and bombarded the Russian positions north of Dvinsk on the right bank of the Dvina River. On Sept. 2, they crossed the river at Uxkul, 16 miles southeast of Riga. The same day outposts entered the city and General Letchitzky withdrew to a prepared line east of the city. The Germans continued their attacks and took Jacobstadt, and penetrated 6 miles on a 26-mile front. The Russians attacked heavily but unsuccessfully. The Germans, in November and December, 1917, withdrew from most of the area captured after the fall of Riga and sent the troops to aid the Austrians in a grand offensive against Italy (*see below*).

From the military point of view the capture of Riga was of no importance without the occupation of islands which controlled the mouth of the Gulf of Riga. In October the Germans set out to accomplish this purpose. On October 13, forces were landed under the protection of warships on a northern inlet of Oesel Island. By October 15, the chief city of the island, Orensburg, was in their hands. The Russian battleship, *Slava*, 13,516 tons, and several smaller units, were lost in the defence of the Gulf. A landing was also made on Dagö Island, and the Russian garrisons of both islands were compelled to flee to the mainland to the eastward. The Russian Baltic fleet was locked up by the superior German fleet (50 warships) in Moon Sound. The Germans completely occupied the three islands,—Oesel, Dagö, and Moon,—and on October 21 effected a landing on the

mainland at Werder, but later withdrew. In the meantime the Russian fleet escaped after inflicting unknown losses on the German fleet. Events on the Italian front prevented a combined land and sea attack on Reval and the coast of Finland.

*The Bolsheviks.*—The Bolsheviks seized the reins of government on November 7, and dismissed the Preliminary Parliament. The guiding spirit was the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. Trotzky\* and Lenine, the two Maximalist leaders, spoke before the Council, and the latter stated the problems before Russia. They were, first, immediate conclusion of the war; second, the handing over of the land to the peasants; and third, the settlement of the economic crisis. On November 9, a new cabinet was formed by the Council, in which Nikolai Lenine was Premier and Leon Trotzky Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Kerensky escaped from Petrograd but the rest of his cabinet was arrested. The former premier and a few thousand troops marched on Petrograd, but were defeated by the Bolsheviks. The Provisional Government was overthrown in Moscow and everywhere else the Bolsheviks were victorious.

Chaos and civil war now reigned supreme in Russia. Ukraine again proclaimed its independence, as did Fin-

\* TROZKY, LEON, with Nikolai Lenine, leaders of Russian Bolsheviks. Real name Leber Bronstein. About 40 years old. On account of revolutionary ideas often sent to jail. Sent to Siberia from 1905 to 1912. After release went to Berlin and established a paper. Ordered to leave country after war broke out. Lived short time in Switzerland, then went to Paris. Started paper advocating peace. Russian Ambassador had paper suppressed and he then went to Spain where he was arrested. After release came to New York City and became editor of *Novi Mir* (New World), a revolutionary paper. Prominent in radical circles. Returned to Russia after overthrow of Czar.

land. General Kaledines, leader of the Cossacks, with the aid of General Korniloff, declared war against the Bolsheviki, with the avowed purpose of saving the country. Americans and other foreigners took the first opportunity to get out of the country. The Bolsheviki passed a resolution asking for an immediate peace, stating that all belligerent governments should enter into negotiations for democratic and equitable peace. General Dukhonin, who commanded the armies, was ordered to offer an armistice. He refused, and as a result was dismissed. He was succeeded by Ensign N. Krylenko, who was given the title Commander-in-Chief of the People's Commissaries of War. Trotzky, in a statement issued on November 22, said that the Bolsheviki stood for a universal and not for a separate peace. The demobilization of the older classes of the Russian army was begun. Secret treaties signed by former Russian ministers and foreign countries concerning the war aims of the Allies were published and created a profound impression.

Representatives sent within the German lines were cordially received, and arrangements were made to conduct negotiations for an armistice. Von Hertling, the German Chancellor, told the Reichstag (Nov. 29) that negotiations would be opened with accredited representatives of the Russian government and that he was ready to discuss debatable questions immediately. On December 3, the German government announced that an armistice prevailed from Pripet to south of the Lipa River, and that arrangements were being made to extend them over the entire front. Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Rumania were represented at the negotiations. On December 8, Trotzky an-

nounced that they had been suspended for a week to permit all the belligerents to be informed that they were going on. On December 14, the armistice was finally signed at Brest-Litovsk. It was to be in effect 28 days and could be automatically extended. Another provision provided that peace negotiations were to be entered upon immediately, and consequently by January, 1918, they were in full swing.

While these negotiations were going on, Russian internal affairs were in chaos, and it seemed as though Germany was very anxious to make a peace before the Bolsheviki lost power. None of the allied countries had recognized the Lenine government, and even the neutrals refused to do so. Continual uprisings occurred. The Cossacks and Ukrainians united against the Bolsheviki, Siberia proclaimed its independence, and even Kerensky raised another force to restore him to power.

*The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.*—The German and Austro-Hungarian demands were such that the Russian representatives refused to concede them. Then the Bolsheviki made an announcement on Feb. 10th, which was an entirely new idea in peace making. It said that Russia had withdrawn from the war without signing a peace and immediately ordered the troops on all fronts to demobilize. Germany stated that if no peace were signed then a state of war still existed and as soon as the armistice ended (Feb. 17) a new invasion of Russia would begin.

This is exactly what occurred. On the 18, the Germans crossed the Dwina and entered Dvinsk, and the whole German line from the Baltic to Volhynia moved forward. The advance in the south was undertaken, so the Germans announced, at the request of the Ukrainians who wanted protection

against the Bolsheviki. This advance caused the Russian government on the very next day to declare that they accepted the terms of peace that they had formerly refused. The Germans, nevertheless, continued to advance without opposition, and on February 23, the Turks started an offensive in the Caucasus. Trotzky, the Bolshevik Minister of War, in view of these movements, called upon the workmen and peasants to resist. Lenine, on the other hand, was opposed to further war, and induced the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets to accept the Germans' terms. The German advance ended on March 3, the day that the treaty was signed. The German High Command announced that they had captured 64,000 prisoners, 2400 guns, 800 locomotives, and enormous stores of supplies and munitions, and had occupied the cities of Reval, Dorpat, Narva, Pskov, Kiev, Polotzk, and Borissoff.

A brief summary of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which terminated hostilities between Russia and the Central Powers, follows:

1. The state of war is terminated.

2. The contracting powers will refrain from all agitation against the other signatory powers.

3. Russia to give up all claim to Finland, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, Lithuania, Russian Poland, and the Ukraine. Russia also promised not to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of any of these districts. Their future is to be decided upon by Germany and Austria in agreement with their respective populations.

4. As soon as a general peace is concluded the Central Powers agree to evacuate all other Russian territory held by them. Russia must evacuate all Anatolian provinces and return them to Turkey. Russian Armenia was also to

be evacuated and allowed self-determination in their reorganization in agreement with Turkey.

5. Russia demobilize her army as soon as possible. The Russian fleet and any Allied vessels in Russian control must be taken into a Russian harbor and kept there until a general peace is signed or else immediately disarm. Russian mines in the Baltic and Black Seas were to be swept up as soon as possible and commerce in these waters to be resumed.

6. Russia to conclude an immediate peace with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the peace treaty signed by this republic and the Central Powers. Russian troops must immediately evacuate the Ukraine and other territory given up by Russia. All Russian fortifications on the Aland Islands were to be removed and the islands to be governed under an international agreement concluded by all the powers bordering on the Baltic Sea.

7. The independence of Persia and Afghanistan was to be recognized by the contracting parties.

8. Prisoners of war were to be sent home.

9. War indemnities to be renounced.

10. Diplomatic and consular relations were to be resumed.

11. Certain economic agreements entered which practically gave Germany control of Russia's trade for an indefinite period of time.

This treaty ceded to the Central Powers approximately 460,000 square miles of the choicest territory of Russia, with a population of almost 60,000,000.

*Russia and Ukraine.*—The Ukrainians who are also known as Malorussians, Little Russians, and Ruthenians, belong to the western Slavic group of nations. Their chief seat is in the Rus-



sian provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev, Poltava, Chernygov, Ekaterinoslav, and Kharkov, and parts of the adjoining provinces. The Ukrainian ethnographic area also includes the adjacent Austro-Hungarian territory, viz., East Galicia, the northwest of Bukovina, and a portion of Hungary along the slope of the Carpathian Mountains, from Marmaros to Zips. Their number is estimated as thirty million in Russia, upwards of three million in Austria-Hungary, and about one million in other countries. The Ukrainians in Russia are of Greek Orthodox faith, and those in Galicia are mostly Uniates. Notwithstanding local variations, the Ukrainians are easily distinguished from the Great Russians (or Russians proper) by their taller stature, broader and shorter heads, and darker complexion. They grow no beards, as do the Russians. Livelier, gayer, and gentler than the latter, the Ukrainians are noted for their poetical and musical gifts. The Ukrainian peasant is said to be more self-reliant than the Russian. Upon the overthrow of Czar Nicholas II (1917) general upheaval followed. In April, 1917, a Congress (Rada) made up of representatives of all classes and interests demanded autonomy for the Ukraine and proposed that a democratic republic be established. Ukrainian regiments were created which declared themselves in favor of the new government and plans went ahead for organizing the Ukrainian republic. A separate cabinet with distinct ministries of war and external affairs was included. The Russian provisional government (Lvov Cabinet) sent two Ukrainian members to investigate. On July 15, 1917, they returned with what was practically an ultimatum: Russia to recognize complete autonomy for Ukraine or total separation would

ensue. The provisional government feared that complete autonomy would seriously injure the campaign against the Central Powers, accepted the principle of autonomy and favored attaching Ukrainian delegates to the Russian war ministry and military staffs. The Ukrainians feared that in this way they would lose control of their troops. The territorial demands of the Ukrainians also seemed excessive to the provisional government. It was proposed that the purely Ukrainian provinces (Kiev, Volhynia, Poltava, Podolia, and part of Chernygov) come under immediate supervision of Ukrainian secretariat general, the disputed provinces to decide for themselves.

The Ukrainian government had to contend with military and economic difficulties and also to reckon with the Russian government on which it depended for financial support. On the east it was hard pressed by the Cossack armies of General Kaledin. Bolshevism did not find favor in the Ukraine. The Bolsheviki refused to advance money to the Ukraine and the latter retaliated by forbidding the sending of foodstuffs to Northern Russia. Massing of troops followed and clashes took place in December, 1917. Bolsheviki urged the cessation of hostilities, Ukrainians demanded full recognition of their republic, participation in all peace negotiations, military control of the Ukrainian, southwestern, and Rumanian fronts, and guarantees of payment for foodstuffs.

On January 10, 1918, delegates from Ukraine to the Brest-Litovsk peace conference were recognized by both the Russian and the German representatives. On January 21, it was announced that an agreement had been reached between the representatives of the Central Powers and those of the

Ukrainian People's Republic, of which the main terms were that the state of war should be ended at once, the troops of both parties withdrawn, and arrangements made in the treaty for the immediate resumption of trade relations, which should be followed as soon as possible by the resumption of diplomatic and council relations. The treaty was signed by the Ukraine government February 9 and its text was made public by the Bolshevik government soon afterwards. It provided that the new republic of Ukraine should have, as its southwestern frontier, the frontier of Galicia and should include a considerable area then occupied by the enemy in the governments of Volhynia, Lubin, Siedlics, Grodno, and Minsk. Both parties agreed to abandon any claims for damages. The signing of the treaty by Germany was greeted with satisfaction by the German press. It was announced on February 17 that the Ukraine government had published a statement expressing gratitude and satisfaction at the intervention of Germany. The Ukrainians had signed the peace with Germany, it declared, in order to put an end to the war. Peace had not resulted from it because the Russian Bolsheviks were making what they called a holy war upon the Socialists of the Ukraine. The Red Guards were invading the country from the north, murdering the people, and terrorizing the community. It said the reports as to the uprising of the people of the Ukraine were false, as were also the reports that the government of Ukraine, which really consisted of Socialists, was in any sense a middle-class government. It looked to the German people to protect them and aid them in saving the fruits of their young revolution. The Bolshevik forces were reported to have taken Kiev and German

military intervention thus found its excuse. The Germans required the greater part of the Ukraine stock of grain and other foodstuffs and it was not supplied in the quantities demanded. In revenge, according to press reports, they killed many of the peasants with machine guns, destroyed their villages, and laid hands upon the government, setting up a dictator who was favorable to their interests. Odessa changed hands again, being captured by the Black Sea fleet. On July 31, Field Marshal Eichhorn, German military dictator of Ukraine, was assassinated by an agent of the Left Social Revolutionary Party in Moscow. The assassin was arrested and a few days later hanged. Toward the end of August a Ukrainian National Council was formed at Paris and addressed a manifesto to the Allies asking for support in the struggle of the people of the Ukraine against German violence. It stated that the people had risen against the Germans and that the interests of the Ukraine and the Allies were identical.

In the Ukraine Germany robbed the peasants of their foodstuffs and brought about a coup d'état in the Rada. In Great Russia the German troops, regardless of the treaty, passed the frontier and advanced toward Lursk and then invaded the Crimea with the apparent purpose of seizing the Black Sea fleet. There were many reports in the Allied press of brutalities committed by Germans in Russia. Huge sums were said to have been demanded in gold from peasants along with all the wheat to be found in the locality. At a certain village not only was this reported but it was said that when the peasants brought only a part of what was demanded the German troops surrounded the village, shot down the peasants with

machine guns, killed them by hundreds, and dragged their old men out, tied them to their stirrups, and dragged them for many miles across country. A Vienna paper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, May 3, 1918, remarked that the people of the Ukraine could not regard the army of occupation as liberators but rather would regard them as agents of brute force sent into their country to enforce military rule and take possession of the cereals for the Central Powers, and that Germany and Austria would not make themselves beloved by the Ukraine any more than they had endeared themselves to the Letts, Esthonians, Poles, and Lithuanians.

*Russia and Finland.*—A grand duchy on the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which was conquered by Russia from Sweden, and finally annexed in 1808. Consequent upon Russia's revolution and subsequent disruptions, the Finnish papers stated that on Friday, November 9, 1917, the Finnish Diet decided, by 106 votes to 90, to inaugurate a régime of complete independence by declaring that as the Provisional Russian government no longer existed the Diet entrusted the government of Finland to a directory of three persons—namely, the magistrate Svinhufvud, privy councillor Gripenberg, and the banker Passikive. The post of governor-general was declared abolished. At the close of 1917 it was officially reported from Berlin that after the Russian government announced its willingness to recognize the independence of Finland, the German Emperor charged the imperial chancellor to express in the name of the German government recognition of the Finnish republic to plenipotentiaries of Finland then in Berlin. Chancellor von Hertling received the plenipotentiaries and informed them Germany had recognized Finland.

Finland's independence was recognized by Russia, Sweden, Norway, France, Spain, Denmark and Germany in the order named, on the understanding that an arrangement be reached between Finland and Russia in regard to formal separation. On January 9, 1918, the Russian central executive committee of the Soviets, acting in behalf of the Russian provisional government, unanimously recognized the republic as free and independent. Meanwhile the red guards (Bolsheviki) and the white guards (pro-German) were arrayed against each other, and civil war had broken out.

Civil war conditions continued till the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty between Germany and Bolshevik government. Generally speaking the fighting favored the white guards led by Gen. Mannerheim. On March 7, 1918, Germany signed a treaty with Finland, having meanwhile invaded Finnish territory and occupied the Aland Islands. This treaty declared that a state of war between Germany and Finland no longer existed. Germany promised to do everything in her power to have the independence of Finland recognized by the world. Finland promised that she would never give up any of the territory over which she was sovereign without first consulting Germany. Consular and diplomatic services were to be established, prisoners of war exchanged, and civil relations put into force. A commercial agreement was entered into, which made Finland a practical vassal of Germany.

Later events showed that Germany was evidently trying to carry out in Finland the same policy as she had shown at the time of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. She wished to constitute two minor states—the Ukraine and Finland—in order that a new and unified Rus-

sia might not rise up from the ruins which the Bolsheviks had caused. The German side appealed to the propertied classes and also to the spirit of national pride, by encouraging hopes of expansion. This policy was opposed by the radicals who were angered by the tyranny of the white guard and also by certain Swedish elements who were by no means radical but whose claims were rejected by the ruling party. The collapse of Germany prevented the consummation of the plan which provided for an alliance between the Finns and Germans, the object of which was a military advance to drive the Allies from northern Russia.

*Arguments and Programme of the Bolsheviks.*—In the leading newspapers of the countries of the Entente the feeling against the Bolsheviks is so strong that for the most part their arguments in their own behalf and accounts of their programme and organization were excluded, with the result that there was little understanding among the public at large of the points at issue between them and their opponents and the discussion of Russian affairs was often unintelligible. The following brief summary of the Bolsheviks' position, which is derived from sources sympathetic to their point of view, may therefore be of service:

The Bolsheviks argued that the middle class had nothing whatever to do with the revolution of March, 1917, which was a genuinely popular rising. The prominent representative of the middle class, Miliukov, for example, had urged the working class not to come into the streets and at the first stage of the revolution had predicted its immediate failure. The middle class was opposed to the government because it did not carry on the war efficiently. The revolutionists opposed the govern-

ment because it did not get the country out of war. Russia's Allies, thinking that the final object of the revolution was the overthrow of the dynasty, persisted for a long time in the belief that as far as the war was concerned things would go on as before. The middle class party in Russia encouraged them in their illusion. The Duma, which represented the middle class, did not take part in the revolution until it was sure that it was successful; then it fell into line and attempted to direct the movement. The new Provisional government was chosen by an executive committee of the Duma and was a middle class body in no wise representative of the masses, whereas strictly out of the revolution itself there arose a so-called Soviet of Workman's Deputies, which was later organized under the title of Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The latter became the real source of power, watching over the Provisional government and calling it to account. As time went on the breach between these two bodies widened. The Soviets more and more definitely expressed the will of the people that steps be immediately taken toward peace, whereas the Provisional government worked steadily to keep Russia in the war and to gain control of the army. This latter purpose the Soviets were determined to block, believing that if accomplished it would simply result in intrenching the middle class government, which would thus have usurped in the interests of a class the revolution which was the work of the majority of the people. The army, which comprised practically all of the young peasantry of the country, took part in political affairs from the first and had its share in directing the revolution. All attempts, such as those of Kerensky, Korniloff, and Kaledin, to gain control

by means of a portion of the army failed. The Soviet brought increased pressure upon the government for peace, but the government staved it off and gave Russia's Allies to understand that Russia would still fight. But when Miliukov issued his statement to the Allies implying that the Russian military policy had not changed, there was a threatening demonstration by soldiers and citizens in the streets and it had to be withdrawn.

In the meantime there was increasing hostility in the Soviet between the Moderates and the Bolsheviks, the former trying to maintain a union with the middle class government and the latter opposed to it as causing delay and leading to ultimate disaster. It is noteworthy that the Bolsheviks, like the governments of the Allied countries, opposed the Stockholm conference and they did so for the avowed reason that the representatives of the German majority Socialists at such a conference would really be the agents of the German government. In other contests that ensued between Moderates and Bolsheviks the latter were successful and gained strength. The aims of their leaders, Lenine and Trotzky, were not only for peace but for a world revolution in which the working class of all belligerent countries would insist that their governments should end the war. As time went on the government and the Moderate Party in the Soviets became weaker and the struggle became more clearly one of class. The Bolsheviks, representing the working class, were soon able to show that a majority of the people was behind them and when they took over the government in October, 1917, the transition was easily accomplished for the actual power had already for a long time been in their hands. Thus, it is the Bolsheviks' con-

tention that they represented the real purposes of the revolution from the beginning and that they moved along in absolute accord with the will of the people. They believed that the strictly representative form of government that had developed answered exactly to the wishes of the people. This government of Soviets was the natural outcome of the democratic revolutionary movement. It was exceedingly flexible and rested on the widest popular basis. Every Russian workman and peasant had the right to vote for a deputy in his local Soviet, which was made up of representatives varying in number according to the size of the electorate; every local Soviet had the right to choose delegates to the All-Russian Assembly of Soviets, which in turn chose the Central Executive Committee. This Central Executive Committee, the number of whose delegates was about one-fifth of that of the assembly, appointed the actual government, the so-called People's Commissaries, who remained under the control of and were subject to dismissal by the committee. The Central Executive Committee was the legislative body and all acts of importance were passed by it before they were issued as laws by the Council of People's Commissaries. The term of the Executive Committee lasts only to the next meeting of the All-Russian Assembly, which passes upon its acts and the acts of the People's Commissaries and elects a new executive committee. Thus the actual government could be made to correspond almost at once to changes in public opinion. Moreover, there were no limits to the withdrawal and reelection of delegates to the Soviets. In the working out of this system, the relation between the government and the people of the locality was very close. The local Soviets could follow minutely every act

of the People's Commissaries and the communication between the central authorities and the local was complete. From the Bolshevik point of view there was no sense whatever in the criticism directed against them by the democrats of other countries for having excluded the middle class from power. They contended that the purpose of the revolution was not merely to exclude the middle class from power but to put an end to it. The revolution from the beginning aimed at the destruction of the middle and exploiting class, and from the Bolshevik point of view the existence of that class could not be admitted. Ultimately the middle class would cease to be parasites and would be absorbed among the workers on an equal footing. The critics of the Bolsheviks seemed not to realize that it was of the very essence of Bolshevism to seek the destruction of the whole system of privilege and exploitation. The Bolsheviks explained the misunderstanding in the foreign press by the fact that the foreign observer almost always belonged to the privileged class himself and derived his information from the corresponding class in Russia.

Another criticism which the Bolsheviks considered unfair was that which condemned them for dissolving the Constituent Assembly. They maintained that the Constituent Assembly, as it finally turned out, was not representative at all of actual public opinion. The Bolsheviks had at first insisted upon the Constituent Assembly. It was the Moderates who really caused its failure. They repeatedly put it off and when after eight months it had come into existence it was too antiquated and useless an instrument. It was destroyed by the very element that had demanded it. The middle class had manœvered to delay its gathering until

they were sure that its character would be satisfactory to them. When they saw that the Soviet government really conformed to the will of the masses they looked to the Constituent Assembly as a desperate and last resort. It seemed to them less likely to injure their class than was the Soviet government. Although in the Constituent Assembly there was a majority against the Bolsheviks this did not, according to their defenders, represent the real wishes of the masses, for the canvass for it had taken place before the October revolution. Moreover, the great mass of the people had not been made to perceive the real issue and all active-thinking representatives of the masses were opposed to the assembly because as a matter of fact its majority consisted of the very element which had been overthrown in the October revolution. The Bolsheviks took their chances of public support and pushed the assembly aside. That they really had the country behind them was proven by the fact that among the people at large there was no protest.

As to peace the Bolsheviks had all along sought it as a result of the social revolution that they had aimed at bringing about in all countries, and they would have been glad to see the governments reject peace if that would have provoked the workers to rise and overthrow them. They aimed at a general peace, and least of all they were interested in a German victory. When Germany sent her first answer as to the condition of peace, saying that she would accept the Russian formula as a basis for negotiation, Russia's allies ought, in the opinion of the Bolsheviks, to have taken their side, for Germany would have been compelled to remain true to her agreement. The Allies did not support Russia and Germany, having only her weak opponent to deal

with, forced the harsh terms of the final treaty.

Trotsky now tried to bring about a revolution of the working classes in Germany or in any event to prove to the German people that their government in its peace negotiations showed not the slightest respect for their wishes. There were, in fact, vast strikes in Austria-Hungary and Germany, and according to the Bolsheviks this plan might have succeeded had it not been for the treachery of the conservative element in the Ukraine, who entered into separate negotiations with Germany. In the Ukraine the soldiers and workmen had gained the upper hand, and the self-styled government had to take refuge at German military headquarters. They were there, under German protection, when peace was concluded between Germany and the Ukraine. Although the majority in the Ukraine were represented by the Soviet and although the Soviet had declared itself one with the rest of Russia, Germany preferred to recognize the minority element, and in this respect the policy of Russia's allies was precisely the same as that of the Germans. Then came the refusal of the Russian delegates to sign the German peace terms. They hoped that the German people would prevent their government from advancing against the defenseless masses of Russia. The German government did advance, however, and the Soviet had to choose between collapse and the signature of a disgraceful peace. Some believed in holding out no matter what happened. Lenine thought the Soviet government ought to be preserved as a nucleus of revolution in Russia, and ultimately of the great world revolution that he had in mind. This view prevailed, being accepted by first the executive committee and then by the All-

Russian Assembly. The Germans continued to advance till they had reached the Don in the south and nearly reached Petrograd in the north.

The Bolsheviks declared that the Soviet government is the real government of the Russian majority. Their opponents, they said, had so little faith in their hold on the masses, that all along they looked upon a foreign intervention as the only thing that could save them. Their request for foreign aid against the Soviet government showed that they were striving for something that the Russians themselves did not want. The Soviet government following the October revolution had stood firm for six months. The Allies helped the anti-Soviet minority in the Ukraine, thus aiding the German aggression, and they gave moral aid at least to the White Finns, who were opposed by the Red Finns, supported by the Soviet. The Bolsheviks resented this and believed that if the Allies continued this policy and should eventually succeed in imposing on Russia the government of a minority, it could be kept in power only by foreign aid, and that of geographical necessity such aid would come from Germany. They urged the Allies not to repeat their mistakes. They argued that any non-Soviet government would be directly to the advantage of Germany. They reminded the United States of the presence in the colonies at the time of their own revolution of men who tried to secure foreign aid against the movement for American independence, and they asked how those men were regarded to-day. The only way to thwart the design of Germany to gain control of Russia's resources was to support the Soviet government, which would welcome such coöperation from the Allies and might even grant them control over a portion

of Russia's resources in order to save themselves from the German menace.

*Rival Parties.*—During 1918 and 1919 there were many conflicting accounts of the situation. According to some of these the government of Lenine was tottering to its end; according to others the revolution was fast spreading; and according to still others, the severest measures were being taken against the counter revolutionaries. The rival parties and movements in Russia at this time may be summed up as follows: In the south were the Czechoslovaks whose effectives were placed at from 60,000 to 80,000 men, and who, in August, were holding the great strip of territory along the railway from Penza (to the west of the River Volga) to Irkutsk, except for a few breaks in line. The Cossacks of the Caucasus and the leagues of officers were still under arms, having been formed into a military force by Generals Kaledin, Korniloff, and Alexieff, of whom Kaledin was reported later to have committed suicide and Korniloff to have died. Besides these Cossacks, there were the Cossacks of Orenburg, who were under the command of Gen. Dutoff; the Cossacks of the Don, under Gen. Krasnoff; and the leagues of officers formed by Gen. Alexieff and other generals. It appeared in August that all these elements of Cossacks and officers were concentrated in the Samara regions under Generals Alexieff and Dutoff, and M. Rodzianko, the president of the last Duma. Then there were the following Siberian governments: The Siberian Diet, which had been dispersed and taken refuge in one city after another and was finally reported to have assembled at Omsk in June, where it soon afterwards proclaimed the independence of Siberia, annulled the acts of the Bolsheviks, and

accepted the land situation provisionally until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly; the government of the Grand Duke Michael who had been named by the late Czar as a successor and who, having escaped on June 15, issued a manifesto on June 26, asserting his claim to the throne, though adding that he would wait until the Constituent Assembly should bestow the power on him; the government of Gen. Horvath at Kharbin, which was working for the restoration of the monarchy; and finally the forces of Gen. Semenoff, who at that time were reported to have won successes on the Manchurian frontier.

*The End of the Constituent Assembly.*—In January, 1918, the executive committee of Soviets issued a decree empowering the workmen, soldiers, and peasants of the Soviets to arrange for an early election or to recall the members of the Constituent Assembly if they no longer represented the views of their constituents. At the new congress of the peasants it was decided to recall all the members who acted in opposition to the government. On January 18, the Constituent Assembly listened to the reading of the Committee of Soviets' declaration of the rights of the working classes and proclamation of Russia as a republic of Soviets. The Bolsheviki applauded with great enthusiasm. A declaration was then read by M. Tseretelli, former minister in the Kerensky government, setting forth the position of the moderate Socialists. He was cheered by his own party, but the cheers were drowned out by the hooting of the Bolsheviki, among whom was the commander-in-chief, Krilenko. A speech by M. Tchernoff, former minister of agriculture, appealing for order, had no effect. The Revolutionary Socialists proposed the discussion of the most important ques-



tions, namely, the making of peace, and the questions of land, industry, and of the new form of government; but the radical party concentrated its attention on the alleged encroachment, by the Constituent Assembly, on the authority of the Soviets. Reconciliation was impossible and finally the Bolsheviki and the Revolutionary Left walked out of the building in a body, as a protest against a decision of the majority to proceed to the discussion of the above-mentioned questions and to postpone the consideration of the Soviets' so-called declaration of rights. The vote on these questions was 273 against 140, thus showing the balance between the moderate Revolutionary Socialists or Right on the one hand, and the Bolsheviki, together with the Left Revolutionary Socialists on the other. On the morning of January 19, sailors armed with rifles dissolved the assembly, which had been in session only a few weeks. This left the Bolsheviki in complete control. The decree of dissolution denounced the Moderate and Revolutionary Socialists for their opposition to the granting of sufficient power to the commissaries for carrying out the economic programme, and rejected any compromise with the *bourgeois* classes, or with what it called democratic parliamentarism.

*Allied Intervention in Russia and Siberia.*—The reports concerning the activities of the Czecho-Slovak troops and the Allied forces, which were landed at Murmansk, Archangel, and Vladivostok, were very meagre and conflicting throughout the war. Reports given out by the Soviet government of Russia and the various governments of Siberia differed widely from and often contradicted those given out by allied governments. Therefore the material contained in this section cannot be

strictly vouched for. The method of obtaining it was to gather, as far as possible, material from European and American sources and then to compare it and keep that matter which seemed to be founded on fact. The material covering all phases is given in chronological order because it is almost impossible to group it under separate headings.

After the Bolsheviki had made peace with the Central Powers, their attempts to pacify that part of Russia which remained in their hands were rather unsuccessful. A considerable army of Czecho-Slovaks was roaming around the central part of Russia, attempting to reach Vladivostok and then rejoin the allies in order to down their hereditary enemies, the Germans and Austrians. These men had deserted from the forces of the Central Powers and had fought with the Russians against their enemies. When the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed and Russia retired from the war, they received permission from the Bolsheviki to cross Siberia and rejoin the Allies. For some time their relations with the new rulers of Russia were very friendly. Then, presumably at the request of Germany, the Bolsheviki ordered them to be disarmed, but the Czecho-Slovaks resisted, and conflicts occurred between them and the Soviet forces. The first battles began in the latter part of May and continued throughout 1918 and 1919.

In Siberia, the Bolsheviki met with the greatest opposition in the establishment of their government. Anti-Bolshevik forces headed by Gen. Semennoff, Admiral Kolchak, Col. Orloff, Gen. Kalmakoff, and others joined forces or operated independently to defeat the Bolsheviki. In June, with the aid of Chinese mercenaries, they seized most of the railway lines in Siberia and in-

formed the Soviet government that any attempt to occupy Siberia would be bitterly opposed. During the same month the Czecho-Slovaks seized the railway station at Penza on the Volga, and started their battles for Vladivostok by penetrating into the region of the Ural Mountains. They held the Siberian Railroad from Theliabinsk to Tomsk, a distance of more than 1,000 miles, and had occupied Samara, as well as Irkutsk and Vladivostok. The latter city was taken by Czecho-Slovaks who had reached there before Trotzky had ordered them to disarm. By the middle of July, 1918, the Czechs held most of the Siberian railroad. Their line was very thin and largely depended upon the cooperation of the independent Siberian forces. Detachments from the eastern end of the line, after occupying towns in the Amur River basin, started westward along the railroad with the purpose of relieving their brethren, who were rather sorely beset as a result of strong Bolshevik counter-offensive begun against them in July. The number of Czecho-Slovaks fighting against the Bolsheviki has never been definitely stated but estimates place the figures as anywhere from 50,000 to 175,000. Probably the former figure is more accurate than the latter. Although the Czechs stated time and again that they were absolutely neutral concerning the internal affairs of Russia, nevertheless, whatever sections of Siberia they came in contact with immediately arose in revolt against the Soviet government. This, of course, may have been a result of distrust of this government.

When it became known that the treaties of peace between Germany on the one hand and Finland, Russia, Rumania, and the Ukraine, on the other, were to be used by Germany as a means for making these countries subservient

to Germany, the Allies determined upon a certain amount of military intervention in order to try to save something from the chaos that existed in Russia. The Allies first seized the region around the Murman coast, with the cities of Murmansk, Kola, and Kem (July, 1918). The purpose of this was to prevent Germany from obtaining submarine bases on the Arctic Ocean and from seizing control of the Murman Railroad which might have resulted in the cutting off of Petrograd from the rest of Russia. There were also vast quantities of war materials there which had been ordered by the old Russian government and which had never been paid for. From April to July, 1918, the Germans and their Finnish allies were planning an attack on the railroad and even went so far as to build a railroad across Russia from Finland to the neighborhood of Kem. Consequently, in July, 1918, allied forces, including Americans, were landed at Murmansk and were welcomed by the anti-Bolshevik inhabitants, who almost immediately seceded from Russia and established an independent government. The Allies advanced at once along the railroad and seized Kem.

In July, 1918, it was also announced that the Allies after a long period of consultation had determined to send a combined force of men to Vladivostok to aid the Czechs as far as possible, and also to attempt to break up the armed bands of Austrian and German prisoners who were the main part of the Bolshevik forces. Ten thousand Americans, 10,000 Japanese, and smaller numbers of British and French were placed under the command of Gen. Otani (Japanese), and dispatched to Vladivostok in August. Maj.-Gen. William S. Graves was placed in command of the American troops. This

force immediately started to occupy the valley of the Ussuri River and met with little resistance. On August 4, 1918, it was announced that the Allied troops had taken possession of Archangel after ineffectual resistance by the Bolsheviki. The Allies (including Americans) now controlled the entire coast from Archangel to Murmansk.

During September and October the Allies and Czecho-Slovaks made some progress against the Bolsheviki. The Japanese advanced along the Siberian Railroad and captured Blagoviestschenk, the capital of Amur, and Alexievsk on September 18. Many towns along the Dvina River were occupied by the Allied and American troops. Kadish, in the Province of Archangel, was occupied on October 18. During the latter half of October and in early November the fighting seemed to favor the Bolshevik forces. The Czechs were driven from Samara and reported that without immediate assistance they would not be able to hold out much longer. The Allies were forced to abandon some of their newly won ground along the Dvina (Kadish), but succeeded in driving the Bolsheviks across the Finnish border from Karelia.

The signing of the armistice with Germany, contrary to the expectations of many people, did not bring to a close the hostilities in Russia. No official declaration of war had ever been made against the Bolsheviki and consequently a legal state of war did not exist, although fighting continued. On December 24, Siberian troops with the aid of Czecho-Slovak troops were reported to have captured the city of Perm and to have practically wiped out an entire Bolshevik army, taking 31,000 prisoners and much booty. The Allies advanced up the Onega River, in the Archangel district, for a distance of fif-

teen miles on December 30, and recaptured Kadish and made their rather precarious position more secure.

During 1918 and 1919 the whole situation in Russia and Siberia was still unsettled. Arguments were rife in Allied countries as to what should be done. Some contended that a large force should be sent into Russia and Bolshevism crushed, while others maintained that the armies should be withdrawn and Russia permitted to work out her own salvation. The question was for the peace conference to decide. See *below* under the heading PEACE CONFERENCE.

**IV. Southern Theatre. A. Campaigns against Serbia.**—The campaigns against Serbia have two main stages: (1) Austrian campaign across the Drina (August-December, 1914), which failed owing to demands in the Russian field; (2) Austro-German-Bulgar invasion of Serbia, to open the road to Constantinople. This campaign ended in the conquest of Serbia and Montenegro (October-December, 1915).

The military strategy of this campaign develops on three fronts: (a) the Germans crossed the Danube and took the line of the Morava valley; (b) the Austrians crossed the Drina and moved up the Lim; (c) the Bulgars, sending one army to beat off Allied reinforcements from Greece, moved on Nish with another army. The Serb army was driven to the sea through Albania. It was ultimately reformed and reëquipped and played a prominent part in the campaigns of 1918.

**B. Italian Campaign.**—Italy's entrance into the war in May, 1915, relieving Russia, has two main movements: (1) to the north, to close the passes of the Alps against invasion; (2) to the northeast, to cross the Isonzo and take Trieste.

The Isonzo line was reached, but the operation was not completed. An Austrian invasion from the north (May, 1916) was checked mainly by an opportune Russian drive into Galicia. After a successful attack against Austria the Italians were compelled to beat a precipitous retreat to the Piave in 1917. From here they organized the blow that crushed Austria in 1918.

The work before the Italians was therefore simple in respect of conception, difficult in point of execution. The configuration of the frontier at once fixed the nature of the task. It was absolutely essential to close the passes of the Alps from Switzerland eastward, in order to protect the flank and rear of their armies on the Isonzo line, and to prevent invasion of Italy. This condition secured, the task of the remainder of the forces was to cross the Isonzo, for it must not be forgotten that Italy's material objective was Trieste with the Istrian Peninsula.

Four armies took the field, two on each frontier, the northern and eastern. A fifth force, composed of Bersaglieri and Alpini, was designated for operations in the Carnic Alps. Gen. Count Luigi Cadorna,\* the chief of the general staff, was in general command. On May 24 the frontier of the Trentino was crossed. Two weeks later the Italians were well advanced in the Trentino and Tyrol; the road to Verona was closed. It would seem that the Austrians during the opening days of the

\* COUNT LUIGI CADORNA, born (1850) at Pallanza, son of Gen. Raffaele Cadorna; graduated from military academy at Turin (1868); colonel (1892); commander of Tenth Regiment of Bersaglieri; chief of staff of the Army of Florence; major general (1898); commander of the division at Naples (1907) and at Genoa (1910); designated commander of an army in case of war (1911); chief of the general staff; preparation for participation in European War worked out by him in detail and he became generalissimo of the entire Italian army; author of notable pamphlets on tactics.

campaign in this region had opposed but slight resistance to the forward movement of the Italians. Further east a more severe struggle took place for the possession of the passes of the Carnic Alps. Here the Italians took the Plöcken Pass and gradually extended their hold upon the peaks to its east and west, thus closing the gateways opening southward into the valley of the Tagliamento. The struggle continued in the mountains during the entire summer, and took place chiefly at high altitudes. In the Trentino as a whole the Italians managed to get control of most of the roads leading into their country. West of Lake Garda (Val Giudicaria) they pushed forward in the autumn and got close to Riva. On the east side of the lake, by the end of the year they were in the outskirts of Rovereto. Farther east, on November 7, Col di Lana was taken by Garibaldi, but later abandoned, only to be recaptured in April, 1916. In the Carnic Alps the Austrians made desperate efforts to dislodge their adversaries from the passes seized by them in June, but to no avail; the Italians held. They failed, however, to get the Malborghetto works, but had better success in forcing the Austrians to abandon the Plezzo valley. South of Plezzo, Tolmino was invested, but without success.

The nature of events on the eastern frontier was almost wholly determined by the obstacle forming the line of separation between the contending armies, i.e., the Isonzo River. From its left (Austrian) bank rise ridges upon ridges, whereas the right bank, from which the attack must come, below Gorizia (Görz), is flat (the Friuli plain). In crossing the river, therefore, the Italians would be compelled to fight uphill. The rectangle Gorizia-Gradisca-

Trieste-San Daniele is occupied by the Carso (Karst) plateau, with hills from 150 to 1700 feet high. This plateau would have to be taken, or at least a passage opened through it, before Trieste could be reached. On May 24 Italian troops occupied various small towns just across the frontier. Their troubles began when they undertook to cross the Isonzo, for soon after reaching it they found it in flood. It is said that their difficulties were increased by the failure of the cavalry to seize the bridges at Pieris. A dash for these bridges would have insured a crossing and might have given possession of a part at least of the Carso plateau. As it was, the Austrians blew up the bridges before any Italians got across. The flood subsiding on June 5, a crossing was made at Pieris and Monfalcone occupied. But now a fresh obstacle presented itself. The Austrians flooded the low country at the foot of the Carso plateau. The advance against the plateau was thus blocked, and operations along the entire line delayed. Another crossing had to be sought unaffected by the flood conditions. The point selected was just above Sagrado, where the river makes a great salient to the west; unsuccessful attempts were made on June 9, 15, and 23.

It was therefore decided to make a general advance along the whole line of the Carso, a movement which began June 18. By the 23d various villages at the foot of the Carso had been taken. A fourth attempt to cross succeeded on the 24th. The Italians by the 27th had got a bridgehead on the Isonzo and a line of advance to the Carso plateau. This struggle formed part of a general struggle over the whole line from Plezzo to the sea. The conflict was necessarily intensified at certain points, such as Gorizia, Plava, and Tolmino.

*Gorizia.*—Gorizia lies in a bend of the river, and is dominated by the hills behind it stretching away into the general mountain system. On the west bank Monte Sabotino, itself commanded by the hills on the eastern bank, likewise controls the position; from Sabotino run out the Podgora heights well below (south of) Gorizia. Between Podgora and Gorizia is open ground 3 miles wide, bounded on the southeast by the river. Sabotino and Podgora, thoroughly organized defensively by the Austrians, were unsuccessfully attacked by the Italians at the end of May. They were more successful at Plava. Back of the village stands Hill 383, and south of 383 a peak known as Kuk. The Italians hoped, if they could get across, to work down the left bank and menace Monte Santo, the bulwark of the Austrians on this bank in the Gorizia sector. Attempts to cross by bridging on the 8th and 10th of June were defeated, but on the 11th two battalions were got over by rafting and attacked Hill 383, securing a footing on the lower slopes. Reënforcements enabled the Italians on the 17th, after heavy fighting, to gain the summit. They held the hill thereafter in spite of the efforts of the Austrians to win it back, but were unable to extend their holdings on the left bank.

*Tolmino.*—At Tolmino the river turns 90 degrees from southeast to southwest. In the bend stand two hills joined by a saddle, Santa Maria and Santa Lucia. These were held by the Austrians, and formed with Sabotino and Podgora the only positions retained by them on the west bank of the Isonzo. North of Tolmino runs a range of high mountains, one of which, Monte Nero, rises over 7000 feet. Tolmino itself was a point of some military importance, probably because the Aus-

trians, should the occasion arise, meant to use it as a point of departure in the invasion of Italy.

The resistance offered at Tolmino was more serious than apparently the Italians had expected. Their attempt to seize it by sudden attack failed, and they were compelled to proceed against the place by regular investment. In the meantime they were more fortunate 10 miles to the northwest at Caporetto, which they had occupied on the first day of the war. The heights across were turned by a column that crossed higher up, climbed the Polonnik ridge, and thus drove the Austrians back on the Monte Nero ridge. On June 2 the highest peak of the ridge was in the hands of the Italians. The occupation of Monte Nero was a necessary condition to operations directed southward against Tolmino, but Monte Nero itself was not safe unless Plezzo, an Austrian base and magazine, could be neutralized. By June 23, the Italians had succeeded in getting into positions from which they threatened the Plezzo valley. They now came down from the north against Tolmino. In August they attacked Santa Lucia and Santa Maria, but were compelled to resort to trench warfare. Later, in October, the offensive was resumed, without however succeeding in dispossessing the Austrians.

*Plava.*—The war had now lasted over five months without any result of magnitude on the Isonzo front. But on October 18 began a general bombardment from Plava to the sea, as a preparation for an extension beyond the Plava bridgehead in order to attack Monte Santo from the north, for the capture of Sabotino-Podgora, and for the occupation of the Carso plateau. Operations in the Plava sector proved unfruitful, owing to the inability of the

Italians to capture Kuk. As long as this elevation remained in Austrian hands, it was useless to think of proceeding against Monte Santo. Hence the attack on the Gorizia front derived no help from the north. The fighting on this front lasted six weeks and at one time Monte Sabotino was actually taken but was not held. In December there was a lull but no cessation. As a result of their efforts the Italians had gained a little, and now turned their guns upon Gorizia itself. On the Carso plateau very little was achieved. Part of Monte San Michele was taken, as well as trenches on the northern slope of the plateau. But on the whole the Italian offensive had failed. The Austrian lines had held at all essential points.

At the end of the year 1915 Italy had gained one of her points. She had closed the gates of her northern frontier, and held the keys. A period of relative quiet then prevailed. In May, 1916, the Austrians began a successful drive down the Adige valley, forcing the Italians back over their own frontier at many points. The Italian towns of Arsiero and Asiago were captured. This campaign against Italy was brought to a sudden halt by the Russian offensive in Galicia, and in a short time the Italians had regained most of the lost ground. In August the Italians won their greatest victory of the war. This was the taking of Gorizia, the key to Trieste. The attack began in the Malfalcone sector. Then San Sabotino and San Michele, the other two defenses of the city, were taken with a rush. The city itself was attacked from all sides. A bloody engagement was fought at the Podgora bridge crossing the Isonzo. The Italians pushed eastward across the Carso plateau, which extends 22 miles to Tri-

este. They captured San Grado and several lines of trenches near Loguizza. On October 11 the Italians stormed the whole first line of Austrian defenses. They captured Loguizza and Jamiano. In November the Italians began another great offensive on the Carso plateau and advanced an average of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile. They claimed to have taken 39,000 prisoners to date. The wintry months of December, 1916, and January, 1917, prevented further operations. Artillery and aerial engagements were frequent.

*Italian Spring and Summer Offensives.*—The winter on the Italian front was very severe and of long duration. The time was spent in increasing the entire military establishment on the front and (by the Italians) in preparing to meet an Austrian attack on the Trentino front, and in organizing an Italian attack in the southern part of the battleline. The plans of the Italian General Staff were as follows: First, to engage the enemy on the entire front from Tolmino to the sea in an intense artillery action which would leave him doubtful as to the real direction of the decisive attacks; then to attack on the right wing to the north of Gorizia, and, lastly, to strike out on the Carso.

Operations were begun on May 12, and on May 14, the infantry advanced from Plava and Gorizia. Initial successes were gained on Mount Cucco and Mount Santo. On the entire front the Austrians presented stubborn and determined resistance. The next day the Isonzo was crossed between Loga and Bodrez and new advances were made on the two mountains mentioned above, and on the Vodice ridge. By the 22d the advances were consolidated and the Italians had a firm grip on the whole mountainous ridge which separates the

Isonzo from the deep valley which branches out in front of Anhovo. The Italians had taken over 7000 prisoners.

In order to create a diversion the Austrians attacked in the Trentino region (May 19 to 22). Unsuccessful attacks were made in Val Sugana, on the Asiago plateau, around Lake Garda and in the Adige valley. A strong attack in force was repulsed by the Italians on the 22d, after temporary successes in the Piccolo Colbricon and in the Travignolo valley. In these attacks the Austrians lost many men, killed, wounded, and captured.

On May 23, the Italian infantry, after tremendous artillery preparation, attacked on the southern edge of the Carso Plateau from Castagnavizza to the sea. Over 100 aëroplanes aided in this battle. Lucati, Jamiano, Bagni, and several important heights were captured. On the next day the battle was resumed and extended from Gorizia to the sea. Allied monitors bombarded the extremity of the Austrian lines with heavy naval guns. The Italians advanced in the face of exceedingly stubborn resistance—counterattacks, violent shelling, and aerial bombardments from machines flying very low to the ground. The Italians in this phase of the battle took 17,000 prisoners and 20 guns and were within 11 miles of Trieste.

The Austrians on June 1 began an offensive which compelled the Italians to retire somewhat from their newly won positions. On account of the conditions in Russia (*see above*) they were able to bring up great quantities of men and material from the Eastern front. On June 3, a general attack from Mount S. Marco to the sea was begun and lasted with unabated intensity for three days. It was at first successful.

Italian positions on Mount S. Marco were taken and positions on Dosso Faiti were penetrated. South of Jamiano the Italians were compelled to give up a strip of territory which they did not have time to consolidate. A counter-assault by General Cadorna in the Trentino compelled the Austrians to give up this offensive which was supposed to neutralize the Italian gains in the latter part of May. There is no doubt that the fighting on the Carso favored the Italians in the first months of the campaign, although it is doubtful if they penetrated the Austrian lines as far as the General Staff had hoped.

During July and the first part of August the opposing forces battled back and forth in an attempt to get advantageous positions. The Italians advanced on the Carso and took Dalino, and repulsed strong Austrian attacks in the Trentino. The Austrian artillery was everywhere active, as though it was attempting to prevent the Italians from organizing an offensive on a large scale. Nevertheless, on the night of August 18, the Italians began a spectacular offensive from Tolmino to the sea, a front of approximately 37 miles. The attack was made by the Third Army, under General Cappello, which operated on the Bainsizza plateau, Monte Santo, and Monte San Gabriele, and the Second Army, under the Duke of Aosta, which operated in the Vippacco and Brestovizza valleys, and in front of the Hermada mountains. These armies were aided by Italian and British monitors in the Gulf of Trieste and by vast fleets of aeroplanes.

The Italians paved the way for their advance by a great engineering feat. They had diverted the course of the waters of the Isonzo River from its bed above Anhovo and had built bridges

across the shallow stream that remained. This work was done at night, and at daylight the stream was re-diverted to its regular channel. By means of these bridges and some pontoon bridges hastily constructed the Italians crossed the river on the 18th and gained a foothold on the northern part of the Bainsizza plateau. At the same time General Cappello's right wing began to envelop Monte Santo. These two movements compelled the Austrians to retire to the easternmost edge of the Bainsizza plateau. The Italians captured a vast quantity of military stores and food supplies, besides a great number of prisoners. From the nature of the Austrian defenses, it was quite apparent that the Austrian Staff thought this plateau impregnable. On August 24, the Italians occupied the summit of Monte Santo, 2240 feet high, and on September the summit of Monte San Gabriele, 1700 feet above the Isonzo and 300 feet above Monte San Daniele. The Austrians still held the eastern slopes of Monte San Gabriele.

The Duke of Aosta had been busy in the south in the meanwhile. His object was to surround the Hermada mountains, which were the key to Trieste, and to occupy the Vippacco valley. In his assault on the Hermada he was aided to a large extent by monitors and aeroplanes. He was unable to break through the Hermada mountains, however, and spent the entire month in fruitless efforts. During September and early October, General Cappello succeeded in driving the Austrians from the slopes of Monte San Gabriele, and also made slight gains on the Bainsizza and Carso plateaus. The objectives of the Italian summer campaign were to capture ultimately Trieste and Laibach. The capture of the



former would destroy the submarine bases in the Adriatic, and the capture of the latter would open up the way to Vienna. The sudden German-Austrian blow at the northern extremity of the battle-line compelled the Italians to give up their entire gains of the year.

*Great Italian Retreat.*—As has been described above, the main Italian army was striking on a comparatively limited front on the Bainsizza plateau. The entire line of action was scarcely more than 12 or 15 miles long. This attacking force was composed of seasoned veterans. The armies protecting its flank were of unequal strength and were used for different purposes. Those on the upper Isonzo were territorials, i.e., older men who in peace times are held in reserve. They extended from Tolmino to Plezzo (Flitsch) and were to protect the flank of the Bainsizza army. The troops on the lower Isonzo were veterans, who were thrusting forward on the Carso plateau *pari passu* with the troops on the Bainsizza, and who were ultimately to march on Trieste. The German General Staff had been receiving calls for help from the Austrians for some time and at last gave heed to them. The strategy of the German plan was to strike at the unseasoned troops on the upper Isonzo, break through, and then cut the lines of communications of the other two armies by outflanking them. This plan was put into operation and worked exceedingly well. The task was made easier by the collapse of Russia, a superiority of artillery, surprise, socialistic propaganda, and cowardice, which General Cadorna claimed was exhibited by his troops on the upper Isonzo.

The battle began on October 21, with a bombardment of the Plezzo-Tolmino front and the northern flank of the Bainsizza plateau. Under cover of these

guns the Germans and Austrians broke through the front-line trenches at Plezzo and Tolmino and crossed to the western bank of the Isonzo. Converging from these points on Caporetto, the Germans opened the way down the valleys of the Natisone and Judrio rivers. This move threatened the rear of the Bainsizza and Carso armies, and compelled them to begin a hasty retreat. By the 27th Berlin announced the capture of 60,000 Italians (mostly non-combatants used behind the lines) and 500 guns. This was accomplished by the capture of Monte Matajur, which dominated the Italian rear down the valleys of the two rivers mentioned above. The retreat from the plateaus through Gorizia across hastily constructed bridges over the Isonzo became a rout. On the 28th Cividale was taken, which opened up railway communication with Udine, the seat of the Italian General Headquarters. This advance also compelled the Fourth Italian Army, which was guarding the frontier in the Carnic Alps, to abandon the passes on the frontier and retreat down the streams flowing into the Tagliamento and Piave rivers.

On October 30 Udine fell, and by the first of November the Teutonic Allies had reached the Tagliamento River. The Italians, particularly the cavalry, fought valiant rearguard actions to stem the tide of invasion and hold the line of the Tagliamento. So far they had lost 180,000 prisoners and 1500 guns. The Germans couldn't be stopped. They crossed the Tagliamento in scores of places, increased their number of prisoners to 250,000 (German report), and the number of guns to 2300. The next river flowing into the Gulf of Trieste was the Livenza. This offered very little chances of resistance and was defended merely to

give more time to prepare the line of the Piave River, from 10 to 20 miles further west. This line had been a training base for recruits and was protected by modern trenches and other fortifications. French and British infantry and heavy artillery, which was sorely needed, was arriving daily in ever-increasing numbers. At this stage a change in command was made. General Cadorna was succeeded by General Diaz, who was to be assisted by Generals Badoglio and Giardino. The allied reserves were held on the Adige line in case the Italians were unable to defend the Piave. The Adige line was very strong naturally, and was practically incapable of a flanking movement such as had won all the rivers so far gained.

The strategy of the Austro-German Staff was now to outflank the lower Piave line, which was fairly strong, by seizing the Asiago plateau and the hills between the Piave and the Brenta and coming down the Piave valley. They also attempted to cross the lower Piave at several points and were successful at Zenson and one or two other points. They were driven back at all of these except the first. The Teutons were at a great disadvantage because they were unable to bring up their heavy artillery on account of the destruction of the railroads. The extreme lower Piave was protected by great naval floats and the Italian fleet. A large area between Venice and the mouth of the Piave was flooded, which effectively prevented further crossings near the coast.

The Central Allies now concentrated their efforts to break through in the neighborhood of the Asiago plateau, the weakest point of the Italian line. They captured the village of Asiago and other more or less important points, but up to January, 1918, they were

unable to break through to the Venetian plains. The Italians gradually withdrew in the region from Lake Garda to the upper reaches of the Piave in order to strengthen their positions for defensive purposes. They grimly held on to Monte Tomba and Monte Monferiera that guarded the gateway to the plains between the Brenta and the Piave rivers. Mass attacks comparable to those used by the Crown Prince at Verdun were repeatedly made on these mountain slopes, but the rock trenches of the Italians held firmly. These peaks are a part of a chain of low mountains which stretch across the plain between the Piave and the Brenta. For more than three weeks this mountain range was the scene of extremely bitter fighting. Intense artillery duels were fought, and the Teutons and the Italians took turns at the offensive. Each side won local successes but the main Italian line held.

The Germans and Austrians made another great effort to break through in the first week of December, 1917. This time they struck between the Brenta and Astico rivers. The main attack was delivered on a four-mile front from Ronchi valley to Monte Kaberlaba after heavy artillery preparation. This was where the new Italian line was anchored to the line held before the great retreat began. The Italians were about to withdraw when the attack was made. In three days' furious fighting (5th to 8th) the Germans took 15,000 prisoners. The Italians were forced back to positions more easily defended. Their line had been U-shaped and the bulge had been driven into a straight line. Their line was based on a group of low mountains similar to those between the Brenta and the Piave. The Austro-German troops took these mountains one by one. On

December 15 they stormed Col Caprille and took 3000 prisoners. On the 19th they also stormed Monte Asolone and took 2000 more prisoners. They were now within four miles of the plains that would lead them to Venice and outflank the Piave line. With a desperation born of despair, the Italians counter-assaulted and regained the lost positions on Monte Asolone.

The Germans had taken almost 4000 square miles of territory, 300,000 prisoners, and 2700 guns, according to reports from Berlin.

When the campaign closed on the Italian front in 1917 the Italians were in a very precarious position. The Austro-German armies held almost all the important passes to the Venetian plains and had established a foothold on the southern bank of the lower Piave at Zenson. The opening of 1918 saw two points of strategical advantage to the Italians. One was the coöperation in force of the British and French armies under Generals Plumer and Fayolle, respectively, and the other was the tremendous fall of snow in the last half of December, which ended the extremely open winter, which had aided the Teutonic invaders, and which now, not only seriously hampered their lines of communications, but prevented them from capturing vital passes, and from debouching on to the Venetian plains from those they had already captured. In January and February by a series of local successes, the Italians, British, and French compelled the enemy to give up the offensive and seek defensive positions. By the capture of the northern summit of Monte Tomba (Dec. 31, 1917) and by advancing four miles up the Piave toward Quero (Jan. 20-23), the French compelled the enemy to retire from Monte Monfenera, which was the eastern gateway to the Vene-

tian plains. On January 28 the Italians started a drive which extended from the Nos valley to the Brenta, covering Monte di Val Bella, the Col del Rosso, Monte Sisemol, Bertigo, and the Frenzela river. This drive broke up an Austrian drive aimed to break through to the plains at those points and established for the Italians what were to be new and permanent positions on Monte di Val Bella and Col del Rosso. This effectively closed the only other passage to the Venetian plains in the hands of the Austrians and Germans. During February and March attempts to dislodge the Allies were futile. The enemy foothold on the southern bank of the Piave was also wiped out by a perfectly combined artillery and infantry attack by the Italians. The result of these three local successes was to put the Austro-Germans on the defensive and to increase the difficulties of a debouching movement onto the plains of Venetia. The month of January saw a change in the Austro-German command on the Italian front. General Borovic succeeded Archduke Eugene as supreme commander. Borovic had before this commanded the Piave front. Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf still retained his command on the mountain front. It is stated that General Borovic was promoted in order to placate the Slavic elements in the Austro-Hungarian empire.

*The Austrian Failure in Italy.*—The long looked for offensive on the Italian front which was expected to finish the work of 1917 developed in June, 1918, and extended along the whole front from the Asiago plateau to the sea, nearly 100 miles. The movement was entirely Austrian, all the German troops, which participated in the Italian débâcle of 1917, having been withdrawn for use on the western front. It

is understood that the German military party had told Austria in no uncertain tones that she alone was expected to put Italy completely out of the war. The Austrian plan of attack was as follows: Field Marshal von Hoetzendorf was to break through the Allied positions on the Asiago plateau, and at Monte Grappa and Monte Tomba, and then march down the Brenta valley, and debouch on to the plains by way of Bassano. In conjunction with Hoetzendorf, General Borovic was to cross the Piave between Montello and the upper stretches of the Piave delta, and thus outflank Venice, and leave it the alternatives of surrender or destruction. The capture of Montello would assure the Austrians domination of several important railway centres and possibly cause a huge disaster. The offensive was well planned and everything done to insure its success. The Austrians were well supplied with gas shells, smoke shells, rafts, pontoons, and every other means of carrying on modern warfare.

From the outset, the attempts to reach the manufacturing heart of Italy were doomed to failure. In the mountain region the first attack took Penar, Cornone, Fenilon and Mt. Moschin from the French and British defenders. Less than two days later, the Allies, at the point of the bayonet, had recovered all the ground lost and some more besides. They took almost 1000 prisoners and a few machine guns, which were particularly noteworthy achievements in an offensive of this kind.

The Austrians were a little more successful along the Piave. Their success was largely due to the very effective use of "tear" shells and smoke screens. They crossed at San Dona, Capo Sile (the old Piave), San Andrea, Candelu, Zenson, and Nervesa. The last named

place is on the slopes of the plateau of Montello, which has been mentioned above. On the 16th, they reached Fossalta and threatened to cross the canal of the same name, which branches off from the Piave at Fossalta and extends to Porte Grand. On this day they also extended their gains on Il Montello but were held at all other places where they had crossed. Nature now came to the aid of the Italians, in the form of exceedingly heavy rainstorms, which made the Piave a swollen flood. This had two effects, first, it cut off completely the Austrians on the western bank of the river, and, second, it enabled Italian naval monitors of light draft to go up the river and heavily bombard the Austro-Hungarian positions. On June 23, the Italians began an offensive all along the western bank against the isolated Austrian positions, which resulted in the capture of 4500 prisoners. By the first week in July, not only had the Allies driven the enemy back to their old positions, but, in some cases, captured ground which had been lost in 1917, notably the delta at the mouth of the Piave. On June 29, Monte di Valbella was captured and on the next day Col del Rosso. Minor engagements, invariably favorable to the Allies, further closed up the mountainous gates to the plains of Venetia.

By July 10, the Austrian offensive and the Allied counter-offensive had practically subsided. The result was a decisive victory for the Allied arms, particularly the Italians. The leavening effect on Italian, as well as allied morale, was remarkable, and, naturally, it had a very depressing effect on the Austro-Hungarians. The Austro-Hungarian war office announced that 35,000 prisoners were captured, but most military critics say these figures are very high in the light of events. The

Austrian casualties were estimated by the Italians to have been nearly 300,000. Twenty thousand prisoners were taken.

*The Complete Collapse of Austria-Hungary.*—Austria-Hungary was the third member of the Central Alliance to make a separate peace with the Allies (*see below*). An armistice, amounting to unconditional surrender, was signed on Nov. 3, after Italy and her Allies had secured one of the most decisive victories of the war. Sixty-three Austrian divisions were utterly routed by 51 Italian divisions, 3 British, 2 French, and 1 Czechoslovak division, and the 332d American Infantry regiment. On Nov. 4, the Italian War Office reported, "The Austro-Hungarian army is destroyed. It suffered heavy losses in the fierce resistance of the first days of the struggle, and in pursuit it has lost an immense quantity of material of all kinds, nearly all its stores and depots, and has left in our hands about 300,000 prisoners, with their commands complete, and not less than 500 guns."

The main attack was made on October 24, when the Italians and their allies began a heavy artillery fire in the mountainous regions around the Asiago plateau and Monte Grappa. The first Italian infantry assault forced a passage of the Ornic river and captured Monte Salarole, and parts of Mts. Prossolan and Pertica. The British on the same day occupied some islands in the Piave, which the Austro-Hungarians had held since their abortive offensive in June (*see above*). By the 28th, three allied armies had forced their way across the Piave and were driving the enemy precipitously before them, with cavalry units well in advance of the infantry. The Austro-Hungarians were in a disorderly rout and made absolutely no attempt to carry along

or destroy their munitions and supplies. Vittorio was reached on the 30th, and on the next day Italian forces reached Ponte nelle Alpi, which separated the Austrian army in the mountains from that along the Piave. The capture of the Vadal pass on the same day penned 15 Austrian divisions between the Brenta and Piave rivers.

By the first of November, four armies had reached the Livenza and cavalry outposts had operated almost to the Tagliamento. On the 2d, the Italians had advanced in the Trentino as far as the Sugana valley and by the next day, when the armistice was signed, Rovereto and Trent were occupied. Italian and British cavalry also had entered Udine and had overrun the plains surrounding it. On the last day of the fighting Italian land and sea forces had occupied the great Austrian naval base and seaport at Trieste.

On Oct. 31, Austria-Hungary sued for an armistice. Terms were handed to her on the next day, which were accepted. They went into effect on Nov. 3, and may be summed up as follows:

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities by land, sea, and air.

2. Total demobilization of the Austro-Hungarian army and the withdrawal of all troops operating with the Germans from the North Sea to Switzerland. Half of the divisional, corps, and army artillery and equipment to be delivered to the Allies.

3. Evacuation of all territories invaded by Austro-Hungarian troops, since the beginning of the war. Also the evacuation of all territory which was subject to dispute between the Austro-Hungarians on one hand and Italians and Slavs on the other. This territory was to be occupied by the forces of the Allies. All railway equipment, etc., in the evacuated territory

to be left as it was when the armistice was signed. No new destruction or pillage was to be permitted in the territories to be evacuated.

4. The Allies were to be able to occupy any strategical points in Austria-Hungary that they desired, and all means of transportation were to be at their disposal.

5. All German troops were to be withdrawn from the Balkan and Italian fronts as well as from Austria-Hungary.

6. Evacuated territory was to be governed by the local authorities, under the control of the Allies.

7. All Allied prisoners of war to be immediately repatriated as well as civilians who had been removed from their homes.

8. Surrender to the Allies of 15 Austro-Hungarian submarines, and the rest disarmed and the crews paid off.

9. Surrender of 3 battleships, 3 light cruisers, 9 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, 1 mine layer, and 6 Danube monitors. All other surface craft to be collected at points designated and completely disarmed.

10. Freedom of navigation for the Allies on the Danube river and in the Adriatic.

11. The existing rules of blockade to remain unchanged.

12. Occupation by the Allies of Pola.

13. All allied merchant vessels held by Austria-Hungary to be released.

14. No destruction of ships or material to be permitted and all naval and merchant marine prisoners to be repatriated.

See section headed **PEACE CONFERENCE**.

*The Balkans. Serbia.*—Serbia began her mobilization July 26, 1914, and two days later Austria declared war. There seems to be reason for

the belief that Austria lost time in passing to actual hostilities. Apparently she could have seized Belgrade at once, and thus secured a footing on Serbian soil, some days before the Serbians were ready to strike back. She delayed, however, and when she did move, it was across the Drina, on the west. An invasion from the Drina would lengthen her lines, but if successful would enable her to strike at the heart of the country. The lack of good communications would tell on one adversary as much as on the other, and would be largely compensated by Austrian superiority in transport. Accordingly after demonstrations on the Danube, on August 12, she sent her first troops over at Losnitza on the Drina, on the same day she crossed the Save near Shabatz. Other troops crossed the Drina at Zvornik and Liubovia. The direct objective of the Austrians was to reach Valievo, and thence Kraguyevats, the site of the National Serbian arsenal. The commanding generals on the respective sides were Potiorek (Austrian) and Putnik (Serbian).

The line of the Austrian invasion being known, the bulk of the Serbians moved to meet it in the direction of the Jadar valley, while sending troops to the northwest to offset the invasion from Shabatz. In the meantime the Austrians moved up the Jadar, and the Serbians, or as many as had come up to join the sparse forces falling back before the advance, intrenched at Jarebitze, across the valley. The Serbian cavalry, sent to reconnoitre the Matchva plain, reported the Austrians present in force, and therefore received orders, with the Serbian right, to prevent the Austrians from the north from joining the troops that had crossed the Drina. The main body occupied positions extending well to the south of

Jarebitze, while other forces were detailed to beat off attacks coming from Krupani, 15 miles south, and from Liubovia, another crossing of the Drina.

The battle opened in earnest August 16, on the Serbian right. The action, lasting all day, resulted in the defeat of the Austrians, and in bringing to nought their plan to join their forces on the Jadar. It also left the Serbians free to operate against Shabatz. On the 17th they pushed on to within 4 miles of that town, only to find it strongly defended; they therefore abandoned, for the moment, any further active efforts and awaited reënforcements. On the centre and left, the Austrians had better fortune, and succeeded in pushing back their adversaries. This was particularly the case on the Serbian extreme left. But on the 17th, the Serbians resumed the offensive, and captured two positions in the Tzer. Further south, however, the Austrians were again successful, and drove back the Serbians, who, however, intrenched, ready to move forward again the next day. On the 18th, the Austrians advancing from Shabatz, drove back the Serbs in front of the town, and at the same time prepared to resist the expected Serb attack on Kosannigrad, their main position on Tzer. This attack was successful, and the Serbs then turned their efforts against an elevation between the two mountain ranges (Rashulatcha) which was taken the following day, the 19th, on which the issue of the battle was decided. The Austrian right was beaten on that day, and the Serbs were now in possession of Tzer and Iverak. On the 20th, the Dobrava was crossed, fighting continued on the 21st, 22d, and 23d; on the 24th, the Serbs entered Shabatz. While these actions were going on, the

Austrians farther south had been retreating to the Drina, and the invasion had failed. The losses on both sides in the battle of Jadar were heavy, probably 35,000 killed and wounded Austrians and 18,000 Serbs. The Serbs took 4000 prisoners, and gathered in a considerable quantity of guns, rifles, and military stores generally.

On September 1, the Serbs invaded Syrmia, a province lying between the Save and the Danube. On the whole, this step was ill-advised, and in any case of short duration, for now the Austrians were about to launch another invasion, like the first, from the line of the Drina, under the same general. About five corps composed this invading army. The attack opened over the whole line from Liubovia on the south to Jarak on the north. North of Losnitza the Austrians fared badly, save that they managed to acquire a strip of the Matchva plain. South of Losnitza, however, they established their crossing and drove back the Serbs to a line about 10 miles from the river, where they intrenched. Here they turned, and drove their adversaries out of the position. But no decisive result was achieved by either side, for in this region both settled down to trench work. A struggle ensued, however, for the Guchevo mountains, equally indecisive, for they were held by both.

After six weeks of position fighting the Serbs retreated, abandoning the Matchva and the Tzer. The Austrians followed over the whole frontier, entering Valievo on November 11. The Serbs now took up a position down the Kolubara River to the Lyg, up which their line turned to the southeast; the heights south of this position were occupied and protected by earthworks. On November 11, the Austrians attacked towards Lazarevatz, and a de-

tached force 20 miles southwest guarding the valley of the western Morava. On November 20, the first of these attacks proved successful and drove in the Serb centre. By the 24th, the action had extended over the whole front with continued success falling to the Austrians, who later in the month got possession of the Suvobor mountains, dominating, as it were, the Serbian positions. They had now succeeded in extending their front to Belgrade, and had thus cut the region in two, driving back the Serbs in the direction of Kraguyevats, on a line from the Belgrade railway to the western Morava. The situation was now saved to the Serbs by a resumption of the offensive. On December 2, they attacked and, on the 5th, recaptured the Suvobor, and drove back the Austrian right and centre to Valievo. The advance was equally successful in the other sectors. Its result was an interposition between the three Austrian corps on the south and the two farther north. The three southerly corps retreated as well as they could on the frontier. The action now turned towards Belgrade, towards which the Austrians were steadily driven back. The evacuation of the capital occurred on December 14 and 15. Nearly 42,000 Austrians were taken prisoners; 60,000 were killed and wounded.

*Bulgaria.*—Serbia was once more in October, 1915, called upon to defend her territory, for Bulgaria had finally decided to cast in her lot with the Central Powers. Accordingly her armies crossed the Serbian frontier towards Nish, striking in conjunction with the Austro-German forces, which had already begun their invasion from the north. Meanwhile French and English troops, debarked at Saloniki, were hastening up along the Saloniki-Nish railroad. The importance of the new cam-

paign centred in the strategic value of the railroad, as there was no other line from Austria to Constantinople that did not cross Rumanian territory. At Velika Plana, 25 miles from the Serbian frontier, the railroad forks, its two branches running respectively to Belgrade and to Semendria, with the latter route in the Morava River. It was up this line that the Austro-Germans advanced, after capturing Belgrade.

In the first week of October the Austro-German army, reported to be 300,000 strong, crossed the Danube near Belgrade and at Semendria, while other armies attacked farther west along the Drina and Save rivers. Among the commanders of the invading armies was Field Marshal von Mackensen, in command of the army east of Belgrade.

Bulgaria's first operations were directed towards Nish. But realizing the danger of the arrival of Allied reënforcements from Saloniki, the Bulgarians then developed their main attacks farther south against the railroad, at Vranja and Vilandovo. At the latter point, only five miles from the southwestern corner of Bulgaria, an army of 40,000 men threatened to cut the railway. Serbo-French troops, however, hurried up, and threatening the Bulgarian town of Strumnitza behind these troops, compelled them to fall back. At Vranja, however, some 60 miles south of Nish, the Bulgarians were more successful.

The advance of the Austro-German columns from the north was at first slow, for by the end of October they had gained, advancing on a 100-mile front, only from 25 to 40 miles south of Belgrade. Another column about this time crossed the Drina River at Vishegrad, and constituted a new army of invasion. In the south, however, the Bulgarians having seized the Nish-



Saloniki railroad at Vranja, promptly confirmed their grip on the enemy's line of supplies by taking the important junction city of Uskub, and Veles, 25 miles farther south. And in the meantime, their columns directed towards Nish were making progress, and Pirot, on the Nish-Sofia line, was stormed after a four-day battle.

The Germans took the Serbian arsenal at Kraguyevats during the second week in November. In the meantime, the other Austro-German columns had reached the east and west line of the Western Morava, at Krushevats at Kraljevo, before the middle of the month. The fall of Nish was not long delayed, upon a heavy bombardment by the Bulgars. A route to Constantinople had already been opened via the Danube, when Germans and Bulgars joined hands near Orsova.

Meanwhile the Anglo-French forces from Saloniki held the railroad from Krivolak south to the frontier, and had gained some successes against the Bulgars around Strumnitza. But these, moving with ease around the French left to the Babuna Pass, 25 miles west of Krivolak, swept aside the small Serbian defending force, and descended through the mountains upon Prilep and Krushevo. The French were scarcely able to maintain their position on the Vardar and Cerna rivers, and the small British force was but little in evidence north of Doiran. An Italian supporting army was rumored to be about to land at Avlona.

The remaining strokes in Serbia's defeat followed quickly. Sienitza, Novibazar, Mitrovitza (the last the temporary Serb capital) fell in rapid succession before the Austro-German columns. Teutonic and Bulgarian invading forces joined hands at Prishtina, on the railroad branch south of Mitrovitza, which

surrendered with 10,000 men. On the last day of the month, the two remaining cities of importance, Prisrend and Monastir, were lost to Serbia. Sixteen thousand prisoners were taken at Prisrend; the rest of the fugitive northern army was driven either into Montenegro or Albania.

At the beginning of December the main object of the German-Bulgar campaign in Serbia had been achieved. The Serbian army had been eliminated as a fighting force and the surviving Serb troops, fewer than 100,000 men, driven into Montenegro and Albania, where they were pursued by the Austrians, against whom they could make no stand whatever.

The retreat of the Serbs from Katchanik left the French left flank, on the Cerna River, in a critical position. The retreat of the Allies, however, was skillfully conducted, and they succeeded in escaping to neutral territory, where they fortified themselves at Saloniki, with the intention apparently of holding their position at all costs. Montenegro was conquered by the Austrians in January. The capture of Mount Lovcen, dominating Cetinje, determined the fall of the capital. The Austrians then proceeded to take Scutari in Albania (January 25, 1916), and joined hands with the Bulgars at Elbasan, east of Durazzo, on February 17. The Italians abandoned the place February 26, and the Austrians now advanced against Avlona. The remnant of the Serbian army was transported by the Allies from the Albanian coast to the Island of Corfu to undergo reorganization. After a few months' rest the refitted army of 100,000 men was taken to Saloniki to reinforce the French and British forces concentrated there and await developments in the Balkans.

*Allied Offensive in Albania.*—On July 6, 1918, the Allies, chiefly Italians and French, began to advance in Albania. The Italians crossed the Vovusa river and took 1000 prisoners. The French started down the valley of the Devoli river. By the 10th, the Italians had reached Fieri, which controlled the only good road to Berat, the immediate objective. They had also reached the Semeni river, and, with the French, were rapidly converging on that city, which fell on the 11th. From here the Italians and French marched on Elbassan, which is on the road to Durazzo. Before Durazzo could be reached, the Skumbi river would have to be forced. This stream was very strongly fortified and the retreating Austrians, reinforced, were reformed behind this line and began a counter-offensive. The Allies were compelled to beat a precipitate retreat and by August 29 were back of the Fieri-Berat line which they held until the great Balkan offensive began in September. (*See below.*)

The long-awaited Allied drive from Saloniki began on July 29, when the reorganized Serbian army began to move north. Within two days it was entrenched 300 yards from the Greek frontier. With the entrance of Rumania into the war, an Allied offensive from the Adriatic to the Ægean began (August-September). The Italians advanced in Albania, the French attacked from the Vardar to Lake Doiran, and the British crossed the Struma River and strongly entrenched themselves on the eastern bank. A Franco-Russian force advanced along the western bank of Lake Ostrovo and took Florina by assault on September 18. This opened up the road to Monastir, which was attacked by the French and Serbians about 15 miles northeast of Florina.

In the meantime the Bulgarians continued their invasion of northern Greece. Early in September a Bulgarian force crossed the frontier and took the fort of Drama. The Greeks made only a slight resistance. Seres was then taken and the provisional government described above (*OUTBREAK OF THE WAR: Greece*) was organized. The port of Kavala, long desired by the Bulgarians, was next seized. The Germans claimed that the garrison asked them for food, shelter, and protection. The Greek soldiers were sent to Germany as guests of the nation in order not to violate Greece's neutrality. The fall of Kavala completely cut off the Greek soldiers in the far eastern part of Macedonia.

During the month of October the entire Allied line advanced. The Italian forces in Albania joined those of General Sarrail and thus prevented any attempt to envelop his army. The Serbians continued their advance and stormed Kotchovie on the 1st. They then crossed the Cerna and broke through the Monastir defenses. With the aid of the French they won a very important political success by capturing the city on November 19. From a military point of view the victory was not so very important because severe weather prevented a successful pursuit. The entire front was quiet in 1917. The Allies' task was to move up the Varda, Struma, or Cerna valleys. This was made hopeless by the inactivity of the Russian armies. Local fighting occurred around Lake Doiran. The situation up to September, 1918, was approximately as in January, 1917.

*The Surrender of Bulgaria.*—Bulgaria was the first of the Central Powers to surrender to allied arms. This act marked the beginning of the end of the great war of the nations. Bulgaria's surrender was the direct result

of a brilliant offensive carried out by French, British, Italian, Greek, Serbian, Czechoslovak, and Jugoslavic forces, under the supreme leadership of General Franchet d'Esperey. The capitulation of Bulgaria meant the isolation of Turkey and her eventual loss to the Central Powers. It was also the death knell of the Teutonic Mittel Europa and Pan German ideas. British and Greek troops struck around Lake Doiran, on the right of the Macedonian front; French and Serbian troops struck in the centre, and Italians struck on the left near and in Albania. The artillery preparations began on September 14, 1918, and on the 17th-18th the Allied right started to advance, as well as the centre, which captured 45 villages and crossed the Perez river. On the 21st, the Serbs east of Monastir advanced 9 miles and freed 9 villages.

By September 22, the Serbians had succeeded in cutting the communications of the First Bulgarian Army, operating along the Vardar, and those of the Second Bulgarian Army and the Germans north of Monastir. This day saw a general pursuit of the armies of the Central Powers on a 90-mile front. On the 23d, the Serbians and French crossed the Vardar in the direction of Krivolak. On the 24th, French cavalry entered Prilep. The next day saw the capture of Ishtib and the formidable barriers to Veles. The British entered Strumnitza on September 26, and the Serbians reached Kochana and Veles. The Italians, with the aid of the Greeks and French, were marching on Kichevo. The road to Sofia was opened to the victorious Allies. Consequently, the Bulgarians sued for a separate armistice. One containing terms of unconditional surrender was granted on the 30th, when active fighting ceased. The last act of the fighting was the

occupation of Uskub by the French on the 30th. A brief summary of the armistice terms, which were purely military, are as follows:

Bulgaria was to evacuate all allied territory, demobilize her army as rapidly as possible, and turn over to the Allies all means of transport.

The Allies were to be allowed to pass through Bulgaria if necessary to future military operations.

Control of the Danube and Bulgarian merchant marine on that river to be given up.

All important strategic points to be occupied by the Allies if they wish.

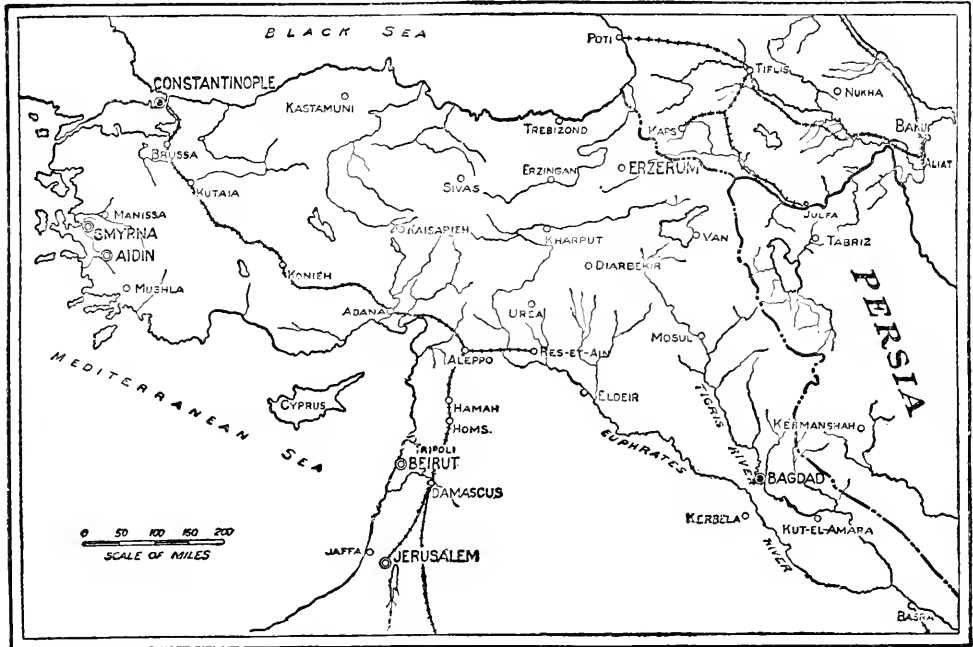
If any part of Bulgaria was taken over it was to be occupied by British, French, and Italian troops. Evacuated portions of Greece and Serbia to be occupied by Greek and Serbian troops respectively.

The armistice was to remain in operation until a general peace was concluded.

Interest in the Balkans after the signing of the armistice centred in the driving out of the Teutonic troops from Albania, Serbia, and Montenegro. On October 1, the Bulgarians began to evacuate Serbian territory and two days later the Austrians began the evacuation of Albania. Greek troops entered Seres and seized the Demis-Hassar Pass on the 4th, and on the 8th they occupied Drama. Italians entered Elbasan, Albania, on the 9th and the Allies took Nish on the 13th, thus cutting the Berlin-Constantinople railroad. The 15th saw the fall of Durazzo. (The naval base had been destroyed on the 2d by an Allied navy, which included American submarines.) On the 17th, the Serbians captured Alexinatz and Krushavatz, and the German forces in western Serbia retired into Montenegro. On the 21st, the French reached the

Danube near Vidon. Nine days later the Austrians fled from Montenegro and Cetinje and other places were occupied by insurgents. On the same day Scutari was seized by Albanian and Montenegrin irregulars. On November 3, Belgrade was reoccupied and the Second Serbian army reached the Bosnian border, which they passed, and, after crossing the Danube and Save

This new force added about 600,000 men under arms to the Allied cause and could increase this amount to 900,000 including the reserves. From the outset it was apparent that the Rumanian plan of attack was to invade Transylvania and thus attain the Rumanian ideal, i.e., to capture and hold the provinces of Austria-Hungary that were inhabited by Rumanians. As later events



MESOPOTAMIA AND PALESTINE AREAS

turned out, the geographical features of Rumania were to play an important part in her campaigns. In general the shape of the country is like a large Y. The bottom of the Y is bounded by the Black Sea and the two arms are bounded across their mouth by the Austro-Hungarian province of Transylvania. Russia is on the north and Bulgaria on the south. The Alps (in Transylvania) and the Carpathians form formidable natural barriers. The Danube forms another natural boundary on the south for a part of the distance, but the acquisition of Bulgarian territory at the

turned out, the geographical features of Rumania were to play an important part in her campaigns. In general the shape of the country is like a large Y. The bottom of the Y is bounded by the Black Sea and the two arms are bounded across their mouth by the Austro-Hungarian province of Transylvania. Russia is on the north and Bulgaria on the south. The Alps (in Transylvania) and the Carpathians form formidable natural barriers. The Danube forms another natural boundary on the south for a part of the distance, but the acquisition of Bulgarian territory at the

turned out, the geographical features of Rumania were to play an important part in her campaigns. In general the shape of the country is like a large Y. The bottom of the Y is bounded by the Black Sea and the two arms are bounded across their mouth by the Austro-Hungarian province of Transylvania. Russia is on the north and Bulgaria on the south. The Alps (in Transylvania) and the Carpathians form formidable natural barriers. The Danube forms another natural boundary on the south for a part of the distance, but the acquisition of Bulgarian territory at the

turned out, the geographical features of Rumania were to play an important part in her campaigns. In general the shape of the country is like a large Y. The bottom of the Y is bounded by the Black Sea and the two arms are bounded across their mouth by the Austro-Hungarian province of Transylvania. Russia is on the north and Bulgaria on the south. The Alps (in Transylvania) and the Carpathians form formidable natural barriers. The Danube forms another natural boundary on the south for a part of the distance, but the acquisition of Bulgarian territory at the

close of the Balkan Wars added a strip of territory bordering on the Black Sea which was peculiarly vulnerable. It later proved that this was going to be the point of Bulgarian attack and the starting place of the great German drive which ultimately resulted in the complete overrunning of the country.

Immediately after the declaration of war the Rumanian forces swept into Transylvania with all the vigor a new army on its first campaign possesses. The first objectives were the two Transylvanian cities of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt just across the border. By the end of August both of these places had been captured with very little opposition. The Rumanians continued their impetuous advance apparently not taking into consideration the distance they were traveling from their base and also not considering their weak defensive line on the south. After the fall of Kronstadt they immediately struck west towards the coal fields. Another army, however, had crossed the Vulcan Pass and had captured Petroseny in the centre of these fields on August 31. A third army captured Orsova on September 1, after five days of the heaviest fighting the campaign had yet seen. On September 9 the Rumanians captured six more small villages and now held in their possession nearly one-fourth of Transylvania.

The campaign now assumed such serious proportions that Von Hindenburg was sent down with 450,000 men to check it. The Rumanians were not able to make any headway against the new enemy. They were forced to give up the Szurduk Pass and after the capture of Petroseny were forced to give up the Vulcan Pass also. The check, however, was only temporary, inasmuch as in the middle of September another offensive on a large scale was begun

west of Hermannstadt. It succeeded in driving the Teutons out of both the Szurduk and Vulcan passes. It then pushed on into the Jiu valley.

This marked the high tide of the second Rumanian invasion, since the Rumanians suffered a severe setback at Hermannstadt. The victory won here by the Austrians and their German allies was one of the greatest of the war. The battle raged four days and resulted in the complete annihilation of the first Rumanian army. The German army was divided into two parts. The first attacked the Rumanian front at Hermannstadt while the second by a rapid enveloping movement came up in the Rumanian rear and cut off their only line of retreat, through the Red Tower Pass. The fleeing Rumanians were swallowed up when they came to this pass by a large force of Bavarians. Von Falkenhayn now stood at the entrance to Rumania without being opposed by any real army. The second Rumanian army tried to save the precarious situation but came on the scene too late and was checked everywhere on a 50-mile offensive. The remains of the first army fled in great disorder through the Carpathians to the east and west of the Red Tower Pass.

Rumania was now threatened from another quarter, on the south. The forces in this sector were entirely insufficient to withstand the attacks of the allied Bulgar and German army. The expected Russian reinforcements failed to arrive on scheduled time and another great drive similar to that in Serbia was begun. It entered the Rumanian territory in two columns. The first under Von Mackensen entered the Dobrudja and captured Tutrakan on September 3. The garrison of 20,000 men was forced to surrender. On September 10 Mackensen took a second large fortress,

Silistria, which lies on the south bank of the Danube. The garrison of this fortress had been defeated by the Bulgarians in an attempt to relieve the fortress of Tutrakan.

The second invading column attacked along the coast of the Black Sea. It captured Dobric and the seaports of Kali Akra, Baltjic and Kavarna. The arrival of a Russian force, however, compelled the invaders to give up all of these places with the exception of Baltjic. The battle on this front now settled down into trench warfare with the Rumanians holding a strong position extending from the Danube to the Black Sea.

Rumania was now like a nut in the jaws of a nutcracker. Van Falkenhayn was pushing on from the north and Von Mackensen from the south. It was almost inevitable that she was to be crushed even as Serbia had been. Russian reinforcements had been sent to strengthen the Rumanian line but they only succeeded temporarily. The Grand Duke Nicholas was placed in charge of these forces and he was also military adviser to the Rumanians. In the middle of October, 1916, King Ferdinand of Rumania took personal command of the Russo-Rumanian army.

In the north the Germans pushed their way through the Vulcan Pass, having taken it by storm. Gradually Von Falkenhayn succeeded in pushing the Rumanians completely off the Transylvanian Alps. They also advanced further south of Kronstadt towards Kimpolung and the Sinaia, the Rumanian summer capital. They now had a grip on the railroad which ran to Craiova and then to Bucharest. By the last week in October Von Falkenhayn had reached Azuga, which was only 7 miles from Sinaia and almost on the border of the Rumanian oil fields. He also

threatened to envelop the Rumanian army which still held Orsova. The Russians and Rumanians now made a strenuous effort to stop Von Falkenhayn's advance. They started an offensive on the Moldavian frontier, which while it lacked power at least held open the rail communication with Russia. In the region around Kimpolung and south of the Vulcan Pass the Rumanians not only checked the Germans but succeeded in pushing them back. By the end of October they had forced them back to the frontier in the neighborhood of the Szurduk Pass.

The trench warfare which existed in the southern sector was broken by Von Mackensen in the third week of October. On the 23d of this month he took Constanza and two days later the very important city of Cernavoda. This was the Danube bridgehead which controlled the railway to Bucharest. Constanza was the port of entry for Russian troops and supplies, sent to assist Rumania. Besides this Constanza was the largest seaport Rumania had and was the base of its Black Sea fleet. At Cernavoda the railway from Constanza to Bucharest crosses the Danube. This bridge is of immense size, being 11 miles long. The other side of it from Cernavoda crosses great swamp lands. The Germans did not immediately attempt to cross this bridge and pursue the Rumanians towards Bucharest. Instead they followed up the coast line of the Black Sea. On October 27 Mackensen seized the city of Hirsova. He had an opportunity to cross the Danube here by pontoon bridges, since the ground was not so marshy as it was in the vicinity of Cernavoda. By this time the flight of the Slavic allies was precipitous and they did not attempt to hold any defensive positions. By the end of October Mackensen had estab-

lished his line well north of the Constanza-Cernavoda railway. An attempted Rumanian offensive through Bulgaria in order to attack Mackensen's rear failed and the Rumanians were forced to retire to their own territory.

In the early part of the month of November the Russians and Rumanians made strenuous and for a time successful efforts to stem the tide of German invasion. Their main aim was to save the Cernavoda bridge. When they retreated across this bridge they had destroyed only a few spans of it and evidently they were easily replaced by the Germans. In the north the Slavs were also temporarily successful, but were unable to withstand the Teuton push.

Von Falkenhayn's troops were pushing south through the Predeal, Vulcan, and Rothenthurm passes and were advancing down the Alt and Jiu valleys. They captured Tirgujiul and Liresht and then swept across the plains of Wallachia. A simultaneous movement was started in the extreme western part of Rumania near the Iron Gate. The object of these two drives was to capture Craiova, the capital city of western Wallachia. After administering a severe defeat to the Rumanian army, Von Falkenhayn took this place on November 20. He immediately fortified it strongly in order to have a base of attack on Bucharest. The Rumanians made preparations to hold the Alt valley as a defensive line. Mackensen's activities in the south, however, prevented this.

He forced the crossing of the Danube at Zimnica, a spot where the river is both wide and deep. This threatened to cut the Rumanian line of communications and as a result the Alt river line was abandoned. The Vedeia river was next chosen as a defensive line, but this

also had to be abandoned because the Germans crossed the Danube at another point and cut the railroad which supplied the Vedeia line. The Rumanians again started their retreat towards Bucharest. At each of the small streams the Germans had to cross, however, their defense stiffened, but never sufficiently to stop the invading forces. By the end of November the Germans had reached the Arges river, the last river of any size between them and Bucharest. The fall of the capital was now almost a certainty and the Rumanian government was moved to Jassy on the 29th.

The attack on the capital city was made from the north and south. The real danger to the city was from the north. The Rumanians made their last stand on the Averescu. The Germans, however, swept down from south of Kronstadt and crossed this stream themselves and after several victories captured Bucharest on December 7. On the same day Ploesci, in the centre of the oil district, fell. The Germans then drove the fleeing Rumanians across the Jalonitz river and captured Mizil on the 12th and Buzeu on the 15th. The Slavic allies retired to the Rinnik-Sarat river, which they managed to hold for five days. This enabled them to remove their supplies to Braila. The Germans forced the passage of the river on the 27th and pushed the enemy into Braila.

The Russo-Rumanians made a strong stand at the Matchin bridgehead, on the Danube. This really controlled the way to Braila. Nevertheless, in the face of a heavy artillery bombardment they were forced to retire from the bridgehead on January 3, 1917. This cleared the Dobrudja of Russians and Rumanians with the exception of a small neck of land which extended towards Galatz. On January 5, Braila, Rumania's chief

commercial city, fell into the hands of the Germans. The Slavic allies were now completely driven out of the Dobrudja. The Russians were forced to cross to the north bank of the Sereth. Fokshani fell on the 8th. A new line, formed on the Putna, had to be abandoned on the 10th. Vadeni, 6 miles from Galatz, was captured on the 14th, but was recaptured on the 17th. Bitter fighting ensued until August, 1917, when the German drive was stopped. The line ran south of Galatz, then northwest along the Hungarian border to the Pruth, east of Czernowitz. The Teutons held all Rumania excepting part of Moldavia. Exposures made by the Russian revolutionists showed that Rumania was betrayed by Stürmer, the Russian Premier. The promised Russian protection on its flank had been withheld. The Rumanians entered an armistice with the Teutons in December, 1917. See EASTERN THEATRE.

*Treaty of Bucharest.*—The complete collapse of Russia and the inactivity of the allied army at Saloniki left Rumania isolated. The Rumanian government was loath to enter into any peace negotiations, but two ultimatums were received from General Mackensen, the German Field Marshal, which stated that unless Rumania entered into peace negotiations, she would be overrun by the German army and completely destroyed as a state. Accepting the inevitable, Rumania entered into negotiations and was compelled to accept a humiliating peace. Some of the more important terms were as follows: The Dobrudja as far as the Danube was to be ceded to the Central Powers; rectifications of the boundary line between Rumania and Austria-Hungary were to be permitted and recognized by Rumania; the port of Constanza to be used by the Central Powers as a base

for Black Sea trade; the Rumanian army to be demobilized under the supervision of Field Marshal von Mackensen; Rumanian troops to evacuate all Austro-Hungarian territory occupied by them; Teutonic troops to be permitted to cross Rumania in order to get to Odessa; Allied officers in Rumanian service to be dismissed at once; economic advantages, such as the control of railways, wheat crops, and petroleum wells, to be granted to the Central Powers for an indefinite period of time.

V. **Southeastern Theatre.** The strategic importance of Turkey from the Germanic point of view lay in keeping supplies from Russia through control of the Dardanelles. Turkish military activity manifested itself on five distinct stages. 1. Caucasus. (a) Turkish thrust against Russia (1914-15); (b) Russian campaign (1916) forcing Turkish armies behind Trebizond, Erzerum, and Bitlis line to the west, and threatening Bagdad to the south. 2. Gallipoli campaign by Franco-British forces. 3. Turkish attack on Suez Canal. 4. British advance on Mesopotamia. 5. Collapse of Turkey.

*Turkey, Caucasus, Egypt.*—War was declared between Russia and Turkey on October 30, 1914, and between England (and France) and Turkey on November 5, 1914. But at the end of July, 1914, Turkey had already begun to mobilize; by the end of October it was estimated that she had some 500,000 men in her army with 250,000 more at the depots.

These troops were concentrated in three principal groups; near Constantinople and in Asia Minor, in the Caucasus, and in Syria. The Turks under Enver Pasha, at once opened a winter campaign in the Caucasus. Here, indeed, they had been anticipated by the Russians, who, crossing the frontier,



captured, on November 13, a position near Koprukeui and Erzerum. From this they were compelled to withdraw, but returning to the attack recaptured the place November 20. What had been intended as a mere demonstration by the Russians was converted into a serious matter by the initiative and energy of the Turks. The Russians would naturally advance by the Kars-Erzerum road. Hence the Turks purposed to hold the Russians on this road, while making an enveloping movement on the left against Kars and the Russian right. This plan came near succeeding. The Russians were pushed back from Koprukeui to Khorosan and were driven out of Ardahan on January 1. Two Turkish corps reached Sarikamish, the Russian railhead south of Kars, on December 25. But the weather and the season, together with the natural difficulties of the country, brought the plan to naught. One of the two Turkish corps was driven back from Sarikamish (January 1) and the other dislodged on the 3d. Ardahan was recaptured. The remaining body at Khorosan surrendered. Two Russian columns that had crossed the Turco-Persian frontier reentered Tabriz, which had been occupied by the Turks early in January, on January 30. Relieved from command in Europe and sent to the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Nicholas inaugurated a midwinter campaign, 1915-16, with an army estimated at 300,000 men. On February 16 he took Erzerum with 13,000 prisoners. The part of the garrison that escaped fled to Trebizond, to the Van region and elsewhere, with the Russians in pursuit. One column captured Bitlis on March 3, and advanced south in the direction of Sert. Another column marched on Erzingan. In the direction of Trebizond the Turks were defeated at Kara Dere, and Trebi-

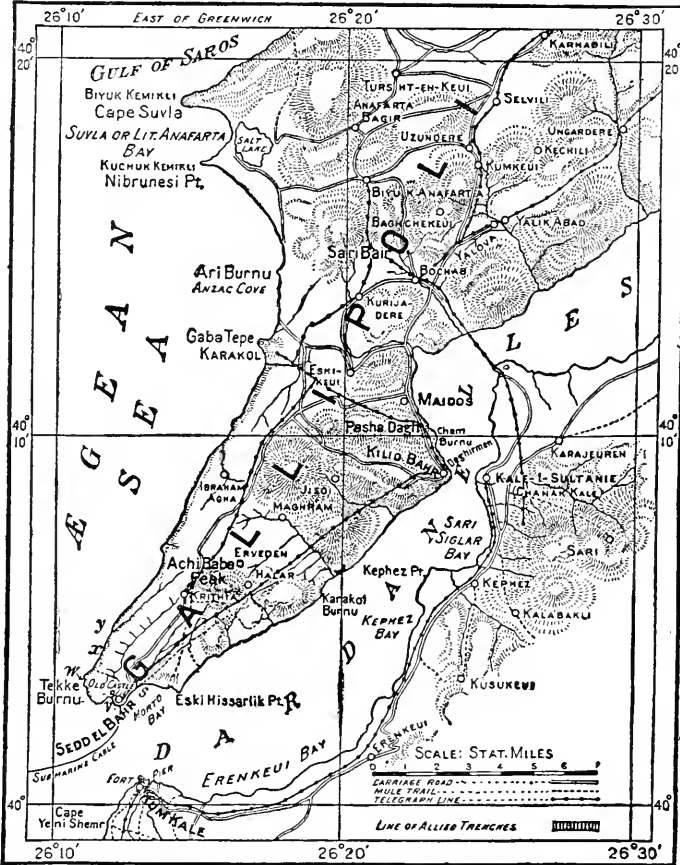
zond itself was taken April 20-21. A Turkish attempt to turn the Russian left in the neighborhood of Trebizond was checked, and the Russians continued their march westward. Baron von der Goltz was in command of the Turkish troops. Two flying detachments in Persia carried on operations, one in the Urumiah district, the other from Kerman-Shah, taken by the Russians, towards Bagdad.

Simultaneously with the original Caucasian campaign mentioned *above* an expedition under Djemal Pasha was undertaken against the Suez Canal. The importance of this waterway to the Allies is self-evident. In anticipation of an attack upon it, troops had been collected in Egypt, consisting chiefly of East Indians and Colonials, with a few Imperial service units. In the canal itself several French and English warships took position to assist in the defense. Moreover, during the autumn and winter the position had been thoroughly strengthened by modern field fortifications; the defenses consisted of bridgeheads on the east covered by entrenched positions on the western bank at El Kantara, El Ferdan and Ismailia, Tussum and Serapeum, Shaluf and Kubri.

Dejemal Pasha formed his forces of 30,000 men into three columns. The northerly one, of about 6000 men of all arms, followed the caravan road from Rafa to El Kantara; the southerly, of 3000, the pilgrim road from Nakhil to Suez; the middle column, that from Kossaima to Ismailia. This last road happened to be practicable at this time because a rainfall had filled a pool on the line. Pontoon boats accompanied the expedition, whose march was well organized and well carried out. On January 26 the advance guards of the south and middle columns were reported

near the canal. The Turks were completely beaten (February 2-3). The main attack (Tussum-Serapeum) was made by the middle column; that of the southerly (Suez) was a fiasco; the northern made a better though vain ef-

over 6 miles to a position east of Birs-el-Manca. Many guns and 2500 prisoners fell to the victors. In December the British captured El Arish and the strongly fortified position of Maghdabah. These victories effectively stop-



GALLIOLI PENINSULA, SCENE OF DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN FOR THE CONTROL OF THE DARDANELLES

fort (Kantara); on the night of February 6-7 a general retirement began.

The next serious threat on the canal was made in August, when the Turks attacked the British positions at Romani. The British gave way before a strong frontal and flank attack. Thinking they were retreating, the Turks sprang forward in pursuit order, and soon were lost in the dunes. Then the entire British front attacked and completely routed the Turks, driving them

further threats of raids on the canal. On January 11, 1917, the British took six lines of trenches and 1600 prisoners at Rafa, on the Sinai peninsula. (See below.)

*Dardanelles.*—The Turkish arms thus came to grief in both the Caucasus and in Egypt. Better fortune waited upon them in the Dardanelles. The temptation to strike a blow at the vitals of Turkey by taking possession of the Dardanelles, and hence of Constan-

tinople, was irresistible. Success here would have met with a rich reward. A way would have been opened to supply Russia with the war munitions she so sorely needed; the Balkan question would have been settled out of hand, and in a manner favorable to the Allies. But the entire campaign was mismanaged from the outset; the nature of the effort to be made was certainly not correctly estimated; efforts were scattered, time was lost.

For the naval campaign, reference should be made to the naval subdivision of this article. It opened on November 3, 1914, and it was not until the following March that joint land and naval operations were decided upon. By that time the Turks had received ample warning, and here, as elsewhere, under German leadership, had made what turned out to be more than ample preparation.

In the Gallipoli peninsula nature was on the side of the defense. Furthermore the Turks enjoyed an advantage in their supply of men, for the bulk of their forces were in the neighborhood of Constantinople and could therefore be drawn on as needed. Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton was selected to direct land operations for the Allies. These were to be carried on by a French force under General d'Amade, drawn from north Africa, and by Colonials, Territorials, and some Indians from Egypt and Imperial troops.

On arriving at Tenedos (March 17), selected as his headquarters, Sir Ian made up his mind that the transports had been so badly loaded that he would not undertake any operations until the loading had been corrected. The transports were accordingly sent back to Egypt to be reloaded. Upon their return, five weeks had been lost to the Allies and gained to the Turks.

The British began their landing on April 25. How strong the force of the Turks was is not accurately known; it must have been well over 100,000. The German General Liman von Sanders had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces at the Dardanelles. The chief landings were made at the tip of the peninsula. Once ashore, the advance was to be made against the village of Krithia, and the height of Achi Baba was then to be carried. At each of the beaches selected, the Turks were ready and received the landing party with tremendous fire. The Australian and New Zealand corps ("Anzac") near Gaba Tepe especially distinguished themselves by rushing the opposing Turks with the bayonet, clearing the slopes and securing a foothold on the top. The French landed a regiment on the Asiatic side, near Kum Kale, for the purpose of preventing an attack by gunfire against the transports at the nose of the peninsula. In this they were more or less successful, but at considerable loss to themselves. The result of the work of the 24 hours was that the Anzacs, isolated, were holding a semicircular line against an enemy ever increasing in numbers, other landings were abandoned, some forces were holding their own but isolated, while other landing parties had managed to join hands. The next three or four days were marked by severe fighting and an advance of the British from the southern beaches. By the afternoon of April 28 some of the troops had pushed up to within 1300 yards of Krithia, but could get no farther. The lines then dug in. On May 1, the Turks attacked at night, and there was a counterattack the next day. This is the first so-called battle of Krithia. The second occurred on May 6, and was an attempt to win the Krithia ridge; this

attempt failed, but the British advanced their lines 500 yards. The third came off on June 4, with the same objective and the same result. The fourth was fought on July 12, and resulted in an advance of 300 yards more or less. Achi Baba still remained in Turkish hands. Meanwhile, the Turks were attacking the Anzacs (May 5-10) and were repulsed. They renewed their efforts in great force May 18, and were again beaten off with great loss. There were other engagements, as that of the French (June 21) who captured a work known as the Haricot Redoubt, and the English action of June 28, known as the battle of the Gully Ravine. And so it went until fresh British forces were landed at Suvla Bay on August 7, and the Anzacs advanced upon the ridges of Sari Bair.

But before the landing at Suvla Bay, the Allies on July 12 made a fresh attack in front of Krithia. It resulted in the capture of trenches and was followed on the next day by another general attack, resulting in a similar capture. But no really significant success was obtained.

The Suvla Bay landing and simultaneous operations at the tip of the peninsula and by the Anzacs constitute the last great attempt to drive the Turks off the peninsula. Sir Ian Hamilton in May had asked for two additional corps. By the end of July he got them. His plan was now to re-enforce the Anzacs and direct them to make a drive to capture Sari Bair. A landing at Suvla Bay would surprise the Turks, and might enable the Anzacs after taking Sari Bair to push on to Midos. The Turks at Krithia and on Achi Baba would thus be cut off. A containing attack was to be made at the tip of the peninsula. This attack was delivered on August 5 and failed.

It was renewed on the 7th and resulted in minor local successes; its main purpose of keeping the Turks busy on the spot, and then preventing them from lending a hand elsewhere, may be said to have been realized. The Anzacs, re-enforced, attacked on the 6th, and very nearly succeeded in their purpose; but on the 9th an assaulting column lost its way, and so arrived too late to clinch the positive gains already made on the spur to the southwest of the main elevation (Hill 305) of the Turkish position. During the attack on Sari Bair the landing at Suvla Bay was begun August 6 by night under the direction of Lieut. General Sir F. Stopford. It resulted in failure, for although the troops got ashore, yet once there they accomplished nothing. Apparently there was no well-thought-out plan of operations, or, if there was, it was not carried out. Some of the troop units were landed at places other than those designated, others were late in moving out. Some local successes were obtained, however, and on the evening of August 7 the British extended in a semi-circle around the bay. On the 8th the British stood fast and made no attempt to advance, and so lost their opportunity not merely to accomplish something on their own account, but to help their comrades farther south engaged in the desperate struggle of Sari Bair. The enemy were fewer in numbers than the British and were not in heart. The responsibility for the inaction of the 8th must rest with General Stopford, but Sir Ian Hamilton must come in for some part of the blame. There was more or less fighting during the next week; on the 15th General Stopford turned over the command of his troops to General de Lisle. Open fighting gave way to trench work. There was one more battle on August 21, when an at-

tempt was made to take Hill 100, about two miles east of Suvla Bay. Sir Ian Hamilton was recalled in October, and the whole peninsula evacuated in December and January.

*Mesopotamia.* — The long-standing conflict between British and German interests in the Persian Gulf cannot be said to have had any immediate military bearing on the decision of the British government to open a campaign in the Mesopotamia. British interests, however, called for protection, and in particular the plant of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company on Abadan Island, with its 150-mile long pipe line, and the oil fields at Ahwaz on the Karun River. This plant, intended to furnish fuel oil for the royal navy, was an enterprise in which the government was financially interested. Moreover, a successful campaign in the great valley would hurt Turkey's standing in the Mohammedan world, and from purely a military point of view would prove of assistance to the Allies. A small force had been sent to the Gulf before the outbreak of hostilities. On November 7 it reached the mouth of the river and took a small village, Fao by name, three miles up. Thence the expedition moved up river to Abadan, for the protection of the works already mentioned, and November 11 had a brush with the Turks on the Turkish side of the river at Saniyeh. Reënforcements joined this column on the 15th, and the combined forces, after some minor engagements, on November 23 entered Basra after its evacuation by the Turks; and on December 9, after getting into the rear of Kurna, received the surrender of its garrison, 50 miles up river. The British now took up an entrenched position, and might have been content merely to hold the road down to the sea if it had not been for a Turkish counteroffensive in April, 1915.

Early in January of 1915 the Turks were found to be holding a strong position north of Mezera. An expedition drove them out of their lines. They next appeared at Ahwaz up the Karun River. A reconnaissance showed them to be in strength, and it was evident that they were contemplating an attack on the main British position. This attack occurred April 11-12 at Kurna itself, Ahwaz, and Shaiba. The action at Shaiba lasted three days and resulted in a serious Turkish defeat. During May but little happened, but on May 31 the British moved out and proceeded up as far as 75 miles from Kurna. From Amara a road runs to Ahwaz, the control of which assured the security of the oil region. The Turks had in the meantime withdrawn to Kut-el-Amara, 150 miles up the Tigris.

On May 31 a Turkish force north of Kurna was dispersed; on June 3 Amara was occupied. The Turks withdrew to Kut-el-Amara. From the Tigris at this point a cross river runs almost due south to join the Euphrates at Nasiriyeh. Unless this cross river were in British control the Turks could use it to menace the British left. Hence a force was sent against Nasiriyeh and on July 24 captured the place, the Turks retreating toward Kut. Early in August General Townshend went up the river marching on Kut, and on September 25 contact was made. A battle was fought on the next two days, and at dawn on the 29th it was discovered that the Turks had evacuated the position of Kut-el-Amara and retreated on Bagdad. They were pursued and considerable loss inflicted on them. By September 30 General Townshend was within 100 miles of Bagdad by road and 200 by river. He continued his march, and at Ctesiphon, about 30 miles down river from Bagdad, fought, November

22-25, an indecisive battle against superior numbers. At first victorious, he was compelled in consequence of his lack of reserves and his shortage of ammunition to fall back in the face of Turkish reinforcements. He retreated to Kut after having lost about one-fourth of his total 20,000 men. Here he intrenched and was besieged by the Turks.

All attempts to succor him having failed, and his supplies being exhausted, General Townshend on April 30 was compelled to surrender to the Turks, after a gallant defense protracted for 143 days. This surrender simply meant that the ill-advised expedition against Bagdad had failed; it was still the fact that the original purpose of the Mesopotamian campaign had been fulfilled. General Aylmer's relief expedition, setting out January 6, 1916, after defeating the Turks in two battles, managed, January 21, to reach a point only eight miles from Kut-el-Amara. But floods now came to the Turkish rescue and Aylmer was forced to fall back. He set out again in February, better equipped with boats, and after meeting with a reverse at Felahie defeated the Turks at Umm-el-Heuna, April 5; the next day the capture of Felahie was announced. He was now within 23 miles of Kut; but the Turks in the meantime had occupied strongly intrenched posts to dispute any further advance, impeded as before by floods. Much fighting took place, and although some ground was gained the relief force was unable to gain any decisive success. General Aylmer's forces continued to hold their lines in the neighborhood of Kut during most of 1916. In December, 1916, and January, 1917, there were several engagements of a local character in the neighborhood of Kut-el-Amara.

In February, 1917, the Mesopota-

mian campaign again began to assume importance. As a result of local engagements and manœvering for position the British by the middle of February had established their line on both banks of the Tigris, where it formed a bend west of Kut-el-Amara, and consequently hemmed in the Turks in this town. On February 23 bodies of British troops were ferried across the Tigris under the protection of artillery and machine-gun fire. These troops cleared the opposite bank sufficiently to enable General Maude to erect a pontoon bridge. By the next day part of the Shamrun peninsula and Sanna-i-yat were seized. The taking of these important positions compelled the Turks to abandon Kut-el-Amara and to retreat toward Baghela, 24 miles up the river.

The British cavalry followed the fleeing Turks on their right, the infantry their centre and gunboats on the Tigris their left. The last-mentioned forces caused considerable havoc among the Turks, by getting ahead of them and firing upon them as they advanced. The British left wing under Sir Percy Lake, crossed the Tigris below its junction with the Diala and marched on Bagdad, 20 miles away. On March 10, an attack on Bagdad from both sides of the river drove the Turks back on the city itself. During the night the Turks evacuated the city and left the British artillery captured at Kut-el-Amara and the greater part of their own. The fall of Bagdad was not of great strategic importance but had a great moral effect throughout the world. Besides that the entire cultivated lands of Babylonia fell into the hands of the British. A Russian offensive drove the Turks from Hamadan and gave promise of a Russian-British advance which would completely occupy Turkey in Asia. The

Russian revolution upset these plans and enabled the Turks to withdraw troops from the Armenian front to stem the British advance. During June and July the Turks drove the Russians across the border into Persia and left the British left wing in a very exposed position.

After the fall of Bagdad the Turks retreated up the Tigris toward Mosul and up the Euphrates toward Aleppo. The main body took the first route with the idea of holding the headwaters of the Diala until they could rescue their army which was practically lost in Persia as a result of renewed Russian activities. The latter had crossed the border of Persia again and had joined with the British outposts. General Maude seized Feluja on the Euphrates with the general purpose of ascending that river and capturing El Deir which was the key to the crossroads leading to Damascus, Aleppo, and Mosul. The plan was to have the centre advance on Mosul, the right wing to clear the caravan route into Persia and the left wing to secure El Deir. The first step accomplished in this advance was the capture of Samara on April 23. This put the Samara-Bagdad railroad in the hands of the British and facilitated the bringing of supplies from the latter city. The British right flank was left in an exposed position again by the complete downfall of the Russian armies and the reoccupation of Khanikan by the Turks (July) on the Persian border. This town controls the caravan route from Bagdad to Kermansha.

A word or two should be mentioned here of the revolt in the Hejaz, which declared its independence under the leadership of the Grand Sherif of Mecca, Hujayn Ibn Aly, who took the title of King. This revolt was engineered by the Entente allies and won over the

orthodox Arabs and the Syrians opposed to Turkish rule. Arms and ammunition of the latest type were supplied to the revolutionists and they took several Turkish towns and seriously hampered the Syrian railway system of the Turks.

When fighting could be resumed, after the heat of the summer, the British on September 30 captured Ramadie on the Euphrates and the entire army of Ahmed Bey. This followed the brilliant storming of Mushaid Ridge on the previous day. On October 5, the Russians took by assault Nereman, 50 miles north of Mosul which was now seriously menaced. The British were within 100 miles of it on the south. They advanced still further when they took Tekrit 15 miles north of Samara. Operations halted here again for a long time because of the final collapse of the Russian forces with the consequent exposure of the British right wing. General von Falkenhayn, who had won such a great reputation for himself as Chief of Staff in Germany and as a commanding General in the Rumanian campaign, was now sent to Asia Minor to command the Turkish forces and spent the rest of 1917 building up the Turkish forces at Aleppo. He succeeded General von der Goltz, who had been assassinated.

*The 1917 Campaign in Palestine.*—As was stated above (section *Turkey, Caucasus, Egypt*) the British began an advance on Rafa on the Sinai peninsula in January, 1917. This town fell early in February and the British advanced northward toward Gaza and eastward toward Beersheba. They were compelled to spend the summer on the Gaza river after failing to take these places. In October they started forward again and by January, 1918, had won a series of brilliant successes. On October 31,

Beersheba was taken in a sudden assault and on November 6 Gaza fell. By November 15, General Allenby\* had cut the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway at Ludd and Er Ramle. Two days later Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem, was occupied. The British advanced down the Surar River valley toward the Holy City and up the Damascus-Beersheba railway in order to encircle the city and cut off its supplies, so that it would not come under the bombardment of the artillery. All the towns surrounding the city were gradually taken by storm and as the British closed in it became apparent that the Turks would not risk a siege. The city fell on December 10. There was general rejoicing throughout the world over the return of the city to Christian hands after having been in Turkish hands for almost seven centuries. The Turks west and northwest of the city broke up into small bands and carried on guerilla warfare until the British finally got control of all the high land. General Allenby then pushed across a small stream 4 miles north of Jaffa and captured several small towns which gave him all the high land in the neighborhood, and assured a good defense of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad.

The success of the British arms in Palestine effectively put an end to Turkish threats on the Suez Canal and Egypt which had been going on for three years. It also revived the hopes of the Zionists, who dreamed of a re-establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine. The British government an-

nounced on several occasions that it looked with favor on the Zionist movement.

*The Collapse of Turkey (October).*—Turkey was the second member of the Central Powers alliance to surrender to Allied arms. This was a direct result of a crushing defeat administered by General Allenby. As was narrated above, Jerusalem was captured by General Allenby in December, 1917. Between that time and September, 1918, the British commander was making preparations for his attack on a grand scale. His first object was to secure his right flank by the capture of Jericho and the line of the Jordan. This operation was carried out in February, and was highly successful, the two objectives having been taken shortly after the middle of the month. During March General Allenby was engaged in gaining a line which would enable him to carry out operations east of the Jordan and against the Hedjah railway, in coöperation with the Arab forces under the Emir Faisal. These were southeast of the Dead Sea and were under the command of Allenby. Rainy weather and the raising of the level of the Jordan river prevented General Allenby from making any advance across that river. He made several raids which materially hindered the Turkish forces. His further progress was also held up by the difficulties of the Allies in France. He reported that in April the 52nd and 74th divisions, nine yeomanry regiments, five and a half siege batteries, ten British battalions, and five machine gun companies were withdrawn preparatory to embark for France. In May 14 more battalions were sent to Europe. During July and August 10 more British battalions were withdrawn from the fighting in the eastern area. While it is true that most of these units were

\* ALLENBY, SIR EDMUND HENRY HYNMAN. Born 1861. Served in Bechuanaland Expedition, 1884-85. With British forces in Zululand in 1888. Took part in South African War with distinction. Skill contributed largely to victories of Somme and Aisne. In June, 1917, put in command of expedition to Palestine. Captured Jerusalem December 10, 1917, and entered on December 11.



replaced by Indian forces, nevertheless his actual fighting force was so reduced that he was unable to continue the advance against the Turkish troops until the following September. During the hot summer months the only fighting of any note was an attack delivered by Turkish-German forces on July 14. It gained initial successes by taking Abu Tellul, an important height, and surrounded several other advanced positions. These gains were almost immediately lost again as a result of a brilliant counterattack by Australian forces.

On September 18, the British and the Arabs began an advance in Mesopotamia and Palestine which was ultimately to result in the surrender of Turkey and settle once and for all the Berlin to Bagdad route which had already been broken by the collapse of Bulgaria. Allenby made minute preparations for his blow and completely fooled the Turks as to his intentions. The British, with some French forces in support, struck on a 16-mile front and broke through the Turkish lines between Fafat and the sea and advanced 13 miles. By the 22d, enemy resistance between the Mediterranean and the Jordan river had practically broken down completely and the Allies were forging ahead rapidly. In 4 days they had advanced approximately 60 miles and had occupied Beisan, Nazareth, and El Afule. Arab forces east of the Jordan destroyed railroads and bridges crossing the stream and thus forced the Turks to retreat in a northerly direction only. Haifa and Acre were seized on the 23d and the Turks east of the Jordan were forced to retreat southerly in the direction of Amman. Three days later saw the British at the Sea of Galilee and the occupation of Tiberias, Semakh, Es-Samra, and Am-

man. On the 27th the British forces joined with the Arabs east of the Jordan at Mezeris. The advance was now a steady pursuit, without any frontal fighting on the part of the Turks. Damascus fell on the 1st of October, Zahieh and Rayak on the 6th, and Tripoli and Homs on the 16th. In the first three weeks of the campaign more than 80,000 prisoners and 350 guns fell into the hands of the British and Arabs.

The last half of October saw the capture of Aleppo and the complete defeat of the Turkish troops along the Tigris by British forces under General Marshall. This last event was accomplished by the capture of Kaleh Sherghat, which completely cut off communication with Mosul, which with Aleppo, was the main base of supplies of the Turkish-German forces in Asia Minor.

Facing a supreme disaster, the Turks sued for an armistice. They sent the British General, Townshend, who had been captured at Kut-el-Amara, to the Allied commander of the Ægean fleet, Vice Admiral Calthorp, to ask for terms. He asked for regularly accredited agents to carry on the negotiations. These were sent to the island of Lemnos, and after a 3-day session, terms were handed to the Turks which they accepted on October 30, and which went into effect the next day. A summary of these terms, which practically amounted to unconditional surrender, follows:

The Dardanelles, Bosphorus, and Black Sea were to be opened to the Allies.

The location of all mine fields, etc., were to be disclosed.

Allied prisoners of war were to be given up.

Immediate demobilization of the Turkish army.

Surrender of all Turkish warships, and use of mercantile vessels.

Allied occupation of any strategical points in Turkey desired by them.

Immediate withdrawal of Turkish forces from Persia.

Transcaucasia to be evacuated if Allies desire.

Wireless, telegraph, and cable systems to be controlled by the Allies.

Allies to be permitted to purchase supplies of all kinds.

The surrender of all garrisons in Asia Minor and Turkish Africa.

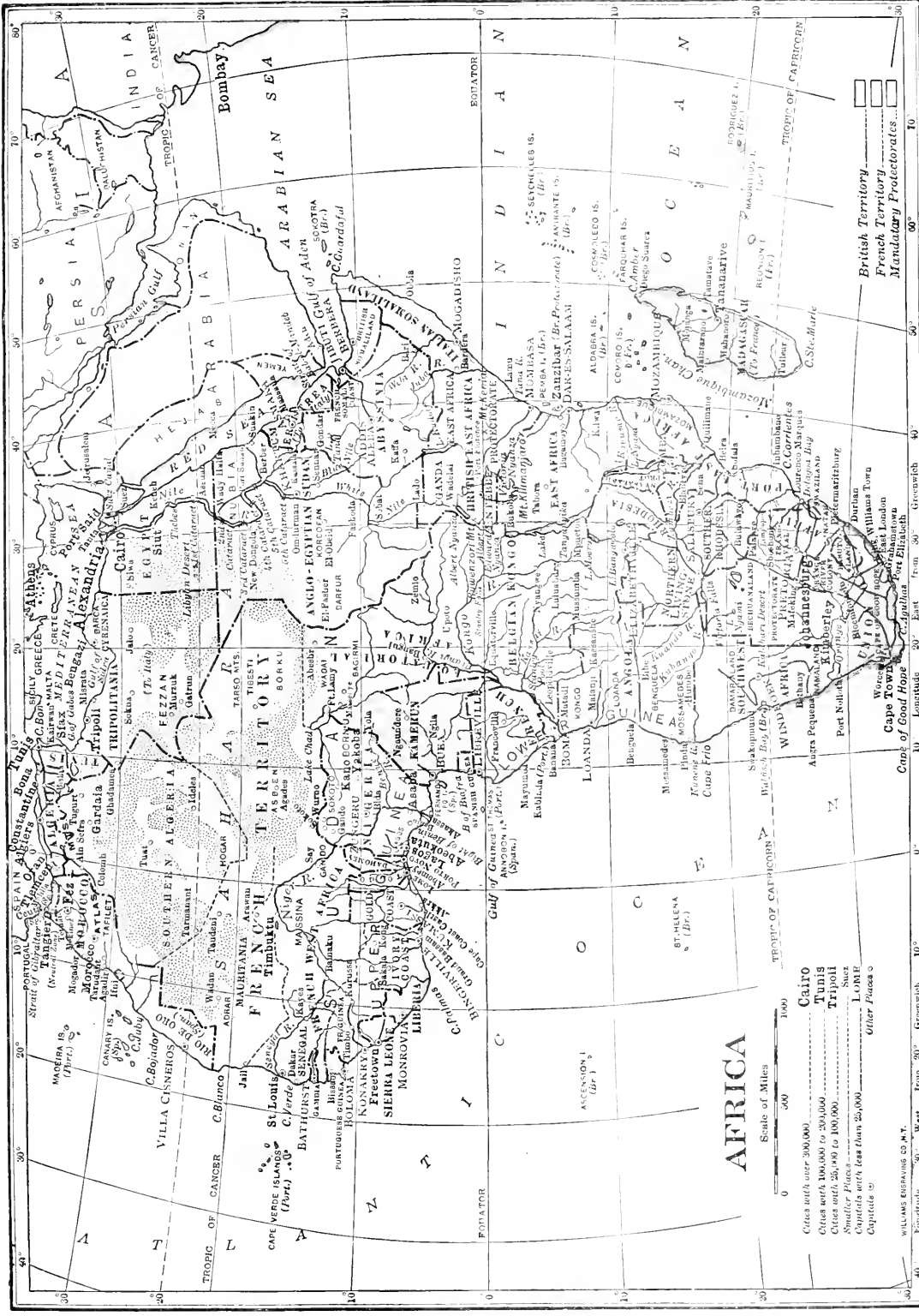
All Germans and Austrians to get out of Turkey within a month and Turkey was to break off all relations with them.

**Colonies.** *Africa.*—As early as August 7 the British Imperial government telegraphed the South African government to suggest the desirability of seizing such parts of German Southwest Africa, "as would give them the command of Swakopmund, Luderitzbucht, and the wireless stations there or in the interior." But before operations could be carried on against German territory the local government found itself face to face with a rebellion in sympathy with, if not inspired by, Germany, and having for its end the establishment of independence. Maritz, one of its leaders, was, on October 26, completely defeated by loyalist troops under the direction of General Smuts, so that the rebellion came to an end in those parts. A more serious situation existed in the Union itself. But here too the loyalists prevailed. On October 27 General Botha took the field against General Beyers, the leader of the rebels, defeated him at Commissie Drift, and scattered his troops. On November 12 Botha routed De Wet at Mushroom Valley. A fugitive, De Wet was taken prisoner on December 1. Beyers, who in the meantime had collected another force, was again beaten December 7 and in

escaping was drowned while trying to swim his horse across the Vail River. His death and De Wet's capture ended the rebellion, though small parties kept the field for some time afterward.

Togoland was taken in a campaign that lasted just three weeks, from August 7 to August 28, 1915. Surrounded on three sides by hostile territory, with the sea under British control, it could not hope to offer any resistance. The allied base was the littoral; minor expeditions entered the country from the north, the east, and the west. The capital of the colony, Lome, fell on the sixth. The campaign thereafter had for its objective the powerful wireless station at Kamina, 125 miles from the coast. This point was entered, after some fighting by the Allies, on the 27th, and the colony was surrendered by its Governor. The German forces could not have exceeded 1000, mostly natives.

Kamerun called for a more serious effort on the part of the Allies. Like Togoland, it was surrounded on all sides by hostile territory, with the sea under Allied control. But its vastly greater area made operations more difficult and it was more strongly defended. Three expeditions from the northwest were defeated by the Germans in August and September, 1915. Attacking from the sea, however, the Allies took Duala (September 27) and from this point widened their holding. Early in October it was clear that the colony would be lost. Two columns pushed their way into the interior along the railways, one of which on October 26 took Edea, repelling six weeks later a counterattack for its recovery. The other column north of Duala captured the entire railway and advanced beyond its head. The French sent down troops from the Tchad, and others reinforced by Belgians from Equatoria.



# AFRICA

Scale of Miles  
 0 500 1000

Cities with over 300,000  
 Cairo  
 Cities with 100,000 to 250,000  
 Tunis  
 Tripoli  
 Cities with 25,000 to 100,000  
 Smaller Places  
 Capitals with less than 25,000  
 Capitals with less than 10,000  
 Other Places

WILLIAMS BROTHERS CO. N. Y.  
 Longitude 30° West From 20° Greenwich  
 40 30 20 10 0 10 20 30 40  
 Latitude

By Permission of The Macmillan Company

AFRICA ACCORDING TO THE PEACE TREATIES OF 1919

British Territory  
 French Territory  
 Mandatory Protectorates



The result of all these efforts was that German resistance was well worn down, and came to an end with the surrender of Mora Hill early in 1916.

The situation in German Southwest Africa was complicated by the South African rebellion. This rebellion crushed, real operations began in January, Luderitz Bay having been occupied as early as September 18, 1914. Swakopmund was occupied January 14. The campaign was directed against the capital Windhoek and carried on by two armies; the northern under Botha was to move from Swakopmund; while the southern under Smuts, divided into three columns, was to move east from Luderitz Bay, north from Warmbad, and west from Bechuanaland. By May 1, the end was near. On the 12th, Botha entered Windhoek and the struggle was practically over; for pushing on to Grootfontein, now the German capital, he there, on July 9, received the surrender of the enemy forces.

The most important colony in Africa, German East Africa, gave the British far more trouble than any of the others. Here the Germans disposed of some 8000 men, though all reports as to forces in the colonies are subject to caution, and the British forces at the beginning were insignificant, say 1200. During August, 1914, some successes fell to the British. For example, they demolished, August 13, the port of Dar-es-Salaam. On September 3, British reinforcements arrived in time to check German operations against the Uganda railway. September was taken up by German attacks without any special result. The British remained on the defensive, waiting for troops from India. These arrived November 1, and lay off the German port of Tanga. An attack made on the 4th resulted in a decided reverse for the British, who were com-

elled to reëmbark. The Germans now invaded British East Africa, but were pushed back to Jassin in German territory, where on January 18 they defeated the British, and forced a withdrawal of all the outlying posts in this region. They had, as early as September, 1914, invaded northeast Rhodesia, where they came into contact with Belgian troops. April, 1915, was spent in skirmishing. In July, 1915, the *Königsberg* was destroyed. This vessel, after doing much mischief, had been chased by British cruisers and had taken refuge (November, 1914) in the Rufiji River. Her guns, however, were removed and used in the defenses of Tabora, on the main east and west line of the colony. General Smith-Dorrien, later relieved by General Smuts, was sent out to take command of the troops in British East Africa and the invasion proceeded from that region, as well as from Nyassa on the south.

The British expedition commanded by General Jan Smuts won an important victory at the Kitovo Hills, near the northern boundary of German East Africa. After five days of fighting (March 7-12) the Germans fell back to a position in the forest along the Rufu River. As a result of the operations that followed, the Germans, although reënfined, were compelled to abandon their positions and retire southward along the Tanga railway.

The Allies began in September to tighten the ring around the colony. The Belgians, French, British, and Portuguese were invading it from all sides. All of the seaports were in their hands and Tabora, a strong fortress in the north, was captured (September 1-11), by the Belgians. Progress was slow but in December, 1917, its probable complete occupation was announced.

General von Lettow-Vorbeck, the

German commander who had held out against the Allies for such a long time, finally surrendered to the Allies on November 14, 1918, three days after the signing of the armistice. During November, 1917, one German force operating in German East Africa was captured and the other (the only remaining one) escaped into Portuguese East Africa. It was chased southward almost as far as the Zambesi River through almost impassable country. Turning around, von Lettow-Vorbeck took another route and again reached German East Africa in September, 1918. He was quickly compelled to retreat again and this time he marched into northern Rhodesia, where he surrendered just south of Kasama.

*The Pacific.*—Japan, as Great Britain's ally, declared war on Germany August 23, 1914, but confined her offensive to Germany's possessions in the Pacific. On August 27, she began the blockade of Tsingtao, and by the end of

September, two Japanese armies and a few English troops had completed landing, one on the north, the other with the English at Rozan Bay. The German defenses consisted of three lines, the first of fortified hills, the second of 10 forts, the third of five. By September 28, the first two lines had been carried, and the siege was begun. October 31 a general attack was opened on the third line which was occupied November 6. The next day the place was surrendered with 201 officers and 3841 non-commissioned officers and men. The Japanese land forces engaged in the siege numbered 22,980 officers and men, with 142 guns. The British forces were far less numerous, 920 European troops and 450 Sikhs. The British casualties were insignificant, 12 killed and 62 wounded; the Japanese relatively very little greater, 236 killed and 1282 wounded. For the capture of other German islands in the Pacific see the section on NAVAL OPERATIONS.

## V. NAVAL OPERATIONS

At the outbreak of the war the belligerent navies were constituted as shown in the subjoined tables. For the sake of space and conciseness, certain methods of lettering and abbreviation are used in the tables and throughout the article, viz.:

Abbreviations: *a.c.*, armored cruiser; *a.c.d.*, armored coast-defense vessel; *b.c.*, battle cruiser; *b.s.*, battleship; *c.*, cruiser (not armored); *des.*, destroyer; *Div.*, division (of a fleet or squadron); *g.b.*, gunboat; *Sq.*, squadron; *sub.*, submarine; *t.b.*, torpedo boat.

### EXAMPLES AND EXPLANATIONS

First example: *b.s.* IRON DUKE (25d-10g13.5-22k).

Explanation: *b.s.* stands for battleship; small capitals indicate that the vessel is of the dreadnought type; 25d means 25,000 tons' displacement; 10g13.5, that the main battery consists of 10 guns of 13.5-inch calibre; 22k, that the maximum speed is 22 knots.

Second example: *des.* Ferret (0.75d-2g4, 2g3-27k), Hind (same), Hydra (same).

Explanation: this means that the destroyer Ferret has a displacement of 750 (0.75 x 1000) tons, carries a main battery of two 4-inch and two 3-inch guns, and has a maximum speed of 27 knots; and that the Hind and Hydra are the same as the Ferret in all respects.

### FORCES IN THE NORTH SEA AND ADJACENT WATERS

#### GREAT BRITAIN

FIRST FLEET (Admiral J. R. Jellicoe, commanding)

Flagship, *b.s.* IRON DUKE (25d-10g13.5-22k); tenders, *c.* Sappho (3.4d-2g6,6g4.7-20k), *des.* Oak (0.8-2g4,2g3-32k); repair ships, Cyclops (11d-13k), Assistance (10d-13k).

1ST BATTLE Sq., 1st Div.: *b.s.* MARLBOROUGH (25d-10g13.5-22k), ST. VINCENT (19d-10g12-21k), COLOSSUS (20d-10g12-21k), HERCULES (same).

2d Div.: *b.s.* NEPTUNE (19d-10g12-21k), SUPERB (same), COLLINGWOOD (same), VANGUARD (same).

2D BATTLE Sq., 1st Div.: *b.s.* KING GEORGE V (24d-10g13.5-21k), AJAX (same), AUDACIOUS (same), ORION (23d-10g13.5-21k).

2d Div.: *b.s.* CENTURION (24d-10g13.5-21k), CONQUEROR (23d-10g13.5-21k), MONARCH (same), THUNDERER (same).

3D BATTLE Sq., 1st Div.: *b.s.* King Edward VII (16d-4g12,4g9.2-19k), Hibernia (same), Africa (same), Britannia (same).

2d Div.: *b.s.* Commonwealth (16d-4g12,4g9.2-19k), Dominion (same), Hindustan (same), Zealandia (same).

4TH BATTLE Sq., 1st Div.: *b.s.* DREADNOUGHT (18d-10g12-21k), TEMERAIRE (19d-10g12-21k), BELLEROPHON (same), Agamemnon (17d-4g12, 10g9.2-19k).

2d Div.: Not organized; ships under construction.

Scouts: 1ST Sq., *c.* Bellona (3.3d-6g4-26k); 2d Sq., *c.* Boadicea (3.3d-6g4-26k); 3d Sq., *c.* Blanche (3.4-10g4-26); 4th Sq., *c.* Blonde (3.4-10g4-26k).

1ST BATTLE CRUISER Sq.: *b.c.* LION (26d-8g13.5-28k), PRINCESS ROYAL (same), QUEEN MARY (27d-8g13.5-28k), NEW ZEALAND (19d-8g12-27k).

2D CRUISER Sq.: *a.c.* Shannon (15d-4g9.2, 10g7.5-23k), Achilles (14d-6g9.2,4g7.5-23k), Cochrane (same), Natal (same).

3D CRUISER Sq.: *a.c.* Antrim (11d-4g7.5,6g6-22k), Argyll (same), Devonshire (same), Roxburgh (same).

4TH CRUISER Sq.: *a.c.* Suffolk (10d-14g6-23k), Berwick (same), Essex (same), Lancaster (same).

1ST LIGHT CRUISER Sq.: *c.* Southampton (5.4d-8g6-26k), Birmingham (5.4d-9g6-26k), Lowestoft (same), Nottingham (same).

DESTROYER FLOTILLA OF 1ST FLEET: *c.* Amethyst (3d-12g4-22k), carrying flotilla commander.

1ST Sq.: *c.* Fearless (3.4d-10g4-25k) and 20 destroyers (0.8d-2g4,2g3-28 to 30k).

2D Sq.: *c.* Active (3.4d-10g4-25k) and 20 destroyers (0.8d-2g4, 2g3-28k).

3D Sq.: *c.* Amphion (3.4d-10g4-25k) and 13 destroyers (1d-3g4-29k).

4TH Sq.: *des.* Swift (2.2d-4g4-35k) and 20 destroyers (0.9d-3g4-32k).

#### SECOND FLEET

Flagship: *b.s.* Lord Nelson (17d-4g12,10g9.2-19k).

5TH BATTLE Sq.: *b.s.* Prince of Wales (15d-

- 4g12-18k), *Bulwark* (same), *Formidable* (same), *Irresistible* (same), *Implacable* (same), *Loudon* (same), *Queen* (same), *Venerable* (same). Scout: *c. Diamond* (3d-12g4-22k).
- 6TH BATTLE SQ.: *b.s. Russell* (14d-4g12-19k), *Albemarle* (same), *Cornwallis* (same), *Duncan* (same), *Exmouth* (same), *Vengeance* (13d-4g12-18k). Scout: *c. Topaze* (3d-12g4-22k).
- 5TH CRUISER SQ.: *a.c. Carnarvon* (11d-4g7.5-6g6-22k), *Sutlej* (12d-2g9.2, 12g6-21k), *c. Liverpool* (4.8d-2g6, 10g4-25k).
- 6TH CRUISER SQ.: *a.c. Drake* (14d-2g9.2, 16g6-22k), *King Alfred* (same), *Good Hope* (same).
- MINE LAYER SQ.: *c. Andromache* (3.4d-6g2.2-20k), *Apollo* (same), *Intrepid* (same), *Iphigenia* (same), *Latona* (same), *Naïad* (same), *Thetis* (same).

## THIRD FLEET

- 7TH BATTLE SQ.: *b.s. Caesar* (15d-4g12-18k), *Hannibal* (same), *Illustrious* (same), *Magnificent* (same), *Majestic* (same), *Mars* (same), *Victorious* (same), *Prince George* (same). Tender: *c. Doris* (5.6d-11g6-20k).
- 8TH BATTLE SQ.: *b.s. Albion* (13d-4g12-18k), *Canopus* (same), *Glory* (same), *Goliath* (same), *Ocean* (same), *Jupiter* (15d-4g12-18k). Tender: *c. Proserpine* (2d-8g4-20k).
- 7TH CRUISER SQ.: *a.c. Aboukir* (12d-2g9.2, 12g6-21k), *Hogue* (same), *Cressy* (same), *Bacchante* (same), *Euryalus* (same).
- 8TH CRUISER SQ.: Not organized.
- 9TH CRUISER SQ.: *a.c. Dougal* (10d-14g6-23k), *Monmouth* (same), *c. Europa* (11d-16g6-21k), *Amphitrite* (same), *Argonaut* (same), *Challenger* (5.9d-11g6-21k), *Vindictive* (5.8d-10g6-19k), *Highflyer* (5.6d-11g6-20k).
- 10TH CRUISER SQ.: *c. Edgar* (7.4d-2g9.2, 10g6-20k), *Grafton* (same), *Hawke* (same), *Theseus* (same), *Crescent* (7.7d-1g9.2, 12g6-20k), *Royal Arthur* (same), *Gibraltar* (7.7d-2g9.2, 10g6-20k).
- PATROL FLOTILLA. Consists of 6 scout cruisers as flagboats and the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th destroyer flotillas (79 boats—360 to 1050 tons); 7 old cruisers and the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th submarine flotillas (3 boats of 210 tons, 36 of 320 tons, 8 of 630 tons, 6 of 825 tons); also 24 torpedo boats of 250 tons.
- COAST-DEFENSE FLOTILLAS. These are separately organized for each port and consist of 21 destroyers (320 to 480 tons), 44 torpedo boats (75 to 750 tons), and 7 submarines (210 to 320 tons).

## FRANCE

(North Sea and Atlantic Forces)

- 2D LIGHT SQ.: *Armored Cruiser Div.: a.c. Mar-seillaise* (10d-2g7.6, 8g6.4-21k), *Aube* (same), *Coudé* (same).
- Destroyer Flotilla: c. Duuois* (0.9-6g2.5-22k) flagboat; three divisions of 6 boats each (310 to 340 tons, 26 to 27 knots).
- Submarine Flotilla: Five divisions with 5 destroyers as flagboats, 18 submarines (550 to 810 tons).*
- Mining Flotilla: Two mine layers (600d-20k), 1 gunboat (950d-21k), 1 destroyer (300d-26k).*
- Schoolship Div.: a.c. Gloire* (10d-2g7.6, 8g6.4-21k), *Jeanne d'Arc* (11d-2g7.6, 14g5.5-23k), *Gueydon* (9d-2g7.6, 8g6.4-21k), *Du-petit Thouars* (same).
- COAST DEFENSE. The mobile defense of Cherbourg, Brest, Rochefort, Dunquerque, and Bidassoa consists of 2 destroyers, 7 torpedo boats, and 11 submarines.

## RUSSIA

(Baltic Sea only)

- ACTIVE FLEET (Admiral von Essen, commanding)
- BATTLESHIP SQ.: *b.s. Czarevitch* (13d-4g12-18k), *Imperator Pavel I* (16d-4g12, 14g8-18k), *Audrei Pervosvanyi* (same), *Slava* (14d-4g12-18k), *a.c. Rurik* (15d-4g10, 8g8-22k).
- ARMORED CRUISER SQ.: *a.c. Gromoboi* (13d-4g8, 22g6-20k), *Bayan* (7.8d-2g8, 8g6-21k), *Pallada* (same), *Admiral Makarov* (same), *des. Novik* (1.3d-4g4-36k).
- DESTROYER FLOTILLA, *1st Sq.*: Base, Libau; 4 divisions of 9 boats each (350 to 580 tons, 26 knots).
- 2d Sq.*: Base, Helsingfors; 2 divisions of 9 boats, 1 of 8 boats (350 tons, 26 knots).
- SUBMARINE FLOTILLA, *1st Div.*: Base, Libau; 2 boats of 370 tons, 1 of 150, 1 of 129.
- 2d Div.*: Base, Reval; 4 boats of 450 tons.
- SHIPS IN RESERVE, battleships: *Imp. Alex. II* (9d-2g12, 5g8-15k), *Petr Velikii* (10d-4g8-12k).
- Armored cruiser: *Rossya* (12d-4g8, 22g6-19k).
- Cruisers: *Diana* (6.7d-8g6-20k), *Aurora* (same).
- Destroyers and submarines: Many building; some completed.
- Torpedo boats: About 20 (108 to 150 tons).

## GERMANY

HIGH SEAS FLEET (Vice Admiral Ingenohl,\* commanding)

Flagship: FRIEDRICH DER GROSSE (25d-10g12-23k).

\* Oscar von Ingenohl, born (1857), at Neuwied; spent half of his seafaring life in the



- 1ST BATTLESHIP Sq., 1st Div.: b.s.** OSTFRIESLAND (22d-12g12-21k), HELGOLAND (same), THURINGEN (same), OLDENBURG (same).  
*2d Div.: b.s.* POSEN (19d-12g11-20k), NASSAU (same), RHEINLAND (same), WESTFALEN (same).
- 2D BATTLESHIP Sq., 1st Div.: b.s.** Preussen (13d-4g11-18k), Schleswig-Holstein (same), Pommern (same), Schlesien (same).  
*2d Div.: b.s.* Hannover (13d-4g11-18k), Hessen (same), Lothringen (same), Deutschland (same).
- 3D BATTLESHIP Sq., 1st Div.: b.s.** KAISER (24d-10g12-23k), KAISERIN (same), PR. REG. LUITPOLD (same), KÖNIG ALBERT (same).  
*2d Div.: Ships not completed.*
- CRUISER Sq., Battle Cruiser Div.: b.c.** SEYDLITZ (25d-10g11-29k), VON DER TANN (19d-8g11-27k), MOLTKE (23d-10g11-27k), DERFFLINGER (28d-8g12-30k).
- LIGHT CRUISER Sq.: c.** Köln (4.3d-12g4.1-27k), Kolberg (same), Mainz (same), Rostock (4.8d-12g4.1-27k), Strassburg (4.5d-12g4.1-27k), Stralsund (same), Dresden (3.6d-10g4.1-24k), Stettin (3.4d-10g4.1-24k).
- DESTROYER FLOTILLAS: 1st Flotilla:** 12 boats (550 tons-2g3.4-32.5k).  
*2d Flotilla:* 12 boats (570d-2g3.4-32.5k).  
*3d and 4th Flotillas:* each of 12 boats (640 tons-2g3.4-32.5k).  
*5th Flotilla:* 12 boats (616 tons-2g3.4-30k).  
*6th and 7th Flotillas:* each of 12 boats (550 tons-2g3.4-30k).
- SUBMARINE FLOTILLAS: 1st Flotilla:** 7 boats, U-21 to U-27 (910 tons).  
*2d Flotilla:* 7 boats, U-14 to U-20 (295 tons).  
*3d Flotilla:* 7 boats, U-7 to U-13 (255 tons).
- MINE LAYERS FLOTILLA:** *Arkona* (1970 tons), *Nautilus* (same), *Albatross* (2200 tons), *Pelikan* (2360 tons).

## RESERVE SQUADRONS

- 4TH BATTLESHIP Sq.: b.s.** Wittelsbach (12d-4g9.4-18k), Zähringen (same), Schwaben (same), Mecklenburg (same), Elsass (13d-4g11-18k), Braunschweig (same).
- 5TH BATTLESHIP Sq.: b.s.** Kaiser Barbarossa (11d-4g9.4-18k), Kais. Wilhelm der Grosse (same), Kais. Wilhelm II (same), Kais. Karl der Grosse (same).
- ARMORED COAST-DEFENSE Sq.: a.c.d.** Sieg-

Far East in command of various vessels; attached to Admiralty in Berlin (1897-1901); accompanied the Kaiser on many of his cruises and for a time commanded the royal yacht *Hohenzollern*; rear admiral (1908); commander of second squadron of the high-sea fleet (1910); served in command during early part of European War, but was removed (February, 1915).

- fried* (4d-3g9.4-15k), *Beowulf* (same), *Frithiof* (same), *Heimdall* (same), *Hildebrand* (same), *Hagen* (same), *Odin* (3.5d-3g9.4-15k), *Aegir* (same).

**SQUADRON OF INSTRUCTION, Cadet and Seaman Schools: c.** *Freya* (5.6d-2g8.2, 8g5.9-18k), *Hertha* (same), *Viueta* (same), *Victoria Louise* (same), *Hansa* (same), *b.s.* (old) *König Wilhelm* (10d-22g9.4-15k).

**Gunnery School: b.s.** *Wettin* (12d-4g9.4-18k), *a.c.* Blücher (16d-12g8.2-23k), *Prinz Adalbert* (9d-4g8.2, 10g5.9-20k), *c.* *Augsburg* (4.3d-12g4.1-27k), *Franzig* (3.2d-10g4.1-23k), *Stuttgart* (3.4d-10g4.1-24k).

**Torpedo School: b.s.** (old) *Württemberg* (7d-6g10.2-16k), *a.c.* *Fürst Bismarck* (11d-4g9.4, 12g5.9-19k), *Friedrich Karl* (9d-4g8.2, 10g5.9-20k), *c.* *München* (3.2d-10g4.1-23k).

Old battleships: *b.s.* *Worth* (10d-6g11-17k), *Brandenburg* (same).

Destroyers and submarines: About 35 destroyers, 6 submarines, 50 torpedo boats and several old cruisers and coast-defense craft were in reserve or laid up.

BELLIGERENT NAVAL FORCES IN THE  
MEDITERRANEAN

## GREAT BRITAIN

- 2D BATTLE CRUISER Sq.: b.c.** *Inflexible* (17d-8g12-27k), *Indomitable* (same), *Indefatigable* (19d-8g12-27k).
- 1ST CRUISER Sq.: a.c.** *Defense* (15d-4g9.2, 10g7.5-23k), *Black Prince* (14d-6g9.2, 4g7.5-23k), *Duke of Edinburgh* (same), *Warrior* (14d-6g9.2, 10g6-23k).
- Light cruisers: *c.* *Gloucester* (4.8d-2g6, 10g4-26k), *Chatham* (5.4d-9g6-26k), *Dublin* (same), *Weymouth* (5.3d-8g6-26k).
- 5TH DESTROYER FLOTILLA:** 24 boats (550 tons-27 knots).
- Submarines: 6 boats of 320 tons.

## FRANCE

**FIRST FLEET** (Vice Admiral Boué de Lapeyère, commanding)

**SECTION OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF:** Flagship: *b.s.* *Courbet* (23d-12g12-21k), *b.s.* *Jean Bart* (23d-12g12-21k), *c.* *Jurien de la Gravière* (5.6d-8g6.4-23k).

**1ST BATTLESHIP Sq., 1st Div.: b.s.** *Diderot* (18d-4g12, 12g9.4-19k), *Danton* (same), *Vergniaud* (same), *France* (23d-12g12-21k).

*2d Div.: b.s.* *Voltaire* (18d-4g12, 12g9.4-19k), *Mirabeau* (same), *Condorcet* (same), *Paris* (23d-12g12-21k).

**2D BATTLESHIP Sq., 1st Div.: b.s.** *Verité* (15d-4g12-19k), *Republique* (same), *Patrie* (same).

*2d Div.*: *b.s. Justice* (14d-4g12-19k), *Democratie* (same).

**LIGHT SQ., 1st Div.**: *a.c. Jules Michelet* (12d-4g7.6,12g6.4-22k), *Ernest Renan* (13d-4g7.6,12g6.4-24k), *Edgar Quinet* (14d-14g7.6-23k), *Waldeck Rousseau* (same).

*2d Div.*: *a.c. Léon Gambetta* (12d-4g7.6,12g6.4-23k), *Victor Hugo* (same), *Jules Ferry* (same).

**Supplementary Battleship Div.**: *b.s. Suffren* (12d-4g12-18k), *St. Louis* (11d-4g12-18k), *Bouvet* (12d-2g12,2g10.8-18k).

**DESTROYER FLOTILLA**: *flagboat, des. Bouchier* (0.70d-2g3.9,2g2.5-32k).

*1st Div.*: 5 boats (0.73d-2g3.9,2g2.5-32k).

*2d Div.*: 5 boats (0.4 to 0.45d-6g2.6-28k).

*3d Div.*: 5 boats (0.45d-6g2.6-28 to 31k).

*4th Div.*: 6 boats (0.33 to 0.4d-1g2.6-27 to 30k).

*5th Div.*: 6 boats (0.33d-1g2.6-29k).

*6th Div.*: 5 boats (0.75d-2g3.9,4g2.6-30 to 32k).

**SUBMARINE FLOTILLA**: *flagboat, des. Dehorter* (0.75d-2g3.9,4g2.6-31k).

*1st Div.*: *des. Arbalète* (0.3d-1g2.6-31k), 3 submarines (550 tons).

*2d Div.*: *des. Hallebarde* (0.3d-1g2.6-27k), 2 submarines (550 tons).

*3d Div.*: *des. Dard* (0.3d-1g2.6-29k), 2 submarines (550 and 490 tons).

*4th Div.*: *des. Mousqueton* (0.3d-1g2.6-29k), 3 submarines (550 tons).

*5th Div.*: *des. Sarbacane* (0.3d-1g2.6-29k), 2 submarines (550 tons).

**Mine layers**: *Casabianca* (945 tons), *des. Baliste* (300 tons).

**Schoolship Div.**: *b.s. Jaureguiberry* (12d-2g12, 2g10.8-18k), *Charlemagne* (11d-4g12-18k), *Gaulois* (same), *Marceau* (11d-4g13.4-16k), *a.c. Potruau* (5.3d-2g7.6,10g5.5-19k), *g.b. La Hire* (0.9d-6g2.6-22k), transport *Tourville*.

**DEFENSE MOBILE.** At Toulon, 3 submarines, several torpedo boats, 1 mother ship for aëroplanes; at Bizerta, 3 submarines and several torpedo boats.

**Morocco Div.**: *c. Du Chayla* (4d-6g6.4,4g3.9-20k), *Cassard* (same).

**Levant Div.**: *a.c. Latouche Tréville* (4.7d-2g7.6, 6g5.5-18k), *Bruix* (same).

**Miscellaneous**: In addition to the active forces mentioned, there were 5 old battleships (1891-97), 4 old armored cruisers, and 10 old cruisers which were on special service, in reserve, or laid up; also about 12 destroyers, 17 submarines, and 115 torpedo boats.

## RUSSIA

**MEDITERRANEAN SQ.**: *a.c. Bogatyr* (6.7d-12g6-23k), *Oleg* (same).

## GERMANY

**SPECIAL SQ.**: *b.c. Goebben* (23d-10g11-27k), *c. Breslau* (4.5d-12g4.1-27k).

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

**BATTLE FLEET** (Admiral Haus, commanding)

*1st Div.*: *b.s. VIRIBUS UNITIS* (20d-12g12-21k), *Tegetthoff* (same), *Prinz Eugen* (same).

*2d Div.*: *b.s. Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand* (14d-4g12,8g9.4-20k), *Radetzky* (same), *Zrinyi* (same).

*3d Div.*: *b.s. Erz. Ferd. Mac* (10.5d-4g9.4-20k), *Erz. Friedrick* (same), *Erz. Karl* (same).

**Cruiser Div.**: *a.c. Sankt Georg* (7.2d-2g9.4,5g7.6,4g5.9-22k), *Kaiser Karl VI* (6.2d-2g9.4, 8g5.9-21k), *des. Turul* (0.4d-1g2.8,7g1.8-28k), *Velebít* (same).

**Scout Div.**: *c. Saida* (3.4d-7g3.9-27k), *Novara* (same), *Ad. Spau* (same), *Helgoland* (same).

**COAST-DEFENSE SERVICE, 1st Div.**: *b.s. Hapsburg* (8d-3g9.4-19k), *Arpad* (same), *Badenburg* (same).

*2d Div.*: *b.s. Wien* (5.5d-4g9.4-17k), *Monarch* (same), *Buda-Pest* (same).

**Cruisers**: *a.c.d. Kronprinz Erzherzog Rudolf* (6.8d-3g12-16k), *a.c. Kaiserin Maria Theresia* (5.2d-2g7.6,8g5.9-19k), *c. Kaiser Franz Joseph I* (4d-8g5.9-19k), *Aspern* (2.4d-8g4.7-20k), *Tigetvar* (same), *Zenta* (same), *Panther* (1.5d-2g4.7-18k).

**Destroyer Flotilla**: 6 boats (0.8d-2g4-32.5k), 10 boats (0.4d-1g2.8-28k); reserve: 1 boat (0.5d-6g1.8-26k), 6 boats (0.4 to 0.5d-misc.-20 to 23k).

**Torpedo-Boat Flotilla**: 12 boats (0.25d-2g2.8-28k), 24 boats (0.2d-4g1.8-26k), 12 boats (0.1d-2g1.8-28k), 6 boats (0.1d-2g1.8-26k), 11 boats (0.1d-2g1.4-19k), mother ship (13d-4g4.7-20k).

**Submarine Flotilla**: 2 boats (270 tons), 2 boats (300 tons), 2 boats (273 tons), 1 depot ship (1d-4g2.8-15k).

## ITALY

**NOTE.**—Though Italy did not enter the war until later, for purposes of comparison the condition on Aug. 1, 1914, is given.

**ACTIVE FLEET** (Vice Admiral Marcello, commanding)

**FIRST SQ., 1st Div.**: *b.s. DANTE ALIGHIERI* (19d 12g12-23k), *GIULIO CESARE* (22d-13g12-28k), *LEONARDO DA VINCI* (same), *c. Nino Bivio* (3.5d-6g4.7-29k).

**1st Destroyer Flotilla**: 4 boats (0.7d-1g4.7, 4g3-30k).

**3d Div.**: *b.s. Regina Margherita* (13d-4g12, 4g8-20k), *Benedetto Brin* (same), *Eman-*

*uelo Filiberto* (10d-4g10-18k), *Ammiraglio di St. Bon* (same).

4th Destroyer Flotilla: 6 boats (0.4d-4g3-29k).

5th Div.: a.c. *Giuseppe Garibaldi* (7.2d-1g10, 2g8, 14g6-20k), *Varese* (same), *Francesco Ferruccio* (same), *Carlo Alberto* (6.4d-12g6-19k), g.b. *Coatit* (13d-12g3-23k).

5th Destroyer Flotilla: 6 boats (0.33d-1g3, 5g2.2-30k).

SECOND SQ., 2d Div.: b.s. *Regina Elena* (12.5d-2g12, 12g8-22k), *Vittorio Emmanuele III* (same), *Roma* (same), *Napoli* (same), c. *Quarto* (3.2d-6g4.7-28k).

3d Destroyer Flotilla: 6 boats (0.7d-1g4.7, 4g3-30k).

4th Div.: a.c. *Pisa* (10d-4g10, 8g7.5-23k), *Amalfi* (same), *San Giorgio* (9.7d-4g10, 8g7.5-23k), *Sau Marco* (same), c. *Marsala* (3.5d-6g4.7-29k), g.b. *Agordat* (1.3d-12g3-23k).

2d Destroyer Flotilla: 6 boats (0.4d-4g3-29k).

#### IN RESERVE OR ON SPECIAL SERVICE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN:

Battleships: b.s. *CONTE DI CAVOUR* (22d-13g12-23k); old battleships, b.s. *Dandolo* (12d-4g10-16k), *Duilio* (same), *Sardegna* (13d-4g13.5-20k), *Sicilia* (same), *Re Umberto* (same).

Armored cruiser: a.c. *Vettor Pisani* (6.4d-12g6-19k).

Cruisers: c. *Libia* (3.7d-2g6, 8g4.7-22k) and 6 old cruisers (2200 to 3500 tons).

Destroyers: About 14 (300 to 700 tons).

Torpedo boats: About 93 (34 to 215 tons).

Submarines: 20 boats (110 to 463 tons).

#### SHIPS IN FOREIGN WATERS:

*China Seas*: a.c. *Marco Polo* (4.5d-6g6, 10g4.7-19k).

*Red Sea and Indian Ocean*: c. *Piemonte* (2.6d-10g4.7-22k), *Calabria* (2.5d-6g4.7-16k).

#### TURKEY

NOTE.—Though Turkey did not enter the war until later, for purposes of comparison the condition on Aug. 1, 1914, is given, adding the GOEREN and BRESLAU. The battleships building in England were taken over by Great Britain at the outbreak of war. So far as known the Turkish navy had no fleet or squadron organization. The vessels were as follows:

Battle cruiser: *SULTAN SELIM JAVUZ* (ex-*Goeben*) (23d-10g11-27k).

Battleships (old): *Kheyred-din Barbarossa* (10d-6g11-17k), *Torgut Reis* (same).

Old b.s. reconstructed as a.c.: *Messudieh* (10d-2g9.2, 12g6-16k).

Coast-Defense vessel: *Muin-i-Zaffer* (2.7d-4g6-12k).

Cruisers: *Medilla* (ex-*Breslau*) (4.5d-12g4.1-27k), *Hamidieh* (3.8d-2g6, 8g4.7-22k), *Medjidieh* (3.4d-2g6, 8g4.7-22k).

Destroyers: 4 boats (0.6d-2g3.4-35k), 6 boats (0.3d-various-25 to 28k).

Torpedo boats: 10 boats (96 to 165 tons-27k).

Submarines: none. Many small gunboats.

#### BELLIGERENT NAVAL FORCES IN THE BLACK SEA

##### RUSSIA

ACTIVE FLEET (Admiral Eberhard, commanding)

BATTLESHIP SQ.: b.s. *Panteleimon* (13d-4g12-16k), *Tri Sviatitelya* (13d-4g12-17k), *Joann Zlatoust* (13d-4g12, 4g8-16k), *Sviatoi Erstafi* (same), Repair ship *Kronstadt* (16d-13k).

Destroyer Flotilla: 1st Div.: 6 boats (615 tons, 25 knots); 2d Div.: 6 boats (360 tons, 26 knots); 3d Div.: 6 boats (250 tons, 26 knots).

Submarine Div.: 2 boats (240 tons), 2 boats (150 tons).

Mine layers: *Eresany* (5d-12k), *Prut* (same). Submergible mine layer: *Krab* (500 to 700 tons).

RESERVE SHIPS: b.s. *Georgia Pobiedonosetz* (11d-6g12-16k), *Sinop* (same), *Rostislav* (9d-4g10-16k), a.c. *Kagul* (6.7d-12g6-23k), *Pamyat Mercuria* (same). Torpedo boats, 10 (88 to 164 tons).

#### BELLIGERENT NAVAL FORCES IN THE PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEANS

##### GREAT BRITAIN

Battleships: *Triumph* (12d-4g10, 14g7.5-20k), *Swiftsure* (same).

Armored cruisers: *Minotaur* (15d-4g9.2, 10g7.5-23k), *Hampshire* (11d-4g7.5, 6g6-23k).

Cruisers: *Newcastle* (4.8d-2g6, 10g4-26k), *Glasgow* (same), *Yarmouth* (5.3d-8g6-26k), *Dartmouth* (same), *Fox* (4.4d-2g6, 8g4.7-19k), *Philomel* (2.6d-8g4.7-16k), *Psyche* (2.1d-8g4-20k), *Pyramus* (same), *Pelorus* (same).

Submarines: 3 of 320 tons.

Australian navy: b.c. *AUSTRALIA* (19d-8g12-27k), c. *Melbourne* (5.4d-8g6-26k), *Sydney* (same), *Encounter* (5.9d-11g6-21k), *Pioneer* (2.2d-8g4-20k). Destroyers: 3 boats (0.7d-1g4, 3g3-26k). Submarines: 2 of 825 tons.

##### FRANCE

Armored cruisers: *Montcalm* (9.5d-2g7.6, 8g6.4-21k), *Dupleix* (7.6d-8g6.4-21k).

Destroyers: 3 boats (4.3d-1g2.6-30k).

## RUSSIA

Cruisers: *Askold* (6d-12g6-23k), *Jemtchug* (3.1d-6g4.7-24k).  
 Destroyers: 1st Div.: 8 boats (0.35d-26k); 2d Div.: 7 boats (0.24d-26k).  
 Submarines: 1 div. of 5 boats (175 to 200 tons).  
 Reserve: 4 torpedo boats, 2 mine layers.

## GERMANY

Armored cruisers: *Scharnhorst* (11.4d-8g8.2, 6g5.9-23k), *Gneisenau* (same).  
 Cruisers: *Emden* (3.6d-10g4.1-24k), *Dresden* (same), *Nürnberg* (3.4d-10g4.1-24k), *Königsberg* (same), *Bremen* (3.2d-10g4.1-23k), *Leipzig* (same).  
 Miscellaneous: Many unimportant gunboats, 500 to 1600 tons, of no fighting value.

## BELLIGERENT NAVAL FORCES IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC

## GREAT BRITAIN

Temporary Squadron: *a.c. Monmouth* (10d-14g6-23k), and several old and unimportant cruisers.  
 Canadian navy: *c. Niobe* (11d-16g6-20k), 1 mine layer, 1 transport.

## GERMANY

Cruiser: *Karlsruhe* (4.8d-12g4.1-27k).  
 Miscellaneous: Several fast passenger steamers which were turned into auxiliary cruisers.

## FRANCE

Temporary squadron of two cruisers in Mexico.

**Operations in the North Sea and the Waters about Great Britain.** At the end of July, 1914, the German High Seas fleet was off the coast of Norway and nearly the whole of the British Grand fleet lay at Spithead off the Isle of Wight. As the probability of war increased, more and more definite steps were taken to prepare for mobilizing the entire British naval force and putting into full commission all ships in reserve and laid up. On August 2, German troops invaded Belgium and the same day the British Grand fleet was ordered to proceed to an unknown destination in the North Sea. On Au-

gust 4, Great Britain and France declared war and mobilization of both fleets was directed. Within four hours of the declaration of war, British scouting squadrons were sent towards the German fleet and coast, one submarine flotilla exploring the Helgoland bight.

The German High Seas fleet, being vastly inferior to the British forces facing it, was hastily withdrawn behind the defenses of the German coast at Kiel and in the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal which had fortunately been completed a couple of months before.

The laying of mines now proceeded with indescribable rapidity. It is supposed that the Germans had begun as early as July 29, but this is uncertain. Not only were the German harbors and the vicinity of Helgoland protected but the whole eastern part of the North Sea was planted with mine fields where they were most likely to be useful and the approaches to the Baltic were closed except a narrow strip along the Swedish coast in Swedish territorial waters and the channels through the mined area which were known only to German and Danish pilots. Denmark was forced to lay mines in her own waters by Germany which sent her an ultimatum stating that if she did not place them Germany would. According to British reports the German fields were extended over the whole southern part of the North Sea above a line joining the Hook of Holland with Harwich, England. The separate mine areas were small or narrow but were so numerous as to make navigation dangerous. The British thereupon closed the Strait of Dover by a mined area with boundaries consisting of the parallels of 51° 15' and 51° 40' N. latitude and the meridians of 1° 35' and 3° E. longitude.

They then began a systematic search

for German mines, mine layers, and protecting forces, and also dispatched their mine-sweeping groups of trawlers as fast as work was found for them. It was in connection with mine planting that the first naval action of the war was brought about. On August 5, H.M.S. *Amphion* (3400t-25k), with the third destroyer flotilla, was carrying out a prearranged plan of search when a suspicious ship was reported by a trawler. This was the German mine layer *Königin Louise*, and she was chased and sunk; but early the next morning the *Amphion* struck a mine and was herself destroyed.

On August 9, the First Light Cruiser Squadron was attacked by three or more German submarines, showing only their periscopes. A lucky shot destroyed the periscope of one boat and the splash of countless projectiles blinded the view from the periscopes of the others. All except the injured boat disappeared and retreated but she came to the surface after a time quite close to the cruisers. Just as her conning tower appeared sufficiently to note her name, *U-15*, a shot from the *Birmingham* tore a hole in its base and the boat sank like a stone. None of the British vessels were injured. For more than two weeks following this incident the British continued their scouting and dragging for mines. Frequent clashes took place between the patrol vessels but no serious damages were inflicted on either side.

On August 26, the Eighth Submarine Flotilla (eight boats), two destroyer flotillas, and their flag cruisers and tenders, were ordered to proceed to reconnoitre Helgoland and the waters to the southward. They were followed by the Battle Cruiser and First Light Cruiser Squadrons at a distance of 20 to 30 miles. On August 28, the de-

stroyer flotillas, when about 25 miles from Helgoland, and not much farther from Wilhelmshaven, found the enemy in superior force and were compelled to fall back. Admiral Beatty\* promptly sent the First Light Cruiser Squadron to their assistance but, as the enemy's force seemed strong, he soon decided to follow with his heavy vessels. The advent of the battle cruisers quickly decided matters. In a short time, the German vessels were retiring along the whole front. The light cruisers, *Mainz*, *Köln*, and *Ariadne*, and the destroyer *V-187* were sunk. No British vessels were lost but the *Arctusa*, flagship of the destroyer fleet, was severely injured and had to be towed to England. As soon as his light vessels were safely withdrawn, Admiral Beatty retired the battle cruisers as he was operating in the vicinity of mine fields and was exposed to attack by submarines, several of which were seen. The *Queen Mary* was twice attacked and the *Lowestoft* once, but high speed in each case made the attempt abortive. The short range of the torpedoes used in German submarines was first noticed in these attacks.

The month of September was a particularly eventful one. On September 3, the British gunboat *Speedy* was destroyed by a mine and, on September 7, the light cruiser *Pathfinder* was sunk by the German *U-21*, the first surface vessel to fall a victim to the dreaded submarine. On September 9, the White Star liner *Oceanic*, now a naval transport, was run ashore in a fog and

\* SIR DAVID BEATTY, born (1871) in County Wexford, Ireland; entered navy (1884); served with Nile flotilla (1896) and in the advance on Peking (1900); aid-de-camp to King Edward VII (1908); naval secretary to First Lord of the Admiralty (1912); commander First Battle Cruiser Squadron (1912); K.C.B. (1914); vice admiral (1915), youngest officer ever to reach that grade; married a daughter of Marshall Field of Chicago.

wrecked. On September 28, there came an event which startled the world and added greatly to the prestige of the submarine. About daylight that morning, the British armored cruisers *Aboukir*, *Hogue*, and *Cressy* were on patrol duty in the North Sea and steaming at moderate speed in column. At 6.25 A.M., the *Aboukir*, which was leading, was struck by a torpedo from a submarine and began to sink slowly. The *Hogue* and *Cressy* came up to her assistance, stopped, and attempted to save life. A little before 7 A.M., a torpedo struck the *Hogue*. She quickly capsized and sank; probably the torpedo exploded a magazine. About 7.15, the *Cressy* was hit by a torpedo and 15 minutes later by another. The reports indicate that, of the personnel of the three ships, 1067 were saved and about 1133 drowned. All were sunk by the German submarine *U-9*, a 300-ton boat commanded by Kapitan-Leutnant Wedigen. The ease with which he performed his work was due to the lack of a destroyer screen and the folly of the *Hogue* and *Cressy* in stopping their engines in the known presence of submarines. The frightful loss due to this error caused the Admiralty to issue orders forbidding large vessels to proceed to the assistance of others under such circumstances.

After the *Aboukir-Hogue-Cressy* catastrophe the war against submarines was intensified. New types of mines were devised. Air craft began to scout for them and finally to destroy them by dropping bombs on their decks or in their hatches. Huge wire nets were built. Some were supported by floating buoys, others by buoys which were kept below the surface by the moorings. While it was expected that some submarines would become inextricably entangled in the nets, this was not relied

upon. The nets were watched and when an entangled submarine came to the surface she was destroyed by gun fire. It was soon found that this watching could well be performed by very fast motor boats carrying 1, 3, or 6 pounders or a short 3-inch. Hundreds of these were built—many purchased in the United States. The speed was high—well over 20 knots in all cases and as near 30 knots as the size and condition permitted. By means of these and of nets stretching almost from shore to shore and in several places, the channel was kept nearly free from the enemy's submarines during the transport of troops and munitions of war to France.

During the month of October, the Germans lost a destroyer and a submarine; the British, a submarine, an old cruiser, and the dreadnought battleship *Audacious* by a mine. On November 3, a German scouting expedition along the Yorkshire coast destroyed a British submarine and slightly injured a gunboat. The armored cruiser *Yorck*, returning from this service, struck a chain of mines in entering the Jahde estuary and was sunk. A week later the gunboat *Niger* was sent to the bottom by a German submarine in the Downs north of Dover. On the 16th, the German auxiliary cruiser *Berlin* was interned at Trondjem; on the 20th, *U-18* was rammed by a patrol boat and foundered; on the 23d, the German destroyer *S-124* was sunk in collision with a Danish steamer; and on the 26th, the old British battleship *Bulwark* was blown up in Sheerness harbor. The loss of the *Bulwark* was due to some form of interior explosion in which her magazines were involved. The explosion was tremendously violent, only 14 of the complement of 815 escaping; and the ship sank in three minutes.

During the month of November, na-

val vessels were used to support the army by attacking the enemy's right flank wherever it reached the coast. Three small river monitors, purchased from Brazil, were found to be of great service in this work, their light draft of four and one-half feet enabling them to get close in shore.

On December 16, a German battle cruiser squadron, supposedly consisting of the *Derfflinger*, *Seydlitz*, *Moltke*, *Von der Tann*, and *Blücher*, raided the Yorkshire coast, bombarding the harbors and cities of Hartlepool, Whitby, and Scarborough. Nearly 100 non-combatants were killed and 500 wounded. None of the towns has forts or defensive works of any kind.

On Christmas day, a squadron of seven naval seaplanes delivered an attack on Cuxhaven naval base but did no damage of importance; four of the aëroplanes were lost, though all the operators were saved. Bombs were dropped on or near the German warships lying in Schillig roads but none were materially injured. The only value of the raid seems to have been a gain in experience and some information of the enemy's condition.

The year 1915 opened with the sinking of the old battleship *Formidable* on January 1, by a German submarine in the Channel off Plymouth. This feat is specially remarkable as it took place at night and in a heavy sea, both conditions being very unfavorable to submarine operations. She was not, however, accompanied by destroyers and this enabled the submarine to approach on the surface without being seen.

On the morning of January 24, the fast cruiser fleet, in command of Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty, was patrolling in the North Sea (approx. Lat. 55° N., approx. Long. 5° E.). This fleet consisted of the First Battle Cruiser

Squadron, *Lion*, *Tiger*, *Princess Royal*, *New Zealand*, and *Indomitable*; the First Light Cruiser Squadron, *Southampton*, *Nottingham*, *Birmingham*, and *Lowestoft*; and two destroyer flotillas. About 7 A.M., the cruiser *Aurora*, one of the destroyer flagships, sighted the German light cruiser *Kolberg* and a destroyer flotilla and, at 7.25, action began between them. About this time the German fast squadron (Rear Admiral Hipper), steering northwest, was sighted from the destroyer flotillas. This consisted of the battle cruisers *Derfflinger*, *Seydlitz*, and *Moltke* and the large armored cruiser *Blücher*. As soon as the information was signaled to Admiral Beatty, he headed for the enemy which had changed course to southeast as soon as they perceived the British battle cruisers. At 8.52, the *Lion* (flagship) opened fire on the *Blücher*, the rear ship of the German column, at a range of a little less than 20,000 yards but did not effect a hit until 9.09. The German vessels began to return the fire at 9.14; the *Tiger* began at 9.20, the *Princess Royal* a few minutes later, and the *New Zealand* at 9.40. The *Indomitable*, the slowest of the British ships, apparently did not get near enough to any of the German ships to open fire until after the *Blücher* was disabled. The last named had much less speed than the other German vessels and slowly dropped astern. About 10.48, she fell out of line and turned to the northward with a heavy list. The *Indomitable* was ordered to attack her and the others of the British fleet pushed forward after the main body. At 10.54, submarines were reported on the starboard bow of the *Lion*. The British fleet at once changed course towards the left. At 11.03, the *Lion* received a shell in her engine room which disabled her port engine and she hauled

out of action, but Admiral Beatty was unable to transfer his flag to the *Princess Royal* until 12.20. The British squadron was now retiring, having pursued the enemy as close as possible to the areas protected by mine fields and submarines. The German losses are not exactly known. Of the *Blücher's* total complement of 885, about 200 were saved by British destroyers; and they were bombarded by German aeroplanes and a Zeppelin while engaged in this work. The German reports of the injuries to their three battle cruisers are not in agreement. One says that but a single battle cruiser was injured while another congratulated the navy that none of the injuries received would require the ships to be docked. The British casualties were reported in full. The *Lion's* machinery was disabled by destruction of the feed tank; after trying to steam with one engine, that began to give trouble through priming so she was taken in tow by the *Indomitable*. On the *Lion*, 17 men were wounded; on the *Tiger*, one officer and nine men were killed and three officers and eight men wounded.

About January 26, the French torpedo boat *No. 219* was sunk off Newport. On March 4, *U-8* was rammed and sunk off Dover, the crew being made prisoners. On March 10, the auxiliary cruiser *Bayano* was torpedoed by a German submarine and all hands lost. On the same day, *U-12* was rammed and sent to the bottom by the destroyer *Ariel* and about the same date *U-29* was sunk. The captain of this boat was Commander Weddigen who torpedoed the *Aboukir*, *Cressy*, and *Hogue*. On May 1, the British destroyer *Recruit* was sunk by a submarine and about May 7 the *Maori*, a much larger boat, was destroyed by a mine off Zeebrugge. On May 27, the British auxiliary cruis-

er *Princess Irene* was blown up in Sheerness harbor, only one of her crew escaping. Like the *Bulwark*, she was loading ammunition and it is supposed that a shell may have dropped from the upper deck to the hold and struck point down among many other projectiles.

On June 10, the British torpedo boats *Nos. 10* and *12* were sunk by a German submarine and about the same time *U-14* was destroyed and her crew made prisoners. On June 24, the armored cruiser *Roxburgh* was torpedoed but the damage was not so serious as to prevent reaching port; on July 1, the destroyer *Lightning* received injuries of similar gravity from a mine or torpedo, and, although the boat escaped to port, 15 of her crew were lost.

Early in July *U-30* was accidentally sunk, but was raised within 48 hours and only one of the crew was found dead. On August 8, the patrol boat *Ramsey* was sunk by the German auxiliary cruiser *Meteor*, but before the latter could escape she was discovered by some British cruisers and was blown up by her commander to avoid surrender. On August 9, the destroyer *Lynx* struck a mine in the North Sea and immediately foundered; and, on August 12, the auxiliary cruiser *India* was sunk by a submarine while on patrol duty. During the early part of August the coast of Belgium was repeatedly bombarded by British vessels to assist military operations. It was reported that at Zeebrugge, which the Germans made a naval port, a number of vessels, including submarines and destroyers, were destroyed by the bombardment.

On August 19, British submarine *E-13* grounded on the Danish island of Saltholm in the Sound. Two German destroyers, which sighted her in this position, violated Danish sovereignty by firing upon her in Danish waters.



On August 23, a German destroyer was sunk by English boats near Zeebrugge and about the same time *U-27* was lost—cause unknown.

Between October 1st and 4th, the Belgian coast was again bombarded to assist military operations. On October 28, the armored cruiser *Argyle* ran ashore and was wrecked. On November 4, German submarine *U-8* was disabled off the Dutch coast and was towed into port where she was interned. This is apparently a new boat with an old number as the *U-8*, reported sunk on March 4, was visibly destroyed and her crew made prisoners. On the same date (November 4), a German submarine of new type (length, 250 feet) was captured by being caught in a British wire net. On November 13, the yachts *Aries* and *Irene* were sunk while on patrol duty (circumstances not reported), and on November 17, the hospital ship *Anglia* was sunk by a mine in midchannel with a loss of 100 lives—chiefly wounded men. On November 28, a German submarine was sunk off the Belgian coast by a bomb from a seaplane. On December 30, the armored cruiser *Natal* was destroyed by an internal explosion while at anchor. Of the complement of 725, 400 were saved. On January 9, 1916, the *King Edward VII* was sunk by a mine. This battleship belonged to a class that was one of the last and best of the pre-dreadnoughts.

On May 31, 1916, began the greatest naval battle of the war up to that time. About four o'clock in the afternoon the British fast battle squadron of seven battle cruisers and four battleships met the German High Seas fleet of five battle cruisers and 24 battleships off the northwest coast of Denmark. The British engaged the enemy but fell back before the vastly superior force in the direction of their main fleet. In

this part of the action they lost the battle cruisers *Queen Mary*, *Invincible*, and *Indefatigable*, and three armored cruisers—all of which were sunk; eight destroyers were sunk during the night attacks. The British Grand fleet came up about six o'clock, and soon afterward the Germans began to retire, pursued by the British. The action continued until after midnight; the night attacks being chiefly those of destroyers and submarines. The German losses are not definitely known but include the following, which were admitted by the German Admiralty: battleship *Pommern*, battle cruiser *Lützen*, four fast cruisers, and five destroyers. The losses of officers and men were about: British, 5000; Germans, 3500; among the British were Rear Admirals Hood and Arbuthnot. The Germans were favored by misty weather, the close proximity of their own coast (which injured vessels could quickly reach), and by the fact that, a few minutes after the arrival of the main British force, mist and darkness obscured them from the enemy. Both the British and Germans claim that additional vessels of their opponents were destroyed. As regards the British losses, the ships alleged to have been sunk have been seen by disinterested observers; as to further German losses there is no proof.

On June 5, 1916, the British cruiser *Hampshire* was destroyed either by a mine or torpedo near the Orkney Islands. Lord Kitchener of Khartum and his staff lost their lives. The Secretary of State for War was on a mission to Russia.

The *Nottingham* and *Falmouth*, light cruisers, were sunk in the North Sea by German submarines on August 19. On October 26 German torpedo-boat destroyers made an unsuccessful attack on the cross-channel service.

They lost two destroyers. The British lost the destroyers *Flirt* and *Nubian*. On November 23 torpedo boats raided the east coast of England near Ramsgate. They fired only a few shots and then retired. On January 23, 1917, a battle between destroyers occurred in the North Sea. Berlin claimed two British vessels were sunk while all of hers returned. London admitted the loss of one vessel.

On February 26, 1917, German destroyers bombarded Broadstairs and Margate on the English coast. They caused little damage and got away unscathed themselves. In a running fight off the Belgian coast on April 8 the Germans lost one destroyer and another was seriously damaged. Two German destroyers and two small British vessels were sunk near Dover on April 21. During April several raiding expeditions were carried out by the British and Germans. The former bombarded the submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge, and the latter bombarded Ramsgate, Calais, and Dunkirk. During this month also American destroyers under Admiral Sims were sent to European waters and greatly aided in combating the submarines. In the early part of June the British sank the *S-20* and damaged another German destroyer. A few days later each country lost a destroyer by the explosion of mines in the North Sea. British vessels on several occasions crept close to the Dutch coast and captured or destroyed German merchantmen.

On September 5, Scarborough, on the English coast, was shelled by a German submarine. On October 2, 1917, the British cruiser, *Drake*, was torpedoed and sunk off the northern coast of Ireland. On October 17, two German raiding cruisers attacked a convoy in the North Sea and sank 5 Norwegian ves-

sels, 1 Danish, 3 Swedish, and the British destroyers *Mary Rose* and *Strongbow*. On the same day the American transport, *Antilles*, was sunk, with a loss of 70 lives. On November 1, another American transport, the *Finland*, was torpedoed, but she was able to return to the French port she had just left. On November 3 the British sank the German auxiliary cruiser *Marie of Flensburg* and 10 patrol boats in the Cattegat. On the same day they destroyed a crewless raider off the Belgian coast. This is a vessel loaded with high explosives, which will go off on contact. It was electrically controlled, run by gas engines, and is supposed to be steered into hostile warships.

On November 5, the *Alcedo*, an American patrol boat in European waters, was torpedoed and sunk with the loss of 21 men. On November 18, a skirmish occurred between British and German light forces, in which neither side did much damage. The British pursued the Germans to within 30 miles of the Bight of Helgoland. On November 19 the American destroyer, *Chauncey*, was sunk as a result of a collision in the war zone. Twenty-one lives were lost. On December 6, the American destroyer, *Jacob Jones*, was torpedoed and sunk, with a loss of over 60 men. On December 17, German cruisers again raided a convoy in the North Sea and sank 11 ships, including the British destroyer, *Partridge*. This caused considerable comment in England and was the subject of an investigation.

After the battle of Jutland, naval operations on the part of the Allies and the United States have been chiefly concerned in anti-submarine warfare at sea, and in attack on naval bases—chiefly submarine. German naval activity with surface ships was confined almost wholly to the Baltic, where their work was

made comparatively easy by the activities of the Bolsheviks who, as far as they were able, turned over the Russian ships to them. The single exception in ocean service was the *Wolf*, a converted merchant steamer, that had a successful career in the Atlantic and Pacific during 1917-1918, and returned home in safety.

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war against Germany. A destroyer and patrol fleet was rapidly prepared and, under the command of Vice-Admiral W. S. Sims,\* U. S. N., arrived in a British port on May 4 and joined the Allied anti-submarine forces. The American naval patrol in European waters was greatly strengthened early in 1918 by the dispatch of a flotilla of submarines and destroyers. Other destroyers and patrol vessels continued to be sent to the war zone as fast as they were ready for service. In the months of April, May, and June, the American forces in European waters escorted 121 troopship convoys consisting of 773 ships and 171 merchant ship convoys of 1763 ships. German submarines sank three transports containing a large number of American troops, but the loss of life was small—159 on the *Tuscania*, fifty-six on the *Moldavia*, and none on the *Persic*. About 360 American soldiers were lost on the *Otranto*, which was injured by collision with another steamer and drifted on the

rocks. Several American transports were sunk on the return trip from France, but with small loss of life, as they carried few passengers, and most of those were saved. On September 26, 1918, the U.S.S. *Tampa* was torpedoed and sunk with all hands while acting as a convoy vessel; she was formerly a revenue cutter. On September 30, the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga* was torpedoed and sunk; eleven officers and 102 enlisted men were drowned, three officers and five men were saved, and two officers were taken prisoners. The United States armored cruiser *San Diego* was sunk by striking a mine off the Fire Island coast on July 19, 1918. Between May and October, 1918, several German submarines operated along the American coast, but the vessels sunk were chiefly small sailing craft, and the total tonnage even of these was small. In March, 1918, the United States collier *Cyclops* disappeared from the sea without leaving a trace. Many German submarines were sunk by armed merchant vessels and destroyers—too many to be here enumerated. One transport with American soldiers on board sank two submarines on the same day, and captured nine of the crew of one of them. On August 8, a German submarine sank the French armored cruiser *Dupetit Thouars* (9367 tons); 450 of her officers and men were saved by United States destroyers which came to her rescue.

\* SIMS, WILLIAM S., *Vice Admiral*, U. S. N., in command of United States destroyers in European waters. Born (1858) at Port Hope, Canada. Graduated from United States Naval Academy in 1880. 1897-1900 naval attaché at Paris and Petrograd. 1902-09 inspector of target practice at Bureau of Navigation and last two years of this period naval aid to president. Member of War College 1911-13 and 1913-15 commander of torpedo flotilla of Atlantic coast. In 1916 made president of Naval War College and commander of Second Naval District. In August, 1916, made rear admiral. Made vice admiral in recognition of services rendered abroad.

The German submarine *U-53*, which came to Newport in 1916, was captured by the French about the end of 1917, and was afterwards successfully used as a decoy to other submarines. Minor operations were of almost daily occurrence in this area. On March 21, 1918, a naval action occurred off Dunkirk, between British and French destroyers and a German destroyer force.

Two German destroyers and two torpedo boats were sunk. On March 22, monitors bombarded the harbor works at Ostend. On April 25, the British attempted to sink old cruisers loaded with concrete so as to block the harbor entrances of Zeebrugge and Ostend. The Zeebrugge operation was successful, three cruisers being sunk so as to block the fairway, but the Ostend attempt failed. A second attempt at Ostend on May 14 gave better results, but was not satisfactory. The operations were carried out with extraordinary determination and courage in the face of murderous fire from shore, and the loss of life was terrible, but their work made it necessary for the German submarines and destroyers to fall back to bases on the German coast, and greatly reduced their effectiveness. On April 17-18, German destroyers made a raid on the Flanders coast, and about the same time the Cattegat was swept clear of German patrols by a British destroyer flotilla. On May 15, the British gave warning of a new mine field extending from Norwegian territorial waters nearly to the Orkneys and the coast of Scotland. On May 23, the transport *Moldavia* was sunk and fifty-three American soldiers were drowned.

*The Submarine Campaign.*—On Jan. 31, 1917, the German government announced to the world that with certain definite limitations a ruthless submarine warfare was to be carried on against all ships. For details see section, NEUTRAL NATIONS, *United States*. A brief description of the campaign will be given here, as well as a discussion of the methods used to combat it. Up to the time of the beginning of the intensive warfare the amount of tonnage sunk varied according to the British and German reports. The latter claimed that 4,400,000 tons, of which

3,000,000 were British, had been sunk by Feb. 1, 1917. The British Admiralty estimate was slightly more than 3,000,000 tons, both British and other countries. In the first month of the new warfare Berlin claimed to have sunk 368 vessels of 781,500 tons. These figures varied widely from those given out at London, which claimed that only 490,000 tons had been sunk. In her warfare, Germany made no distinction between neutral and enemy ships. Hospital ships and Belgian relief ships were sunk without warning. Three American vessels were also sunk.

Starting with March, 1917, the Admiralties of the Allied Countries began to report the submarine sinkings in a general way, so that it was impossible to gain facts as to tonnage destroyed and vessels sunk. The Admiralty of each country announced the number of vessels over 1600 tons and those under 1600 tons sunk each week, as well as the number of arrivals and sailings. French estimates place the loss of tonnage in the first four months of 1917 at 2,500,000, which was more than the entire tonnage built in 1916. The weekly and monthly losses fluctuated considerably. April, June, and December, 1917, were high months, while July, August, and September were low months. A conservative estimate of the total tonnage lost during 1917 would be approximately 6,500,000. No figures were published concerning the loss of submarines.

The methods of fighting the submarines were many and varied. Small patrol boats 80 to 110 feet long, very fast, and mounted with small guns, patrolled the coasts of the Allied countries with great regularity. They were a hard mark to hit and their guns were heavy enough to destroy the frail submarine. All merchantmen were armed

with guns as heavy as they could reasonably carry and were supplied with trained naval crews. Most of them were also supplied with wireless outfits in order to call for help if necessary. Aëroplanes were given definite routes to patrol and they did effective work, inasmuch as they were able to see a submarine quite a distance down in the water, even if its periscope were not showing above the water. They would then drop a bomb on it or would signal to a destroyer, which would come and drop a depth bomb, which was timed to explode at a given depth. All the Allied destroyers were supplied with depth bomb throwing devices. Another scheme used was the smoke screen. By means of chemical action a dense cloud of heavy smoke could be thrown around a vessel, which would hide it to such an extent that the U-boat would be unable to aim its torpedo with any degree of accuracy. Nets were also used as protections across the mouths of harbors and were often dragged through a given area, in order to enmesh a submarine. After the United States entered the war the old-time custom of convoying ships was revived, and to this is probably due the great decrease in the numbers of merchantmen sunk in the latter part of 1917. Lastly, the indirect method of building tonnage faster than it could be sunk was attempted by rapidly increasing ship-building in the United States and other Allied and neutral nations.

There is no doubt that the German government determined to risk everything on the submarine campaign to bring the war to a successful conclusion. It must have known that the United States and other neutrals would not for a moment stand for the restriction of the use of the high seas. The Entente Allies reiterated time and again

that Germany would ultimately be beaten because her chief weapon, the submarine, had not proved a thorough success.

On September 1, 1918, the United States Shipping Board estimated that the Allied and neutral nations had lost 21,404,913 deadweight tons of shipping since the beginning of the war. This showed that Germany had maintained an average destruction of about 445,000 deadweight tons a month. During the latter months, however, the sinkings had fallen considerably below the average and in May, 1918, Allied construction passed destruction for the first time.

The following table shows the status of world tonnage on September, 1918. Figures for Germany and Austria are excluded:

|   | Deadweight<br>Tons |
|---|--------------------|
| Total losses (allied and neutral) August, 1914–September 1, 1918. . . . .   | 21,404,913         |
| Total construction (allied and neutral) August, 1914–September 1, 1918. . . . .   | 14,247,825         |
| Total enemy tonnage captured (to end of 1917) . . . . .   | 3,795,000          |
| Excess of losses over gains. . . . .  | 3,362,088          |
| Estimated normal increase in world's tonnage if war had not occurred (based on rate of annual increase, 1905–1914). . . . . | 14,700,000         |
| Net deficit due to war. . . . .   | 18,062,088         |
| World's merchant tonnage, June 30, 1914 (Lloyd's Register). . . . .   | 73,634,328         |

*Anti-submarine Operations.*—The strategy of the anti-submarine campaign was both active and passive. The active part consisted of the destruction of submarine bases, the placing of mine fields along submarine paths, the patrol and search of the seas. Its principal weapons were the destroyer, the patrol boat, the Q-boat, the mine, the net, the gun, the depth mine, the depth bomb, the airplane, the dirigible, and the submarine. The passive part included the convoy system, zigzag courses, camouflage, smoke screens, painting of ships, arming of merchantmen, and the placing of protective mine fields and nets. The arming of merchantmen forced the submarine to give

up the gun for the torpedo until guns of longer range and larger calibre were mounted on submarines of greater size. This was an enormous check to submarine activities, and just as it was being largely overcome, an effective convoy system became possible through the constantly growing number of vessels suitable for convoy duty. The development of this system at the close of the war was rapidly leading up to an almost total nullification of the submarine, if not to its complete destruction, as the new destroyers under construction in the United States and Great Britain were completed. The failure of protection to some of the earlier convoys in no way qualifies these views, for the convoying craft in every case were too few for the purpose, while the safe transportation of the American army by means of adequate convoy proves the case beyond reasonable doubt, because even this convoy could have been improved and strengthened. A completely equipped convoying force of destroyers, airplanes, and dirigibles in adequate number forms nearly a sure barrier to the submarine. In fact, a group of merchant vessels so protected might profitably have advertised its sailing and route in German papers in the hope that German submarines would venture to attack, and meet almost sure destruction. This aspect of affairs was undoubtedly recognized by leading German thinkers, and played an important part in the Teutonic collapse, and readiness for peace.

**Operations in the Baltic.** Mine laying by Germany and Russia began in the Baltic at least as early as in the North Sea. As stated in the remarks upon North Sea operations, the Danes were forced by Germany to close the Baltic by mining their own waters, leaving passages only known to the Ger-

man and Danish pilots, except close in to the Swedish coast. German mine fields were very freely spread over the southern part of the Baltic in addition to covering the approaches to all German ports. Of the Russian fields less is known, but it is certain that a very large number of Russian mines were placed, particularly in the gulfs of Riga and Finland, and merchant vessels and others were warned of fields covering the Russian coast and harbors south of Lat.  $58^{\circ} 50'$  N. and east of Long.  $21^{\circ}$  E.; also of mines in the channels of the Aland Archipelago. The difficulty of defending Libau and Windau against the German army was thoroughly understood and the ships, stores, and munitions held at these ports were transferred to Reval, Helsingfors, Kronstadt, and Riga. At Libau there is a dockyard of considerable importance, second only to Kronstadt in its capacity for repairs, but Windau was a torpedo-boat base only.

As soon as the relations with Russia became strained, German ships began to patrol the coast from Memel to the Gulf of Riga; on August 4, the light cruiser *Augsburg* bombarded Libau without effecting serious damage, and on the same day, a German expedition took possession of the Island of Aland, which lies in the straits connecting the Gulf of Bothnia with the Baltic and is only a short distance north of the Gulf of Finland.

On August 27, the German cruiser *Magdeburg* ran ashore in a fog on the Island of Odensholm and was blown up to avoid capture by an approaching Russian naval force. It was reported that early in September Admiral von Essen, who commanded the Russian fleet, painted a number of his vessels to imitate German ships, hoisted German colors, and contrived, in foggy weather,

to join a German scouting expedition unsuspected. At a convenient moment he opened fire, sank one German cruiser (said to be the *Augsburg*), and badly damaged another, while his destroyers severely handled the smaller craft. Before the Germans fully recovered from their surprise, he withdrew his force and escaped without material injury. On September 24, a German scouting expedition of about 40 vessels of all kinds appeared before Windau, but after firing a few shots retired.

On December 12, the German armored cruiser *Friedrich Karl* was sunk by a mine and on the 25th the old cruiser *Hertha* and a mine layer were attacked by Russian cruisers and reported sunk. The Russian submarines were now becoming effective and, notwithstanding the ice, were cruising in the Baltic; their first victim was a German torpedo boat sunk off Cape Moen, and, at about the same time and place, the German cruiser *Gazelle* was torpedoed and badly injured. During the remainder of the winter and the early spring the ice interfered with prosecuting operations of importance.

In June, 1915, the Germans began operations along the coast in support of the land forces. While endeavoring to lay mines in the way of the German fleet a Russian mine layer was discovered and sunk. On July 2, a Russian cruiser squadron drove off a German light cruiser of the *Augsburg* class and several destroyers and forced the mine layer *Albatross* to run ashore in a sinking condition. On the same day a British submarine is reported to have sunk a battleship of the *Pommern* class.

During the spring and summer of 1915, the Germans busied themselves in repairing and reëquipping Libau as a naval base and from there began operations against Riga. During the month

of August they made several attacks in force, but all failed. The Russian gunboats *Sivoutch* and *Koreetz* were destroyed and at least one German destroyer was sunk. British submarines had now reached the Baltic in considerable numbers, passing under the mine fields or through the Sound and along the Swedish coast. Their presence acted as a strong check on German operations, especially after the German armored cruiser *Prinz Adalbert* was sunk (October 23) off Libau. Early in November, a British cruiser squadron escorted a flotilla of submarines (estimates of observers range from 10 to 25) as far as the Skaw (north point of Denmark). From there they were accompanied by a destroyer flotilla until well past Elsinore and safely inside the Baltic. The Germans learned of the operation too late to prevent it. They had already placed a new mine field at the entrance to the Sound but the British seemed to have been able to avoid it.

The large number of British and Russian submarines in the spring of 1916 in the Baltic were said to have not only stopped German operations to the eastward of Danzig, but to have effected a completely successful blockade of the German coast against vessels coming from Sweden, many of which had been captured and sunk, or warned and turned back (if neutral), while a large number were loaded in Swedish ports but were afraid to venture out. This practically completed the British naval cordon about the Central Powers. On November 7, a British submarine sank the German cruiser *Undine*, and on December 19, another submarine sank the German cruiser *Bremen* and a torpedo boat.

For the chief operation of the German and Russian Baltic fleets in 1917,

consult MILITARY OPERATIONS, *Eastern Theatre*.

The mutinous spirit in the German navy, especially aroused by forced details to the submarine service, was shown at an uprising among the sailors at Kiel, on January 7, 1918, in which thirty-eight officers were reported killed. German accounts state that the sea raider *Wolf* safely reached a home port (believed to be Kiel) about April 1, after fifteen months of cruising in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. During the spring of 1918 there were various reports of the blowing up of Russian warships to prevent their falling into the hands of the Germans, but the reports were of doubtful authenticity; there is, however, no doubt that the commanding officers of the British submarines at Helsingfors blew up their boats in April or May, and escaped through Finland.

**Operations in the Mediterranean.** On the day after war was declared the German naval force in the Mediterranean bombarded undefended seaport towns in Algeria, the battle cruiser *Goeben* firing upon Philippeville and the light cruiser *Breslau* upon Bona. They then proceeded to Messina, Sicily, where they arrived on August 5. Being in a neutral port, they were required to depart within 24 hours; so, on the 6th, they left, steering south. Evading the British fleet which was seeking them, they were next heard of in the Dardanelles, where they arrived on August 11. Here they behaved to neutral steamers in a high-handed way which indicated German control of the Turkish government and foreshadowed the course taken by Turkey a short time later. To avoid immediate trouble for the Ottoman authorities they were supposedly sold to Turkey and renamed *Sultan Selim Javuz* and *Medilla*, but they apparently con-

tinued in command of German officers and retained a part at least of their German crews.

On August 9, Austria declared a blockade of the Montenegrin coast and bombarded Antivari. About the same date the French and British fleets established a blockade of the Austrian coast at the Strait of Otranto. The Austrians had placed mine fields all along their coast, but their first victim was one of their own ships, the *Baron Gautsch*, which struck a mine on the 14th and sank at once with a loss of 67 lives. About the middle of August, the French and British forces swept up the Adriatic, driving the Austrians to the northward. They then attempted to take Cattaro for a naval base, but lacked the military force for a garrison and shore operations, and therefore failed. After a few weeks of futile bombardment of Cattaro and the Austrian positions on the Dalmatian coast they returned to the vicinity of Otranto Strait but continued to send scouting expeditions up the Adriatic.

The peculiar behavior of Turkey and the reported mining of the Dardanelles caused a British force to be maintained in that region. While on this duty the armored cruiser *Warrior* ran ashore and was injured on September 7. On the 10th, Turkey abrogated the capitulations with foreign governments and, during the latter part of October, permitted her vessels to sink Russian ships of war and attack Odessa. *De facto* war was begun by the Entente Allies on November 1; on the 5th, Great Britain formally declared war on Turkey and annexed the Island of Cyprus. On December 18, England declared a suzerainty over Egypt. On the 21st, the French submarine *Curie* was sunk while scouting along the Austrian coast. On November 24, Italy landed a force



at Avlona to assist her protégé Essad Pasha against the Albanian insurrectionists.

In January, 1915, a Turkish army of about 12,000 men and six batteries of artillery attempted to seize the Suez Canal and then invade Egypt, where an insurrection had broken out fostered by Turkish emissaries. French and British vessels patrolling the canal succeeded in stopping the Turkish advance, and the operations at the Dardanelles then forced the recall of all available Turkish troops for the protection of Constantinople.

On February 24, the French destroyer *Dague* was sunk by a mine off Antivari. On April 28, the French armored cruiser *Léon Gambetta* was torpedoed by the Austrian submarine *U-5* and sank in 10 minutes. Rear Admiral Senes and all the officers were drowned, but 108 of the crew were picked up by French destroyers.

On May 24, Italy declared war on Austria; on the same day Austrian torpedo boats, supported by the light cruiser *Novara*, made a raid on the Italian coast, where they were first met by Italian destroyers and finally driven off by Italian cruisers. The Italian destroyer *Turbinia* was sunk early in the action. On June 10, the Italians captured Monfalcone with its shipbuilding yards.

On June 17 occurred a duel between an Austrian and an Italian submarine. As they approached, neither had any intimation of the presence of the other. The Italian boat, the *Medusa*, came to the surface first, swept the horizon with her periscope and, finding the vicinity clear, emerged. A few minutes later the Austrian decided to come up. When she sent up her periscope she saw the Italian boat close at hand and immediately torpedoed her. An officer and

four men of the *Medusa* who were on deck when she sank were made prisoners. On July 1, the Austrian submarine *U-11* was sunk by a French aeroplane. *U-11* (860 tons) was lying on the surface when the aeroplane swooped down to within 45 feet of the water and dropped two bombs on the deck which caused her to sink almost instantly.

On July 7, the Italian armored cruiser *Amalfi* was sunk by an Austrian submarine while scouting in the upper Adriatic; nearly all the officers and crew were saved. On July 18, the armored cruiser *Giuseppe Garibaldi* was sunk by an Austrian submarine and a few of the crew were drowned.

The advent of Italy into the war completed the control of the Adriatic by the Entente Allies and, on July 6, Italy clinched the situation by a proclamation closing it to all merchant vessels not possessing special permits. Soon after the loss of the *Garibaldi* the operations of the Austrian submarines were much hampered by the destruction of their base on Lagosta Island by the French destroyer *Bisson*.

On or about August 13, the Austrian submarines *U-3* and *U-12* were sunk by the Italians. *U-3* was destroyed by gunfire, but *U-12* was sunk in a duel with an Italian submarine which torpedoed it. According to a report from Berlin, German submarines in the Mediterranean had, up to October 17, sunk 23 vessels, including four British transports.

On September 28, a fire broke out on the Italian battleship *Benedetto Brin* while she was lying at anchor in Brindisi harbor. The fire was quickly followed by an explosion which destroyed the ship. Of her complement of over 800 officers and men, only 8 officers and 379 men are known to have been saved.

On November 1, British torpedo boat

No. 96 was sunk in collision at Gibraltar. On November 3, the British transport *Woodfield* was sunk by a submarine off the coast of Morocco; 6 passengers were killed and 14 wounded. About the same time the transport *Mercian* was attacked by gunfire from a submarine which probably had expended all its torpedoes. The *Mercian* was not sunk, but the casualties on board included 23 killed, 50 wounded, and 30 missing. On November 4, the French troopship *Calvados* was sunk by a submarine and between the 6th and 8th a submarine on the African coast sunk three small steamers, two Egyptian and one British. So far as reported only 53 of the 800 troops on the *Calvados* were saved. On December 5, the French submarine *Fresnel* ran aground while endeavoring to attack an Austrian light squadron. She was destroyed and her complement made prisoners. The Austrians report that at the same time they destroyed a small Italian cruiser.

During the month of December, the Italians landed a large force of troops in Albania. The expedition was most efficiently guarded against submarines and the only losses were the destroyer *Intrepido* and the troopship *Re Umberto*, which struck drifting mines. The loss of life in the two accidents was 43. In January, 1916, a cruiser of the *Novara* type was sunk by the French submarine *Foucault*.

The Italian dreadnought, *Leonardo da Vinci*, blew up in the harbor of Taranto on Aug. 2. The British transport, *Franconia*, was torpedoed on Oct. 5, and on Oct. 9, the French auxiliary cruiser, *Gallia*, was similarly sunk. The British ship *Britannic* was sunk by a mine in the Ægean Sea on November 21. On December 11, the Italian battleship, *Regina Margherita*, struck a

mine and sank and 675 lives were lost. In 1917, huge monitors operated successfully in the attack on the Carso and in the defense of Venice. Light Italian motor boats armed with torpedo tubes were able to sail over the mine fields of Trieste and Pola, and in December, 1917, they entered Trieste harbor and sank two cruisers of the *Wien* type.

The naval operations in the Adriatic during the year 1918 were very active. On December 9, 1917, Italian torpedo boats made a raid on Trieste, and sank the small battleship *Wien* (5500 tons), and injured another of the same class. On April 22, in a fight between two British and five Austrian destroyers, the former were reinforced, and the latter retreated to Durazzo, with the British in pursuit. On May 15, 1918, Italian torpedo boats made a raid on Pola, and sank the new dreadnought battleship *Tegetthoff* (20,000 tons), and on June 10, in a similar raid sank the *Szent Istvan*, and injured the *Prinz Eugen*—both sister ships to the *Tegetthoff*. On July 2, a flotilla of Italian destroyers attacked an Austrian light cruiser accompanied by destroyers and torpedo boats. In the running fight that followed the cruiser was thought to have been seriously injured.

**Operations in the Black Sea and Dardanelles.** There are strong grounds for the belief that, at the outbreak of war, the Turkish cabinet was opposed to taking part in it, but that, as time went on, the German influence increased until the opposing members were won over, silenced, or driven from power. Among other significant facts it may be noted that the mining of the Dardanelles was not reported until August 19, eight days after the arrival therein of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*. On October 10, Turkey abrogated the capitulations with foreign powers concerning the

jurisdiction of Turkish courts. By this time, doubtless the cabinet had agreed upon its action, but much time was required to mobilize the army, and it is doubtful if the cabinet was ready to act when the operations of the *Goeben* and the Germanized fleet in the Black Sea precipitated matters. The commander-in-chief of the Turkish navy was now Admiral Souchon (late of the *Goeben* and the German Mediterranean squadron), while hundreds of German officers and 3000 men were distributed among the vessels of the fleet.

The first operations took place on October 29, when the Turkish squadron bombarded several Russian ports. A destroyer entered Odessa harbor, torpedoed and sank the gunboat *Donetz* and badly injured the *Kubanetz* (a sister to the *Donetz*), four merchant steamers (three Russian and one French), then fired upon the suburbs for the purpose of destroying oil tanks, but set fire to a sugar factory instead. On the same day the *Medilla* (ex-*Breslau*) bombarded Theodosia, seriously injuring the cathedral and other buildings; and the *Hamidieh* threatened to bombard Novorossisk if the city refused to surrender, but contented herself with embarking the Turkish consul. On their way to Sebastopol the Turkish destroyers sunk the Russian mine layer *Pruth*. The next day (October 30), accompanied by destroyers, the *Goeben* bombarded Sebastopol. By the return fire of the forts she was so badly injured that the admiral collected the squadron and returned to Constantinople. On November 7, the *Medilla* bombarded the small Russian town of Poti, but did no great damage. On the same day Russian forces shelled the Turkish ports of Zonguidak and Koslu, sinking at the former place three transports loaded with aeroplanes, artillery, and

uniforms for 60,000 men; a colonel of the general staff, various German officers, and 248 soldiers were made prisoners. On November 17, the Russian squadron bombarded Trebizond, but without inflicting much damage.

On November 18 occurred the most important naval action that so far had taken place in the Black Sea. The Russian battleship division, returning from a cruise off the Anatolian coast, was about 30 miles from Sebastopol when the *Goeben* and *Breslau* were sighted. The *Evstafi* opened fire at about 8000 yards; the other ships following suit quickly. The Russians say that the *Goeben* was badly injured by the *Evstafi's* first salvo and was slow in opening fire; and that, after an action lasting 1½ minutes, she and her consort retreated towards Constantinople, being able to escape through their superiority in speed. As the *Goeben* did not appear in the Black Sea for some months afterward, the report of her injuries was possibly correct, though Turkish advices stated that, some little time after this battle, the *Goeben* was injured by striking a mine.

Early in December British submarines began to make their way through the Dardanelles. On December 13, the *B-11*, in command of Lieut. Norman D. Holbrook, entered the Dardanelles, dived underneath five rows of mines and torpedoed and sank the Turkish battleship *Messudieh*. This brilliant exploit was soon followed by others of a similar character.

During January the Russian fleet sank several Turkish vessels in the Black Sea, including a number of troopships and transports, and shelled the Turkish naval station at Sinope. On the 17th the French submarine *Saphir* was sunk by a mine in the Dardanelles.

About the middle of February the

combined British and French fleets began their fruitless attempt to force a passage of the Dardanelles. No operations in the whole course of the war were so poorly conceived and so inefficiently carried out. It is hard to understand the folly of the British government in embarking upon such an expedition. If there is one thing that is well understood in naval war it is the absurdity of attacking strong forts by ships without adequate military support. Even if the ships can drive out the garrison it will return as soon as the bombardment ceases. Unless the fortifications are badly placed, they cannot be wholly destroyed and the ravages of bombardment can be largely restored by a few days' work. Permanence of victory can only be obtained by occupying the works as soon as the defenders are expelled.

But this was not all. The Turks are an unready race. When the operations began they had not more than 10,000 men on the Gallipoli Peninsula, and these were inadequately supplied. The persistent attack of the Allied fleet showed the Turks that their enemies were in earnest in their endeavor to open the straits. Therefore the army on the peninsula was immediately increased in numbers until it is believed to have reached a strength of over 200,000 men, and supplies of all kinds were rushed to them. When the Allies finally landed their army it was too late; the defenders were ready for them. Even in their landing the Allies violated all strategic principles. Instead of coming with an overwhelming force and landing near the neck of the peninsula, where they could interrupt if not destroy the Turkish communications, they landed inadequate numbers near its extremity. Any gains made merely drove the Turks nearer to their base and strengthened

their means of resistance. This fatal mistake was not due to the army or navy on the ground, but to the lack of equipment of the expedition, which needed water tanks, water carts, hose, pumps, and other means of supplying water and other necessaries and, above all, more men. The net loss to the Allies was 100,000 men, six battleships, seven submarines, and many other vessels; also a tremendous loss of prestige, the addition of Bulgaria to the list of their enemies, the loss of Greece and Rumania to their side, the opening of Turkey to supplies of men and munitions from Germany, a vital hampering of Russian operations through the failure to open the straits for their grain and supplies, a renovation of the Turkish army, Turkish courage, and Turkish determination, the destruction of Serbia, and a prolongation of the war by many months. The only gain was a temporary recall of the Turkish troops sent to invade Egypt. As this expedition was as ill-planned as were the British operations at the Dardanelles, its success was impossible and its recall unimportant.

As already stated, the operations began in February. Several bombardments of the forts were carried out and considerable injury inflicted upon them. The ships, much hampered by bad weather outside, then entered the straits for closer work. On March 18, the British battleships *Ocean* and *Irresistible* and the French battleship *Bouvet* were sunk by mines and the British battle cruiser *Inflexible* badly injured by gunfire. The plan of forcing the passage by battleships was then given up and the second phase of the operations soon began. In the meantime the British submarine *AE-2* was sunk in the Sea of Marmora, the *E-15* run ashore and destroyed in the Dardanelles, and the

Turkish cruiser *Medjidieh* sunk by a mine near Odessa (she was refloated in May by the Russians). Late in April the British and French troops were landed under fire at the Dardanelles. On May 12, the British battleship *Goliath* was sunk by a Turkish destroyer in a night attack; the battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic* were sunk by submarines a few days later, the former on the 22d, the latter on the 27th. The British submarines were very active at this time in the Black Sea and Sea of Marmora, sinking many vessels, chiefly transports and troopships, but on August 8 they sank the old Turkish battleship *Kheyr-ed-din Barbarossa* and the Turkish gunboat *Berk-i-Satvet*. The commander of one submarine swam ashore and destroyed a bridge on the Turkish line of communications; this was done in the actual presence of the Turkish patrol. In June the German *U-51* was sunk in the Black Sea and the German submarine base at Smyrna destroyed.

About August 1, the French submarine *Mariotte* was sunk. During the summer many British transports and troopships were destroyed by German submarines, the most important being the troopship *Royal Edward*, which was sent to the bottom on August 14 with the loss of 800 lives; but the sinking of the troopships *Ramazan* (Br.) and the *Marquette* (Fr.) were disasters almost equally great.

In the Black Sea the Russians seemed to have been unable to blockade or capture the *Medilla* (ex-Breslau) or the *Hamidieh*. In October the *Sultan Selim Javuz* (ex-Goeben) appeared again in the Black Sea but accomplished nothing of importance and seemed to be partly disabled. On November 3, the French submarine *Turquoise* was sunk by gunfire in the Sea of Marmora; on

the 5th the British submarine *E-20* was reported missing and *E-7* as sunk. On November 10, the British destroyer *Louis* was sunk.

The Dardanelles operations were now admitted to be a failure, and the British began to transfer their troops to Saloniki. The operations in the Black Sea still continued but by the summer of 1916 had become of no special importance since the Turkish navy had been reduced to impotence. On Oct. 20, 1916, the *Imperatrissa Marie*, a Russian dreadnought, blew up. In 1917 over 200 Turkish sailing vessels were destroyed by the Russian fleet.

Many of the officers and men of the Black Sea Fleet refused to recognize the authority of the Bolshevik leaders, Lenine and Trotsky. This resulted in several battles between the two factions which usually ended disastrously for the anti-Bolshevik men. The final one of several massacres consisted in the murder of sixty officers, and an unknown number of men, who resisted the attempts to reduce the ship to impotence. This completed, the ships were surrendered to the Germans on June 10, 1918. The Turkish cruiser *Medjidieh*, which had been sunk in action, and afterwards raised and repaired by the Russians, was returned to the Turks.

**Cruiser Operations in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans.** At the outbreak of war the only German vessels beyond the reach of home ports were the battle cruiser *Goeben*, the armored cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, the fast cruisers *Karlsruhe*, *Breslau*, *Emden*, *Dresden*, *Nurnberg*, *Königsberg*, *Leipzig*, and a number of small cruisers and gunboats. To these were quickly added several fast merchant steamers, the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, *Cap Trafalgar*, and *Spree-*

wald. These had their armaments on board or in German colonial ports.

The operations of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* are described elsewhere in this article. The *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* were, after the *Goeben*, the most important vessels on the list and were under the command of Vice Admiral Count von Spee, the only German flag officer outside of European waters. After the commencement of hostilities these vessels were first heard of at Tahiti, where they bombarded the port of Papeete and sunk the French gunboat *Zéléc*. The *Nurnberg*, after cutting the America-Australia cable at Fanning Island, joined Von Spee's squadron. He then proceeded to the west coast of South America, where he met the *Dresden* and *Leipzig*.

On the afternoon of Nov. 1, 1914, Rear Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock,\* with a squadron consisting of the armored cruisers *Good Hope* (14d-2g9.2,16g6-23k) and *Monmouth* (10d-14g6-23k), the fast light cruiser *Glasgow* (4.8d-2g6,10g4-26k), and the armed merchant steamer *Otranto*, was off the Chilean coast searching for German cruisers. The old battleship *Canopus* (13d-4g12-18k) was near at hand and proceeding to a rendezvous to join the squadron. About 4.20 p. m. smoke was seen to the northward and soon afterward Von Spee's squadron, consisting of the *Scharnhorst* (11.4d-8g8.2,6g5.9-23k), *Gneisenau* (same), unarmored cruisers *Dresden* (3.6d-10g4.1-24k), *Leipzig* (3.2d-10g4.1-23k), and *Nurnberg* (3.4d-10g4.1-24k), was sighted heading south. Cra-

\* SIR CHRISTOPHER CRADOCK (1862-1914), born at Hartforth, Yorkshire; served in the Sudan, China, etc.; rear admiral (1910); K.C.V.O. (1912); commander of training squadron (1912); received several awards for saving life; published *Sporting Notes in the Far East* (1889), *Wrinkles in Seamanship* (1894), *Whispers from the Fleet* (1907).

dock seems to have much overestimated the fighting power of his squadron (especially in the heavy sea which was running) or underestimated that of the Germans. At any rate, he sent a wireless message to the *Canopus* at 6.18 saying: "I am going to attack the enemy now," ordered the speed increased to 17 knots, and headed to the south-east, the Germans being between the British and the coast. At 7.03, the enemy opened fire at about 11,500 yards, quickly followed by the British. The superiority of the German ships was at once apparent. The heavy seas made it almost impossible to work the British 6-inch guns on the lower decks (and most of them were on that deck), and one of the *Good Hope's* 9.2-inch pieces was put out of action very early in the fight. Fires broke out in the forward turrets of the *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* at about the third German salvo, possibly from accumulated ammunition. At 7.50 a tremendous explosion occurred on the *Good Hope* amidships, the flames reaching an altitude of 200 feet. The *Monmouth* was already out of action, down by the head, and leaking badly. The night had become so dark that for some time the Germans aimed at the flames on the doomed vessels, both of which had ceased firing altogether before 8 o'clock. A rain squall coming up added to the difficulty of pointing the guns, so Von Spee signaled the light cruisers to attack the enemy's ships with torpedoes. The *Good Hope* could not be found and had probably gone down, but the *Nurnberg* discovered the *Monmouth* and, by gunfire at close range, caused her to capsized. In the darkness and thick weather the *Glasgow* and *Otranto* got away without difficulty. As this fight took place in a very rough sea, it is doubtful if the *Good Hope* could use

more than four of her sixteen 6-inch guns or the *Monmouth* more than five of her 14. The disabling of one of the 9.2-inch guns of the flagship by a lucky shot hastened the catastrophe.

The result of the action created a profound excitement in Europe, particularly in England, and added much to the prestige of the German navy. The British Admiralty immediately took steps to meet the situation by secretly dispatching a squadron under Vice Admiral Sturdee in pursuit of Von Spee. This consisted of the battle cruisers *Invincible* (17d-8g12-27k), *Inflexible* (same), the armored cruisers *Carnarvon* (10.8d-4g7.5, 6g6-23k), *Cornwall* (same as *Monmouth*), *Kent* (same), the fast cruiser *Bristol* (sister to the *Glasgow*), and the *Macedonia* (10,500 tons), supply steamer. At some rendezvous on the South American coast they were joined by the *Canopus* and *Glasgow*. About 8 o'clock on the morning of December 8, while Sturdee was coaling in the adjacent harbors of ports William and Stanley, Falkland Islands, the leading ships of the German squadron were sighted. Knowing nothing of the battle cruisers, the Germans came leisurely on, apparently intent upon destroying the wireless station. At 9.20, they were within 11,000 yards and the *Canopus*, still at anchor, opened fire on them over the lowland. They then turned to the southeast to rejoin the main body which immediately proceeded to the eastward at full speed. At 9.45, the British squadron came out and started in chase. About 1 P.M. the *Invincible* and the *Inflexible* began firing on the rear ships of the German column and a little later were able to reach the armored vessels and leave the others to the cruisers. About 3.30, the *Scharnhorst* changed course about 10 points (112.5 degrees) to starboard, presum-

ably to bring her starboard battery into action, because of injury to her port guns, or to repair damages. At 4.04, she began to list heavily to port and at 4.17, sank with all hands. The *Gneisenau* continued the hopeless fight, though after 5 o'clock she was hors de combat. At 6 P.M., she heeled very suddenly and sank. About 100 survivors were picked up. These state that the ammunition had given out, although by the time it was exhausted over 600 of the complement had been killed or wounded. Of the German light cruisers, the *Leipzig* was sunk by the fire of the *Glasgow* and *Cornwall* about 9 P.M. and the *Nurnberg* by that of the *Kent* at 7.27. Seven officers and 18 men were saved from the two ships; many others lost their lives through being chilled by the coldness of the water. The *Dresden*, which escaped, was discovered off the island of Juan Fernandez on March 14, 1915, by the *Glasgow*, *Kent*, and auxiliary cruiser *Orama*. After an action of five minutes' duration she surrendered, but was on fire and soon afterward blew up. The *Dresden's* cruise as a commerce destroyer was not very eventful. After leaving the West Indies she sank the British steamer *Hyades* off Pernambuco about August 22 and the *Holmwood* near Rio de Janeiro, August 29. After her escape from the battle of the Falklands, she sank the *Conway Castle* off Chile on February 27.

Of all the German cruisers the *Emden* (3.6d-10g4.1-24k) had the most spectacular and successful career. On August 1, she left Tsingtao. On the 6th she captured a vessel of the Russian volunteer fleet and sent her into Tsingtao. She then went to the southward. On September 16, the British S.S. *Kabinga* arrived at Calcutta with the crews of five others that had been cap-

tured and sunk by the *Emden*, which was now accompanied by the German auxiliary cruiser *Markomannia* and the Greek collier *Pontoporos*. Several British and French cruisers were at once started after her. On September 16, she coaled in False Bay and on September 18, sank the *Clan Matheson*. On the 22d, she appeared off Madras and shelled and set fire to the oil tanks of the Burma Oil Company. On the 24th, she reached Pondicherry after sinking five more British steamers. On her way around Ceylon, in three days, she sank five British steamers and captured a collier with 7000 tons of Welsh coal. She then went to the Maldivé Islands, which she left on October 1. She spent the 5th to the 10th at Diego Garcia, Chagos Islands, cleaning her bottom and boilers. Leaving her tenders to proceed to some unknown rendezvous, she went to the vicinity of the Laccadive Islands, where she sank five steamers and a dredger, and captured another collier, but sank it also after filling her bunkers. On October 16, her tenders were captured by the British cruiser *Yarmouth*. At early daylight of October 29, with a dummy fourth smokepipe she entered Penang harbor (1700 miles from the Laccadives), her hostile character wholly unsuspected, sank the Russian cruiser *Jemtchug* and a French destroyer, and escaped without injury. On November 9, she approached the Cocos Islands to destroy the wireless station. Before she could effect a landing, the operators signaled her appearance broadcast and the report was picked up by the convoy of some Australian troopships bound to the Suez Canal and not far away. The cruiser *Sydney* (5.4d-8g6-26k) was detached to chase her, and came in sight while the *Emden* was waiting for her landing party. Leaving these men be-

hind, she attempted to escape, but the *Sydney* was faster and carried a heavier battery so that in a short time she was badly injured and forced to run ashore. Of the 361 in her complement, all except 10 officers and 198 men were killed or drowned. Among those saved, fortunately, was her distinguished captain, Commander Karl von Müller, whose conduct throughout the cruise was brave, skillful, and chivalrous. During her remarkable career of 94 days the *Emden* captured or sank 30 vessels, destroyed \$25,000,000 worth of enemy property, almost paralyzed the commerce of the East, and had 19 war vessels of the enemy seeking her.

The *Königsberg* (3.4d-10g4.1-24k) was less successful. After a cruise of two months along the South African coast, in which she destroyed several British merchant ships and the small cruiser *Pegasus*, she was blockaded in the Rufiji River, German East Africa. After several attempts, she was finally destroyed by a British expedition on July 11, 1915.

The *Karlsruhe* (4.8d-12g4.1-27k) operated in the Atlantic. Up to Oct. 24, 1914, she had captured and destroyed 17 British vessels.

Of the German armed merchant steamers, the *Spreewald* was captured by the armored cruiser *Berwick* on September 12. The *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* had a still shorter career, being sunk on Aug. 7, 1914, by the British cruiser *Highflyer*. On October 14, the *Cap Trafalgar*, which was beginning to interfere with the British trade to South America, was sunk by the British armed steamer *Carmania*, late of the Cunard line. The *Kronprinz Wilhelm* and the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, after long and successful cruises as commerce destroyers, entered United States waters and were interned at Norfolk. The *U-53*



entered the harbor of Newport, R. I., Oct. 7, 1916, delivered a letter to the German Ambassador and torpedoed three British and two neutral steamships just outside the 3-mile limit. In January, 1917, a raider sank 30 ships worth \$20,000,000 in the South Atlantic. In August, the *Seeadler* was wrecked near the Fiji Islands after sinking several ships.

Immediately after war was declared, the Entente Allies began perfecting arrangements for the capture of German colonies. On Aug. 7, Togoland was seized by land forces. On Aug. 27, Japan declared a blockade of Kiaochow, and on Nov. 7, Tsingtao, the German stronghold in China, surrendered to the Allied forces—chiefly Japanese. Early in August, a New Zealand expedition sailed for Samoa. At Noumea, the convoy—which was a weak one—became strengthened by the battle cruiser *Australia* (19d-8g12-27k) and the cruiser *Melbourne* (sister to the *Sydney*) of the Australian navy, and the French armored cruiser *Montcalm* (9.5d-2g7.6,8g6.4-21k). The expedition arrived at Apia on August 30 and the German Governor surrendered at once as he had practically no means of resistance. On its return from Samoa, the Australian squadron captured Herbertshöhe, the capital of the Bismarck Archipelago, and, on September 27, took possession of the town of Friedrich Wilhelm in Kaiser Wilhelm's Land (German New Guinea). During September and October, Australian and Japanese expeditions seized the remaining German possessions in the Ladrone, Marshall, and Caroline Islands. Late in 1917, Japanese sailors were landed in Vladivostok to preserve order and protect Japanese subjects, and early in 1918 American and Japanese troops were sent there to prevent the use of

the port and railway, and the seizure of the munitions in store by the Bolsheviks. In January, 1918, German officers and men from the interned German steamer, *Graf von Lüttwitz*, seized a Dutch submarine, killing one of the guard, and put to sea. The boat was quickly followed by Dutch and Allied cruisers, but her subsequent career is unknown. In February, the German commerce-destroying raider *Wolf* returned to a home port (believed to be Kiel) after a cruise of fifteen months in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, in which she destroyed eleven ships (six British, three American, one Japanese, one Spanish), of an aggregate gross tonnage of 32,864. The *Wolf's Cub* (ex-*Igotz Mendi*), which had accompanied her as a lightly-armed auxiliary, ran ashore on the Danish coast and was wrecked. In February or March, a gasoline motor boat, the *Alexander Agassiz*, which had been previously sold to unknown purchasers and fitted out at Mazatlan as a German raider, was seized at sea by an American patrol ship, and carried to an American port. In March, a mine field in which the mines were of the latest German type, was discovered off the coast of New South Wales, Australia. These mines were presumably laid by some "neutral" vessel, and extended for five miles along the ordinary trade route. Early in March, 1918, one of the *Wolf's* prizes, the *Turritella*, which she had turned into a mine-planter, was discovered. Laying mines off Perim Island, at the entrance to the Red Sea. She had a deck force of Germans, but had retained the original engineer's force of Chinese. When the Germans saw that capture was inevitable, they took to the boats, and blew up the ship, while the Chinese were still below. They were taken to Bombay to be tried

for murder. On July 12, the Japanese dreadnought battleship *Kawachi* (20,800 tons) was destroyed by an internal explosion while at anchor in Tokoyama Bay; the entire complement of 960 officers and men are said to have been killed or drowned.

For a discussion of blockade and the submarine warfare against noncombatants, see the section in this article headed NEUTRAL NATIONS.

**Naval Strategy of the War.** There is much reason to believe that Germany strongly hoped for the continued neutrality of Great Britain and her original naval plans are said to have been based on this supposition. The High Seas fleet was off the coast of Norway, leaving behind it in the Baltic a sufficient force to hold the Russian navy in check. Had England not entered the war, the High Seas fleet would have proceeded to the west coast of France, defeated the inferior French fleet, and established a base for the landing of an army of large size in the French rear. The advent of England changed all this. The High Seas fleet was withdrawn to the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal and a submarine warfare begun. With this, it was hoped to reduce the British forces to a size that would render victory possible. But the British battle fleet kept behind defenses that were submarine proof and instituted a blockade and antisubmarine warfare by means of unimportant vessels. Raids in force on the British coast only served to bring into view the battle-cruiser squadron and its speed and skillful handling prevented submarines from scoring. In the meantime, the British were building battleships, cruisers, and submarines at a rate of speed that the Germans could not equal. After six months, during which the naval conditions were becoming less and less favorable to Germany,

submarine warfare against British commerce was commenced, but this failed seriously to check British trade and was almost as costly to Germany as to her enemies. The Mediterranean field was then exploited as affording a better chance to avoid antisubmarine warfare and giving some support to the Balkan and Asiatic operations; but this transfer of submarine activity did not seriously hamper the Entente Allies or facilitate their own work.

The total effect of the German naval strategy upon the conduct of the war therefore was small and that strategy may be regarded as a failure. Should England strip herself of effective troops too closely at any time, an invasion might be attempted as a last resort. A preliminary success would add to the invading army all the German prisoners in England and they would only need arms and ammunition to create a serious condition of affairs. To secure such a result, the sacrifice of the German fleet might not be too great.

The main principles of British naval strategy appeared to be: (*a*) to hold the German fleet blockaded and be prepared at all times to give battle and bring into action forces superior to any which may have to be met; (*b*) to protect the British coast against an invasion in force; (*c*) to effect a commercial blockade (not declared) of Germany and prevent the importation of supplies of any kind or the exportation of wares, which could be sold for cash or exchanged for a desirable equivalent; (*d*) to protect British trade and destroy all German cruisers or other vessels that might interfere with it; (*e*) to facilitate and assist in the military operations of the Entente Allies and hamper those of the enemy.

The tactical operations occasionally failed but the strategical objectives

were attained except in the case of the Dardanelles. The mistakes made in this dismal failure are elsewhere considered. See *Operations in the Black Sea and Dardanelles*.

**Some Naval Lessons of the War.**  
*Submarines.*—The exact value of the submarine as a weapon of war is not yet determined though it is unquestionably great. It is certainly an antagonist to be feared by all surface ships, but it is by no means so dangerous as many once thought it. Its most serious weakness is its vulnerability. If rammed with much force or struck by a single small shell it will sink, but double hulls and submerged water-tight decks may, in future large boats, greatly improve their ability to stand punishment. While it is being improved and rendered more effective and dangerous, so are its foes. The most important of these are the destroyer and the aeroplane; but under certain conditions the wire (in many cases, tubing) net and the swift motor boat are most efficient. As the immediate cause of destruction of submarines the destroyer ranks first, but the aeroplane can sight a submarine when too deeply immersed to show her periscope and thus warn surface vessels of her exact locality; in several instances during the war, aeroplanes sunk submarines by dropping bombs on them. Among the important qualities of the submarine are its suitability for secret scouting, its capacity for defense against a close blockade, and its availability for protecting surface ships against the enemy's submarines.

*Battleships and Battle Cruisers.*—Battleships did not receive a proper test in the war. Battle cruisers are in great favor and are found to be of inestimable value in many ways, but they are not able to stand very much punishment.

*Torpedo.*—The German short-range torpedo, with its enormous bursting charge, is a very deadly weapon, rarely failing to sink the enemy. Long-range torpedoes of the future are likely to be larger than existing types and have heavier bursting charges. Against the disruptive effect of so great an amount of explosive no method of subdivision of hull is adequate and some other means must be devised if surface battleships are to continue in use. On some of their old cruisers the British built external coffer dams along the sides. These greatly reduced the speed and their efficiency against torpedoes was not tested so far as known.

*Old Battleships and Cruisers.*—All the belligerent navies have found much use for old ships that were no longer fit for their designed purposes. In future, such craft are likely to be retained much longer than was hitherto considered desirable.

*Monitors.*—As a support to military operations, light-draft monitors have proved to be valuable. Their low speed in connection with small draft renders possible adequate hull protection against torpedoes, and their draft enables them to get close in shore where the ordinary battleships could not operate.

*Light Cruisers* are all now fitted with thin armor belts at the water line and the value of this is said to have been demonstrated, especially when scouting against destroyers. The necessity of the highest practicable speed is unquestionable and the battery, instead of many small guns, should consist of a less number of larger ones.

*Bombardment of Forts.*—The futility of bombarding forts with ships, unless an adequate landing force is available to take advantage of the work of the ship's guns, has been conclusively

shown in the past and received another convincing proof at the Dardanelles.

*Air Craft.*—The value of air craft as scouts for their fleet was clearly demonstrated, and further important uses indicated, though as yet untried. As detectors of submarines, aëroplanes are invaluable adjuncts to a fleet. Airships are also valuable, but as constructed at present, large ones can only operate from a base on shore. See section on AÉRIAL OPERATIONS.

*Big Guns and High Angle of Eleva-*

*tion.*—Perhaps the most definite of the lessons of the war was the dominance of the big gun. Its greater range and destructive power gave the victory in every instance at sea in which the fight lasted to a finish. But, in the battle off the Falklands, the high elevation which it was possible to give the German 8.2-inch guns enabled them to open fire almost as soon as the 12-inch pieces of their opponents; and, in the battles in the North Sea, the advantage of high angle of elevation was again noted.

## VI. AËRIAL OPERATIONS

The outbreak of the war found the Great Powers of Europe ready and anxious to make immediate application of aëronautics to their respective military and naval operations. That all were inadequately prepared on the score of equipment and trained personnel the opening weeks of the war soon showed, and early the demands likely to be made on the aërial services were clearly indicated. But in no field did developments follow more rapidly, and as early as the Germans undertook the invasion of Belgium and France it was realized that aëroplane and airship had worked materially to change the nature and scope of military operations and to render obsolete tactics and movements that long had prevailed in warfare. By affording to scouts and intelligence officers a complete view of the enemy's territory, the disposition and movement of his troops and fleets, and his permanent or even his most temporary defenses, surprise or flanking movements were rendered practically impossible. With both sides adequately informed as to the forces of their adversaries through constant aërial scouting and reconnoissance, the tendency towards trench fighting and the protracted sieges and bombardments of the western front was as pronounced as it was inevitable. The direction and control of fire from an observation or kite balloon or aëroplane early became an indispensable feature of the work of the artillery. The tactical changes wrought by the use of air craft were stupendous, and the service of security and information by aërial observers and range finding for the ar-

tillery became essential features of the everyday work of the forces in the field. In addition there were raids by aëroplane and airship to drop explosive or incendiary bombs on fortified positions, moving columns, railway trains, supply depots or munitions works, or on war-ships, submarines, and transports.

Such activities on the part of the airmen soon became so valuable in a military sense that the prevention of these efforts was essential, and this naturally led to the development of the purely combative side of aërial warfare, which soon passed from individual duels in the air to savage actions often at close range participated in by a number of aëroplanes of different types, where battle tactics of an elementary form were evolved as a result of training and drill to secure harmony of action.

Naturally this led to increased armament and armoring of the aëroplanes, and the calibre of the rapid-fire gun that soon took the place of the automatic pistol became greater, so that by 1916 an air battle was indeed a serious matter, and the protection of fuel tanks and machinery and the design of machines to withstand as much penetration of the wings as possible figured prominently, as indeed did the entire question of design and construction for power, carrying capacity, speed, ease of manœuvring, and general reliability. Remarkable advances were realized, along with wholesale demands which taxed the facilities for manufacture in the belligerent nations as well as in America.

Flying corps existing in armies and

navies were on the outbreak of the war greatly augmented and preparations made to train vast numbers of aviators. It was estimated that the various belligerent nations on the outbreak of the war possessed about 5,000 aëroplanes and 109 dirigibles. Naturally Germany, where some 12 Zeppelins and about 23 Parseval and Gross airships and about 1,000 aëroplanes were available at the beginning of the war, was preëminent as regards numbers and trained pilots and observers; but here the policy of standardization and organization contributing so much to her efficiency in other fields was not of corresponding avail. A year's service, even less, demonstrated that much of the equipment so carefully assembled and standardized soon became obsolete and inferior with respect to the rapid developments that war conditions were bringing out for the Allies.

While the Germans had trained men in their aviation corps the French, with perhaps some 31 airships of nonrigid or semirigid types and possibly 1200 military aëroplanes of different design, had fewer enrolled aviators at the outbreak of the war in actual service, but had a large number of expert civilians and their machines to call upon, so that soon there was organized a body of men whose equipment, both available and rapidly supplied, represented the note of progress ever peculiar to the French in this field. The organization and drill of the various units was done with remarkable military skill and care.

Great Britain, distinctly inferior in organization and equipment as well as numbers, for its aëroplanes hardly totaled 500, and its dirigibles but 15, at the beginning of the war endeavored speedily to repair these deficiencies, and while the defensive efforts to repel the Zeppelin raids were crowned with but

moderate success, British aviators at the front and at sea achieved a good record. Russia with 16 small airships and perhaps 800 aëroplanes, many of which were in poor shape, suffered from an inadequacy of equipment, while in Austria and Italy from the outset aërial war was waged by both Powers with a fair degree of preparation.

Aërial activity in war became not only important but indispensable under modern conditions, yet it did not have a direct and primary effect on the progress of the war itself comparable, let us say, to the activity of the submarine. Indirectly the influence of air craft on warfare proved enormous, but four years of experience indicated that there was but little direct military advantage in the attempts at wholesale destruction of noncombatants, buildings, and material by aëroplane and dirigible, although in the summer of 1916 the discharge of high explosives on the German trenches aided considerably the attacks of the Allies. The numerous air raids over Great Britain resulted in little positive military advantage, and the "frightfulness" that they were to inspire soon gave way to a feeling of intense irritation on the part of the invaded. That they were solely for the purpose of destruction by way of reprisal or otherwise was not believed by many military and naval authorities, even British, who urged that the raids were a part of an elaborate and highly developed system of reconnoissance carried on in connection with naval operations, especially by submarines and raiding cruisers, with whom they were in communication through wireless. Nevertheless these raids were of special significance, as they indicated future possibilities in the way of invasion and a menace that was ever at hand, and naturally they bulk large in

any history of the war. Accordingly it may be desirable to consider some of the more effective raids on the great cities and at considerable distances from home bases.

Early in the war various places were attacked with bombs dropped from aëroplanes and dirigibles, and naturally such incidents aroused widespread interest for their novelty. At first some pretense was made to comply with Article 25, Annex to Hague Convention, Oct. 19, 1907, which declared "The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings which are undefended, is prohibited." The addition of the words "by whatever means" was for the purpose of making it clear that the bombardment of these undefended places from balloons or aëroplanes was prohibited. This rule was ratified without reservations among other countries by Belgium, France, and Great Britain, as well as the United States, and with reservations by Germany, Russia, and Austria. The declaration (Oct. 18, 1907) to prohibit "for a period extending to the close of the Third Peace Conference the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other new methods of a similar nature" was ratified among other nations by Great Britain, Belgium, and the United States. Germany, France, Austria, and Russia refused to ratify.

It was claimed that cities like Paris and London were in reality fortified camps, or equivalent thereto, and as such were liable to attack without warning; while if civilians were killed when towns supposed to contain supply stations, railway centres, palaces, or headquarters were bombed the injuries were to be considered incidental rather than intended. The raid of the Allies on Freiburg, e.g., which was said to be un-

fortified, was considered by the Germans an act in violation of the rules of war and led to reprisals. The bombing of hospitals and buildings protected by Red Cross flags figured also in the charges and recriminations that these aërial attacks provoked.

In the early weeks of the war a Zeppelin dropped bombs over Antwerp, and at the end of August and on September 1, 2, and 3, 1914, Taube monoplanes made daily visits to Paris, where, as in London, all street and other lights were extinguished and means hastily improvised to defend the city by searchlight and anti-aircraft guns as well as to organize special fire-fighting facilities to deal with the results of incendiary bombs. On Oct. 11, 1914, another raid was made on Paris and bombs were dropped, some of which fell on the cathedral of Notre Dame, while others damaged streets, sewers, and the underground railway, besides causing the deaths of some three persons and injuries to 14. In the meantime the aërial defense of the city was being developed, but on March 22, 1915, another raid was made on Paris, which, while resulting in little damage, nevertheless emphasized the need of a more complete system of defense. This was organized under General Hirschauer, former chief of the aëronautical department, and after it had been developed Paris was free from attack for many months. There was a system of central control with the battle front, aviation parks, and other stations connected by telephone, and frequent anti-aircraft batteries, many mounted on high-speed motors, not to mention searchlight and observing stations equipped with microphonic detectors, were provided at carefully chosen points. There were a number of completely equipped aëroplane stations each ready to send aloft its

complement of machines at a moment's notice. A patrol was maintained with the *aéroplanes* flying at different levels, drilled to intercept a hostile machine from both above and below.

Naturally an air attack on the British Isles was the goal aimed at by the Germans. Various reconnoissances were made by the Germans in connection with the flights on the western front and the observation of the British navy, but it was not until Dec. 5, 1914, that the reporting of a German *aéroplane* over Dover brought home to the British the reality of *aërial* danger. On December 24, bombs were dropped on Dover, and the following day a German biplane dropping bombs near Chatham was engaged by three British machines and was driven down the Thames, presumably to its destruction, as later the body of a German aviator was found near the river mouth. But the first serious raid on Britain was on the evening of Jan. 19, 1915, and was directed against Yarmouth, Sandringham, and other points on the Norfolk coast. This raid evidently was designed to test the capabilities of the Zeppelins for extended service, yet even at the time it was thought by English naval critics to be for the purpose of securing information as to the British fleet and for possible bomb dropping on shipyards and iron-works. This raid was but a beginning, for by June 1, 1915, the metropolitan section of London was reached and considerable damage was done, four lives being lost, while on June 6 another raid attended by casualties was made on the east coast of England, and again on June 15, on this last 16 persons being killed and 40 injured. Little of this nature then happened, save for a raid on Harwich, until Aug. 9, 1915, when a raid in considerable force was made, and bombs were dropped on warships

in the Thames, on London docks, on torpedo boats near Harwich, and on military posts on the Humber. This raid was the forerunner of the activity promised by Count Zeppelin in the previous spring, when he stated that by the following August there would be available 15 airships of a new type. The casualties of this raid, on which some five airships started, were stated at 25, about half of which were deaths, while a number of fires were set.

Following this raid came one on the night of August 12 against Harwich, where 6 were killed and 17 wounded, while a squadron of 4 Zeppelins in another raid over the English east coast killed 10 and wounded 36 besides damaging various houses and other buildings. This was the eighteenth raid on Great Britain, making a total of 85 killed and 267 injured by bombs. The attacks of the Zeppelins reached perhaps a climax on September 8-9 when the heart of London was reached, and the Zeppelins flying over Trafalgar Square were distinctly visible from the street. The casualties of this raid were given as 20 killed, 14 seriously injured, and 74 slightly wounded, while the material damage was considerable. These raids continued during September over parts of the eastern counties. On October 13-14 London was again attacked by Zeppelins, which, fearful of searchlight and gunfire, flew very high with a corresponding effect on the accuracy of their bomb dropping. The roll of casualties included 46 killed and 114 wounded. For a few months now there was a lull in the *aërial* attacks on Great Britain, but the most serious raid came on the night of Jan. 31, 1915, when six or seven Zeppelins passed over the midland counties, dropping over 300 bombs and generally terrorizing the inhabitants, the aim being to strike a blow at



the industrial centres. Here 61 were killed and 101 injured, and the total number of the killed for 29 raids since the beginning of the war was 266. Beginning March 31, 1916, air raids were made over Great Britain for five successive nights and not only the eastern counties but even Scotland and the northeast coast were visited and bombs dropped. In one of these raids the Zeppelin *L-15* suffering severely from gunfire was forced to descend and was captured by the British.

The aerial defense of Great Britain came in for considerable criticism both within and without Parliament and unfavorable comparison with that maintained in France was made, but there were fundamental differences in the nature of the problem. Paris was behind a carefully guarded military frontier and all approaches were by land, while Great Britain, surrounded by water and often enveloped in fog, presented a much better opportunity for attack given an aeroplane or airship that could maintain itself in air long enough for a sustained flight. Many Englishmen urged that too much had been done for defense and not enough in the way of offensive movements against the Zeppelins in their home ports and stations.

Such raids as those described stand out apart from their actual military significance, but they must not be allowed to eclipse the daily routine and the ever-increasing number of frequent combats on all the battle fronts of this great war. What was remarkable at the beginning of the war, such as visits of the German Taubes to Paris in August, 1914, or the bomb dropping by a Zeppelin on Antwerp on September 1, of the same year, soon became commonplace as did the bombing of the German hangars at Düsseldorf and Cologne by the Allies later in the month. At-

tacks on Friedrichshafen by the British and on Freiberg by the French followed, while a British raid on Cuxhaven on Dec. 25, 1914, was an early example of a number of aeroplanes working together. Aerial attacks and reconnoissances in force became more frequent, ever on a larger scale and with greater elaboration of organization as well as with more powerful and more heavily armed machines. To deprive the enemy of the services of aviators and machines and to prevent their use for purposes of advantage now became a prime military necessity with a direct bearing on operations. Patrols were maintained more effectively, the service of security and information carried on daily in spite of hostile interference, while for the gunners in and behind the trenches ranges and directions were observed in the unprecedented bombardments that took place from time to time. Bombing raids by aeroplanes were organized on a large scale by the French especially with their heavier machines and many of these were very successful. While both sides continually lost many aeroplanes in actual fighting, the Germans suffered severely with respect to their Zeppelins by accident as well as by gun fire. The first Zeppelin to succumb as the result of aeroplane attack was on June 7, 1915, when a Canadian aviator, Sublieut. R. A. J. Warneford, R.N., in a Morane monoplane encountered the German airship *LZ-38* flying at a height of about 6,000 feet between Ghent and Brussels. Getting directly above the Zeppelin he was able to land a bomb squarely on the envelope so that the resulting explosion entirely destroyed the dirigible. There were further accidents to the German Zeppelins during the autumn and early winter of 1915, the Russians destroying an airship by artillery fire near Kalkun on the Libau-Benin

Railway on December 5. Another notable achievement was the bringing down of the German naval Zeppelin LZ-77 by an incendiary shell from a 77-mm. anti-aircraft gun of a French motor section at Brabant-le-Roi on Feb. 21, 1916. The shell ignited the gas bag. On May 3 the naval Zeppelin L-20 was forced to descend on the Norwegian coast where it was blown up to preserve neutrality, while on May 5 one Zeppelin was destroyed by gunfire from French warships over Saloniki and another by the British off the coast of Schleswig-Holstein.

Along with the brilliant feats of individual aviators there was developed a tendency towards tactical formations and the use of many machines. In August, 1915, at one occasion 84 French *aéroplanes* were assembled for flight over the German lines, difference in speed and armament making possible tactical dispositions of the greatest advantage. The Germans for a time had some machines of superior armament and from August, 1915, heavier guns and armored *aéroplanes* figured and operations by flotillas became more general, these including the use of powerful bombing machines accompanied by armored scouts for their protection and swift flying machines for advanced reconnoitring. Air craft were also used at sea against warships and transports and in August, 1915, the Russians employed seaplanes against a German gunboat near Windau accompanied also by a Zeppelin and two seaplanes. *Aéroplanes* were also in evidence in the south and east, for the Russians attacked Constantinople in August, dropping bombs on the harbor forts, and from this time both sides were in active *aërial* warfare until the close of the Dardanelles campaign. On August 10 the Russians brought sea-

planes to bear in repelling the landing of German troops off the Gulf of Riga.

Everywhere there was *aërial* activity and damage wrought by air craft, yet unavoidably this was accompanied by wholesale destruction of machines and losses of aviators. As samples of *aërial* attacks, and in fact but little more here can be attempted, mention may be made of the bombing of a poison gas plant at Dornach on Aug. 26, 1915, by a French aviator and a bomb attack on the royal palace at Stuttgart, a step it was announced taken in retaliation for German bomb dropping on unfortified towns and civilians. In every kind of operations air craft aided as at the battle in the attack on Artois Sept. 25, 1915, when the British airmen were prominent, and later at Verdun in the spring of 1916. On the western front in April, 1916, French airmen brought down 31 hostile *aéroplanes*. On October 3, a group of 19 French *aéroplanes* essayed an attack on Luxemburg, where the Kaiser had established headquarters.

In the south, Austrians were active against Italy, and bombing raids were made against Brescia, Verona, Venice, Udine, and other points, while the Italians in turn made attacks on Austrian territory. On Nov. 28, 1915, occurred the first battle between British and German seaplanes near Dunkirk with damages to both sides, while on November 29 a British seaplane destroyed a German submarine off the Belgian coast.

Typical of a day's work for the airmen may be mentioned the British War Office report of Dec. 19, 1915, which announced 44 combats in the air on the western front. In April, 1916, French airmen on the western front brought down 31 hostile *aéroplanes*, while in the struggle around Verdun *aéroplanes* of both sides were in con-

stant service. In the great drive of June and July, 1916, the Allies' aëroplanes participated actively, and reports made mention of extraordinary effects attending the dropping of powerful explosives on the trenches. The aëroplanes also made many raids in the rear. Airmen mostly French were active with the eastern army in the Balkans where the intense cold put many difficulties in their way. Around the Suez Canal the aëroplanes were invaluable in supplying information of threatened movements.

In 1916 everywhere there was increased aërial activity, a more active patrol service was maintained, and actions were frequent and serious. At sea aëroplanes were searching out for submarines and scouting, and employment of airship and aëroplane before and in a large naval battle for scouting and reconnoissance in a manner and on a scale somewhat corresponding to their use on land found a notable opportunity in the great fight off Jutland on May 31, 1916.

The year 1917 marked the ever-increasing importance of the aëroplane as a military asset. It has been called the eyes of the army and has lived up to this name more and more as the great battles of the year were fought. In the battle of the Somme and during the great German retreat General Haig depended on his air service to find out just what the Germans were doing and how far they had retreated. It appears, however, that the Germans began their movement without being discovered by the British. We find the aëroplane probably used to its greatest advantage in the spring and summer campaigns on the Italian front and during their retreat to the Piave. Fleets of 150 or more machines would fly low to the ground and drop bombs on form-

ing troops, lines of communications, and munition dumps, or they would rake the enemy with machine gun fire. Some of the giant Caproni planes could carry without any difficulty 10 or more men. One of the interesting outgrowths of increased aërial activity was the development of the "camouflage" system. This means the covering of trenches, artillery and other things of military value with trees, painted scenes, etc., so that they could not be distinguished from the rest of the landscape from the air. These were of particularly great value, inasmuch as airplanes were compelled to stay 2 or 3 miles in the air as anti-aircraft guns were improved.

England was the scene of many airship and aëroplane raids during 1917. The first one occurred on the night of March 16-17. The last one previous to this occurred in November, 1916. The southeastern counties were attacked with comparatively little material damage and no military damage whatever. On their return to home soil one Zeppelin was brought down near Compiègne by French anti-aircraft guns. The crew of 30 was killed. On May 7 German airplanes dropped bombs northeast of London without doing any damage. On the same day the Zeppelin *L-22* was brought down in the North Sea by a British naval plane.

Between May 23 and June 16, 1917, five aërial attacks were made on England. In almost all of these the Germans used aëroplanes instead of Zeppelins. In one attack on May 25, 76 men, women, and children were killed and 174 wounded. Three of the planes were shot down as they were homeward bound across the channel. Twenty German planes took part in the attack. On June 5, 16 planes bombarded the coast towns in Kent and Essex. Two more were shot down. They were unable to

penetrate the outer defenses of London. The worst raid of the month was on June 13. It was carried out in broad daylight and resulted in the death of 97 persons, of whom 26 were school children, and the wounding of 437. On June 16 two Zeppelins bombarded the Kentish Coast and killed 2 and wounded 16. One of them was brought down in flames on British soil and the entire crew was killed.

On July 4 another great raid was made on England. Eleven persons were killed and 36 injured at Harwich. Two German machines were lost. London was again attacked by a fleet of 20 aeroplanes which penetrated all the defenses. Thirty-seven people were killed and 141 injured but the British Admiralty announced that while the material damage was heavy the military damage was practically nothing. Eleven persons were killed and 26 wounded when two German aeroplanes dropped bombs on Felixstowe and Harwich on July 22. The Essex coast was raided on August 12 with a loss of 23 lives and 50 injured. Two hostile machines were destroyed. On August 22 Yorkshire, Dover, Ramsgate, and Margate were raided, during which 11 were killed and 13 injured. The Germans suffered heavily in this raid, losing 8 Gotha machines. On September 3 bombs were dropped on the naval station at Chatham, killing 108 and wounding 92. On the moonlight night of September 4, 11 were killed and 62 hurt in a raid on London.

Raids were made by German airmen on England on September 24, 25, 29, 30, and October 1. As a result of these 52 were killed and 216 injured. The Germans carried them out with scarcely any loss to themselves, British reports only claiming to have destroyed two machines. One of the most disastrous

raids from the German point of view was made on the night of Oct. 19, 1917. At least 11 Zeppelins participated and on their way home, five were lost in French territory. One was captured undamaged at Bourbonne-les-Bains. Twenty-seven were killed and 53 wounded as a result of this raid. On October 31, 30 aeroplanes attacked London, but only three got through the defenses. Eight were killed and 21 injured. On December 6, 25 Gotha planes attacked London, killing 10 and injuring 31. On December 18, 20 aeroplanes raided Kent, Essex, and London and killed 10 and wounded 70. In these last two raids, three planes were forced to descend, and their crews were taken prisoners. A careful compilation of British government reports shows that from the beginning of the war to Jan. 1, 1918, 616 persons had been killed and 1,630 wounded.

The consensus of opinion among the Allied nations was that these raids were of no military value and were merely another form of Germany's "frightfulness." Public opinion in England and France demanded reprisals, but for physical reasons the governments refused to heed the popular clamor. Instead they gave their attention to the aerial bombardment of purely military centres such as the submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge and the Krupp works at Essen. France made one or two spasmodic attempts to retaliate by bombarding towns in Alsace and Lorraine, but they met with comparatively little success.

It would be impossible in a work of this kind to attempt to describe the engagements in the air over the battlefronts. Hundreds of them occurred every week and few of them stood out more than others for daring, success, etc. So far a method of tactical war-

fare had not been evolved by either of the belligerent sides. The engagements were mostly individual, even when the machines travelled in groups. To give an idea of the aëroplane's activities, it was officially reported that on the western front alone 717 machines were brought or driven down in April, 1917, 713 in May, 467 in July, and 704 in September. Accurate figures are not available for the losses on the other fronts.

With the entrance of the United States into the war it was felt that as soon as her resources were available the supremacy of the air would pass once and for all to the Entente Allies. She devised the standardized "Liberty Motor" which was supposed to contain the best points of all the foreign aëroplanes in one engine.

The verdict of three years' use of aëroplanes and airships confirmed in the main previous theory and prediction. The aëroplane demonstrated itself an important and essential element of modern warfare both on land and sea. The airship, which in the hands of the Germans increased vastly in efficiency as the war progressed and was found valuable for oversea scouting and reconnaissance and bomb dropping, may cause damage, serious and costly; but that it contributed anything worth while to the settlement of the war or greatly affected its progress or outcome was not proven by three years of use in 1914-17. As regards relative technical or military advantage by January, 1918, it was more difficult to say. The aërial services of the Allies in organization and extent had developed to a greater degree than those of the Teutonic Powers and had become more efficient with ever-improved machines and heavier armament, but throughout the war German and Austrian aviators

fought most valiantly, and the limited success achieved by the Zeppelins was due to their inherent nature rather than to unskillful operation.

On the nights of January 21 and 24, 1918, British aviators carried out successful raids over Belgium and in German Lorraine, dropping bombs on Mannheim, Treves, Saabrücken, Thionville. During the month of January the Germans and Austrians were particularly active in carrying raids over the Italian lines. Treviso and Mestre were bombarded on January 26; Venice, Padua, Treviso, and Mestre, on February 4 and 6, and on the latter date Calliano and Bassano were also bombed. The Italian war office announced that between January 26 and February 7, sixty-six enemy aircraft had been brought down in the battles over the Italian lines. On the night of February 6, an Italian airman dropped a ton of explosives on the enemy aviation grounds at Motta di Livenza.

London was attacked on the night of January 28 and 58 persons were killed and 173 wounded. Another raid the next night killed 10 and injured the same number. On the 30th, Paris was heavily bombarded, in the course of which 45 persons were killed and 207 wounded. During a raid on Venice on February 26, the Churches of Santa Giustina, San Simeone, Piccolo, and St. John Chrysostom were badly damaged. Naples was attacked on March 11. This resulted in the killing of 16 and the injuring of 40.

The British bombarded Mainz on March 9, 1918, Stuttgart on March 10, Coblenz on the 12th, Freiburg on the 13th, Zweibrücken on the 16th, and Kaiserslauten on the 13th. As a result of these raids fires and explosions were caused in munition plants and motor

works, which were the objectives of the British airmen.

A raid on Paris on March 8, 1918, resulted in the death of 13 and the injuring of 50. Another raid which occurred on March 11 caused the death of 34 and the injuring of 79. Four German machines were brought down and 15 Germans killed or captured. On February 16 a raid on London resulted in the death of 11 and the injuring of 4. A second raid was made on the next night and 15 killed and 38 wounded were the casualties. For the third successive night the Germans attempted to raid London on the 18th but were driven off without doing any damage. On March 7, 11 persons were killed and 46 injured as a result of another raid over London. The Germans raided the northeast coast on March 13, killing 5 and injuring 9. This section was raided again on April 12 and 5 persons were killed and 15 injured.

Italian aviators coöperating with the Allies on the Western Front, bombed Metz on March 17 and 23, 1918, and raided the railway station at Thionville on the night of March 24. Paris was again the objective on April 12, when 26 were killed and 72 wounded. Italians raided Pola, Trent, and Trieste on May 10, and British forces coöperating with them attacked the aviation grounds at Campo Maggiore (May 4) and destroyed 14 Austrian machines.

On May 3, 1918, the British bombarded Karlshutte and on May 16 brought down five German machines during an attack on Saarbrücken. British seaplanes attacked Ostend, Westende, and Zeebrugge successfully on May 6. As an example of the struggles occurring in the air over the tremendous battles raging in France it might be noted that on one day the British brought down 55 German ma-

chines and on another 46. London was again attacked on May 19, with a casualty list of 44 killed and 179 wounded. The British succeeded in bringing down five German airplanes. Paris was attacked on May 22 and 23, and June 1 and 2. These raids were very ineffective, only 4 persons being killed. In each instance the Germans were driven off before they were able to reach the city. One German machine was brought down. Fourteen persons were killed and 40 injured as a result of an Allied air raid over Cologne on May 18. Raids were carried out by the Allies over railway stations in Lorraine and on a factory in Mannheim on May 21 and 22. The railway station was destroyed and 26 persons were killed in Liège on May 26. On the night of June 1 and for the following two weeks numerous raids were carried out over the German border towns with the hope of destroying the German supply lines which were feeding the military machine in France. On May 21, the British announced that more than 1,000 German machines had been brought down within the two preceding months.

On June 14, 1918, the first American bombing squadron to operate behind the German front raided the Baroncourt Railway and returned safely. A second raid was carried out the same day when Conflans was attacked. The Germans continually, during this period, carried out raids on Allied hospitals behind the lines despite the fact that they were clearly marked. Hundreds of men, women and children were killed or wounded. The Germans gave as the reason for this that the Allies were accustomed to locate their ammunition dumps in the neighborhood of the hospitals so as to make them immune from attack. This charge was emphatically denied by the Allies. Paris was bom-

barded on June 26 and 27 and again on July 1. As in the previous raids very little damage was done and the loss of life was very slight.

On June 25 and July 5, 15, and 16, 1918, British aviators attacked Saarbrücken, Karlsruhe, Offenburg, Mannheim, Thionville, and Coblenz. Several direct hits were scored on railways, munition factories, and chemical plants. Six tons of explosives were dropped on Bruges, Ostend and Zeebrugge by British naval aircraft between July 4 and 7. Buildings and vessels were struck. According to the British official report for the year ending June 30, 1918, British aviators had brought down 4,102 enemy aircraft and had lost 1,121 machines. Naval airmen had brought down 623 planes and had lost 1,094 machines. On July 17, the Germans announced that during the month of June 33 air raids had been made by the Allies over German towns, which resulted in the death of 34 persons and the severe wounding of 37.

German Zeppelins appeared again in the rôle of raiders on the night of August 5, 1918, when they made an attempt to raid the east coast of England. One machine was brought down 40 miles at sea, another was damaged, and the third was compelled to return. On the 12th, a Zeppelin was destroyed off the English coast. It fell in flames. On August 1, many tons of bombs were dropped on the railway stations of Stuttgart and Coblenz. A considerable amount of material damage resulted. Karlsruhe was successfully attacked on August 11, and the chemical and airplane works at Frankfurt were directly hit in the course of a raid on the 12th.

Eight Italian airplanes flew across the Alps to Vienna and dropped literature all over the city. Vienna was more than 600 miles from their base and all

except one returned safely. That one was compelled to land on account of engine trouble. Gabriele d'Annunzio was in command of the squadron. The Allies bombarded Constantinople on July 27. The first American-built machines carried out a successful flight over the German lines early in August. On September 2, fifteen tons of bombs were dropped over the Rhine towns by Allied aviators, and on the 15th, seventeen more tons were dropped over the Lorraine front. During the three days of September 14, 15 and 16 more than eighty-seven tons of bombs were dropped over Metz and nearby cities. Venice was attacked on August 22, Padua on August 25, and Paris on September 16. The loss of life was comparatively small and the property loss slight.

On the night of October 9, 1918, an expedition of more than 350 planes bombarded many towns in the American sector, with the loss of only one man. American activity in the Argonne sector was particularly noticeable. During a six-month period before the signing of the armistice it is estimated that the American fliers brought down over five hundred planes with a loss of about seventy.

During the war the air raids on England caused the death of 1,570 people and the injury of 3,941. Of these 4,750 were civilians. One hundred and ten raids were carried out by airships and airplanes.

**Estimated Participants and Casualties.** The following facts and figures are taken from the *New York Times Current History Magazine* and were collected from official data, or where that was not obtainable from official estimates. These figures, compiled just shortly after the close of the war, are subject to slight change owing to new

lists being prepared and changes made in old ones. For example, the casualty list of the United States is nearer to 300,000 than the figures given in the table. The estimated number of men mobilized by the Allies was 40,256,864 as compared with 19,500,000 for the Central Powers. Of these more than 7,000,000 were killed or died as a result of the war; 20,000,000 were wounded, of which 6,000,000 are permanently injured. In addition to those killed directly in the war more than 100,000 were killed by submarines or mines, etc.,

on the high seas, or by air raids, or in the devastated regions. In addition to the military deaths it was estimated that over 9,000,000 people lost their lives indirectly as a result of the war. This figure includes 4,000,000 Armenians, Syrians, Jews, and Greeks massacred or starved by the Turks; 4,000,000 deaths beyond normal mortality of influenza and pneumonia, induced by the war; and 1,085,441 Serbian dead through disease or massacre. The following table is taken from the above mentioned magazine.

MOBILIZED STRENGTH AND CASUALTY LOSSES OF THE BELLIGERENTS

| Nation                | <i>United States and Associated Nations</i> |           |            |  | Prisoners<br>or<br>Missing | Total<br>Casualties |
|-----------------------|---|-----------|------------|--|----------------------------|---------------------|
|                       | Mobilized                                   | Dead      | Wounded    |  |                            |                     |
| United States.....    | 4,272,521                                   | 67,813    | 192,483    |  | 14,363                     | 274,659             |
| British Empire.....   | 7,500,000                                   | 692,065   | 2,037,325  |  | 360,367                    | 3,089,757           |
| France.....           | 7,500,000                                   | 1,385,300 | 2,675,000  |  | 446,300                    | 4,506,600           |
| Italy.....            | 5,500,000                                   | 460,000   | 947,000    |  | 1,393,000                  | 2,800,000           |
| Belgium.....          | 267,000                                     | 20,000    | 60,000     |  | 10,000                     | 90,000              |
| Russia.....           | 12,000,000                                  | 1,700,000 | 4,950,000  |  | 2,500,000                  | 9,150,000           |
| Japan.....            | 800,000                                     | 300       | 907        |  | 3                          | 1,210               |
| Rumania.....          | 750,000                                     | 200,000   | 120,000    |  | 80,000                     | 400,000             |
| Serbia.....           | 707,343                                     | 322,000   | 28,000     |  | 100,000                    | 450,000             |
| Montenegro.....       | 50,000                                      | 3,000     | 10,000     |  | 7,000                      | 20,000              |
| Greece.....           | 230,000                                     | 15,000    | 40,000     |  | 45,000                     | 100,000             |
| Portugal.....         | 100,000                                     | 4,000     | 15,000     |  | 200                        | 10,000              |
| Total.....            | 39,676,864                                  | 4,869,478 | 11,075,715 |  | 4,956,233                  | 20,892,226          |
| <i>Central Powers</i> |   |           |            |  |                            |                     |
| Germany.....          | 11,000,000                                  | 1,611,104 | 3,683,143  |  | 772,522                    | 6,066,769           |
| Austria-Hungary.....  | 6,500,000                                   | 800,000   | 3,200,000  |  | 1,211,000                  | 5,211,000           |
| Bulgaria.....         | 400,000                                     | 201,224   | 152,399    |  | 10,825                     | 284,448             |
| Turkey.....           | 1,600,000                                   | 300,000   | 570,000    |  | 130,000                    | 1,000,000           |
| Total.....            | 19,500,000                                  | 2,912,328 | 7,605,542  |  | 2,124,347                  | 12,542,217          |
| Grand Total.....      | 59,176,864                                  | 7,781,806 | 18,681,257 |  | 7,080,580                  | 33,434,443          |



## VII. ALLEGED ATROCITIES

Throughout the territories occupied by the Germans destruction of towns and villages and farmhouses occurred regularly. The usual explanation given was that it was done as a punishment. The punishment might be for a civilian's shooting at a soldier; the village harboring a spy; or a failure to meet a requisition, or something else. With these pillagings, numbers of the inhabitants were shot. The innocent suffered with the guilty.

Diaries taken from German soldiers show that pillaging was carried on extensively, the soldiers being allowed to drink to excess. The pamphlet entitled, "German Treatment of Conquered Territory," issued by the Committee on Public Information tells of the experiences of a certain count and countess. When war broke out they were caught in their château by the first onrush of troops and nothing happened besides the emptying of their wine cellars. When the second wave came along there was another demand for wine, but as the whole supply had been carried away they could not comply with the demand. The Germans were not convinced and made a thorough search of the cellars, but could find no wine. Still convinced that they were being fooled the count and countess were confined for three days and then brought out and stood before a firing squad and threatened with death unless they told where the wine was hidden. At the critical moment a German princeling who had visited them often arrived and on appealing to him he ordered their release. On their return to their château they

found the German soldiers packing up porcelains and enamels to be shipped to Germany. They again appealed to the prince, who told them that the soldiers could not be prevented from taking away little souvenirs, but if they would pack all the pieces they valued most in a wardrobe he would do the rest. When the countess was through packing the prince asked her whether she was sure that all the best pieces had been packed away, and when she answered that they had been put in the wardrobe, he turned to his orderly and said: "Have the wardrobe sent to Berlin for me."

The German authorities systematically exploited Belgium and other lands conquered by them. This was done with the deliberate purpose of crippling manufacturing and industry in these countries to forestall future competition. This is the so-called "Rathenau Plan" suggested early in August, 1914, by Dr. Walter Rathenau, President of the General Electric Co. of Germany, and was to "work out the very difficult and new problem of arranging that there should be no want of raw materials for the conduct of the war and the economic life of the nation. . . . It was necessary to make use of the stocks of raw materials of these three territories (Belgium, France, Russia) for the domestic economy of the war . . . *the difficulties that are met with in keeping to the rules of war* while making these requisitions have been overcome. . . . A system of collecting stations, of depots and of organizations for distribution was arranged which solved the difficulties of transportation,

infused new blood into industry at home and gave it a firmer and more secure basis." (Quotations from lecture by Dr. Rathenau.)

In a protest sent to the State Department by the Federation of Belgian Steel and Iron manufacturers the statement is made that a certain firm had the contract for removing machinery from conquered territory to Germany and to pick out those machines which seemed most useful for manufacture of German war supplies and to propose seizure of such machinery. All kinds of machinery was removed and those which could not be removed were destroyed by hammers and dynamite.

From October, 1914, to March, 1917, no less than 92 separate ordinances of the General Government commanding the declaration, forced sale, or confiscation of various materials. These include only those issued by the Governor General and do not include forced sales ordered by officials of separate bureaus.

Germany needed vast stocks of metal for the conduct of the war and to fill this need every scrap of metal that could be seized in the conquered countries was confiscated. Decrees were issued ordering the inhabitants to declare amounts of certain articles in their possession. Failure to comply with these decrees was punished by fine and imprisonment. German manufactures were aided by the German government in obtaining trade secrets from the Belgians.

**Belgium.** Shortly after the occupation of Belgium by the Germans, reports began to reach the outside world of shocking atrocities alleged to have been committed by the German army during the invasion and subsequent occupation of the country. To ascertain if possible, whether these reports were true, the government of Great Britain

appointed a commission of prominent English statesmen and jurists headed by Viscount Bryce to investigate the matter. Depositions of more than 1,200 persons were considered by the committee. From the evidence accumulated the commission reached the following conclusions:

1. That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages.

2. That innocent men, women and children in large numbers were murdered and women violated.

3. That looting, house burning and wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German army.

4. That women and children were used as a shield for advancing military forces.

The pamphlet issued by the Committee on Public Information entitled "German War Practices" bears out the conclusions drawn by the commission headed by Viscount Bryce. Minister Whitlock in his report (September 12, 1917) to the Secretary of State reports that summary executions took place in Dinant. There was no semblance of a trial. The wives and children of the victims were forced to witness the executions. He also states that in several cases massacres occurred where men, women and children were killed without distinction as to age.

Diaries found on dead and wounded soldiers and prisoners tell of the slaughter of defenseless persons in which they themselves took active part or witnessed. Some of these diaries indicate that their writers had no choice in the matter but had to obey the orders given them.

The Germans also imposed fines and

made levies on the territory under their control on the least pretext. Requisitions for supplies out of all proportion to the resources of the country were levied. One small village of 1,500 inhabitants was fined 500,000 francs because glass was found on the road and the Germans claimed that this had been placed there purposely so as to disable the automobiles used by the Germans.

The Germans adopted the policy of requiring municipalities to give hostages for the good conduct of inhabitants of the town and as a guarantee that all orders or regulations issued by the military commander would be carried out. These hostages were selected from among the prominent people of the town. Any violation of regulations, or attacks made upon German soldiers or disorder would lead to the punishment of these hostages, which punishment generally was shooting. No account was taken of the people who caused the disorders. They might very well be the hoodlum class, but that made no difference.

Another practice adopted by the Germans was to force Belgian civilians to walk in front of German columns when advancing to attack. The Belgians naturally were afraid to fire for fear of shooting their own flesh and blood. In one case where the Germans had taken refuge in a church and had taken with them a number of Belgian women and children so that they would not be fired upon the Belgian women sent a boy out during the night with word to the Belgians to fire on the church, for they preferred death at the hands of their friends rather than the indignities to which they were subjected.

During the war the German government adopted the deliberate policy of deporting men and women, boys and girls and of forcing them to work for

their captors. Often they were compelled to make arms and munitions for use against their allies and their own flesh and blood. Workingmen were imprisoned and otherwise punished for refusing to work in the arsenals. Deportations began in October, 1917, in the district under martial law and at Ghent and at Bruges, and soon spread all over Belgium. The scenes at these deportations were horrible. The wives were not permitted to bid their husbands good-bye or to give them warm clothing for the trip, as usually the men were called together without any intimation that they were going to be deported and had no extra clothes with them. Protests were sent by Cardinal Mercier and various municipalities. The German attitude is expressed in the answer to the resolutions of the Municipal Council of Tournai by Major-General Hopper, the Commandant. He said that the military authorities order the city to obey. If it does not it will be severely punished. About 100,000 were deported. The United States government made formal protest (December 5, 1916). The Pope, the King of Spain, and the government of Switzerland also protested against these forced deportations as against all international law and humanity.

In answer to these charges the German government issued a memorandum specifying the acts of civilians in Belgium, in violation of the rules of war. They claimed that civilians shot at German soldiers from private houses and mutilated wounded Germans, and that these acts justified the German military authorities in their acts of reprisal. Throughout the war there had been various aërial attacks on hospitals, and to the protests of the Allies the Germans answered that these hospitals were always placed near huge ammunition

dumps and that the hospitals were merely cloaks to shield them. To the protest against the forced deportations of inhabitants of the occupied territories the Germans answered that great numbers of able bodied laborers were living in idleness and as food was scarce in these areas it was necessary to send them far to the rear of the lines where food was cheaper and more plentiful.

Great resentment was aroused in England by the action of the German military authorities in executing Miss Edith Cavell,\* an English nurse, who was accused of utilizing her position to assist in the escape of Belgian, French, and British soldiers from Belgium.

Another incident which caused considerable adverse criticism of the German government was the case of Cardinal Mercier,† Archbishop of Malines and Roman Catholic Primate of Belgium. After a trip through the devastated parts of Belgium he wrote a pastoral letter describing the conditions which he had found. In passionate words he set forth the evidence of ruined villages, churches, schools, and monasteries destroyed. Efforts were made by the German authorities to suppress the letter, and the Cardinal was put under restraint, although not actually im-

\* EDITH CAVELL was head of a nurses' training school in Brussels; as a nurse did much for German as well as Allied soldiers in European War. The American Minister, Brand Whitlock, made every effort to have her life spared. The execution roused England and France and was commented on throughout the United States. A notable memorial service was held at St. Paul's, London, and a statue of Miss Cavell by Sir George Frampton was to be erected adjoining Trafalgar Square.

† MERCIER, DESIRÉ JOSEPH, CARDINAL. Born (1851) at Bralaine-l'Alleud, Belgium. Educated at Malines, Paris and Leipsic. Became priest (1874); taught philosophy (1877-82); Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium (1906); Cardinal (1907). Founded and edited *Revue Néoscholastique*. Wrote on metaphysics, philosophy, and psychology, several of his works translated into other languages. Most important work *Les Origines de la psychologie contemporaine* (1897).

prisoned by the German Governor of Belgium, Von Bissing.‡ In answer to a protest made by the Pope the German authorities stated that all restraints upon the Cardinal's freedom of communication with the clergy had been removed.

**Armenia.** The governments of France, Russia, and Great Britain issued the following joint note on May 23, 1915: "For the past months Kurds and the Turkish population of Armenia have been engaged in massacring Armenians with the help of the Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place about the middle of April at Erzerum, Dertshau, Moush, Zeitun, and in all Cilicia. The inhabitants of about 100 villages near Van were all assassinated. In the town itself the Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds." The preaching of a holy war soon after this increased the massacres to such an extent that the Armenian paper *Mshak* estimated that only 200,000 of the race still remained in the country, out of a total of 1,200,000 at the beginning of the war, and that 850,000 had been killed or enslaved by the Turks and 200,000 had migrated to Russia. The United States placed an informal request before the German Ambassador, asking that the German government attempt to alleviate the conditions of the Armenians. An informal reply said that the Armenian reports were greatly exaggerated. Charges of barbarous cruelty were laid before the Sublime Porte by the American Ambassador, Morgenthau. Turkey filed counter charges at Washington, stating that Russian troops, aided by Greeks and

‡ MORITZ FERDINAND, BARON VON BISSING, born (1844) at Bellmansdorf; rose to be lieutenant general (1897) and general of cavalry, commanding the Seventh Army Corps; after invasion of Belgium by the Germans was appointed Military Governor of the country.

Armenians, had committed acts of cruelty against Moslems in the Caucasus region, and that continual revolutions incited by the Allies were occurring in Armenia.

Despite joint diplomatic protests Turkey continued her atrocities against the Armenians with practically unabated zeal down to the close of the war. Germany repeatedly refused to interfere in any way whatsoever, claiming that she had no control over the internal government of the Turks. Although this is scarcely in accordance with the facts in the case, many writers believe that the reason Germany did not intervene was because she feared to estrange Turkey from the Central Powers. The horrible acts committed against the Armenians caused many of the latter to form themselves into guerilla bands. The acts of retaliation of these few unorganized avengers gave the Turks what they considered a logical reason for the continuation of the Armenian massacres and other acts of violence and lust.

**Poland.** At the outbreak of the war Germany, Austria, and Russia attempted to gain the loyal support of the entire Polish nation by promises of the reestablishment of the old Polish Kingdom. Poles fought against each other in the hopes that a united Poland would result. In the great German drive into eastern Russia Poland was crushed and the inhabitants suffered untold hardships. As the Russians retreated they compelled the Poles to abandon their homes for military reasons. Any villages that escaped the Russians were almost invariably destroyed by the Germans. It is estimated that at least 20,000 villages were wiped out and that over 200 towns were completely destroyed. In the Gorlice district the Polish Relief Victims' Fund

estimate that during the 18 months' campaign 1,500,000 noncombatants, caught between the contending armies, perished from hunger and disease. The Rockefeller Foundation reported that the entire civilian population faced a famine. The poorer classes were found to be existing in many cases on meatless soup and a crust of bread. There was no fuel to be had and many were frozen to death during the winter of 1915-16. Attempts were made to feed the Polish sufferers through an American committee, but Germany and Great Britain could not agree as to method.

The atrocities committed by the Germans were similar to those committed by them in Belgium and in France. From a statement prepared by Frederic C. Walcott (September, 1917) for the pamphlet on "German War Practices" issued by the Committee on Public Information the following facts may be gleaned: In Warsaw the German governor issued a proclamation that all able-bodied men were to go to Germany to work. Those refusing to go were not to be given anything to eat. Persons failing to comply with this regulation would be dealt with according to German military law. After the war ended and the downtrodden Poles secured their freedom and independence serious charges were made against them in certain Allied quarters, maintaining that the new Polish government was directly responsible for the carrying out of pogroms against the Jews. Paderewski, the Polish President, vigorously denied this and invited an Allied Commission to visit his country and examine conditions there.

**Serbia.** The conditions in Serbia were practically similar to those in Poland. Villages and towns were wiped out in the face of the German drive through the Balkans. After the first

drive of the Austrians into Serbia fever epidemics broke out all over the country. It is presumed to have been caused by the congestion of all the rural population in the urban districts as a result of the war. Hundreds died daily, and in many places it was impossible to bury all the victims. Physicians were sent to Serbia by the Allies and hospital units were made up in the United States and sent over. Cholera also broke out among the noncombatants after the German drive. It was caused by the shortage of food and the bad sanitary conditions, the people being forced to herd together and to live in the open. It is estimated that over 600,000 non-combatants died as a result of the plague and from hunger.

**France.** The procedure here was identically as in Belgium. The system of forced labor and deportations was duplicated. All its attendant horrors, brutalities, and callousness were there. In the districts of Tourcoing and Roubaix and the City of Lille deportations were made. Probably about 30,000 were deported. The reason given was that food supplies were short and if

people were deported some distance behind the lines they could receive better care where food is more abundant and cheaper. Notices were posted for volunteers to come and when few appeared the Germans resorted to forced deportations. All people with the exception of children under fourteen and their mothers, and also of old people, were required to prepare themselves for transportation in an hour and a half's time. Each person was permitted to take not more than 30 kilograms of baggage with him.

In the retreat from northern France in the spring of 1917 wanton destruction occurred. Great stretches of territory were turned into dead country. No village or farmhouse was left standing; no railway track or embankment left; trees including fruit trees were destroyed and wells blown up. The purpose of the Germans seems to have been to turn France into a desert so that for years to come France would be unable to compete commercially and industrially with Germany. The ruined region in France begins about forty miles north of Paris.

## VIII. DESTRUCTION OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The great war saw the destruction or mutilation of many of the landmarks of Europe in the field of art and architecture. Charges and countercharges were made by the belligerents of deliberate attempts to destroy these. The destruction of a large part of the city of Louvain, including its church of St. Pierre, the University of Louvain, and its library of rare books and manuscripts, aroused much feeling in all civilized countries.

The German official explanation for the destruction of Louvain as given to the Secretary of State of the United States was that the Belgian government had organized an insurrection of the people against the army. Stores of arms had been established. International law permits people to organize to repel an enemy, but arms must be openly carried. Louvain had surrendered and the population had abandoned all resistance. The city had already been occupied by German troops. Nevertheless the population attacked troops entering the city. This was proved to have been planned long before it took place. Weapons were not carried openly and women and girls took part in the attack and gouged out the eyes of wounded German soldiers. The intensity of the attack is shown by the fact that it took twenty-four hours for the troops to overcome resistance. The city was destroyed in large part by the conflagration which broke out after the explosion of a convoy of benzine, which was caused by shots fired during the battle. The Imperial Government deplored the action which was not inten-

tional, but was unavoidable. The German soldiers were conciliatory and therefore must have had provocation. The Belgian people and the Belgian government must bear the responsibility.

The Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs gave (August 28, 1914) the following account of the events leading to the destruction of the city. German soldiers who had been driven back in the evening retreated in disorder on Louvain. The German soldiers who were guarding the town, who mistook them for Belgians, fired upon them. The German authorities pretended that Belgians had fired on the soldiers, although the inhabitants and the police had been disarmed for more than a week and the commandant ordered the destruction of the town. All the inhabitants were ordered to leave the town. The splendid Church of St. Pierre, the markets, the university and its scientific establishments were destroyed.

Minister Whitlock gives the following version of events: A violent fusillade broke all over the city, German soldiers firing at random in every direction. Later fires broke out everywhere, notably in the University building, the Library, and the Church of St. Peter. On the orders of chiefs German soldiers broke open houses and set them on fire, shooting inhabitants who tried to leave buildings. The Germans made the usual claim that civilian population had fired on them and it was necessary to take these measures and that General von Lutwitz told him that a general had been shot by the son of the burgomaster. But the burgomaster had no son

and no officer had been shot. This was the repetition of a tragedy that had occurred at Aerschot. But if the shooting had been done on such large scale surely there must be convincing evidence. But no evidence is given beyond that a soldier had asserted: *Man hat geschossen.*

The case of Louvain figured largely in the American press, but it was only one of numerous similar instances where towns and villages containing gems of art and architecture had been burned and many of their inhabitants shot because they had resisted invaders.

The beautiful cathedral of Rheims, dating from the thirteenth century, suffered irreparable damage from repeated German bombardments. The Germans, in explanation of the first bombardment, maintained that the French had established an observation post in its tower. It is doubtful if the exquisite carvings, statuary, and stained glass windows can ever be replaced. Another city to suffer was Ypres. Its famous Cloth Hall was seriously damaged during the heavy

bombardments of the Flanders campaign.

In France the Chateau of Avricourt was destroyed by the Germans. This is one of the class of buildings covered in the international agreements between civilized nations safeguarding historic buildings. For many months it had been the home of Prince Eitel, the second son of the Kaiser. In spite of the protests of many of his officers, who said that his acts would bring disgrace to the German name, he had the historic objects in the chateau carried away. Then he himself set fire to the building and to make sure that it would be completely destroyed he had it blown up by dynamite.

There was constant danger to architecture of historical interest from the frequent aerial attacks on cities. For example, during an Austrian raid on Venice bombs fell on the Scalzi Church. The ceiling, which was ornamented with beautiful sculpture of Tiepolo, was crushed. Historic landmarks of London and Paris narrowly escaped damage from Zeppelin raids.



## IX. NEUTRAL NATIONS AT BEGINNING OF WAR

A war involving all of the great industrial nations of Europe was certain to have far-reaching effects upon all neutral nations. The complete dislocation of international trade and the closing of all the great stock markets of the world gave rise to financial and economic problems which were absolutely unprecedented. After the first shock the business interests gradually adjusted themselves to the new conditions. But soon it became apparent that problems far more serious than those produced by the temporary disturbance caused by the outbreak of the war confronted the neutral nations. To the questions of neutral trade, contraband and blockade, which had arisen in previous wars, there were added new and more vexing problems due to the introduction of new methods of warfare, especially the operation of the submarines.

**United States.** As the largest and most important of the neutral Powers, the United States was sure to be vitally affected. This country was looked to by the smaller neutral nations to champion the interests of all neutrals. Moreover, it was certain that the United States would be called upon to furnish large quantities of supplies to the belligerent Powers. Each of the belligerents would be anxious to avail themselves of this source of supply, and each in turn would strive to prevent their opponents taking advantage of it. Under these conditions the situation which confronted the United States authorities in attempting to maintain strict neutrality was a trying one, and the problem was made more difficult by

the attitude of groups of persons in this country whose sympathies were with one or the other of the belligerents in Europe. The following are the most important questions which arose involving the United States and the various European Powers.

*Blockade and Neutral Trade.*—During the early months of the war Great Britain established her complete control of the seas, except in so far as it was interrupted by the operations of the German submarines. That Great Britain would take full advantage of her sea power was to be expected, and that in so doing serious difficulties would arise in regard to the rights of neutral nations was also clear. In the first place there was the always vexed question of contraband. There was no Hague Convention which dealt with the question of conditional and absolute contraband. As the Declaration of London was declared by Great Britain not to be in force, the question had to be determined by the general rules of international law. But upon this question there was no general agreement among the nations. Belligerent Powers naturally wished to extend the list of contraband, while neutral Powers quite as naturally wished to restrict it.

A more serious and difficult question affecting neutrals arose, due to the peculiar geographical position of Germany. On two sides the country was bounded by neutral Powers which touched the sea. Through Holland and the Scandinavian countries contraband might be shipped from the United States or other neutral countries to Germany

and thus nullify England's sea power. The problem which confronted Great Britain was to prevent contraband articles from reaching Germany, while at the same time not to interfere with legitimate trade between neutral countries. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities Great Britain began detaining American ships bound for neutral ports on the ground that their cargoes were destined for the enemy. For some months the United States government did not protest, hoping that Great Britain would modify her policy. Finally on Dec. 26, 1914, the United States addressed a communication to Great Britain, calling attention to the interference by the latter with American commerce with neutral nations, on the ground that goods so consigned might reach the enemies of Great Britain. The United States authorities contended that "mere suspicion was not evidence and doubts should be resolved in favor of neutral commerce, not against it." To this note Great Britain replied on Jan. 7, 1915, that that country had not aimed to interfere with the bona-fide trade of the United States with neutral countries, but figures were given showing the marked increase in exports of such articles as rubber and copper from the United States to neutral countries contiguous to Germany. It was stated that with such figures the presumption was very strong that such goods were ultimately destined for a belligerent country. The note further stated that Great Britain was prepared to admit that foodstuffs should not be seized without the presumption that they were intended for the armed forces of the enemy. In regard to the placing of cotton on the list of contraband it was stated that the British government had not contemplated any such action. In conclusion the British government

agreed to make reparation for any injury improperly done to neutral shipping.

A novel question arose from the action of the German government in placing under government control all of the food supply of the Empire. The British government declared that it would be impossible under these conditions to distinguish between food intended for the civilian population of Germany and food to be used by the German military forces. In view of this situation the British government stated that foodstuffs intended for consumption in Germany would be considered contraband.

For some months after the outbreak of the war Great Britain hesitated to declare a blockade of German ports. This attitude was due, in part at least, to the recognized difficulty of rendering such a blockade effective, in view of the geographical position of Germany, and of the activities of submarines. But events forced Great Britain to abandon her somewhat anomalous position. On March 1, 1915, Mr. Asquith announced in the House of Commons that Great Britain and France, in retaliation upon Germany for her declaration of the "War Zone" around the British Isles (*see below*), would confiscate all goods of "presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin." Such action, of course, could only be justified under the existing rules of international law on the presumption that a lawful blockade of German ports had been declared. In answer to an inquiry from the American government as to whether such a blockade was contemplated the British government stated that as an effective "cordon controlling intercourse with Germany had been established and proclaimed, the importation and exportation of all goods to or from Germany was, under the ac-

cepted rules of blockade, prohibited." The British government further defined the radius of activity of the French and British fleets in enforcing the blockade as European waters including the Mediterranean. It was further stated that they would refrain from exercising the right to confiscate ships and cargoes for breaches of the blockade, and restrict their claim to stopping cargoes destined to or coming from the enemy's territory.

In an extended communication addressed to the British government by Secretary Bryan on March 30, 1915, attention was called to the unusual character of the proposed blockade and the interference with legitimate neutral commerce which might readily result. The United States government was willing to concede that the changed conditions of naval warfare, especially the operations of submarines, might justify some modification of the old form of close blockade, but it was unwilling to concede the right of belligerents to blockade neutral ports. It was further pointed out that alleged illegal acts of Germany could not be offered as an excuse for unlawful acts on the part of Great Britain. In conclusion it was stated that the German Baltic ports were open to the trade of the Scandinavian countries, although it is an essential element of blockade that it bear with equal severity upon all neutrals.

For some months the question was allowed to remain in abeyance, because more serious questions had arisen in connection with Germany's submarine warfare. (*See below.*) It was clear, however, that irritation at the continued interference by Great Britain with American commerce was constantly increasing. On Aug. 3, 1915, the State Department at Washington published five diplomatic communications which

had been exchanged between the two governments relating to the detention of American ships and cargoes. In response to the American note of March 30, 1915, on the subject of the restrictions imposed on American commerce by the British Orders in Council, Sir Edward Grey defended the Orders on the ground that it was necessary for Great Britain and her Allies to take every step in their power to overcome their common enemy in view of the shocking violation of the recognized rules and principles of civilized warfare of which she had been guilty during the present struggle. He further denied that the Orders in Council violated any fundamental principle of international law by applying a blockade in such a way as to cut off the enemy's commerce through neutral ports, "if the circumstances render such an application of the principles of blockade the only means of making it effective." It was contended that the only question that could arise in regard to the new character of blockade was whether the measures taken conform to "the spirit and principles of the essence of the rules of war" as stated in the American note of March 30, 1915. Sir Edward Grey contended that there was precedent for the British policy in the position taken by the United States during the Civil War. In order to prevent contraband being shipped from neighboring neutral territory to the Confederacy the Federal government enforced the doctrine of the continuous voyage and goods destined for enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral ports from which they were to be reexported. Such action, moreover, was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the *Springbok*. The main argument of the British government was

that when the underlying principles governing blockade and contraband are not violated it is permissible to adopt new measures of enforcement.

To this contention the United States replied with a vigorous note on Oct. 21, 1915. It was stated that the so-called blockade instituted by the Allies was "ineffective, illegal and indefensible," that the "American government cannot submit to a curtailment of its neutral rights and that the United States must insist that the relations between it and His Majesty's government be governed, not by a policy of expediency, but by those established rules of international conduct to which Great Britain in the past has held the United States to account."

This note did not have the effect of forcing Great Britain to modify her blockade policy. On the contrary Great Britain served notice, on March 30, 1916, that thereafter the doctrine of continuous voyage would be applied to vessels carrying conditional contraband as well as to those carrying absolute contraband.

On April 25, 1916, the British government made an extended reply to the protest of the United States. It was contended that the practices complained of were "judicially sound and valid" and that the relief neutrals sought was to be obtained by mitigation of necessary hardships rather than "by abrupt change either in theory or application of a policy based upon admitted principles of international law carefully adjusted to the altered conditions of modern warfare." The note further stated that "an impartial and influential commission" had been appointed to find ways to minimize delays and pledged the Allies to make their restraints as little burdensome as possible. In regard to the complaint that the methods

adopted by the Allies in intercepting neutral trade had not hitherto been employed by belligerents, it was answered that "new devices for dispatching goods to the enemy must be met by methods of intercepting such trade." In particular it was pointed out that modern conditions, such as the size of the steamships, and the methods of concealing contraband, made it no longer feasible to search ships at sea and justified sending vessels into port for search.

At great length the note discussed the question of proofs of the destination of contraband. As in a previous note it was contended that figures issued by the United States Department of Commerce showed that exports from the United States to the Scandinavian countries had increased threefold since the outbreak of the war, and there was strong reason to believe that much of this increase was not bona-fide neutral trade. It was pointed out that large consignments of meat had been made to such persons as dock laborers, lightermen, bakers, etc., and it was obvious that such consignments were subterfuges. In view of these facts it was contended that "no belligerent could in modern times be bound by a rule that no goods could be seized unless they were accompanied by papers which established their destination to an enemy country. To press such a theory is tantamount to asking that all trade between neutral ports shall be free, and would thus render nugatory the exercise of sea power and destroy the pressure which the command of the sea enables the Allies to impose upon their enemies."

The note finally denied the statement made by the United States government that the blockade was ineffective. It was stated that it is doubtful if there had ever been a blockade where the ships

which slipped through bore such a small proportion to those intercepted.

In 1916 another cause of dispute arose between Great Britain and the United States. On July 18 the British government published a blacklist of 82 American firms and individuals under the Enemy Trading Act, which forbid any business dealings between them and British citizens. On July 28 the United States protested that it was "inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity and impartial fairness which characterize the dealings of friendly countries with one another." Britain replied that the act concerned only its government and citizens and left the American names on the blacklist.

This note did not bring the questions at issue, between the United States and Great Britain, any nearer to a settlement. It was evident that while Great Britain was anxious to adopt a conciliatory policy in dealing with neutral commerce, she was unwilling to concede the principle for which the United States contended, viz., that trade between the United States and neutral countries should not be interfered with.

*Use of Neutral Flags.*—Early in the year 1915, the German government made representations to the government of the United States that British ships were making use of neutral flags in order to escape capture. Particular attention was called to the action of the captain of the British steamer *Lusitania* in raising the United States flag when approaching British waters, and it was stated that orders had been issued by the British government to all commanders to make use of neutral flags when necessary. On Feb. 10, 1915, the United States government addressed a note to the British government calling attention to this matter. Without disputing that in exceptional cases there

was precedent for the use of neutral flags by merchant vessels to escape capture, it was pointed out that any general use of the American flag for such purposes would endanger American ships, by raising the presumption that they are of belligerent nationality. In answer to this the British government stated, on Feb. 19, 1915, that English law allowed the use of the British flag by foreign merchant vessels in order to escape capture, that instances were on record of United States vessels making such use of the English flag during the American Civil War, and that it would be unreasonable to deny to British vessels at the present time a similar privilege. It was stated, however, that the British government had no intention of advising their merchant shipping to use foreign flags as a general practice.

*Interference with Mail.*—A determined protest was also made by the United States government against the interference by Great Britain with neutral mail in transit between neutral ports. It was contended that under The Hague Convention postal correspondence on the high seas is inviolable. To this protest the British government replied that this provision was not intended to cover the shipment of contraband by parcel post, and in order to prevent such shipment Great Britain would insist upon the right to examine mail packages on the high seas.

*Submarine Warfare and the War Zone.*—The European War witnessed for the first time the use of the submarine on a large scale in naval warfare. It was evident that the introduction of this new weapon would give rise to a number of novel questions. The frail construction of these boats makes them an easy prey, if seen, for warships or even for unarmed merchant-

men which might sink the submarines by ramming them. These conditions, it was contended, make it necessary for the submarines to attack quickly and without warning. Furthermore the old method of capture by which a prize crew was placed on the captured vessel could hardly be followed by the submarines as the size of the crew was small and could not be spared for this purpose. The only feasible method of disposing of vessels captured by submarines was to sink them. But this raised the question of the safety of passengers and crew. The established rules of international law required that merchant vessels could not be sunk, unless they attempted to escape, until provision was made for the safety of passengers and crew. The United States first became involved in the issue when on February 4, 1915, Germany declared the waters around the British Isles a war zone after February 18, 1915. It declared its intention of sinking every enemy merchant ship found in the zone even if it was impossible to save the crew and passengers. It also stated that neutral ships entering the war zone were in danger.

The United States government promptly took notice of this proclamation, and on February 10, 1915, sent a communication to the German government calling attention to the serious difficulties that might arise if the policy contemplated were carried out, and declaring that it would hold the German government to a strict accountability if any merchant vessel of the United States was destroyed or citizens of the United States lost their lives. In reply to this note the German government stated on February 18, 1915, that, in view of the illegal methods used by Great Britain in prevent-

ing commerce between Germany and neutral countries, even in articles which are not contraband of war, the German government felt justified in using all means within its power to retaliate on England. Complaint was made of the large quantities of munitions of war which were being sent to Great Britain, and it was stated that Germany intended to suppress such traffic with all means at its disposal. Finally, it was suggested that, in order to avoid mistakes, all American vessels carrying noncontraband through the war zone should travel under convoy.

In order to avoid, if possible, the very serious consequences of the proposed German naval policy, the government of the United States addressed an identical note to Great Britain and Germany suggesting an agreement between these two powers respecting the conduct of naval warfare. The memorandum contained the following suggestions: (1) That neither power should sow floating mines on the high seas or in territorial waters, and that anchored mines should be placed only in cannon range of harbors for defensive purposes, and that all mines should bear the stamp of the government planting them, and be so constructed as to become harmless when separated from their anchors. (2) That neither should use submarines to attack the merchant vessels of any nationality, except to enforce the right of visit and search. (3) That each should require their merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for purposes of disguise.

The note further suggested that the United States government designate certain agencies in Germany to which foodstuffs from the United States should be sent, and that the German government guarantee that such foodstuffs be used for noncombatants only.

Great Britain was requested to agree not to put foodstuffs on the list of absolute contraband, and that ships of foodstuffs sent to the designated consignees in Germany should not be interfered with.

Nothing of practical importance came from these suggestions. Germany replied, accepting some and rejecting others, while Great Britain reviewed the alleged violations of international law and defended the stoppage of foodstuffs destined for Germany as a legitimate incident of the blockade.

Thus matters rested pending the first case in which an American vessel should be sunk or American lives lost. On March 28, 1915, news was received that the British steamship *Falaba* had been sunk and that among those lost was an American citizen, Leon C. Thrasher. Accounts differed as to the actions of the steamship when called upon by the commander of the submarine to stop. The German government defended the action on the ground that the *Falaba* had attempted to escape after being warned, and that, upon being overhauled, ten minutes had been allowed for the crew and the passengers to take to the lifeboats before the vessel was torpedoed. While this case was still under consideration by the United States government, it was reported that the American vessel *Cushing* had been attacked by a German aeroplane in the English Channel on April 29, 1915, one bomb being dropped on the ship which caused some damage but no loss of life. Within two days word was received that the American steamer *Gulflight* had been attacked by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands on May 1. Two members of the crew and the captain died. For history of this case see section, *Sinking of the Lusitania*.

The submarine controversy took a new turn, when the *Deutschland*, a commerce-carrying submarine, entered the port of Baltimore on July 9. The question immediately arose as to her status. The British and French embassies made strong protests about her being allowed to enter an American port, claiming that she was potentially a war vessel. The State Department announced on July 15 that the submersible would be considered a merchantman. It further stated that she could not be turned into a war vessel without radical changes in her construction. Consequently she returned to Bremen. She later completed the round trip again, her port of arrival in the United States being New London, Conn.

The entire world was startled on January 31, 1917, when Germany announced to neutral countries that all restrictions on submarine warfare were to be removed and that a new policy of ruthless undersea activity was to be carried on in an attempt to bring England into a state of submission. In the note sent to the United States Germany stated that "the attempt of the four Allied Powers (Germany, etc.) to bring about peace has failed, owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. . . . To the wish of conciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end. . . ."

"In brutal contempt of international law, the group of powers led by England does not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents but they also, by ruthless pressure, compel neutral countries either altogether to forego every trade not agreeable to the Entente Powers or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees.

Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world; indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own Allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the life of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind. . . .

"After attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente Powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuance of the war, the Imperial government—to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal."

Accompanying this note were two memoranda which described the new war zones and the conditions under which American ships might sail. The entire coasts of England and France were included in the zone as well as the coastline controlled by the Allies in the Mediterranean Sea. Entrance to England was along a narrow lane 20 miles wide leading to the port of Falmouth. A similar lane was mapped out for approach to Greece. Traffic of regular American passenger steamers was permitted if they followed a certain course and bore certain distinguishing marks, laid down by the German government.

The publication of the note in the United States brought forth a storm of protest and demanded immediate action. President Wilson addressed Congress on the 3d of February concern-

ing the situation. He gave a brief sketch of the relations between his government and Germany over the submarine controversy and stated that the latter had broken its pledges, and in accordance with his principles laid down in the *Sussex* case (see *Question of Armed Merchantmen*) he concluded, "I have therefore directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany are severed and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn." Then followed a period of suspense in which the American government was apparently awaiting an overt act before taking any further measures. Popular indignation was aroused when several vessels, carrying American citizens, were torpedoed, but no one of them constituted the overt act.

The President's action was universally and enthusiastically commended. To a large portion of the people there came with it a sense of relief at the termination of the intolerable situation, resulting from the efforts of the country to maintain a position of neutrality in the face of continual outbreaks on the part of Germany, and an almost general sympathy with the cause of the Allies. The governors of many States at once sent messages to the President assuring him that he would receive their hearty and undivided support. The President's stand was approved by his predecessor, Mr. Taft, and his recent rival for the Presidency, Mr. Hughes.

Colonel Roosevelt at once volunteered to raise a division of troops, if war should be declared, and announced his intention of going to the front with his four sons. William J. Bryan was



the only prominent opponent of the policy of maintaining American rights at sea if necessary by war. He suggested a postponement of the question until after the end of the war. He also declared that Americans should be forbidden to travel on belligerent ships, and that American ships should be forbidden to enter the war zone. He favored the submission of the question of war or peace to a popular referendum.

In Congress the support of the President was practically unanimous. Attention was at once given to the consideration of measures already introduced imposing heavy penalties on persons guilty of offenses against the neutrality of the United States.

In the harbors of the country, especially in New York and Boston, there had been interned, since the outbreak of the war, a large number of German merchant ships, including several of the largest vessels in commission. Possession was at once taken of these vessels by the American authorities, not, however, in many cases, before they had been seriously damaged by their former crews under orders from the German government.

The government authorities took charge of the wireless station at Sayville, Long Island, which, during the war, had been the most important means of rapid communication between Germany and the United States. All diplomatic representatives from Germany, including consuls and consuls' agents, were directed to return home at once.

Measures were at once taken by all the government agencies to prepare for the war which seemed now inevitable. The Council of National Defense took up plans for the mobilization of the industrial forces of the country, and to consider the offers of many manufac-

turers who had placed their plants at the disposal of the government. The Naval Consulting Board, under the presidency of Thomas A. Edison, began the consideration of new methods of dealing with submarines. Efforts to enlist 25,000 recruits for the navy were at once begun. The President and his cabinet began the preparation of measures to be introduced into Congress to meet the emergency.

The State Department forwarded to the American representatives in neutral countries the announcement of the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, adding these instructions: "Say also that the President is reluctant to believe that Germany actually will carry out her threats against neutral commerce, but, if it be done, the President will ask Congress to authorize the use of the national power to protect American citizens engaged in their peaceful and lawful errands on the sea. He believes it will make for the peace of the world if other neutral powers may find it possible to take similar action."

The Senate, on February 7, 1917, passed a resolution, by a vote of 78 to 5, approving "the action taken by the President as set forth in his address delivered before the joint session of Congress."

On the same day in which this resolution was passed the first passenger steamer, since the promulgation of the German edict, fell a victim to the German blockade about the British Islands. This was the steamer *California*, of the Anchor Line, on her way from New York to Glasgow. She was hit by a torpedo and from the explosion which followed five persons were killed, thirty-six others were drowned, including three women and two children.

The tension which followed the severance of diplomatic relations increased as the days went on. On the same day on which diplomatic relations were severed, the American steamship *Housatonic* was sunk by a German submarine, after warning had been given. All on board were saved. Following the destruction of the *California*, came the loss of the two British steamers, the *Japanese Prince* and the *Montola*, which were sunk without warning by a German submarine. On board the *Japanese Prince* were thirty American cattlemen who were all saved. On board the *Montola* was an American doctor. The *Lyman M. Law*, an American sailing vessel loaded with lumber, on her way from Maine to Italy, was sunk by a submarine off the coast of Sardinia. Seven of the crew were Americans. The attack was made without warning, and after the crew had left, a bomb was placed on board and the ship was destroyed. Much more serious was the destruction, on February 25, of the Cunard liner *Laconia*, which was torpedoed in the Irish Sea at night. Three American passengers, two of whom were women, died from exposure in an open boat while the survivors were making their way toward shore. While public feeling grew more intense day by day, the President remained silent. Germany, in the meantime, made tentative proposals through the Swiss minister, to reopen negotiations with the American government. It may be noted here, however, that these overtures were bluntly refused by the Secretary of State.

As we have already noted, upon the rupture of diplomatic relations, the State Department notified Ambassador Gerard in Berlin to ask for his passports. At this time Mr. Gerard was

occupied in negotiating with the German government for the release of sixty-two American prisoners taken from ships sunk by a German raider in the South Atlantic, and taken to a German port on one of the captured vessels, the British steamer *Yarrowdale*. As these men were neutrals Germany had no right to hold them. The German government, however, undertook to take advantage of the situation to obtain concessions from the American government. Ambassador Gerard, in the days immediately following the severance of relations, was subjected to many indignities by the German authorities. His mail was intercepted, his telephone cut off, and telegraphic facilities denied him. Efforts were made also to force him to sign a protocol revising the treaties of 1799 and 1828 with the effect of protecting Germans and their interests in the United States in the event of war.

Mr. Gerard was finally permitted to leave Berlin February 10, 1917. American affairs in Germany were placed in the hands of the Spanish Ambassador. On February 14, Count von Bernstorff sailed for Germany on a Danish steamer, guarantees having been obtained from the Allied countries that he would have safe conduct.

The *Yarrowdale* prisoners, after various delays, were finally released on March 8, 1917. The reason for their detention, as given by the German officials, was the desire to ascertain the attitude to be taken toward German subjects in the United States.

The attitude of the German-Americans in this crisis had been awaited with some anxiety. As a class these men were emphatic in expressing their determination to uphold the hands of the American government. The German-American National Alliance at a

meeting of delegates from twenty-eight States held in Philadelphia, adopted resolutions, pledging loyalty to the government in peace and war. There was also a rush of applicants for naturalization on the part of these residents. Certain conspicuous members of the German-American Alliance, however, identified themselves with the pacifists, and favored submitting the question of war to a national referendum.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, promised that the members and officials of the federation would be united in the support of the government. Woman suffrage organizations also offered their services in any fields where they might be found useful. In the colleges and universities throughout the country the training of students for the various branches of the military and naval service was at once begun.

On February 26, President Wilson again went before Congress and requested "that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas."

In the meantime the House of Representatives was working on the largest naval appropriation bill in the history of the country. The bill which finally passed the House by a vote of 353 to 23, on February 12, appropriated \$363,553,338.07. The bill also gave to the President the power to commandeer shipyards and munition plants "in time of war or national emergency." One million dollars was appropriated to acquire basic patents for an aëroplane suitable for government work. The

Emergency Act passed on March 4 gave the President the following powers: "(1) . . . to place an order with any person for . . . war material as the necessities of the government . . . may require, and which are . . . capable of being produced by such person. (2) . . . to modify or cancel any existing contract for the building, production, or purchase of . . . war material; and if any contractor shall refuse . . . the President may take immediate possession of any factory of such character. (3) To require the owner or occupier of any factory in which . . . war material are . . . produced to place at the disposal of the United States the whole or part of the output of such factory. (4) To requisition or take over for use or operation by the government any factory or any part thereof, . . . whether the United States has or has not any contract . . . with the owner . . ."

*The Mexican Note.*—On March 1, there appeared in the newspapers of the country a most sensational disclosure of an intrigue between Germany and Mexico. The statement was issued on the authority of Secretary of State Lansing. This note dispelled from the mind of the public any hope that we might still keep out of actual warfare. The note was dated January 19, 1917, and was sent to Herr von Eckhardt, who was the German Minister to Mexico. It stated in part: "On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America. If this is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to

reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement . . . suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan." . . . This note caused widespread amazement and indignation throughout the entire country. Japan hastened to affirm in no uncertain tones that she had absolutely nothing to do with the whole affair. If anything, the note strengthened the relationship between that country and the United States. The fact that only a few days before the exposure of the Zimmerman note Carranza had sent identical notes to all the American republics, including the United States, asking that the western hemisphere should cease to send any further supplies to the European countries, in order to bring about a speedier peace, was construed in the United States to be a sure sign of strong German intrigue in the Mexican republic. President Wilson courteously but firmly refused to acquiesce in the proposition.

*Armed Neutrality.*—The President appeared before Congress in joint session on February 26, 1917, and asked for authority to use the armed forces of the United States to protect American rights on the seas. Effect was added to his appeal by the fact that the news was received while the President was on his way to the capitol of the destruction of the *Laconia* mentioned above. After summing up the events that occurred since the severance of diplomatic relations, he said: "In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same

that it was when I addressed you on the 3d of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our ship-owners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted, a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day. This in itself might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. . . .

"You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now, and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen. I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months, and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas.

"I request also that you will grant me, at the same time, along the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks."

Immediately following the request of the President, the Senate and the House set about framing bills to put it into effect. Congress expired on March 4, 1917, and there remained only eight

days in which to debate and agree to a measure which was certain to be strongly opposed by the pacifist element in Congress. In the House, this opposition did not assume formidable proportion. The Armed Ship Bill was reported in that body by the Foreign Relations Committee. On February 28 and 29, 1917, debate was carried on. The bill was passed before adjournment by a vote of 403 to 13. It was at once sent to the Senate, and was substituted for the bill prepared by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs whose provisions conferred larger powers upon the President. Debate on the bill began in the Senate on March 1.

Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, objected to its consideration, and would permit the debate to be carried on, only on condition that no attempt would be made to pass the bill before the next day. Thus a day was lost, and this sealed the fate of the measure. It was debated continuously on March 2, 1917, and debate was resumed on the following day. Senator Stone, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, was opposed to the bill, and he proposed an amendment excluding munition ships from armed protection. The chief objection to the bill, however, came from a group of Senators representing chiefly western States who prevented every effort made for limiting debate or setting a time for voting. When the supporters of the bill understood that there was no possibility of its passage, they signed a manifesto reading as follows: "The undersigned United States Senators favor the passage of Senate Bill 8322, to authorize the President of the United States to arm American merchant vessels. A similar bill already has passed the House by a vote of 403 to 13. Under the rules of the Senate, allowing unlim-

ited debate, it now appears to be impossible to obtain a vote prior to noon, March 4, 1917, when the session of Congress expires. We desire the statement entered in the record to establish the fact that the Senate favors the legislation and would pass if a vote could be obtained." This manifesto was signed by seventy-five Senators. The Senate continued in session until 12 o'clock noon on March 4, 1917, when it automatically adjourned, the session having expired. The twelve Senators who prevented the passage of the bill were La Follette of Wisconsin, Norris of Nebraska, Cummins of Iowa, Kenyon of Iowa, Stone of Missouri, Gronna of North Dakota, Kirby of Arkansas, Vardaman of Mississippi, O'Gorman of New York, Works of California, Clapp of Minnesota, and Lane of Oregon; seven Republicans and five Democrats.

The situation brought from the President the indignant protest in the form of a public statement in which he denounced the actions of the twelve Senators, and called for a revision of the rules of the Senate, which would prevent a repetition of the performance.

Although the President's efforts to receive authority from Congress for arming merchant ships failed, he was able to accomplish his purpose in another way. An act passed in 1819 governing piracy at sea was held by the advisers of the President to give the required authority. This statute forbade American merchant men to defend themselves against commissioned vessels of a nation with which the United States was at "amity"; but they could resist by force any attacks made on them by other armed vessels. In other words, this legalized resistance to pirates. It was held that Germany's denial to Americans of the rights of the high seas was inconsistent with true

amity, and caused her war vessels to lose, so far as the United States was concerned, their right to immunity from attack, both under international law and under the law of 1819. The President, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, thereupon determined to order the armament of merchant vessels in so far as they desired to be armed. The following memorandum was thereupon dispatched to the foreign governments:

"In view of the announcement of the Imperial German government on January 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas, would be sunk without any precaution taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board."

In the meantime, the Senate of the Sixty-fourth Congress remained in executive session in order to devise a means of preventing a repetition of the situation which had prevented the passage of the Armed Merchant Bill.

The President was inaugurated for his second term on March 4, 1917. His inaugural address was given up mainly to the consideration of the situation as related to Germany.

President Wilson on March 9, 1917, issued a call for a session of the Sixty-fifth Congress to assemble on April 16 for the purpose of passing appropriation measures and other bills necessary to prepare for the inevitable event.

German submarines continued to fire upon and sink American vessels and vessels which had Americans aboard. On March 12, 1917, the unarmed steamer,

*Algonquin*, with a crew of 27 men, of whom 10 were Americans, was sunk without warning by a German submarine. Two days later three unarmed vessels, the *City of Memphis, Illinois*, and *Vigilancia*, were destroyed.

It was obvious that a state of armed neutrality was inadequate to meet the serious situation. The President was confronted with the necessity of immediately taking more drastic action rather than continuing to pursue measures of passive defense. At a Cabinet meeting on March 20 further action was discussed, and on the following day the President issued a proclamation calling upon Congress to assemble on April 2 instead of April 16 "to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy."

In the meantime, preparations were steadily going forward. The Secretary of War made a contract with manufacturers for military supplies even although such expenditures had not been authorized by Congress. On March 25 the President called for the Federal service of fourteen National Guard regiments from the eastern States. Several of these States had already put their militia on a war footing. The purpose of this mobilization was to protect munition plants, bridges, railways, and other endangered property from any violations that might arise from the present international crisis. There were also organized two new departments of the regular army, the northeastern, comprising the New England States, and the southeastern, including States east of the Mississippi.

Each day the government received more emphatic assurance of support from State legislatures, governors, and members of Congress. At a rally in Madison Square Garden in New York City, resolutions were adopted urging

an immediate declaration of war and the enactment of universal military service. Elihu Root was the principal speaker.

There were many proofs of the activities of German agents, especially in an effort to use the territory of the United States as a basis for conspirators against the Allies. In Hoboken, N. J., two Germans, Fritz Kolb and Hans Schwartz, were arrested for storing powerful explosives with the apparent intention of wrecking munition plants. In Galveston, Texas, bombs were discovered on board a grain ship and in a grain elevator. There was discovered in Philadelphia a plot in which the President of the Machine Manufacturing Company, which had performed contracts for the American navy, had conspired with the captains of interned commerce raiders in the port, to obtain and transmit to Germany secret information in regard to the American navy.

*The President's War Message.*—The President issued a call for the New Congress to meet in special session on April 2. He had attempted to get plenary war powers from the old Congress before it went out of existence but he was unable to do so. Probably at no time in our history has a congress met to face such a crisis as the one that existed. Congress met at noon on the 2d of April and at 8.30 P.M. of the same day President Wilson delivered his war message. The following are extracts from the message: "I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately. . . . The new policy (see note of February 1 *above*) has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination,

their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board. . . .

"I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, . . . engaged in pursuits which have always, . . . been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. . . .

"The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has prescribed, even in the defense of the rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. . . . Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. . . .

"With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I consider my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and the people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it. . . . We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It

was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. . . .

“A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. . . . It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. . . . Only free people can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensations for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . .

“To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.”

Congress took immediate action on this address by the President, with the result that on April 6, 1917, the executive signed the joint resolution of the House of Representatives and the Senate to the effect that the state of war thrust upon the United States by Germany was formally declared. The President was also given power to call on the naval and military forces of the United States, as well as the resources

of the government, to bring the war to a successful conclusion. On the same day President Wilson issued a proclamation to the people of the country, in which he called upon the enemy aliens to abide by the laws of the United States and not to do anything which would give aid and comfort to the enemy. If they followed out these instructions they would not be disturbed. Otherwise they could be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed from the country as alien enemies.

Prompt action followed President Wilson's signature of the resolution. All American ships at foreign stations and the governors and military posts of American insular possessions were notified by wireless of the existence of war. Orders were issued by the navy department for the mobilization of the fleet, and the naval reserve was called to the colors. The navy at once proceeded to seize all radio stations in the country. Congress voted the war fund of \$100,000,000 for the use of the President at his discretion. One of the first acts of the government was to seize every German and Austrian vessel in the harbors of the country and its possessions. There were 91 of these, aggregating 630,000 gross tonnage. The largest group was in New York harbor. Here were 27 vessels, including the *Vaterland*, *George Washington*, and the *Kaiser Wilhelm II*. The first of these was the largest vessel afloat. The Austrian vessels seized were held subject to payment, as the United States was not at war with Austria-Hungary. The immigration authorities took charge of all the German officers and crews who were held to be in the status of intended immigrants whose eligibility for entrance into the country was in question until the end of the war. This decision carried with



it internment. It was found upon examination that the machinery of most of the German ships had been damaged to prevent their being used as transports, the result of a concerted movement under the direction of the German government. This dated from the severance of relations on February 3, 1917.

Together with the seizure of these ships came the arrest of Germans suspected of being spies. Several of these had already been convicted of violating American neutrality, and were at liberty under bond pending appeals. Others were under indictment and awaiting trial. The remainder were suspected persons who had long been watched by the Federal authorities. A proclamation was issued by the President warning citizens and aliens against the commission of treason. It was deemed unnecessary to intern all Germans and German reservists and they were notified that they would not be molested so long as they conducted themselves in accordance with American law.

Congress continued the debate of war measures, and the House, on April 14, passed without a dissenting vote, a bill providing for a loan of \$7,000,000,000.

The President, on the following day, issued "a call to service," in which he appealed especially to the agricultural and industrial workers of the country to put their utmost efforts to aid in providing and equipping the armies in Europe. He said:

"We must supply abundant food not only for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made a common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

"We must supply ships by the hundreds out of the shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or

no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea, but also to clothe and support our people, for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work; to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are coöperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in the ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for worn out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves, but cannot now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make."

The entry of the United States into the war was received with great rejoicing by the people of the allied countries. Great Britain and France at once made arrangements to send delegates to a war council at Washington in order to arrange the details of American participation and to negotiate further loans to the Allies.

An executive order made public on April 13 announced the establishment of defense areas at the entrance to the chief harbors of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, the Gulf of Mexico, and the insular colonies. One of the reasons for the restrictions in these areas was the presence of German commerce raiders in the western Atlantic.

*War Preparations by the Army and Navy.*—Long before the declaration of

war the United States government was engaged in putting its physical forces into first-class condition. On March 25, an executive order was issued increasing the enlisted personnel of the navy to 87,000 men, and on March 26, another order was issued to increase the Marine Corps to 17,400 men. Immediately after the declaration of war the entire navy was placed on a war footing. The naval militia, the naval reserves, and the coast guards passed under the control of the Navy Department. A nation wide recruiting campaign was carried on to bring the navy and allied services up to their war strength.

A large fleet of "mosquito craft" was organized to patrol United States waters against attack by German submarines and raiders. At first this was composed of privately owned power boats that were purchased by or given to the government. These were later augmented by 80- and 110-foot "chasers," built of wood, fast, and carrying a small gun fore and aft. In the latter part of 1917, the construction of these was given up, because of their inability to stand rough seas and because the Navy Department decided the money could be better spent on fast destroyers. Defensive war zones around the coastline of the entire United States and its dependencies were laid out.

Plans for the mobilization of the army went forward just as rapidly as those for the navy. Before war was declared several national guard units were called out to do police duties at bridges, etc. The War Department announced that 26 camps, with a capacity of 25,000 men, would be established throughout the country for the giving of military instruction to civilians. See section on *Military Operations*.

*Council of National Defense.*—The

economic side of the war was put in the hands of the Council of National Defense, which consisted of the members of the President's cabinet and a civilian advisory committee composed of business men and leaders of industry. A number of boards were appointed consisting of a group of experts, who were to organize war activities along special lines. The Food Board was placed under the charge of Herbert C. Hoover,\* the executive head of the Belgian Relief Commission. This board was to take such measures as would conserve the food supplies of the United States, and at the same time, as far as possible, supply the needs of the Allies. It also dealt with questions of food shortages, distributions, mobilization of agricultural resources, price control, and waste. In November, 1917, it held a "conservation" week and thousands of families received conservation display cards, showing that they would observe "wheatless and meatless" days to aid the government. Other important boards were also instituted. A committee of five was appointed to direct the operations of American railways during the war. The railways were taken over by the government on December 28, 1917. A General Munitions Board had charge of supplying munitions and equipment to the army and of adjusting the question of whether the government needed a man more in the industrial or military field. The Economy Board was organized to take

\* HOOVER, HERBERT C. National Food Administrator. Born (1874) at West Branch, Iowa. Graduated from Leland Stanford University (1895) and entered mining engineering beginning as a common laborer. Became rich through the development of gold mines in Australia. Among defenders of Tien-Tsin during Boxer rebellion. After that engaged in mining. At beginning of war made head of Commission for Relief in Belgium. On entrance of United States into war offered post of Food Administrator which he accepted after first declining.

care of the commercial interests of the country and to purchase raw materials for the government. A Medical Board was formed by many prominent physicians to mobilize and organize the medical men and resources of the country.

The Federal Shipping Board was one of the most important organizations established. Its problem was to defeat the submarine by building a vast fleet to transport the American army and great quantities of supplies to Europe. It was organized as a \$50,000,000 corporation with Colonel Goethals as general manager. It was to build 1000 wooden ships of from 3000 to 5000 tons burden. The efficiency of this board was marred by continual wranglings over the nature of the vessels to be built. The result was several changes in the personnel of the board with an apparent securing of harmony of action.

*Enemy Aliens.*—At the outbreak of the war there were approximately 5,000,000 enemy aliens in the United States. An official proclamation was issued which forbade any enemy alien from remaining or residing "within half a mile of any governmental fort, factory, reservation, base of supplies, or any land used for war purposes." This act was not carried out strictly by the United States marshal. Permits were granted which allowed an enemy alien to remain in the prescribed area if he obeyed the law. The gradual unfolding of vast German plots, the destruction of munition factories, incendiary burning of food supplies destined for the Allies, and the activities of American newspapers, compelled the government to take more stringent action. Various raids were executed in different sections of the country and several hundred "suspects" were interned. The result was that in November, 1917, the

President ordered all enemy aliens to register, and gave the Attorney-General the power to establish forbidden zones about warehouses, factories, etc. There were to be no exceptions to this order. United States troops were also provided to guard the waterfronts of seaports.

An alien enemy property custodian was appointed by President Wilson, the purpose of which was to seize all property held by enemy aliens in this country and to hold them in trust until the close of the war. He had the power to administrate them in any way that he saw fit. The total number of enemy properties taken over by the alien enemy property custodian, A. Mitchell Palmer, during the first sixteen months of its existence, amounted to 35,400, with a total value of more than \$700,000,000. The total cost of the administration of the property was borne by the businesses themselves which were taken over by Mr. Palmer. Mr. Palmer's reports showed that big properties were taken over such as the Bosch Magneto Works, the Passaic Worsted Mills, the Bridgeport Projectile Company, the Sayville and Tuckerton wireless stations, and the Bayer Chemical concern. One way that the money collected was expected to be used is in paying claims of American citizens whose property has been seized by members of the Central Powers.

As each enemy-owned enterprise was seized an effort was made to convert its products to the use of the government in the war. As a result, Mr. Palmer said: "When the armistice was signed the alien property custodian was supplying the government with magnetos for airplanes and automobile motors, with cloth to make uniforms for the soldiers and the dyes with which the cloth was dyed, with medicines, surgical

instruments, and dressings, with musical instruments, with ball bearings, telescopes, optical instruments and engineering instruments, with cocoanut charcoal for the making of gas masks, with glycerine for the making of high explosives and a large number of other and varied products. In some instances the enemy-owned corporations under the alien property custodian's supervision, were running 100 per cent of their capacity on government business."

Up to September 30, 1918, the custodian had deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury, \$54,801,475; cash with depositories, \$7,469; stocks, \$167,801,774; bonds—other than investments made by the Secretary of the Treasury, \$58,281,334; mortgages, \$10,866,009; notes receivable, \$6,130,682; accounts receivable, \$57,559,207; real estate, \$7,311,728; general businesses and estates in operation of liquidation, merchandise, miscellaneous investments, etc., \$85,484,979; enemy vessels, \$34,193,690; total, \$482,447,349.

*The Draft Act.*—In the President's message to Congress on April 2 he submitted the idea of raising a national army by conscription. There was a strong protest against this in both the House and the Senate, but after a month's debate the President's idea prevailed, and on May 18, 1917, the selective conscription act was passed. The President by proclamation set aside June 5 as the day on which all males who had reached their 21st but not their 31st birthday were to register for military service. Nine million, six hundred and fifty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty-two men registered. This included aliens. In different parts of the country there were attempts to avoid the law. Many of the delinquents were given another opportunity to reg-

ister and some of the recalcitrants were arrested. The law authorized the President to appoint a local exemption board for each county and one for each 30,000 population in cities of 30,000 or more. He was also to appoint a board for each Federal Judicial district, which was to review the decisions of the local boards. The President himself was the final court of appeal from the district court. The exemption boards were to be composed of civilians only. Those specifically exempted by the law were Federal and State officials and members of religious sects who had conscientious scruples against war. The President was authorized to exempt "persons engaged in industries, including agriculture, found to be necessary to the maintenance of the military establishments or the effective operation of the military forces or . . . the national interest during the emergency."

The cards of registrants were numbered in a red ink serial up to the total number in the district. Alphabetical arrangement was forbidden. Then the numbers were drawn at Washington and the men were called according to the drawing, which took place on July 20. The men were medically examined and those who were physically fit and not exempted were sent to some one of the 16 military cantonments constructed for the training of new recruits. Six hundred and eighty-seven thousand were called in the first draft. After the first draft was completed the system of selection was changed (November, 1917). All the remaining registrants were divided into five classes, according to liability for military service. Those in the first class were to be called first, those in the second next, and so on.

During the year 1918 three registration days were set aside on which the

various classes of men were to register. The resolution approved on May 30, 1918, provided that all males who had reached the age of twenty-one since the original registration day, June 5, 1917, should register for military service. The President proclaimed June 5, 1918, as the registration day for this class in the continental United States. As a result of this registration 744,865 young men were enrolled. A second registration day was proclaimed in the United States on August 24, 1918, which provided for the enrollment of all males who had reached the age of twenty-one since June 5. One hundred and fifty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-three youths were thus added to the potential military strength of the country.

What virtually amounted to a second selective draft act was approved which provided for the registration of all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, with the exception of those who had already registered or who were in the military or naval service of the United States. The President approved this act on August 31, 1918, and proclaimed September 12, 1918, as the registration day. Approximately 13,000,000 men were enrolled. Provost Marshal General Crowder announced that the selectives had been classified into five groups, which indicated the order in which they were to be called. A summary of this classification follows:

Class I.—(1) Single man without dependent relatives; (2) married man (or widower) with children, who habitually fails to support his family; (3) married man dependent on wife for support; (4) married man (or widower) with children, not usefully engaged; family supported by income independent of his labor; (5) men not included

in this or other classes; (6) unskilled laborers.

Class II.—(1) Married man or father of motherless children usefully engaged, but family has sufficient income apart from his daily labor to afford reasonable adequate support during his absence; (2) married man, no children, wife can support herself decently and without hardship; (3) skilled farm laborer engaged in necessary industrial enterprise; (4) skilled industrial laborer engaged in necessary agricultural enterprise.

Class III.—(1) Man with foster children dependent on daily labor for support; (2) man with aged, infirm, or invalid parents or grandparents dependent on labor for support; (3) man with brothers or sisters incompetent to support themselves, dependent on daily labor for support; (4) county or municipal officer; (5) firemen or policemen; (6) necessary artificers or workmen in arsenals, armories, and navy yards; (7) necessary custom house clerks; (8) persons necessary in transmission of mails; (9) necessary employees in service of United States; (10) highly specialized administrative experts; (11) technical or mechanical experts in industrial enterprise; (12) highly specialized agricultural expert in agricultural bureau of State or nation; (13) assistant or associate manager of necessary industrial enterprise; (14) assistant or associate manager of necessary agricultural enterprise.

Class IV.—(1) Married man with wife (and) or children (or widower with children) dependent on daily labor for support and no other reasonable adequate support available; (2) mariners in sea service of merchants or citizens in United States; (3) heads of necessary industrial enterprises; (4) heads of necessary agricultural enterprises.

Class V.—(1) Officers of States or the United States; (2) regularly or duly ordained ministers; (3) students of divinity; (4) persons in military or naval service; (5) aliens; (6) alien enemies; (7) persons morally unfit; (8) persons physically, permanently, or mentally unfit; (9) licensed pilots.

In a decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court on January 8, 1918, the constitutionality of the Selective Service Act was upheld.

*Missions from Abroad.*—About the middle of April, the expected envoys from France and Great Britain reached the United States. The British mission was headed by Arthur James Balfour, the British foreign secretary, and included also a number of noted military and naval officers and financiers. On April 22 the mission arrived in Washington to confer with President Wilson. Simultaneously with the arrival of these commissioners to the United States the entry of this country into the war was celebrated in England where, on April 20, for the first time in history, a foreign flag was raised over the Houses of Parliament. Both Houses passed the following resolution: "This House desires to express to the government and people of the United States of America their profound appreciation of the action of their government in joining the Allied Powers and thus defending the high cause of freedom and rights of humanity against the gravest menace by which they ever have been faced."

On April 24, the war commissioners from the French republic reached Hampton Roads and at once proceeded to Washington on the President's yacht, the *Mayflower*. The movements of the commission had been kept a profound secret in order to prevent any interference of their progress. As soon

as their presence had become known, their journey to Washington became a triumphal procession. It was probably without parallel in the history of the United States since the visit of Lafayette. The commission was headed by René Viviani, former premier, and Marshal Joffre, former commander of the French armies. The latter was the figure that appealed most to the sympathies and affections of the American people, and this was displayed on every occasion in which he appeared. Another noted member of the commission was the Marquis de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette, and a leader in the French Chamber of Deputies. The commission on reaching Washington paid its respects to President Wilson, and at once began to take counsel with the British commissioners and with the civil and military heads of the American army and navy.

The Russian revolution, which occurred in February, created the most sympathetic feeling and interest in the United States. President Wilson at once resolved to send to Russia a war mission, to consult with the authorities of that country and to assist in the establishment of a stable government. Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, was appointed chairman of the commission, which included also representatives of the army and navy, financial and transportation systems. (See *above*.)

Following the conference in Washington, the French commissioners began an extensive tour in the Eastern and Middle-western States, including a visit to Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, Springfield, Ill., Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. The party left Washington on May 3, and reached Chicago on the following day. The commission was received with enthusi-

asm especially in Chicago. Prior to setting out on this journey, the British and French commissioners, on April 29, 1917, visited Mt. Vernon to pay their respects to George Washington. M. Viviani delivered an eloquent oration on the significance of America's entrance into the great war. Mr. Balfour, as representative of the British mission, also made a notable address. Following their visit to Mt. Vernon, the commissioners met the Senators and Representatives on the floor of Congress. It became known at this time that Marshal Joffre and other members of the French commission had laid stress upon the necessity of at once sending an army to France. In a statement issued by him, he expressed his belief that American recruits could be trained behind the battle lines in France.

The French commission, following its journey through the Middle West, arrived, on May 9, 1917, in New York City, where elaborate preparations had been made for their reception. They were received by Mayor Mitchel at City Hall, where a great throng of people had gathered to welcome them. The commission spent several days in the city, and wherever its members appeared they were received with the greatest evidence of enthusiasm. Marshal Joffre attended the unveiling in Brooklyn of a memorial tablet to Lafayette. Columbia University conferred upon M. Viviani the degree of Doctor of Laws. This degree was also conferred upon Mr. Balfour in his absence.

While the British and French missions were being honored in New York City, an Italian mission, headed by Prince Ferdinand of Savoy, and including many notable persons, among whom was William Marconi, the famous scientist, arrived in New York City.

This mission went at once to Washington where it began conferences with the government authorities. On June 4, 1917, the mission began a tour of the South, Middle West, and East, including the cities of Atlanta, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, and Chicago, arriving in New York City on June 12. They were everywhere received with the same enthusiasm with which the French and British envoys were greeted.

To the list of Allied countries which had sent missions to the United States, Belgium was now added. The head of the commission was Baron Ludovic Moncheur, who had formerly been the Belgian minister in Washington. Other members were General Leclercq, Hector Carlier, Mr. Osterrieth, and Count Louis d'Ursel. On June 18 President Wilson received the commission, and Baron Moncheur delivered to him a letter from King Albert expressing satisfaction at the entry of the United States into the war and appreciation of American aid in relieving distress. Baron Moncheur also delivered an eloquent address in which he expressed the gratitude of his country for the services rendered by the citizens of the United States. To this the President replied in fitting terms. He said:

"The American people have been able to understand and glory in the unflinching heroism of the Belgian people and their Sovereign, and there is not one among us who does not to-day welcome the opportunity of expressing to you our heartfelt sympathy and friendship, and our solemn determination that on the inevitable day of victory, Belgium shall be restored to the place she has so richly won among the self-respecting and respected nations of the earth."

Following the reception of the Belgian commission, came a commission

from Russia headed by Boris A. Bakhmetieff. The Russian and Belgian war mission on June 24, 1917, visited the tomb of Washington at Mt. Vernon, where Baron Moncheur and Bakhmetieff delivered appropriate and eloquent addresses. The Belgian mission, on June 22, was received by the Senate, and Baron Moncheur addressed that body, and was warmly received.

A mission from Rumania was received by the Secretary of State on July 2, 1917. It was headed by the Rev. Basil Lucaciu, president of the Rumanian League, and included a member of the Rumanian army.

A special Japanese mission, headed by Viscount Ishii, Ambassador extraordinary, arrived in the United States in August, 1917. The mission included, in addition to Viscount Ishii, the following: Vice-Admiral Takeshita, Imperial Japanese Navy; Maj.-Gen. Sugano, Imperial Japanese Army; Mr. Masanao Hamihara, Consul General at San Francisco; Mr. Matsuzo Nagai, secretary of the foreign office; Commander Ando, Imperial Japanese Navy; Mr. Tadenao Imai, vice consul; Mr. Tashiro Owaku, secretary; Mr. Douglas L. Dunbar, American secretary to the mission.

The mission, on August 14, was welcomed by Secretary Lansing, and on August 21, Viscount Ishii presented his credentials, as Ambassador, to the President. The commission afterward made a tour of the principal cities of the country.

*German Intrigues and Propaganda.*—Extraordinary revelations of the activities of the German Foreign Office, both before and after the entry of the United States into the war, aroused much indignation. These revelations included the work of propaganda in the United States and in Mexico, and in

several of the South American countries.

The Committee on Public Information made public on September 27, 1917, revelations in regard to German propaganda in the United States, derived from newspapers seized in 1916 from a prominent agent, Wolf von Igel. This man established an office in New York in the autumn of 1914, where he carried on propaganda work in its most varied forms. In April, 1916, while von Igel was preparing papers to be transmitted to the German embassy at Washington, his office was entered by four secret service agents, who put him under arrest, and took charge of his papers. Ambassador Count von Bernstorff protested against this seizure, declaring the papers seized were official, and were exempt from such seizure. When the papers were examined, they were found to contain evidence which made it clear that German agents were violating the laws of the United States, planning for the destruction of lives and property and merchant vessels on the high seas, forming far-reaching plots against Great Britain and Ireland, the United States and Mexico; and endeavoring to corrupt American writers and lecturers. A special system was maintained under the guise of an American Information Bureau, for the purpose of stirring up labor troubles in ammunition plants and was engaged in the preparation of bombs for the destruction of American munition factories and ships. The papers included letters to von Bernstorff commending John Devoy, a prominent Irish-American, as a valuable man for carrying on German propaganda. Reports in regard to Devoy's activities were also included. A letter relating to Judge Cohalan of New York was said to show that he had offered advice in re-



gard to stirring up revolutions in Ireland. Both Devoy and Judge Cohalan denied any guilty connections with the German government. Evidence was found to indicate that several American citizens, who were well known as journalists and lecturers, had received payment from German authorities for propaganda work. These included Edwin Emerson and F. J. Archibald, who was arrested in 1916 while carrying important papers to Germany from the United States. The documents revealed through this seizure were of the greatest value in searching for evidence of German activities, and in bringing about the arrest of many suspected persons.

The State Department, through its secret service, discovered, during 1917, that messages had been regularly sent between Argentina and Germany, through the medium of the Swedish minister to Argentina, and that the German minister in Mexico had in March, 1916, strongly commended the work in behalf of Germany done by Folke Cronholm, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico. He recommended a decoration in recognition of his services.

Much more sensational, however, was the declaration made public of the correspondence carried on by Count Luxemburg, the German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, with the Foreign Office at Berlin through the Swedish legation as a medium of communication. The first of these messages made public was dated May 19, 1917. After detailing the release of certain German and Austrian ships by the Argentine government, and speaking of the change in public feeling in Argentina in behalf of the Germans, he said:

"This government will, in the future, only clear Argentine ships as far as Las Palmas. I beg that the small

steamers *Oran* and *Guazo*, thirty-first January (meaning, which sailed 31), which are now nearing Bordeaux with a view to a change of flag, may be spared if possible, or else sunk without a trace being left ('spurlos versenkt')." Another message followed on July 3:

"I learn from a reliable source that the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is a notorious ass and anglophile, declared in a secret session of the Senate, that Argentina should demand from Berlin a promise not to sink more Argentine ships. If not agreed to, relations would be broken off. I recommend refusal, and if necessary, calling in the mediation of Spain."

Other messages in the same form followed, showing that a constant communication had been carried on between Argentina and Germany through one source. The Swedish government denied any wrong intentions or acts, but a satisfactory adjustment had not been made at the end of the war. On September 21, the Secretary of State made public the following message from von Bernstorff to the Berlin Foreign Office, dated January 22, 1917:

"I request authority to pay out up to \$50,000 in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war. I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly.

"In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable, in order to gain the support of Irish influence here."

The publication of this message created a profound sensation in Congress. A resolution was at once adopted to investigate as to any possible criminal plans in German activities as indicated by this note. No definite action, however, was taken.

On September 22, 1917, the Secretary of State published the following:

"In view of inquiries which have been made as to whether Count Bernstorff knew of the purpose of his government to renew relentless submarine warfare when he sent his message of January 22, 1917, asking authorization to expend \$50,000, I can state that the Department of State possesses conclusive evidence that on or before January 19, Count Bernstorff had received and read the Zimmermann telegram to Minister von Eckhart in Mexico which contained the following:

"We intend to begin on the 1st of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States of America neutral."

"Count von Bernstorff was, therefore, fully advised of the intentions of the Imperial government at the time when he asked for authority of Berlin to employ funds for an organization to influence Congressional action in favor of the continued neutrality of this country."

On December 21, 1917, Secretary Lansing made public another series of telegrams exchanged between Count Luxburg and the German government through the Swedish Minister. These made it plain that the German government was keeping in close touch through this channel with happenings in South American countries. It indicated also the strong desire of the German government to preserve the neutrality of this country.

One of the most daring attempts at propaganda work was carried on by a Levantine adventurer, Bolo Pasha, who came to the United States with the purpose of influencing or purchasing newspapers in behalf of German propa-

ganda. He was supplied with a large amount of money by the German government, and large sums were deposited with a banking house of German affiliations in New York City. On his arrival in this country, Bolo entered into negotiations with Adolph Pavenstedt, then a member of the banking house of Amsinck and Co. Pavenstedt carried Bolo's plans to Ambassador Bernstorff, and as a result, the German Ambassador directed Hugo Schmidt, the German financial agent in America, to pay to Bolo \$1,750,000.

Bolo secured introductions to prominent men, including William Randolph Hearst, whom he convinced that he was a friend of France and was carrying on work in behalf of that country. It was afterward revealed that he was in close relations with Senator Humbert of France, who received large sums of money from the German funds supplied Bolo. The intrigues of Bolo Pasha were revealed through an investigation carried on by Merton Lewis, the attorney-general of New York, who sent the evidence in his hands to the French government. Bolo's work was carried on not only in the United States, but in Canada, but no evidence is shown that his efforts to influence or purchase papers was successful. He was executed.

*Embargo and Blockade of German Trade.*—The problem of dealing with neutral countries which bordered on Germany, and which normally obtained large food supplies from the United States, was one of the most vexing problems with which the American government had to deal. Extraordinary increase in these imports during the years of the war, made it evident that these countries were supplying immense quantities of stores to Germany, and thus prolonging the war. The President issued a proclamation declaring that aft-

er August 30, 1917, no exports from American ports could be shipped to any country in the eastern hemisphere except under a license granted by the Export Council. This restriction, so universal in application, was specifically aimed at the European neutral countries now trading with Germany. In an explanatory note accompanying the proclamation the President said:

"The purpose and effect of this proclamation is not export prohibition, but merely export control. It is not the intention to interfere unnecessarily with our foreign trade; but our own domestic needs must be adequately safeguarded, and there is the added duty of meeting the necessities of all of the nations at war with the Imperial German government.

"After these needs are met, it is our wish and intention to minister to the needs of the neutral nations as far as our resources permit. This task will be discharged without other than the very proper qualification that the liberation of our surplus products shall not be made the occasion of benefit to the enemy, either directly or indirectly."

The embargo was later modified by the removal of the license ban from a number of commodities for export to countries other than Germany, her allies, and neutral nations bordering on Germany. The effect of this modification was to concentrate the embargo against Holland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the countries from which Germany secured large quantities of supplies. Holland had previously entered into an agreement with Germany which fixed the percentage of the exports from the Netherlands to the Central Powers, and to the nations at war with them. The United States government refused to recognize this agreement as equitable and intimated that while it was ob-

served, no American commodities, including foods, cattle, fodder, and dairy products would be permitted to enter Holland. Holland clung to the agreement in order to obtain coal and other commodities from Germany. As a result of this embargo, a large number of Dutch and other neutral vessels loaded with grain and other food products, were held in New York harbor and elsewhere. The United States government refused to permit them to sail under conditions which enabled the cargo to take the place of food supplies from Holland to Germany. The United States proposed that these ships with the cargo be sent to the Allies or unloaded for American use, and that the vessels be placed in the American coastwise trade. The Dutch government refused, fearing the attitude that Germany would take if aid was given to her enemies. There were in all eighty-four Dutch ships held idle in American ports for six months, and they entailed expenses to their owners exceeding twenty-five million dollars. An arrangement had not yet been arrived at at the end of the year.

*Financing the War.*—The United States government determined to raise the money necessary for the conduct of the war by three methods: (1) loans, (2) revenue under the existing laws, (3) new taxation. The Treasury Department decided to raise the money immediately needed by means of bond issues. Consequently books were opened, offering \$2,000,000,000 worth of 3½ per cent convertible gold bonds. The loan was called the "Liberty Loan." Subscriptions closed on June 15, 1917. Amounts were allotted to each of the twelve Federal Reserve districts and in practically every district the amount allotted was over-subscribed. The campaign was carried on with a great dis-

play of posters, ringing of bells, and speeches by prominent men. There were approximately 3,000,000 subscribers and the loan was oversubscribed by almost \$1,000,000,000. Books were opened for a second liberty loan on October 1, 1917. These offered from \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 worth of 4 per cent convertible gold bonds bearing interest from November 15. As was the case with the first Liberty Loan, the second Liberty Loan bonds were enthusiastically bought by the American people. The maximum amount was approximately reached by means of 10,000,000 individual subscriptions. The War Revenue Act as passed in September, 1917, contained drastic taxation measures. An additional tax and surtax were levied on incomes and a graduated excess profits tax on corporations, partnerships, and individuals was put in operation. Internal taxes on tobacco, liquor, transportation, amusements, etc., and an increase in postal rates were expected to produce a vast revenue. The estimated cost of the first year of the war was \$18,500,000,000. For other information see section on FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS.

*President's Address to Congress.*—On December 5, 1917, President Wilson delivered a very important message to Congress. He emphasized the fact that the only possible peace was one after a military victory, when it would be negotiated with responsible representatives of the German people. He stated that international peace after the war must come from a partnership of peoples and not of governments. America would consider the war won when the German people were ready to agree to a settlement based on justice and reparation of wrongs their rulers have done. "Our present and immediate task is to

win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource, whether of men, or money, or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. I will not entertain it." He asked for a declaration of war against Austria and it was declared on December 7. His speech created a profound impression both at home and abroad.

*Sinking of the Lusitania.*—Before the government of the United States had formulated any action in connection with these cases (see *above*) the world was shocked at the terrible news that the Cunard Line steamship *Lusitania* had been sunk on May 7, 1915, by a German submarine off Old Head of Kinsale at the southeastern point of Ireland, resulting in the loss of 1150 lives, of whom 114 were known to be American citizens. Prior to sailing of the *Lusitania* from New York on her fatal voyage, an advertisement signed by the German Embassy appeared in many newspapers warning Americans of the danger of traveling on British vessels through the war zone.

The first feeling of horror at the terrible catastrophe was succeeded by a feeling of bitter resentment in America at what appeared to be a ruthless sacrifice of innocent lives. It appeared, at first, as if a break between the United States and Germany were inevitable. President Wilson waited six days before taking definite action, stating that it was important to act with deliberation as well as with firmness. In the meantime the German government, on May 10, 1915, sent a communication to the United States government expressing its sympathy for the loss of American

lives, but at the same time maintaining that the responsibility rested with the British government, which through its plan of starving the civilian population of Germany by prohibiting the importation of foodstuffs, had forced Germany to resort to retaliatory measures. It was further claimed that British merchant vessels were generally armed, and repeated attempts had been made by such vessels to ram submarines. Finally it was stated that the *Lusitania* carried a large quantity of ammunition in her cargo and warning had been given by Germany that such vessels were liable to destruction.

On May 13, 1915, the eagerly awaited statement of the United States was sent to Germany. With a dignity and an earnestness which the gravity of the situation called for, President Wilson reviewed the series of acts of German submarine commanders culminating in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which he said "the government of the United States has observed with growing concern, distress, and amazement."

Referring to the claim that the alleged illegal acts of her adversaries justified Germany in adopting retaliatory measures the American note stated that the government of the United States could not admit that any such measures were legal which infringed the clearly established rights of neutrals under international law. These rights include the protection of the lives of noncombatants traveling on unarmed merchant vessels and the right of neutrals to travel on the high seas wherever their legitimate business calls them. In view of these clearly established principles the note stated that "it confidently expects the Imperial German government will disavow the acts of which the government of the United States complains; that they will make reparation as far as

reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare, for which the Imperial German government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended." In conclusion it was stated that "the Imperial German government will not expect the government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Some hope was felt that the German government would disavow the act when on May 11, 1915, a note was issued explaining its attitude with respect to American and other neutral ships in the war zone. It stated that the German government had no intention of attacking such neutral ships if they were guilty of no hostile act. Even if such ships carried contraband they were to be dealt with according to the rules of international law applying to prize warfare. It further stated that if a neutral ship should be destroyed by mistake the German government would "unreservedly recognize its responsibility therefor." While this did not cover the question involved in the *Lusitania* case, viz., the right of neutrals to travel in safety on merchant vessels under a belligerent flag, nevertheless it was a distinct modification of the policy announced in the proclamation establishing the war zone.

On May 28, 1915, the German government submitted a note defining its position in regard to the various questions raised in the American note. With regard to the cases of the *Cushing* and the *Gulflight* it was stated that an investigation was in progress and the

results of this investigation would be communicated to the United States government shortly. (A note was sent by the German government on June 4, 1915, expressing regrets for the sinking of the *Gulflight*, explaining that no distinct marks were seen on the vessel by which she could be identified. Germany further agreed to furnish full recompense for the damage done. In regard to the *Cushing* the German government asked for additional information in the possession of the American government in order that a conclusion might be reached in the matter.) In regard to the *Falaba*, it was again stated that the commander had disregarded the order to lay to and had sent up rocket signals for help.

Concerning the *Lusitania*, the German government took the position that the government of the United States had not considered all of the material facts in the case. It then repeated the charge that the *Lusitania* had guns on board mounted under decks, that the British government had issued orders to merchantment to ram submarines, and that in view of these alleged facts the German commanders "were no longer in a position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual." It was further contended that the *Lusitania* carried large quantities of ammunition and a number of Canadian troops, and that the German government was justified in destroying war munitions destined for the enemy. Finally it was asserted that the rapid sinking of the *Lusitania* was due to an explosion of the cargo of ammunition. (It was categorically denied both by the British authorities and the American port officials at New York that the *Lusitania* carried guns and war munitions.) The German government requested the American government to carefully consider the above

statements and express its view in regard to them when the German government agreed to make a final statement as to its position.

It was at this juncture in the negotiations that Mr. Bryan resigned as Secretary of State on the ground that he was unable to agree with the President as to the proper policy to pursue in dealing with the difficulties with Germany. The two points upon which Mr. Bryan in his letter of explanation stated that he was not in agreement with the President were (1) as to submitting the *Lusitania* case to the investigation of an international commission and (2) as to warning Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels or vessels carrying cargoes of ammunition. Mr. Bryan held that the questions in dispute should be considered by an international commission, and secondly, that American travelers should be warned as above indicated.

The next diplomatic move was made on June 9, 1915, when the American government replied to the German government that it noted with satisfaction the position taken by the latter in the cases of the *Cushing* and *Gulflight*. In regard to the *Falaba* the United States was unwilling to admit that the attempt on the part of the merchantman to escape capture altered the obligation of the commander of the attacking vessel to provide for the safety of the lives of those on board the merchantman. In regard to the statements made by Germany that the *Lusitania* was armed, the American government stated that it had official information that such was not the case. With regard to the carrying of contraband by the *Lusitania*, it was held that this was entirely irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used in sinking the vessel. Brushing aside these extraneous

issues, the American government took its stand firmly on the ground that it was "contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity," and it stated that it "very earnestly and very solemnly" renewed its representations made in the previous note.

A reply to this note came from the German government on July 8, 1915. There was in this communication little evidence of a desire to meet the issue. There were the usual assertions in regard to England's inhuman methods of warfare and a suggestion for guarding the safety of American vessels in the war zone. The rejoinder to this note sent by the government of the United States on July 21, 1915, indicated very clearly that it considered the German communication evasive and unsatisfactory. It stated once more in the clearest manner possible the real question at issue, namely, that acts of reprisal against an enemy are indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights. The note further gave pointed evidence that the United States government felt that the discussion had gone far enough and that "it cannot believe that the Imperial government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander." Despite this urgent suggestion from the United States that the matter should be speedily settled the negotiations dragged on. There was evidence, however, that the German government was attempting to find some solution which would concede most that the United States was contending for while at the same time avoid the appearance of being humiliated. For example, on Sept. 1, 1915, Ambassador von Bernstorff, in a letter to the new Secretary of State Lansing, gave assurance that German submarines would not sink

any more liners without warning. It is to be noted that this included ships belonging to belligerents as well as neutrals. Finally, in November, the German government authorized its Ambassador at Washington to begin negotiations looking to a settlement of all outstanding issues between the two nations.

While the negotiations in regard to the *Lusitania* were being conducted, further complications arose from the continued action of German submarines and commerce destroyers. The sinking of the American schooner *Wm. P. Frye* by the German auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* led to an exchange of notes in which Germany finally agreed to pay an indemnity for the loss of the vessel and cargo, and also made the important stipulation that thereafter no merchant vessel would be sunk until the safety of the crew and passengers was made absolutely certain.

In the case of the British steamship *Arabic*, sunk by a German submarine on Aug. 19, 1915, the German government at first refused to acknowledge any obligation in the matter, as it was contended that the *Arabic* had attempted to ram the submarine. Later, however, the German government agreed to pay an indemnity for the loss of American lives on the *Arabic* and further stated that the instructions to the commanders of submarines had been made so stringent that a repetition of incidents similar to the *Arabic* was considered out of the question. Just when it appeared that the issues between Germany and the United States which had arisen in connection with the operations of the submarines were about to be settled, a new issue appeared which seriously complicated the whole situation.

*Question of Armed Merchantmen.*— It had long been a recognized right un-

der international law for merchant vessels to carry armament for defensive purposes. This practice dates back to the days of piracy and privateers, and the armament of a merchantman was intended for purposes of defense against these irregular enemies. It was never contemplated that such armament would be available against a regular man-of-war. The appearance of the submarine, however, changed the aspect of an armed merchantman. Even small-calibre guns would be effective for sinking these frail craft.

The German government contended that Great Britain had mounted guns on a large number of merchant vessels and had issued instructions to the masters of such vessels to attack submarines which approached their ships. Under these circumstances the German government contended that such vessels were in fact men-of-war and might be sunk without warning. There was much force in this argument, and the United States government in a communication to the belligerent Powers stated that, in view of the changed conditions of warfare and the disappearance of pirates and privateers, it was seriously considering regarding all armed merchantmen as vessels of war. It was suggested that the belligerents agree that submarines observe the rules of international law and at the same time that all armament should be removed from merchant vessels.

While this note was being considered by the belligerent Powers, matters were brought to a head when on Feb. 10, 1916, the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary notified the United States that after March 1, 1916, armed belligerent merchant vessels would be sunk without warning by the Teutonic Powers. At about the same time it became known that the Entente Allies

would not accept the compromise suggestions proposed by the United States.

This new development in the submarine issue aroused serious concern in the United States. There was a strong sentiment in Congress that the government should carry out its announced position of considering all armed merchantmen as vessels of war. The administration felt, however, that as the belligerent Powers had declined to accept its suggestion for disarming merchant vessels it was not within its right to insist upon this modification of international law. For a time it appeared as if a serious breach would occur between Congress and the Administration. Resolutions were introduced in both Houses of Congress, calling upon the President to warn Americans not to travel on armed merchantmen. The President did not welcome this intervention of Congress in the conduct of negotiations with foreign Powers, and in order to place Congress on record, he asked for and received what in effect was a vote of confidence from Congress.

This new issue once more delayed the final settlement of the issues between Germany and the United States. The President refused to continue further the negotiations relative to the *Lusitania* case until Germany gave assurances that the submarine warfare would be conducted in such a way as not to imperil Americans traveling on the high seas. In a note presented to the State Department, Feb. 16, 1916, Germany recognized her liability in the *Lusitania* affair. She promised reparation and said that submarine operations (as reprisals) must only be directed against enemy subjects.

The sinking of the French cross-channel steamer *Sussex* aroused serious concern in the United States in view of the promises which had been made



by Germany. In a communication sent to the American government on April 10, 1916, the German authorities offered an explanation of the sinking of several vessels, and denied responsibility for the sinking of the *Sussex*. President Wilson, in order to bring the whole issue to a final settlement, if possible, sent on April 19, 1916, a communication to Germany which was clearly in the nature of an ultimatum. It stated that an impartial investigation conclusively established the fact that the steamer *Sussex* was sunk without warning by a torpedo of German manufacture. It then reviewed the submarine activities for the preceding year and pointed out how submarine commanders had continued to sink merchant vessels, both belligerent and neutral, without warning, despite the explicit promises of the German government. In conclusion it was stated that unless the German government "immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the government of the United States can have no other choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

On the same day that this note was sent, President Wilson, before the two Houses of Congress, read a message in which he reviewed the course of negotiations in connection with submarine warfare and informed Congress of the nature of the message which he had sent to Germany.

In reply to this note the German government stated that it was possible that the *Sussex* was sunk by a German submarine, and if further investigation should establish this to be the case "the German government will not fail to draw the consequence resulting therefrom." On the other hand the Ger-

man authorities denied the assertion made in the American note that there had been an indiscriminate destruction of vessels by German submarines. They defended the activity of the submarines as a legitimate retaliation for the alleged violations of international law by Great Britain. However, it was stated that submarine commanders had received further instructions to the following effect: "In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

While this was a substantial agreement to the demand of the United States, the note went on to say that Germany would expect the United States government to "demand and insist that the British government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war," and in case the British government failed to do so "the German government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve to itself the complete liberty of decision." This concluding statement held out the possibility of a renewal of submarine warfare without restrictions in case Great Britain did not modify her policy of blockade.

To this communication the United States government returned an immediate reply, stating that it would rely upon a "scrupulous execution" of the new policy by the German government. At the same time the note stated that the United States government could not agree that the continuance of this new policy of submarine warfare by Germany was "contingent upon the conduct

of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants."

*Shipment of War Munitions.*—Shortly after the outbreak of the war large orders for war munitions were placed by the Entente Allies with American firms. The complete control of the seas by the British and French fleets made it impossible for the Teutonic Powers to obtain similar supplies. Comment in the German press indicated that the feeling in Germany was very strong that the United States was not observing a strict neutrality by allowing such shipments. On April 4, 1915, Ambassador Bernstorff called the matter to the attention of the United States government officially. He maintained that while the United States had taken no action in regard to alleged violations of international law by Great Britain in interfering with neutral trade, it had allowed American firms to supply large quantities of war munitions to Germany's enemies. He maintained that conditions in the present war were unique, that while theoretically arms might be shipped from the United States to Germany, practically they could be sent only to her enemies. A real spirit of neutrality called for the stoppage of a trade which was aiding only one side.

In a vigorous reply to this note President Wilson set forth clearly the position of the United States. He first called attention to the fact that her relations with England could not be made a subject of discussion with a third government. With regard to the shipment of arms and ammunition, the President pointed out that any change in the laws of neutrality during the progress of a war would be a departure from the principle of strict neutrality and the placing of an embargo on the trade in arms would constitute such a change.

In reply to a similar protest by the Austro-Hungarian government on Aug. 1, 1915, the government of the United States on Aug. 12, 1915, made an exhaustive statement of its position. It reiterated the statement made in the reply to Germany that any change in the rules of neutrality made during a war would violate the spirit of neutrality. In addition it pointed out that it had never been the policy of the United States to maintain a large military establishment or great stores of ammunition and had depended upon the right to purchase arms and ammunition from neutral Powers in time of war. To prohibit such trade would compel every nation to have on hand sufficient munitions of war to meet any emergency, and would practically make every nation an armed camp.

Apart, then, from any question of the legality of an embargo on arms, the United States government felt that it would be a mistaken policy as it would deliberately encourage the spirit of militarism.

*Relations with Austria-Hungary.*—During the year 1915 two serious disputes arose involving the United States and Austria-Hungary. The first of these concerned the activities of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Theodor Dumba.\*

On Sept. 1, 1915, James F. J. Archibald, an American newspaper correspondent, was arrested by the British authorities, when the steamer *Rotterdam* put into Falmouth, for carrying dispatches from the German and Austrian embassies at Washington to Ber-

\* Constantin Theodor Dumba, born (1856) in Vienna; graduated in law at the University of Vienna (1878) and then studied in Paris; entered Austrian Foreign Office (1879); Privy Councillor (1908); Ambassador from Austria to the United States from 1913 till his recall on demand of the United States government in 1915.

lin and Vienna. Among the papers was a letter from Dr. Dumba, suggesting a plan for crippling the munition factories in America by fomenting strikes among the Austro-Hungarian laborers in these factories. Dr. Dumba admitted the authenticity of the documents and defended his action on the ground that it was his duty to bring to the attention of his fellow countrymen employed by the manufacturers of munitions that they were engaged in enterprises unfriendly to the fatherland, and that the Imperial government would regard them as guilty of a serious crime, punishable by penal servitude, should they return to their own country.

This explanation proved unsatisfactory to the American government and Secretary Lansing notified the Austrian government that as Dr. Dumba had "conspired to cripple legitimate industries of the people of the United States and had flagrantly violated diplomatic propriety by employing an American citizen protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of the enemy of Austria-Hungary," he was no longer acceptable to the United States as the Ambassador from Austria-Hungary. In answer to this demand the Austro-Hungarian government agreed, on Sept. 27, 1915, to recall Dr. Dumba.

The second incident involving the two countries was the sinking of the Italian steamer *Ancona* on Nov. 7, 1915, by an Austrian submarine. The *Ancona* had attempted to escape but was overhauled. It was charged by the survivors that the submarine continued to fire after the *Ancona* had stopped. In all more than 200 lives were lost, among them nine American citizens. In a vigorous note the government of the United States, on Dec. 6, 1915, demanded that the Austro-Hungarian government should

disavow the act, that the commander of the submarine should be punished, and that an indemnity should be paid for the loss of the lives of American citizens.

To this the Austro-Hungarian government replied on Dec. 15, 1915, asking for more specific information upon which the government of the United States based its charges. On Dec. 19, 1915, the American government replied, stating that it based its charges on the official report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty, and declined further to specify the additional testimony tending to corroborate the Admiralty's report. The incident was closed by the Austro-Hungarian government granting practically all of the American demands. In a note sent Dec. 29, 1915, it was stated that the submarine commander had been punished for not taking into consideration the panic aboard the *Ancona* which rendered disembarkment difficult. It agreed that Austria-Hungary should indemnify American citizens affected. While disclaiming responsibility for lives lost by the shots which were fired while the *Ancona* was attempting to escape, or for those lost by the faulty lowering of lifeboats, Austria agreed not to press for proof that the American lives were lost through the fault of the submarine commander, and agreed "to extend indemnities to those whose cause cannot be established." In conclusion the note stated that the Austro-Hungarian government "reserved to itself the right to bring up for discussion at a later time the difficult questions of international law connected with submarine warfare."

*Public Opinion in the United States.*—Public opinion in the United States was sharply divided as to the lessons to be drawn from the war, and as to the policy which that country should adopt.

On the one hand a vigorous campaign was inaugurated to strengthen the military and naval defenses of the United States. It was urged with great earnestness that the war had demonstrated the futility of military unpreparedness and that the United States was in particular danger because of her great wealth which other nations would covet.

On the other hand it was urged with equal fervor that the cause of the war was primarily the great military armaments in Europe, and that the United States would make a great mistake by joining in the competition for military preparedness. It was pointed out by the advocates of peace that the energies of the country should be devoted to finding some means, if possible, to end the war, and to further the plans for preventing future struggles. Perhaps the most noteworthy, and certainly the most picturesque, of the efforts of the pacifists in the United States was the expedition organized by Henry Ford, a millionaire automobile manufacturer, to go to Europe to discover some means of ending the war. A liner was chartered for the purpose. Included in the party of about 150 were a number of prominent American men and women, together with a considerable number of newspaper and magazine writers and moving-picture men. The United States authorities let it be known that the mission was in no sense officially sanctioned, while the European countries at war clearly indicated that the expedition was not welcome. Despite these discouragements the party sailed on Dec. 4, 1915. During the voyage serious discord developed among the members of the party. The expedition reached Christiansand, Norway, on Dec. 18, 1915. A few days later it was announced that Mr. Ford would have to leave the party and re-

turn to America because of illness. The remainder of the party went on to Copenhagen, and later to The Hague, where a number of meetings were held with delegates from other neutral countries. The expedition accomplished nothing of importance towards ending the war.

President Wilson, in order to get first-hand information concerning the condition of affairs in the belligerent countries, sent Edward M. House\* abroad as his personal confidential agent. It is thought that the President was seeking to discover whether the time was opportune to offer mediation. (See *below*.)

**Scandinavian Countries.** Immediately after the outbreak of the European War the three Scandinavian countries declared their neutrality and the governments of Norway and Sweden published identically worded explanatory communications which stated that the two governments had agreed to maintain their neutrality and had exchanged binding assurances with a view to preventing any situation arising which would precipitate hostilities between them.

In Sweden there was a strong Germanophile sentiment among the military class, which is in reality more a dislike of Russia than a love of Germany. This anti-Russian feeling is due mainly to the fear that Russia contemplates aggression against the Scandinavian peninsula. In Denmark and Norway the popular sentiment appeared to be favorable to Great Britain. The geographical position of these countries,

\* Edward Mandell House, born (1858) at Houston, Tex.; educated at Cornell University; active in Democratic politics in Texas and director of the campaigns of many successful Democratic nominees for Governor from 1892; himself never a candidate for office; confidential adviser of President Wilson from the time that Wilson was Governor of New Jersey.

especially of Denmark and Sweden, made it peculiarly difficult for them to maintain their announced position of neutrality. They controlled the entrance to the Baltic Sea and were so situated as to provide easy transit to both Russia and Germany.

On the initiative of the Swedish government a conference of the three Scandinavian monarchs was held at Malmö, Sweden, in December, 1914. It was called for the purpose of taking counsel together regarding means for limiting and counteracting the economic difficulties imposed on the three countries by the war. This conference was followed by the issuance of an identically worded protest to the nations at war against their measures which threatened neutral commerce.

The interference with Swedish trade, especially by Great Britain, led to the adoption of retaliatory measures on the part of Sweden. Embargoes were laid on wood pulp and other commodities needed by the Entente Allies. In order to reach a solution of the question of neutral trade Great Britain, in July, 1915, sent a commission to Sweden. Some months later it was stated that a satisfactory arrangement had been made.

A second conference of the premiers and foreign ministers of the three countries was held in March, 1916, at Copenhagen with the purpose of strengthening the understanding between them. It was reported that an agreement had been reached that if any one of the three nations should become involved in the war, the other two would not align themselves with the opposing belligerents. It was further decided that at the proper time steps should be taken by the three Powers in conjunction with other neutrals to protect the interests of neutrals generally.

The transaction of foreign commerce became more difficult and during 1917 the Danish government was obliged to import for its own account foodstuffs and provisions. Industries were not permitted to go beyond certain hours and strict economy in the use of gas and electricity was enforced.

In Norway because of the curtailment of imports by the United States as a result of its policy of restricting imports to neutral countries bordering on Germany an agreement was made between the two countries for the shipments of certain supplies upon guarantees being given that would prevent their reexportation to Germany. The agreement also provided that if any of the supplies were shipped to other countries bordering on Germany, Norway would make an agreement with the country to which the supplies were shipped that no such would be shipped to Germany. Norway was the first of the northern European neutrals to be rationed. When the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, after the renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare, it made the suggestion to other neutral countries that they follow its example. To this suggestion the Swedish government replied that such method was contrary to its principles of policy.

On February 14, 1917, it was announced that the Scandinavian powers after a consultation lasting a week held at Stockholm had handed identical notes to the German ministers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden protesting against submarine blockade, refusing to admit its legality, and holding Germany accountable for damages. On November 29, 1917, a conference of the Scandinavian Powers was held at Christiania on the invitation of King Hakon of Norway and King Gustav of Sweden.

The meeting was explained as an endeavor of the three Scandinavian countries to find means of self-defense against the Central Powers. During 1917, there were 85 Danish vessels of 66,000 net tons and 434 Norwegian vessels of 687,000 gross tons sunk by torpedoes, mines, or gun fire.

In Sweden a great number of hunger demonstrations occurred all over the country. In many cities numbers of bake-shops were plundered by women and in the country districts bands of men demanded that the farmers turn over to them their reserve supplies. Soldiers joined in these demonstrations. While the Parliament was in session in Stockholm a band of workmen numbering several thousands gathered before the building to demand that exports be stopped and that foodstuffs be better distributed. Many people demanded an immediate commercial agreement with England. The Queen was especially unpopular among the Socialists, who called her the German Queen of Sweden, and she was accused of causing provisions to be smuggled into Germany.

In 1918 the Norwegian government took over the supply of breadstuffs to provide better distribution. The rise of prices continued in all the Scandinavian countries. In Denmark the housing problem caused much anxiety, and many people had to purchase houses in order to secure residences. In Copenhagen it was provided that no rent be increased without the sanction of the Copenhagen house rent board, and during the year February 23, 1917, to February 23, 1918, the cases brought before the board numbered 24,000. The expenses of a working family of five increased from 2,000 kroner in July, 1914, to 3,635 kroner in July, 1918.

**Netherlands.** The geographical situation of the Netherlands made its

relations to the belligerents even more difficult to adjust than was the case in the Scandinavian countries. At the outbreak of the war there was considerable apprehension in Holland that their country might suffer a fate similar to that of Belgium. The authorities, however, determined to defend the neutrality of Holland to the best of their ability, and with this end in view the Dutch army was mobilized and sent to the frontiers. These military measures, together with the expenditures made in caring for a large number of Belgian refugees who fled to Holland, entailed a considerable financial burden upon the country. In common with other neutral countries, Holland was seriously affected by the restrictions placed upon neutral commerce, especially by Great Britain. As Holland offered an easy means of communication with Germany, Great Britain deemed it necessary, in order to make her blockade of Germany effective, to adopt some measure to prevent neutral goods passing through Holland to Germany. With this end in view there was organized a company known as the Netherlands Overseas Trust, to which was to be consigned all imports which might be of use to Germany. This company agreed to dispose of these imports so that none should reach Germany.

The war curtailed and restricted the commerce of the country and to supply the needs of the people factories were built. As a result Dutch industry was strengthened and will have a permanent effect on the foreign commerce of the country.

On February 22, 1917, seven Dutch merchant vessels were torpedoed in the North Sea. German naval regulations as to time of leaving and route to be followed had been complied with, and after a discussion of several months the

Dutch government received satisfaction, Germany promising to replace the ships sunk by ships of equal value. The feeling among the Allies was that Germany had agreed to this in order not to push Holland too far, as she obtained supplies from her. On April 21, 1917, Holland made the announcement that she would remain neutral during the war. In the latter half of July, 1917, German and Dutch governments discussed the economic situation. The problem of coal and credits was the most important. Germany could not export more than 200,000 tons of German and 50,000 tons of Belgian coal, which quantity she could continue to deliver until March 31, 1918. To render the rate of exchange stable Germany proposed that Holland should place at her disposal a definite amount of florins for the coal obtained to be covered partly by cash payment and partly by credit, the credit to be carried by a consortium of German banks. On September 11 of the same year it was reported that England was ready to deliver 180,000 tons of coal monthly, if Holland would place 180,000 tons of shipping space at the disposal of the Belgian Relief Commission. When the States General convened the Queen declared that Holland should hold herself ready to resist any infringement of her neutrality.

During the year 1917, the neutral countries bordering on Germany gave rise to a vexing problem to the United States. Extraordinary increase in imports to these countries of food supplies made it evident that large quantities were sent to Germany. Accordingly President Wilson issued a proclamation (August 30, 1917) that no food-stuffs could be sent to Europe without a license granted by the Export Council. A later modification of the regula-

tions resulted in the concentration of the embargo on Holland and the Scandinavian countries from whom Germany received large quantities of supplies. Holland had an agreement with Germany fixing the percentage of exports from the Netherlands to the Central Powers. The United States intimated that as long as the agreement lasted no American commodities would be permitted to enter Holland. Holland needed coal and other commodities from Germany and clung to the agreement. As a result of this embargo large numbers of Dutch and other neutral vessels were held in American harbors. The United States refused to allow them to sail under conditions which would allow their cargoes to take the place of food supplies shipped to Germany. The United States proposed that the ships and their cargoes be sent to the Allies or unloaded for American use and vessels placed in American coastwise trade. The Dutch government, afraid of Germany's attitude, refused. Eighty-four ships were thus held up. The vessels were finally allowed to go (August, 1918) on condition that most of the supplies should go to the relief of Belgium.

The restrictions upon commerce by the Allies and the scarcity of bottoms during 1918, had a depressing effect on Dutch foreign trade. Factories were closed and as a result laborers who lived near the border traveled in and out of Germany daily to work in that country's war industries. The government was forced to regulate the prices of various commodities to keep them from advancing too high. A number of Dutch vessels were sunk by submarines and mines and one was confiscated by a German prize court. Two of the steamers sunk by submarines belonged to the Holland-American line and Ger-

many agreed to place at their disposal an equivalent of German ships interned in Holland.

The Allied need of more shipping resulted in the United States and Great Britain taking over all Dutch shipping. On January 25, 1918, a temporary agreement was made for the use of Dutch vessels outside of the submarine zone. The Dutch government did not live up to its part of the agreement because of pressure brought to bear on her by Germany. The President, therefore, on March 20, 1918, proclaimed that Dutch ships be at once employed in American service, promising adequate compensation and provision for losses by enemy attack. Eighty-seven vessels with a gross tonnage of 980,000 were thus taken over. These were returned as soon as possible after the signing of the armistice.

**Switzerland.** The situation of Switzerland was unique. The little country was completely surrounded by the nations at war. The sympathies of the people were determined by their racial affiliations. There are three distinct racial groups in Switzerland, namely; German, French, and Italian, of which the German group is the largest. Despite these conflicting sympathies, the Swiss authorities were determined to maintain the neutrality of the country, and the army was mobilized in order to prevent any violation of this neutrality by the belligerent Powers. In dealing with the problem of imports into Switzerland, the Entente Allies followed much the same policy as had been adopted in Holland. There was organized a company called the *Société Suisse de Surveillance Economique*, through whose hands imports which might be of service to Germany were to pass.

In 1917 the Federal government in

order to obtain the requisite food supplies and fuel and raw materials for Swiss industries, guaranteed that with certain exceptions neither imports from one group of belligerents or articles manufactured from them shall be exported in any form to a country in the opposite group. In the latter part of 1917, the Krupps established a branch factory at Lucerne with a capital of 30,000,000 marks.

In January, 1917, there were frequent rumors of an intention on the part of Germany to invade Switzerland. The French government on January 5 renewed assurances already given that it would respect the neutrality of Switzerland. The Swiss government took measures to put Switzerland on guard. On April 14, 1917, 15,000 workmen met in Zürich and protested against the high cost of living and demanded a government monopoly in food supplies and their distribution at fair prices. In the autumn of 1917 there were persistent rumors in the press of France and Germany of the intentions on the part of the other country to violate the neutrality of Switzerland. France again assured Switzerland of its intention to respect rigidly and honorably the neutrality of Switzerland.

In June, 1918, an agreement with Germany in regard to iron, coal and steel was published. This economic convention was to last nine months and its main provisions were as follows: Germany granted to Switzerland permission to export each month 2,000,000 tons of coal and 10,000,000 tons of iron and steel, the price of coal to be on the average of 173½ francs per ton, Germany consenting to a rebate of 40 francs a ton for the 60,000 tons which represented domestic consumption. Each party was to be permitted to export products of exchange in the pro-



portionate quantity. Switzerland accepted a system of control, under the so-called Switzerland Fiduciary Office, which was to go into operation July 15, 1918, and which was to be responsible solely to the Federal Council. It was agreed in principle that Switzerland might freely make use of German coal in manufactures which might be exported, but the merchandise manufactured from German coal could not be sent into countries at war with it unless it was shown that an equal amount of non-German coal had been employed in that enterprise. The Germans delayed the negotiations and increased their demands, but when France informed Switzerland that the Allies were ready to supply her with 85,000 tons of coal a month, Germany hastened to conclude the convention.

On September 13, 1918, the French government abrogated the French-Swiss commercial convention of 1906. This was in accordance with the policy of the Entente Allies to put an end to all treaties containing the most favored nation clause.

**South American Countries.** All of the South American countries were seriously affected by the outbreak of the European War. A large amount of the business in these countries was carried on by European credit and the dislocation of the European financial markets seriously crippled the business interests in South America. Moreover, a large part of the export trade of these countries was cut off and emergency measures had to be adopted to relieve the situation. In Chile a moratorium was declared, and the President was empowered to extend government aid to the nitrate industry, the most important in the country. Argentina floated two loans, one of \$15,000,000 and the other of \$25,000,000, in the United

States. This was the first time a South American country had negotiated a loan directly in the United States.

Chile became involved in a dispute with the belligerents when, on April 2, 1915, the German cruiser *Dresden*, which had entered Chilean waters and had been ordered interned, was sunk by a British squadron. Chile demanded an apology from Great Britain for this violation of her sovereignty and this demand was conceded. Germany sent a sharply worded note protesting against the acceptance of this apology, and Chile replied by demanding an apology from Germany for overstepping the bounds of international law in intervening in a question which involved Chile's relations with another Power. After some discussion the matter was adjusted peaceably.

*Reception of the Barred Zone Note.*—The issuance of the barred sea zone note on Jan. 31, 1917, created a profound impression in all the South American republics. None of them, however, seemed ready to take the step adopted by the United States government and sever diplomatic relations. Brazil replied in part: “. . . The unexpected communication we have just received announcing a blockade of wide extent of countries with which Brazil is continually in economic relations by foreign and Brazilian shipping has produced a justified and profound impression through the imminent menace which it contains of the unjust sacrifice of lives, the destruction of property, and the wholesale disturbance of commercial transactions. . . . For these reasons the Brazilian government, in spite of its sincere and keen desire to avoid any disagreement with the nations at war, with whom it is on friendly terms, believes it to be its duty to protest against this blockade and consequently to leave

entirely with the Imperial German government the responsibility for all acts which will involve Brazilian citizens, merchandise, or ships and which are proved to have been committed in disregard of the recognized principles of international law and the conventions signed by Brazil and Germany."

Chile refused outright to recognize the legality of the German attempt to establish barred zones and "consequently reserves liberty of action to protect all her rights in the event of any hostile acts against her ships." Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia, Panama, and Cuba all took similar action. The keynote of their replies was that any act on the part of Germany against their rights as neutrals would be considered unfriendly.

During 1918 the attitude of Chile toward the war was a subject of much comment, for it was not understood why she was so firm against taking any part in the war. This seemed to be the result in the first place of a belief that German military power could never be conquered. Then there was no clear perception of the economic consequences of the war in case of a German victory. Nor did the fear of German imperial ambition count for much, for what was said on that subject by the Entente Allies was attributed to propaganda. Finally, there was no faith whatever in the military strength of the United States.

Soon after the declaration of war between the United States and Germany, Brazil issued a proclamation of neutrality as between those two nations, although there was a strong party in the country which favored a declaration of war based on the grounds laid down by President Wilson of the United States. She kept this attitude of neutrality until June 4, 1917, when the

Brazilian Ambassador handed to the State Department at Washington a note which read in part, "Brazil ever was and now is free from warlike ambitions, and, while it always refrained from showing any impartiality in the European conflict, it could no longer stand unconcerned when the struggle involved the United States, actuated by no interest whatever but solely for the sake of international judicial order, and when Germany included us and the other neutral powers in the most violent acts of war." Brazil seized about 150,000 tons of German merchant vessels in her harbors and ordered her fleet to cooperate in the patrol work in the southern Atlantic.

Brazil declared war on Germany on Oct. 26, 1917, and immediately took steps against her large German population. She annulled all contracts entered into for public works with Germans, forbade land cessions to Germans, took over the control of German banks, and interned all German subjects. Disorder immediately broke out in the large German settlements in southern Brazil, and an army had to be sent to restore order. Shortly after her declaration of war Secretary of State Lansing (United States) published two telegrams from Count Luxemburg, the German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, to Berlin through the Swedish legation, stating that the situation in Brazil was serious, but that a visit of a submarine squadron would materially relieve the situation. Brazil had knowledge of these before she declared war.

By the end of 1917 the situation in Argentina was very acute. On Sept. 8, 1917. Secretary of State Lansing published telegrams that had been sent to Berlin in cipher through the intermediary of the Swedish foreign office.

The first one under the date of May 19, 1917, states that in the future Germany had better adopt one of two policies with regard to Argentine ships. They must either let them alone or sink them without leaving a trace of their sinking (spurlos versenkt). In a telegram dated July 9, he reiterated the same sentiments. The publication of these created a profound impression on the country. Mobs gathered in the streets of the capital, German houses were wrecked and burned. Troops had to be called out to quell the riots. Count Luxburg was handed his passports and the Argentine Senate passed a resolution asking for the breaking off of relations with Germany. President Irigoyen refused to sanction the resolution even after it had been passed by both houses. He announced that Argentina would maintain her neutrality as long as Germany lived up to the pledge given in October, 1917, "to recognize the Argentine flag and respect the nation and people." The country was almost in a state of civil war over the question of whether the country should go to war or not. A big strike on the railroads helped to mix up matters further and to put the state in a serious plight.

Costa Rica severed diplomatic relations with Germany on Sept. 21, 1917. On October 6 the Peruvian government handed his passports to the German minister. On October 10, the government announced that the harbors of Peru were opened to the warships of the Allies. On October 8, Ecuador announced that the minister from Peru who was also minister to Ecuador would not be received in that country. In December, 1917, she broke off diplomatic relations with Germany entirely. Uruguay broke off relations with Germany on October 7. The President in

his address to the Parliament stated that Uruguay had not received any harsh treatment at the hands of Germany but that the country should join hands with those fighting for justice and democracy. She seized almost 50,000 tons of German shipping in her harbors. Paraguay had also broken off relations with Germany soon after the publication of the "barred sea" note.

In December, 1917, the State Department at Washington published several more telegrams sent to Berlin by way of the Swedish legation. The purport of most of them was to unify the German population of South America, which was very great, and organize them against the South American republics. They spoke very sneeringly of the people of South America, referring to them one time as Indians with a slight veneer over them.

**Central American Countries.** The addition of the United States to the belligerents profoundly influenced other neutral states, especially the South and Central American republics. Some had suffered from the German submarine campaign and were encouraged to follow the lead of the United States in breaking with Germany. Others who had not suffered material damage were influenced by the close ties which bound them to the United States. Of the latter group were Cuba and Panama.

On April 7, 1917, the day after the declaration of war by the United States, a war resolution passed both houses of the Cuban Congress and signed by the President. This declared that a state of war existed between Cuba and Germany from that date and the President was authorized to use the military and naval forces in any manner he thought necessary. Four German and one Austrian vessel were seized in Cuban

waters. Toward the end of the month a mission was appointed to visit the United States and confer with the American government on Cuba's part in the war. The President authorized the issuance of \$13,000,000 of bonds as a war loan beginning July 1 to bear interest at not more than six per cent. On May 26, 1917, several revenue measures were announced, including taxes on sugar and the net income of mining and engineering companies. On August 3, 1918, the Congress passed a law authorizing obligatory military service applying to all male Cubans not especially exempted. The age limit was twenty-one to twenty-eight years. The army was to be composed of 17,000 men and the necessary officers. A reserve force was also created, the number to be determined later. A custodian of enemy property was created on September 18, 1918. Foreign enemies were defined as nations of an enemy country; nationals of a neutral power if they violate Cuban laws with intent of aiding country with which Cuba is at war; persons, societies, etc., domiciled in enemy territory and maintaining commercial relations with it; persons, societies, etc., regardless of domicile whom the national safety or war necessities require to be included in the list of enemies.

Panama also followed the lead of the United States and declared war against Germany April 7, 1917, the day after the American declaration.

Toward the end of May, 1917, alleged proof of conspiracies between German agents and former President Gonzales were made public in Costa Rica. Meanwhile on April 12 the Costa Rican government had placed its waters and ports at the disposal of the United States for war purposes. On April 26 it cancelled the letters patent of all

Germans in its consular service. By this time a guard service had been organized along the coasts and boundaries as a protection against German activities. On May 23, 1918, it formally declared war against Germany.

On April 28, 1917, martial law was declared in Guatemala because of disturbances along the frontier supposed to be of German origin. On April 18, 1917, diplomatic relations were broken off with Germany and on April 22, 1918, war was formally declared against her.

Haiti declared war against Germany on July 20, 1918, because of the torpedoing of a French steamer causing the loss of eight Haitians. Nicaragua formally declared war against Germany on May 7, 1918. Honduras declared war against Germany on July 19, 1918.

**China and Siam.** On resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare China issued a protest on February 9, 1917, saying that diplomatic relations would be broken off if the protest was not regarded. On the breaking of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, China began discussing similar action and on March 14 handed the German Ambassador his passports. China demanded of the Entente Allies and the United States the suspension of the Boxer indemnities amounting to \$30,000,000 a year and would last till 1940; consent of the Powers to raise her import duties; their consent to the posting of troops at Tientsin and on the Tientsin railway and in the neighborhood of the legations. The Allies, anxious to have China enter the war, not so much to take part in the fighting, but to provide a reserve of men, had already promised part of these concessions. China had already supplied 100,000 laborers and farm hands to the Entente man-power, for

the most part in France, and the drowning of some of them on their way over on the *Athos* and other boats led to the first protest from China against German methods.

Difficulties accompanied the breaking of relations with Germany. On March 4, 1917, when the cabinet decided to follow the example of the United States, the president refused approval and the prime minister and several of the other ministers resigned. Parliament and the vice-president supported the cabinet. The president later yielded and the prime minister returned to office. The German reply to the Chinese was considered unsatisfactory and on the same day (March 10) the House voted to break off relations. The Senate took the same action on the following day. All merchant ships in Shanghai were seized and guards placed on them. Evidence of intent to destroy them was found.

The question of declaring war was now debated and an extended discussion in Parliament went on. A special commission for international affairs was appointed to report on the subject. The commission decided in favor of entry into the war. A secret session of Parliament was held on May 9, 1917, and a resolution declaring war was referred to a standing committee. The Prime Minister urged its passage and a heated debate followed. After a stormy session the House of Representatives refused to pass the resolution on May 11 on the ground mainly that the war ought not be entered into until the cabinet was reorganized. A mob gathered around the Parliament building and threatened violence and had to be dispersed by troops. On May 19 the House decided not to consider any war measures until the resignation of the prime minister and the reorganization of the cabinet. A deadlock in the

House and Senate on the war question followed. There was a strong demand in and out of Parliament for the resignation of the prime minister, who it was feared, in case of war, might violate the constitution and place the power in the hands of the Conservative Military Party. On the other hand the military governors objected to his dismissal.

On May 29 it was announced that the military governors of several provinces had declared their independence of the Central government. The president was forced to flee and the Manchu dynasty was declared reestablished. However, the government recovered strength and the emperor was forced to abdicate and the new imperial government overthrown July 8-12. It was claimed that the Germans were responsible for the counter-revolution, but this was not established. What seems more certain is that the revolution was connected with international affairs, especially with the relations between the United States and Japan and the Russian revolution. The Chinese declaration of war checked by the constitutional crisis and by the attempt to restore the monarchy was unanimously decided upon by the cabinet and approved by the president on August 5, 1917.

China continued sending laborers to Europe, about two-thirds going to England and one-third to France. By the close of August, 1918, it was estimated that from 4,000 to 5,000 workmen a month were transported to France by way of the Suez Canal and that 150,000 were at work on French territory, being employed in munition plants, in quartermaster's and engineering branches of the army. A bureau of immigration was established to look after these workingmen. Two special

delegates were sent to England and France to watch over them and straighten difficulties that might possibly arise between them and their employers.

China took little part in the war. It was thought that with the suspension of the Boxer indemnity and the increase in import duties China would develop industries and supply the Allies with raw materials. Instead the Allies complained the resources were squandered in civil war. The Chinese army was not properly organized and did not take part in the war. The appointment of a Chinese ambassador to the Papal See indicated a desire to embarrass the Allies. China did not deal effectively with German intrigue and did not properly supervise enemy property. The Chinese enemy trading act though promulgated was not enforced. She was informed that a speedy and complete execution of the agreement was necessary to her enjoying equal privileges with the Allies at the peace conference.

*Siam* declared war against Germany and Austria on July 27, 1917, interning the subjects of those countries and seizing the enemy ships. For a long time past the Entente made demands on her. After the war broke out numbers of Germans in the Indo-Chinese possessions of France and the Indian terri-

tories of England sought refuge in Siam. They recruited bands among the natives and organized movements against the Allies and the government looked on apparently indifferent. France demanded that she choose between the Entente Allies and their enemies, and Great Britain, which before the war had great influence, presented an ultimatum to the Siamese government. The break with Germany followed. This restored order to the French and British possessions in the East.

**Liberia.** The trade of this country was conducted almost wholly by German residents who controlled both imports and exports, but since the war began operations were at first restricted and later almost stopped by British war measures and Liberia was nearing starvation, according to official dispatches received at Washington February 4, 1917. Relations with Germany were broken off on May 8. This was important because many cables had their points of landing in Liberia and had been used by Germany as a base against the British. War was declared on August 4, 1917. Compulsory military service during the war was set up and some hundreds of laborers were sent to France for war work. Vigorous action was taken against German citizens.

## X. PEACE PROPOSALS AND STATEMENTS OF WAR AIMS

The most important move towards peace occurred in December, 1916. On the 12th of that month, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria submitted practically identical notes to the diplomatic representatives of the United States, Switzerland, and other neutral countries as well as to the Vatican. No terms were mentioned but the Allies were asked "to enter forthwith into peace negotiations." The notes were forwarded to the Allies without comment. Russia immediately refused to open any negotiations whatever. Italy and France made similar declarations. Lloyd George, the new premier of England, declared that little could be expected of the peace move now and that "the very appeal for peace was delivered ostentatiously from the triumphal chariot of Prussian militarism."

Rather unexpectedly the United States, on December 18, sent a note to the belligerent nations asking them "the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out." Germany replied on December 26 that the only thing she was willing to consider was a meeting of representatives of the belligerent nations while the war was continued.

The Allied reply was received on January 12, 1917. It was a compilation of the views of all the Entente Powers and demanded (1) restoration of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro with indemnities; (2) evacuation of invaded territories of France, Russia, and Rumania with reparation; (3) reorganization of Europe under guarantees

to insure to all nations respect and liberty of development; (4) restitution of territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the people's will; (5) liberation of Slavs, Rumanians, Italians, and Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination; (6) enfranchisement of population subject to Turkey; (7) expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire. This note effectively stopped for the time being all attempts to bring about peace, inasmuch as the world realized that the demands of the Allies could be gained only on the battlefield and not in a conference.

*Pope Benedict's Peace Appeal.*—In August, 1917, Pope Benedict\* sent an identical note to all the belligerent powers on the subject of peace. The note as translated by the State Department at Washington was published in the American newspapers on August 16. The first paragraphs stated that the Pontificate has made every effort to remain absolutely impartial and thus espouse the cause of no one group of belligerents. It relates the unsuccessful attempts to mediate at the end of the first year of the war and then states the "base of a just and lasting peace." . . . First, the fundamental point must be

\* BENEDICT XV (GIACOMO DELLA CHIESA). 260th Pope, elected September 3, 1914. Born (1854) in Pagli, diocese of Genoa. Took degree in jurisprudence at University of Genoa. Ordained a priest in 1878. In 1883 appointed secretary to the Nunciature at Madrid. On return to Rome made permanent Under Secretary of the Secretariat of State. Made prelate (1900), consultor of Holy Office (1901), Archbishop of Bologna (1907), and Cardinal (May, 1914). Known as man of diplomacy, cool and level-headed. Keen reverence for all traditions of the Vatican and foe of Modernism in Church.

that the material force of arms shall give way to the moral force of right, whence shall proceed a just agreement of all upon the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be established, in the necessary and sufficient measure for the maintenance of public order in every State; then taking the place of arms, the institution of arbitration, with its high pacifying function, according to rule to be drawn in concert and under sanctions to be determined against any State which would decline either to refer international questions to arbitration or to accept its awards."

The Pope then takes up the question of the war, and suggests absolute freedom of the seas. He also asks for mutual restitution of all territory that has changed hands during the war. "As regards territorial questions, as, for instance, those that are disputed by Italy and Austria, by Germany and France, there is reason to hope that, in consideration of the immense advantages of durable peace with disarmament, the contending parties will examine them in a conciliatory spirit, taking into account, as far as is just and possible, as we have said formerly, the aspirations of the population, and, if occasion arises, adjusting private opinions to the general good of the great human society." He suggested that the questions of the Balkan States, Poland, and Armenia might be settled on the same principles.

The press in Entente countries severely criticized the Pope's appeal on the grounds that it made no condemnation of Germany's atrocities, the invasion of Belgium and the submarine warfare. The Pope replied to this by stating that he was acting as a peacemaker and not as a judge and that if he at-

tempted to decide which set of belligerents was right his peace attempt was certain to be a failure.

On August 27, 1917, President Wilson replied to the Pope's note through Secretary of State Lansing. It stated that, "Our response must be based upon the stern facts and upon nothing else." After reviewing the methods suggested in the Pope's note, the President's reply states: "It is manifest that no part of this programme can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry out the plan without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. . . . They (the American people) believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great and small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included if



they will accept equality and not seek domination. . . . We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German government, no man, no nation can now depend on."

President Wilson's reply to Pope Benedict received the hearty approval of the press of the United States. Even the German papers printed in that country seemed to favor the note. The Allies of the United States, through their statesmen and press, endorsed the stand taken and the more enthusiastic of them hailed Mr. Wilson as the spokesman of the Entente. In Germany the government and pan-German organs bitterly attacked the President's note, claiming that it was nonsense to say that the German people were oppressed by an irresponsible government. They cited the fact that the entire German people had time and time again repeated that they stand firmly behind the government. The Socialist newspaper, *Vorwärts*, stated editorially, "The government of a country at war with us has a perfect right to demand that for the conditions under which peace is to be concluded the people themselves shall be the guarantee." Semi-official organs in France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia announced to the world that the reply of President Wilson represented their own attitude toward the peace proposal.

The official replies of the German and

Austro-Hungarian Empires were made public on September 22, 1917. The main theme of both notes was identical. It was that both empires agreed with the Pope's desire to have the right of might give way to moral force. Both stated that arbitration with efficient guarantees should follow an immediate disarmament by all the nations of the world. Freedom of the seas and the right of independent economic progress was inalienable to all nations. The press of the Entente countries passionately attacked the replies, not so much because of what was contained therein, but because of what was not said. Nothing was said of the evacuation, restitution, and indemnification of Belgium, nothing of Alsace-Lorraine, nothing of Poland, Armenia, Trentino, etc. Subsequent statements by German diplomats refused absolutely to debate the question of Alsace-Lorraine.

*British Statement of War Aims.*—

At the beginning of 1918 a comprehensive statement of British Labor war aims, passed by official representatives of the trade unions and the Labor party, was made public. Its effect upon the governments of Great Britain and the other Allies was immediately perceptible and it continued to influence them in the formulation of war purposes throughout the year. It declared that "whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the British labor movement is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy." It opposed any attempt to turn the war into a war of conquest and declared that it should not be prolonged for a single day after the conditions for permanent peace could be obtained, but it held that certain reparations and restitutions were necessary. These should be based on the principle of self-deter-

mination of all the peoples concerned and should seek to remove the causes of future conflict. They included: German restoration of Belgium to complete independence, and reparation, under the direction of an international commission, of the wrong done; the right of the people of Alsace-Lorraine under the protection of a supernational authority, or League of Nations, to decide their own future political status; the support of the claim of the people of Italian blood for union with their kinsfolk, but the condemnation of Italian aims of conquest or imperialism; the settlement of other cases in dispute, such as those of Luxemburg, the Poles, and others, on the principle of self-determination by the peoples; the granting to the Jews of all lands the same rights of tolerance, freedom of residence, and equal citizenship that ought to be accorded to all the inhabitants of every nation. It recommended that Palestine be freed from Turkish domination and set up as an independent state, under international guarantee, to which Jews might return if they desired; the neutralization of Constantinople and the placing of it along with a part or possibly all of Asia Minor under an impartial administration; and the reorganization of the Balkans by a special commission or an international conference on the principles of: (1) Self-determination by the peoples without regard to Austria, Turkish, or other alien control; (2) independent sovereignty of the predominant nationalities; (3) universal adoption of religious freedom, and equal citizenship of all races, and of local self-government; (4) a customs union of all the Balkan states; (5) a federation of all national Balkan states for the joint voluntary arrangement of matters of common concern. It urged the abandonment

by all the belligerents of all dreams of African Empire, and the transfer of the present colonies to a supernational authority or League of Nations. As to plans for an economic war after peace was secured, the Labor movement declared squarely against them. It favored government control of indispensable commodities for some time after the war in order to meet the needs of the whole community; and it held that homes, factories, and farms destroyed by the war should be restored immediately upon the return of peace. It demanded a complete judicial investigation of the charges that particular governments had ordered and particular officers had committed acts of cruelty, violence, theft, and other offenses unjustified in the common usage of war; and it recommended that a court of claims and accusations should be set up in the interest of the non-combatant victims of such inhumanity and ruthlessness. The memorandum declared emphatically against imperialism in all countries; and favored the complete democratization of all governments, the universal abolition of compulsory military service, and the creation of a supernational authority, or League of Nations, endowed with law-making authority and with power to enforce its decrees.

In response to the continued demands that the Allies' war aims be distinctly declared, Mr. Lloyd George made a statement in regard to them in an address to the delegates of the trade unions on January 5. He said that the war aims of the Allies had been discussed by him, the leaders of the Labor party, with Mr. Asquith, Viscount Grey, and representatives of the Dominions. He declared in the first place, that the Allies were not fighting against the German people, and were not seek-

ing and had never sought to destroy or disrupt the German people or Germany, or to destroy Austria-Hungary, or to seize Constantinople, or to deprive Turkey of those lands which are occupied by people mainly of Turkish race. He then outlined the purposes for which the Allies were fighting. They may be summarized as follows:

I.—*Europe*. Complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of the independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces.

Restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania.

Complete withdrawal of the alien armies and reparation for the injuries inflicted.

Support of the French democracy in their demand for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when, without regard to the wishes of the population, two French provinces were torn from the side of France and incorporated in the German Empire.

An independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form part of it, an urgent necessity for the stability of western Europe.

Genuine self-government on true democratic principles to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it.

Satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue.

Justice to men of Rumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations.

II.—*Asia and Africa*. Constantinople to remain Turkish capital.

Passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea to be internationalized.

Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine entitled to recognition of their separate national conditions.

German colonies held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies.

III.—*In General*. Reparation for injuries done in violation of international law, especially as regards British seamen.

The establishment of some international organization of an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes.

Sanctity of treaties to be reestablished.

A territorial settlement to be secured based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed.

The creation of some international organization to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war.

*President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" Message*.—Soon after Lloyd George had made this brief and general statement of war aims, President Wilson sent to Congress (January 8) an important message which set forth his peace programme in considerable detail, summing up the essentials of a final settlement in fourteen points, which became the subject of extensive discussion in the closing months of the year. The fourteen points he stated as follows:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at; after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored; and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories re-

stored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

The President's statement was supported by Congress and the American press with surprising unanimity. Hardly any criticism of it appeared at the time. In Great Britain it was received with enthusiasm, as definitely stamping the Allied war aims with American approval. It was declared to present essentially the same conditions as those laid down by Lloyd George. British labor organizations promptly endorsed and declared their unqualified support of a continuance of the war for these purposes. In the French press it was accepted by leading journals as an expression of French aims. Lloyd George answered in an Anglo-French declaration published a day or two later accepting its principles. Italy apparently supported it, though there were some suggestions that Italian aspirations in the Adriatic were not sufficient-

ly emphasized. In Russia the official Bolshevik organ denounced the President as the representative of capitalism and threw suspicion on his words of good-will toward Russia.

*The Central Powers on War Aims.*—On January 25, 1918, Count von Hertling, imperial chancellor of Germany, and Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, made their answers to the statements of Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson. The principal points in Count von Hertling's reply were as follows: The Central Powers had been the first to favor extensive publicity of diplomatic agreements. The defensive alliance between Germany and Austria had been public ever since 1889, whereas the offensive agreements of the Allies were disclosed only through the present war and chiefly by Russia's publication of her secret documents. The Central Powers had again shown their adherence to the principle by the complete publicity which had been given to the peace negotiations of Brest-Litovsk. Mr. Wilson's principle of absolute freedom of navigation in peace and war was accepted by Germany, who, however, dissented from his qualification that this rule would not apply when the seas should be closed by international action. Germany also fully concurred in the demand that there should be no economic war. As to the reducing of armaments, the German government considered it entirely suitable to discussion. In regard to the impartial adjustment of colonial claims in which the interests of the peoples concerned should have due weight, Germany believed there would be some difficulty in applying this principle, but that for the present Great Britain should come to an understanding with her ally as to the nature of the proposal. Germany demanded uncondi-

tionally the reconstruction of the colonial possessions of the world. To the demand that all the Russian territory be evacuated, and that Russia have full opportunity for self-development, he replied that since the Allies had not accepted the proposal to take part in the Brest-Litovsk conference, the question concerned only Russia and the Central Powers. He declared in regard to Belgium that annexation was not part of the German plan but declined to discuss the Belgian question so long as the Allies refused to admit that the only possible basis for peace negotiation was the integrity of the territory of the Central Powers. In regard to Alsace-Lorraine, he said that forcible annexation was no part of the plan of Germany, but that Germany and France must settle the question between themselves and that Germany would never consent to being robbed of the provinces. The invaded portions of France were a "valuable pawn" in the hands of Germany. The demand of President Wilson that the non-Turkish population in the Turkish Empire should be assured of self-government and that the Dardanelles should be permanently opened, he dismissed by saying that that point must be left to the Turkish statesmen. To the demand for an independent Poland he replied that it was the Central Powers that had rescued Poland from Russia's despotism, that therefore it was the business of the Central Powers to settle the future of Poland, and that this task had already well advanced. Finally, in regard to the League of Nations, he said that after all other questions had been settled the imperial government would be glad to investigate the principle of such an organization.

Count Czernin's reply went further than von Hertling's toward meeting the

American demands and the inconsistency between the two gave rise to much comment in the press, especially as the German foreign minister had declared that he completely agreed with the views of his Austro-Hungarian colleague. The main points in Count Czernin's reply were as follows: He had no objection to make to the plan for open diplomacy, although he did not see how it could be executed. He was entirely in accord with the President on the principle of absolute freedom of navigation. He approved as just and reasonable the removal of economic barriers. He approved heartily the President's words in regard to reduction of armaments. As to Russian territory, Austria did not desire for herself any of the Russian land and said that between the diverging views of the Russian and German delegates in regard to the western provinces and Poland a middle solution must be found. He made no specific reference to Belgium further than to say that Austria would defend the possessions of her ally as she would her own. He declared that Italy had neglected her opportunity to expand before the war without any sacrifice of life and that she had gone into the war simply with a view to her own advantage. He refused to discuss the demand that the peoples of Austria-Hungary should have an opportunity for self-development, saying that he could not accept advice as to the conduct of the internal administration of Austria-Hungary. In regard to readjustment in the Balkans on lines of nationality, he said that he refused to make a one-sided concession to the enemy. He dismissed the question of Turkey's status with the same general remark that he had applied to Belgium, namely, that Austria would defend the possessions of her war ally. He agreed

to the proposal for a Polish independent state, saying that Austria-Hungary also desired it, and wished Poland to have a free decision. Finally he said that the idea of a League of Nations would probably meet with no opposition in Austria.

*President Wilson's Reply to the Central Powers.*—In an address to Congress, February 11, 1918, President Wilson after traversing the arguments of Count von Hertling and Count Czernin, set forth four principles upon the acceptance of which a discussion of the terms of peace would be possible. These were, in brief: (1) Each part of the final settlement to be based on the essential justice of that particular case. (2) Peoples and provinces not to be bartered from one sovereignty to another as if they were chattels. (3) Every territorial settlement to be made in the interest of the populations concerned. (4) National aspirations to be satisfied to the utmost without introduction or perpetuating elements of discord.

*The Sixtus Letter.*—As noted above, Count Czernin informed the city council of Vienna that he agreed to the four principles laid down by Mr. Wilson in his address of February 11, and that only Alsace-Lorraine stood in the way of peace with France and thereupon Premier Clemenceau replied that such discussion as had taken place had been only at Austria's instance. M. Clemenceau published later the celebrated "Sixtus Letter," dated March 31, 1917. This had been sent and received on the condition that it should be regarded as confidential. It was addressed by the Emperor Charles to Prince Sixtus of Bourbon, whom it requested to communicate to specified French officials the Austrian emperor's desire for peace and his readiness to use his influence to

bring it about, and to assure the granting of the just claims of France in regard to Alsace-Lorraine and the restoration of Belgium and Serbia. It appears to have been discussed by President Poincaré and Premier Clemenceau together with a committee of French deputies and also by King George and the British premier, Lloyd George, but to have been dismissed as insincere. These points were brought out in the British parliament on May 16 in a reply of the British foreign minister, Mr. A. J. Balfour, to the questions raised by certain members of parliament who were identified with the policy of peace by negotiations. In the course of the discussion at that time, Mr. Balfour said that the government was ready to listen to peace proposals if they were brought forward by representatives of a country with which England was at war.

*German War Aims.*—To the message of President Wilson on February 11 setting forth the four points upon which the negotiations might be based, the German chancellor, von Hertling, had replied that the four points were acceptable but must be agreed to squarely by all the belligerents. The independence of Belgium was conceded, but under limitations to safeguard the interests of Germany. He said that the subject of Alsace-Lorraine was not debatable and he declared that the only obstacle to peace was British imperialism. The attitude of the German government was further illustrated by the address of the chancellor in the German parliament toward the end of June. He said that the proposal of the Society of Nations after the war would be injurious to Germany. He said that he had favored the four principles discussed by President Wilson, but that from the views of the Allies as expressed

since then, it was manifest that a peace based upon a league of nations would not be one that Germany could accept, for Germany's enemies would dominate it and isolate her. By their commercial rivalry and economic pressure they would stifle the economic life of Germany. On June 24 the Foreign Minister von Kühlmann in the course of an address on Germany's war aims said in effect that the war could not be won by arms alone and that peace could only be had by negotiations. This aroused a storm of protest from the Pan-Germans and Germans and was criticized from other points of view. By a part of the Allied press it was regarded as an attempt to make the enemies of Germany believe that favorable terms could be had at that time, whereas later Germany might not be willing to accord them. Von Kühlmann afterwards explained his words as meaning that while Germany intended to persevere until she was successful in a military sense, diplomatic arrangements would have to follow, and he hoped the Entente Allies would offer terms appropriate to the situation and satisfactory to Germany's vital needs. The chancellor defended von Kühlmann from the attacks that were made upon him, but nevertheless it cost him his post and he resigned on July 9, being succeeded by Admiral von Hintze. In spite of the distrust of von Kühlmann's sincerity and in spite of the attacks made upon him in Germany, it appeared from subsequent events that the hopelessness of military victory was felt by a large and increasing number of Germans. Persons conversant with German affairs reported later that they had observed distinctly as early as July the growing conviction that Germany was in a military sense beaten. In the debate that followed von Kühlmann's speech, the leader of the

minority Socialists made a bitter attack upon the government, blaming it for its ruthlessness in the matter of Belgium, its aggressive course, its imperialism, its constant misrepresentations as to the war, its atrocious conduct in Ukraine, etc. He pointed to one instance after another in which the government had cheated the people by the hope of success as in the case of the repeated assurance that the submarine campaign would lead to victory and the frequent assertion that the United States would not enter the war.

*Other Peace Discussions in July, 1918.*—On July 16 the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Baron Burían, who had succeeded Count Czernin, declared his approval in the main to the "four new points" which President Wilson had stated in his Mount Vernon speech on July 4 and his readiness to discuss everything except what applied to the territory of the Dual Monarchy. He said the territorial claims of the Allies were inadmissible but that they alone stood in the way of a settlement. Austro-Hungarian internal affairs concerned Austria-Hungary alone, and their discussion by the Allies was "an offensive of irritation." On July 3, Lloyd George in a speech to the National Union of Manufacturers said the longer the war continued, the more severe would be the economic terms of the peace; that the fullest possible economic agreement between the Allies was necessary; and that Great Britain must come to a complete understanding with her Allies and with her own Dominions in regard to the problem of raw materials and transport. He declared for trade preference within the empire. On July 19, the French National Congress of Socialists passed a resolution calling upon the government to revise its war aims, denouncing imperialism, and de-

claring for a Wilson peace. It also passed a resolution demanding immediate negotiations for a League of Nations. At the same time Lord Lansdowne gave out his views, which attracted wide attention and caused sharp criticism as tending toward a policy of weakness. He said that the world was drained of men and money; that the birth rate was falling off; that the desire for peace was widespread; and that nevertheless the spokesmen of the belligerent powers applied themselves merely to recrimination. He believed that now was the time for peace since the moment had come when the Allies were showing that they could hold their own in the conflict and he believed any reasonable proposal should be considered.

*Alsace-Lorraine Question.*—Early in June there was a demonstration in Switzerland on the part of the Alsace-Lorraine residents. Delegates from all of the Alsace-Lorraine organizations in Switzerland met in assembly in Berne. The committee on investigation presented a report urging the final abandonment of any idea of neutralization and declared for unconditional re-absorption of Alsace-Lorraine in France. Among the Alsations in Switzerland were many who had fought on the German side during the war and there were others who had lived in Switzerland a long time and become citizens. They unanimously expressed the wish to return to France not only for reasons of sentiment but because they could not see any other guarantee for the peaceful development of Europe in the future. Those who had formerly believed in neutralization seemed to have come over to this view. Swiss sentiment in general was on the same side. The question of a popular decision in Alsace-Lorraine was much discussed dur-



ing the year. The objections raised against the plebiscite were as follows: The proper field for the action of universal suffrage was in the election of legislative bodies or the direct vote on measures submitted to the people by parliament as in the referendum. These decisions might be changed as popular opinion varied, but when a popular vote decides the question of nationality that decision must be regarded as final. Yet such a vote could be very easily tampered with, and perhaps controlled in the interest of one side. The plebiscite was generally opposed both by the French and the Alsace-Lorrainers. Since 1871 an inhabitant of Alsace-Lorraine had not been free to express his national preference and even now in voting he would be haunted by the memory of all that he had suffered under the military dictatorship during the war, and he would think with dread of the revenge which Germany would take upon the minority if the decision were favorable to her. Secrecy of the ballot would do no good, for during many years the German authorities had spied upon and ascertained the views of all the natives. In these circumstances the weak and timid would all vote against their convictions and their real sentiments. A good many of them would reason thus: If I displease the Entente I can always get out of the difficulty without damage, but if I rouse the anger of Germany, woe betide me. In favor of the plebiscite it was said that it would bring Germany to terms and that she would renounce all further claims. Hence, it would consolidate the peace. To this it was replied that Germany would never submit to a vote that was adverse to her. The leaders of Germany do not admit the right of peoples to dispose of themselves and they are opposed to a genuine plebi-

scite. The reason why they consent to a consultation of the people is because they hope to bring pressure to bear upon the vote and more especially because they expect as a result of that concession to obtain a peace which will leave them enough power to resume their schemes for dominating the world.

In a debate in the German parliament in the latter part of June the German view was indicated. One of the Socialist deputies said we must not be surprised if the population in Alsace-Lorraine is to-day full of hatred and the desire for revenge against Germany. Unless Alsace-Lorraine becomes a self-governing member of the state we shall lose the good-will of the people, even though retaining the country. If one were to organize to-day a plebiscite, four-fifths of the people would choose for France if only to get rid of our oppressive rule. A deputy on the opposite side expressed the hope that these ideas were false, but he added that the pro-German tendency in Alsace-Lorraine had wholly disappeared, doubtless because the conviction obtained among the people that the Entente would come out victorious in the war. In England at about the same time reference was made to the attempt of the Germans to give the impression that the war had been imposed upon them by France because France wished to reconquer Alsace-Lorraine and that the claim of France to those provinces was the only thing that stood in the way of a reasonable peace. This was characterized in England as elsewhere among the Allies as merely the attempt of Germany to cause discord among the members of the Entente. As soon as the armistice was signed (November 11), the French government began to take the necessary measures for the for-

mal recovery of the provinces, and three commissioners were appointed to act for the government in their three respective divisions, namely, Alsace, Upper Alsace, and Lorraine. Meanwhile the armies of the Allies had already occupied parts of the provinces in their advance toward Germany. See *above* under MILITARY OPERATIONS.

*Dissensions Among the Central Powers.*—During 1918 there was much discussion in the press of the clash between the respective ambitions of the Turkish and Bulgarian governments. It was evident that Ferdinand of Bulgaria aimed at leadership in the Balkans and that he had not consoled himself for the check of 1913, when he hoped to find the way open to Constantinople. But the ambitions of the Turks were awakened by the downfall of Russia. They wished to control Russian Armenia and to gain a foothold in the Caucasus and were believed to be coveting the Crimea, with the apparent aim of turning the Black Sea into a Turkish lake. These designs alarmed Bulgaria and the conflict in aims between the two governments was brought in the affair of the Maritza on one hand and the affair of the Dobruja on the other. The treaty of *Bucharest* (see *above*) had given absolute possession to Bulgaria of only the northern part of the Dobruja and this was far from satisfying her. The least she expected was the annexation of the whole Dobruja. This, however, was opposed by the Turks; and the German government, failing to bring the two rivals into harmony, adopted the policy of joint control for northern Dobruja. The Bulgarians, on the other hand, refused to yield to the Turks in the affair of the Maritza. On the right bank of this river the Central Powers, in order to win the Bulgarians

to their side, had obliged the Turks to cede to Bulgaria the station of Adrianople in 1915, and the main line to Constantinople was thus left at the mercy of the Bulgarians—a situation highly objectionable to the Turks, who therefore demanded the revision of that agreement. In this demand they were supported by the Germans. The Bulgarians sharply refused and in one of their papers, on June 19, a writer remarked that Bulgaria was surprised at the attitude of the Turks, who seemed to assume that agreements between allies were merely scraps of paper. The German government apparently was having difficulty in keeping the peace with them. Her policy inclined toward Turkey and this was explained in the press of the Entente Allies on the ground that Germany wished to consolidate her power all the way from Constantinople to Bagdad. Bulgaria's attitude, on the other hand, was disturbing and her czar showed little inclination to work for the King of Prussia. The design of a greater Bulgaria threatened Germany's plan for the control of the routes to the east. That is why she hesitated to surrender the whole of the Dobruja and encourage Turkey to claim Adrianople.

The German government had given Bulgaria the right to annex eastern Serbia, but the Bulgarian government was apparently not satisfied with that so long as the status of the Dobruja was not determined in its favor. Turkey had insisted that the question of the Dobruja should form part of the whole subject of the Turkish-Bulgarian frontier and the German government for the present consented to this. The Turks opposed the granting of the Dobruja to Bulgaria so long as the latter did not offer any compensation. While the Turkish-Bulgarian dispute

continued the German government took the stand that it could not settle these questions and it would not make good its alleged promises to give Bulgaria the Greek towns of Calvalla, Drama, and Seres. At this time the Czar Ferdinand was reported in the press to have taken a long journey in foreign parts and this was supposed to mean that he had gone to Berlin to press his claim. At the same time the Bulgarian prime minister, M. Radoslavoff, who was friendly to Germany, resigned and was succeeded by an anti-German, M. Malinoff. This was attributed to resentment at Germany's attitude and at her niggardliness in provisioning Bulgaria, where the food situation had become critical. Now that von Hintze had succeeded to von Kühlmann, there seemed a better chance for Bulgaria because von Hintze had from the beginning shown sympathy with the Pan-German element and the Pan-Germans heartily supported Bulgaria's claim both to the Dobruja and to the Greek cities. They favored the plan for the greater Bulgaria of the future which should include even Saloniki.

As to the difficulty between Germany and Turkey, it was regarded at the beginning of August to be so acute as to threaten a rupture. This, however, seemed improbable, for the Young Turks who were in power were not likely to come to any agreement with the Entente Allies. The Allies could not recognize a government which was founded upon the crimes of Enver, Talaat and Djemal and which still held under its tyranny the Armenians and Syrians. The Allies would have to insist upon the liberation of those peoples and to this the Young Turk government would never consent. Compromise seemed out of the question. Nevertheless the relations between Germany

and Turkey appeared to be far from harmonious. Germany had large designs in the East and hoped to realize them by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, to which Turkey had agreed in return for certain concessions in the Caucasus. But now that Turkey virtually demanded the sole control of the Black Sea, which would eventually bar the way of Germany toward the East, there was much indignation in Germany, where the press bitterly denounced what they characterized as Ottoman chauvinism. The Turk retorted with the same arguments for their course in the Caucasus as the Germans had employed on behalf of an independent Flanders, that is to say, Turkey argued that just as the Germans had undertaken to create an independent state in that part of Belgium which was akin to them in race, so the Turks wished to recognize the movement for independence on the part of their own kinsmen in the Caucasus. At other points the Turks were said to have ambitions inconsistent with the purposes of Germany: For example, Germany wished the Turks to drive the British from occupied territory, especially in Mesopotamia, but the Turks realized that the task was too great and sought objects less difficult to attain in the Caucasus, Persia, and in the Black Sea. The German press reproached the Turks bitterly for this policy, saying that instead of trying to encroach in the direction of the Caspian and Baku, they should turn their efforts toward Bagdad. Turkey was accused even of coveting the Crimea and its ports in order that the Ukraine should not become a Black Sea power and of aiming to secure in the Caucasus a barrier against Russia in the East in order to protect Turkish communications with Persia. In short, a portion of the German press believed that Turkey was

aiming to turn the Black Sea into a Turkish lake and thereby choke off all trade from European Russia.

The chief difficulty between Germany and Austria-Hungary arose from the question of Poland. The Germans had thought that von Burian would be less insistent in regard to Poland than his predecessor, Czernin, but to their surprise he had declared that the incorporation of the Polish kingdom in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was a vital necessity. In the German press it was said squarely that German interests were superior to Austrian interests; that the Germans would consider the Polish question from the German point of view, which required that there should be a strong strategic frontier. The safety of Germany was the first consideration. The Germans had not won their victories in order to be encircled on the east by a Polish-Galician state. Some Pan-German organs demanded that the Austro-Polish solution be rejected at once. They said that after the arrangement following the meeting of the two emperors the German public had believed that this Austro-Polish plan had been abandoned. Seldom, they said, had a project been rejected more unanimously by public opinion, and they complained of its revival. The Austrian emperor by going to German military headquarters (May 12) for his famous interview with the kaiser had given the impression that he had abandoned his Polish claim. Shortly after he had returned to Vienna the whole project reappeared. It looked as if there was a real disagreement between the governments and as if Germany had been deceived. They demanded that the two governments promptly come to an agreement for the definite settlement of Poland's status so that the Entente Allies would be

brought face to face with it as an accomplished fact.

As time went on it became apparent that the difficulties between Hungary and Austria were growing more and more serious. Hungary believed herself to be supported by Berlin. A Hungarian journal declared Hungary would have the right even to interfere in the internal affairs of Austria and added significantly that perhaps even now the time had come that Berlin and Budapest would have to interfere and insist that Austria should pursue a policy faithful to the Allies. In Germany there seemed from the newspapers to be strong sympathy with Hungary, though this was perhaps for the purpose of stirring up enmity between the two parts of the Dual Monarchy. For example, a German newspaper declared that it seemed extremely probable that Austria would fall to pieces. The Czechs, Poles, Southern Slavs, and other races with very divergent aims were all struggling for their complete independence, and feeling themselves too cramped within the Austrian state, they were sure to separate sooner or later. A German journal in Berlin declared that the only salvation for Austria was to transform herself into a Federal state. With only 10,000,000 Germans, it said, against 18,000,000 non-Germans there would necessarily always be hostility on the part of the latter. The state could not exist unless it were transformed into a Federal organization. Thus, part of the German press sustained the same principle that President Wilson had advocated, but this was interpreted by the press of the Allies as a step to the ultimate organization of the nations of Austria under the control of Germany. With Hungary on her side, and with the Slav races placated, there would be a chance for Ger-

many to work out a system of control.

*Peace Discussions in August and September.*—Mr. Balfour, the British foreign minister, reaffirmed British aims in an address in the House of Commons early in August. He announced that Great Britain would not consent to the return of the German colonies and that Germany was dominated by the moral doctrine of the mailed fist. Dr. Solf, the German colonial secretary, made an attack on the Allied attitude on August 20. He asked where the blame lay. He said that the enemy had renounced the ideal of a League of Nations inasmuch as he had decided upon an economic war against Germany. He said that the German government had already declared that Belgium would not be kept by Germany. This, he said, disposed of the pretension that Belgium was at present a cause of the war. As to the attack on Germany's eastern policy, he said that the Brest-Litovsk peace was made by agreement between the Russian and German governments and that it permitted the frontier peoples of Russia, after centuries of oppression, to live their own lives; also, that the only difference between Russians and Germans in regard to the peace had to do with the ways and means of conferring independence upon these border peoples. The Germans insisted upon safeguards against anarchy. He declared that the Brest-Litovsk peace was the framework of a policy which in future would be carried out. He came to the conclusion that the enemy would not want peace by negotiation and he declared that he was waging a war for plunder and glory and was carried away by arrogance. As to the extreme views of Germany, he spoke of the Pan-Germans as a small group without influence in politics and without influence in the gov-

ernment. Lord Robert Cecil on behalf of England issued a statement in answer to Dr. Solf. He denied that the Pan-German element was without power, pointing to the fact that only a few weeks before von Kühlmann was dismissed for saying that Germans could not have everything their own way and Count von Hertling, the chancellor, had to make an explanation. As to Belgium, the chancellor had said he looked upon it as a pledge, adding that it would become closely related in commercial association with Germany. As to the Brest-Litovsk treaty, it was evident that those border peoples had been so constituted as to have as little independence as possible. As to the German colonies, he denied the moral right of Germany to be a protector of the colored colonies; characterizing their rule as brutal and callous. During September there was a threefold peace movement on the part of the Central Powers, comprising three features: First, a note from the Austro-Hungarian government to all other governments proposing a conference to discuss peace, but not in a binding manner; second, a definite offer of peace to Belgium by Germany; third, an offer to the German minister in Finland to refrain from attacking eastern Karelia on condition that the Allies withdraw their troops from that region and also from the whole Murmansk coast. The most important of these moves was the Austrian note. This declared that in spite of obstacles, the peace discussion had made progress and that almost all the belligerents had again and again expressed themselves on the conditions of peace. The attitude had gradually changed and the differences between the two sides had diminished. It was manifest that in both camps there was a growth of the desire for peace. Remarks of

Mr. Balfour were cited to indicate that the Entente Allies had abandoned their demand for the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Central Powers had made it clear that they were waging a war of defense. Certain general principles were practically accepted by both parties. In his messages of February 11 and July 4 President Wilson had asserted principles which were not contradicted by his allies and which were not likely to meet objection from the Central Powers. Discussion of the subject in public only embittered opinion and served no practical purpose. Statesmen who discussed it publicly were obliged to exaggerate lest they should endanger the interests of their country in the prosecution of the war. Therefore, it was suggested that a discussion should take place between the representatives of the governments and only between them. Such a discussion was not to be binding and there was to be no interruption of hostilities. Such an exchange of views far from being harmful could only be useful to the cause of peace. The reply of the United States government to this overture was as follows: "The government of the United States has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States could consider peace and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain." The German proposal to Belgium suggested that the political and economic independence of Belgium should be restored after the war on certain conditions, namely, those set forth in the memorandum as to Germany's pre-war commercial treaties with Belgium and the coöperation of Belgium in trying to secure from the Allied governments the restoration of the German colonies.

The Austrian note contained nothing about restoration or reparation and it produced no effect in the Allied countries. As to the German offer in regard to eastern Karelia, it was pointed out by the Allies that the Germans had few, if any, troops there and that the proposal really came to nothing. The net result of this peace offensive was practically negligible.

*The Approach of Peace: The German Crisis.*—After the surrender of Bulgaria (see military section *above*) the demoralization of the Central Powers was soon manifested. On September 30 the German chancellor von Hertling, and the foreign secretary, von Hintze, resigned, and Prince Max of Baden, who had been a moderate in politics, was appointed chancellor two days later. Dr. W. S. Solf, the colonial secretary, was appointed foreign secretary and a coalition ministry was forced of which two Socialist deputies, Scheidemann and Bauer, and two Centrist deputies, Groeber and Erzberger, were members. The news was followed by details showing a radical change in the German political system. The majority parties had gained control of the parliament and their programme was as follows: Adherence to the principles set down in the government's reply to the Pope's note of August 1, 1917; a declaration that Germany is ready to join the league of nations if it comprises all states and is based on the idea of equality, etc.; a plain declaration as to the restoration of Belgium and an agreement in regard to indemnity; the peace treaties hitherto concluded not to stand in the way of a conclusion of general peace; Alsace-Lorraine to be an independent Federal state; electoral reform to be carried out immediately in Prussia; strict observance of constitutional responsibility

and the summoning of government representatives from parliament; the rules as to a state of siege to be amended in order to protect personal liberty, right of meeting and freedom of the press. In an address to the Reichstag, the new chancellor set forth this programme and declared that in conformity with the imperial decree of September 30, the political leadership of the empire had completely changed. He addressed parliament in the belief that he was speaking in accordance with the will of the majority of the people. Henceforth the people must take an active part in deciding their destiny. In other words, the majority of the freely elected political leaders must be behind the action of the government. He said:

"In the matter of international policies, I have taken a clear stand through the manner in which the formation of the government was brought about. Upon my motion, leaders of the majority parties were summoned for direct advice. It was my conviction, gentlemen, that unity of imperial leadership should be assured not only through mere schismatic party allegiance, but by the different members of the government. I considered almost still more important the unity of ideas. I proceeded from this viewpoint and have, in making my selections, laid greatest weight on the fact that the members of the new imperial government stand on a basis of a just peace of justice, regardless of the war situation, and that they have openly declared this to be their standpoint at the time when we stood at the height of our military successes. I am convinced that the manner in which imperial leadership is now constituted with coöperation of the Reichstag is not something ephemeral, and that when peace comes a government cannot again be formed which does not find support in the Reichstag and does not draw its leader therefrom."

At the same time he announced the sending of a message of peace to President Wilson. He said he had appealed to the President because in the latter's message to Congress on January 8, 1918, and in his speech of September 27, he had proposals which Germany

could accept as a basis of negotiation.

*German and American Peace Notes.*  
—On receipt of the note, October 5, 1918, the people throughout the United States were greatly stirred by the report that Germany had accepted the terms of peace demanded by the Allies. It was soon found that the rejoicing was premature, but Germany had, nevertheless, taken the first step which led to the conclusion of hostilities. The note requested the President of the United States of America to take steps for the restoration of peace, to notify all belligerents of this request, and to invite them to delegate plenipotentiaries for the purpose of taking measures to avoid further bloodshed. It declared that the German government accepted as a basis for peace negotiations the programme laid down by the President of the United States in his message to Congress on January 8, 1918, and in his later pronouncements, especially in his address of September 27, 1918. It asked the President of the United States to bring about the immediate conclusion of a general armistice on land, on water, and in the air.

On October 8, the American secretary of state returned the following answer:

"Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the Imperial Chancellor. Does the Imperial Chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accept the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on January last and in subsequent addresses, and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

"The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the governments with which

the Government of the United States is associated against the Central Powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the Central Powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory. The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the Imperial Chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answer to these questions vital from every point of view."

In reply to these questions by President Wilson, Germany sent the following message on October 12, signed by Dr. Solf, state secretary of the foreign office:

"In reply to the questions of the President of the United States of America the German Government hereby declares: The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of January 8 and in his subsequent addresses on the foundation of a permanent peace of justice. Consequently its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms. The German Government believes that the Governments of the powers associated with the Government of the United States also take the position taken by President Wilson in his address. The German Government, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice, declares itself ready to comply with the propositions of the President in regard to evacuation.

"The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation. The present German Government, which has undertaken the responsibility for this step toward peace, has been formed by conferences and in agreement with the great majority of the Reichstag. The Chancellor, supported in all of his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and of the German people."

The United States secretary of state, under date of October 14, sent the following reply:

"The unqualified acceptance by the present German Government and by a large majority

of the German Reichstag of the terms laid down by the President of the United States of America in his address to the Congress of the United States on January 8, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses, justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision with regard to the communications of the German Government of October 8 and 12, 1918. It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments, and the President feels it his duty to say that no arrangement can be accepted by the Government of the United States which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guarantees of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and of the Allies in the field. He feels confident that he can safely assume that this will also be the judgment and decision of the Allied Governments.

"The President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they persist in. At the very time that the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace, its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone, but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped not only of all they contain, but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

"It is necessary also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon on July 4 last. It is as follows:

"The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of



its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency.'

"The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it. The President's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves.

"The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and satisfactory character of the guarantees which can be given in this fundamental matter. It is indispensable that the governments associated against Germany should know beyond a peradventure with whom they are dealing.

"The President will make a separate reply to the royal and imperial government of Austria-Hungary."

Although there was some criticism of this course in the United States during the negotiations, the President's diplomacy appeared to meet with general approval among the Allies and the above note was received by the press of the Allied countries with especial satisfaction.

The German reply to the President's note of October 14 was as follows:

"In accepting the proposal for an evacuation for occupied territories the German Government has started from the assumption that the procedure of this evacuation and of the conditions of an armistice should be left to the judgment of the military advisers, and that the actual standard of power on both sides in the field has to form the basis for arrangements safeguarding and guaranteeing this standard. The German Government suggests to the President that an opportunity should be brought about for fixing the details. It trusts that the President of the United States will approve of no demand which would be irreconcilable with the honor of the German people and with opening a way to a peace of justice.

"The German Government protests against the reproach of illegal and inhumane actions made against the German land and sea forces and thereby against the German people. For the covering of a retreat destructions will always be necessary, and they are carried out in so far as is permitted by international law. The German troops are under the most strict instructions to spare private property and to

exercise care for the population to the best of their ability. Where transgressions occur in spite of these instructions the guilty are being punished. The German Government further denies that the German Navy in sinking ships has ever purposely destroyed lifeboats with their passengers. The German Government proposes with regard to all those charges that the facts be cleared up by neutral commissions.

"In order to avoid anything that might hamper the work of peace, the German Government has caused orders to be despatched to all submarine commanders precluding the torpedoing of passenger ships, without, however, for technical reasons, being able to guarantee that these orders will reach every single submarine at sea before its return. As a fundamental condition for peace the President prescribes the destruction of every arbitrary power that can separately, secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world. To this the German Government replies: Hitherto the representation of the people in the German Empire has not been endowed with an influence on the formation of the Government. The Constitution did not provide for a concurrence of representation of the people in decisions of peace and war. These conditions have just now undergone a fundamental change. A new Government has been formed in complete accordance with the wishes (principle) of the representation of the people, based on equal, universal, secret, direct franchise.

"The leaders of the great parties of the Reichstag are members of this Government. In the future no Government can take or continue in office without possessing the confidence of a majority of the Reichstag. The responsibility of the Chancellor of the empire to the representation of the people is being legally developed and safeguarded. The first act of the new Government has been to lay before the Reichstag a bill to alter the Constitution of the empire so that the consent of the representation of the people is required for decisions on war and peace. The permanence of the new system is, however, guaranteed not only by constitutional safeguards but also by the unshakable determination of the German people, whose vast majority stands behind these reforms and demands their energetic continuance.

"The question of the President—with whom he and the Governments associated against Germany are dealing—is therefore answered in a clear, unequivocal manner by the statement that the offer of peace and an armistice has come from a Government which is free from any arbitrary and irresponsible influence and is supported by the approval of an overwhelming majority of the German people.

Prince Max, the chancellor, in a speech to the Reichstag October 22 referred to the necessity of a "peace of justice" and declared that it was Germany's duty not to submit to a peace of violence without a fight. At this stage of the negotiations the American public was alarmed lest peace should come about by bargaining, and there was a loud demand for "unconditional surrender." Many public men, especially among the Republicans, expressed suspicion of the President's course and advocated a short, sharp reply saying that the question of armistice should be referred to the generals in the field. The American government's reply to the foregoing German note was as follows:

"Having received the solemn and explicit assurance of the German Government that it unreservedly accepts the terms of peace laid down in his address to the Congress of the United States on January 8, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses, particularly the address of September 27, and that it desires to discuss the details of their application, and that this wish and purpose emanated, not from those who have hitherto dictated German policy and conducted the present war on German's behalf but from Ministers who speak for the majority of the Reichstag and for an overwhelming majority of the German peoples; and having received also the explicit promise of the present German Government that the humane rules of civilized warfare will be observed both on land and sea by the German armed forces, the President of the United States feels that he cannot decline to take up with the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated the question of an armistice.

"He deems it his duty to say again, however, that the only armistice he would feel justified in submitting for consideration would be one which should leave the United States and the powers associated with her in a position to enforce any arrangements that may be entered into and to make a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany impossible. The President has, therefore, transmitted his correspondence with the present German authorities to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those

Governments are disposed to effect peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the Governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as will fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and insure to the associated Governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German Government has agreed, provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view. Should such terms of armistice be suggested, their acceptance by Germany will afford the best concrete evidence of her unequivocal acceptance of the terms and principles of peace from which the whole action proceeds.

"The President would deem himself lacking in candor did he not point out in the frankest possible terms the reason why extraordinary safeguards must be demanded. Significant and important as the constitutional changes seem to be which are spoken of by the German Foreign Secretary in his note of October 20, it does not appear that the principle of a Government responsible to the German people has yet been fully worked out or that any guarantees either exist or are in contemplation that the alterations of principle and of practice now partially agreed upon will be permanent. Moreover, it does not appear that the heart of the present difficulty has been reached. It may be that future war has been brought under the control of the German people, but the present war has not been, and it is with the present war that we are dealing. It is evident that the German people have no means of commanding the acquiescence of the military authorities of the empire in the popular will; that the power of the King of Prussia to control the policy of the empire is unimpaired; that the determining initiative still remains with those who have hitherto been the masters of Germany.

"Feeling that the whole peace of the world depends now on plain speaking and straightforward action, the President deems it his duty to say, without any attempt to soften, what may seem harsh words, that the nations of the world do not and cannot trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy, and to point out once more that in concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war the government of the United States cannot deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people, who have been assured a genuine constitutional standing as the real rulers of Germany. If it must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany now, or if it is likely to have to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German Em-

pire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender. Nothing can be gained by leaving this essential thing unsaid.

On October 27 Germany requested proposals for an armistice in the following note:

"The German Government has taken cognizance of the answer of the President of the United States. The President is aware of the far-reaching changes which have been carried out and are being carried out in the German constitutional structure, and that peace negotiations are being conducted by a people's Government in whose hands rests, both actually and constitutionally, the power to make the deciding conclusions. The military powers are also subject to it. The German Government now awaits proposals for an armistice, which shall be the first step toward a just peace as the President has described it in his proclamation."

To this the American government replied on November 4:

"In my note of October 23, 1918, I advised you that the President had transmitted his correspondence with the German authorities to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that if those Governments were disposed to accept peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the Governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as would fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and insure to the Associated Governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German Government had agreed, provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view. The President is now in receipt of a memorandum of observations by the Allied Governments on this correspondence, which is as follows:

"The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow, they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses. They must point

out, however, that Clause 2, relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must, therefore, reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference. Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed. The Allied Governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air."

"I am instructed by the President to say that he is in agreement with the interpretation set forth in the last paragraph of the memorandum above quoted. I am further instructed by the President to request you to notify the German Government that Marshal Foch has been authorized by the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government and to communicate to them terms of an armistice. Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration. ROBERT LANSING."

*Austrian Peace Move.*—At the same time that Prince Max sent the German note of peace, the Swedish government was requested by the Austro-Hungarian government to submit to the President the following message (October 7, 1918):

"The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which has waged war always and solely as a defensive war, and repeatedly given documentary evidence of its readiness to stop the shedding of blood and to arrive at a just and honorable peace, hereby addresses itself to His Lordship the President of the United States of America, and offers to conclude with him and his allies an armistice on every front on land, at sea and in the air, and to enter immediately upon negotiations for a peace for which the fourteen points in the message of President Wilson to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the four points contained in President Wilson's address of February 12, 1918, should serve as a foundation and in which the viewpoints declared by President Wilson in his address of September 27, 1918, will also be taken into account."

To this the United States government replied under date of October 18, as follows:

"The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian Government that he cannot entertain the present suggestions of that Government because of certain events of utmost importance which, occurring since the delivery of his address of the 8th of January last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the Government of the United States. Among the fourteen terms of peace which the President formulated at the time occurred the following:

"10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

"Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States, the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and that the Czecho-Slovak National Council is a de facto belligerent Government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks. It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs for freedom.

"The President is therefore no longer at liberty to accept the mere 'autonomy' of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they and not he shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations. Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration. ROBERT LANSING."

At the same time the Emperor Charles issued a manifesto declaring that the reconstruction of the country must begin and that the wishes of the Austrian people must be made to harmonize. Austria, he said, would become a Federal state in which every race should form its own national state within its national dominion. He also addressed a message to the army and fleet referring to the plan for a Federal state. In the Hungarian parliament there was a declaration on the part of the prime minister that peace must be

concluded and that after Austria was organized on a Federal basis, the Hungarian state would organize its independence, but would maintain a personal union with Austria. Count Michael Karolyi attacked the prime minister, demanding that peace negotiations be opened at once. Soon afterwards Count Tisza declared that the country must admit that it had lost the war and that he approved of the government to make peace on President Wilson's terms. Count Karolyi attacked the government's foreign policy from the beginning of the war, blaming it for bringing on the war and specifying how it might have avoided the conflict.

On October 28 the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Count Julius Andrassy, transmitted through the Swedish government the following reply:

"In reply to the note of the President, Mr. Wilson, to the Austro-Hungarian Government, dated October 18 of this year, and about the decision of the President to take up, with Austria-Hungary separately, the question of armistice and peace, the Austro-Hungarian Government has the honor to declare that it adheres both to the previous declarations of the President and his opinion of the rights of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, notably those of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, contained in his last note. Austria-Hungary having thereby accepted all the conditions which the President had put upon entering into negotiations on the subject of armistice and peace, nothing, in the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, longer stands in the way of beginning those negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian Government therefore declares itself ready to enter, without waiting for the outcome of other negotiations, into negotiations for a peace between Austria-Hungary and the Entente States, and for an immediate armistice on all the fronts of Austria-Hungary, and begs the President, Mr. Wilson, to take the necessary measures to that effect."

*The Beginning of the Collapse.*— During the last ten days of October, when the notes were passing between the United States government and the for-

eign offices of the two Germanic powers, the following events rapidly succeeded one another: In Germany the general staff was divided on the question of the peace offer, Ludendorff opposing and Hindenburg favoring. Hindenburg prevailed and on October 22 an order from the German general headquarters which had been captured by the French was made public. In it Hindenburg declared his approval of the government's peace offer and called upon the army not to interfere with it. Ludendorff resigned and on October 27 Gen. von Lossing, who had been chief of staff in the battle of Arras in April, 1917, was announced as his successor. In the Reichstag Dr. Solf, the foreign secretary, in response to inquiries, declared it was the government's intention to carry out honestly the principles set forth by President Wilson, including specifically the Polish and Alsace-Lorraine questions. Meanwhile the power of the Socialists was steadily mounting. The government released Herr Liebknecht on October 22. The Independent Socialist leader, Haase, demanded in the Reichstag on October 24 that the monarchy give way to a republic and there was evidence that the working class throughout the country was behind him. In the Prussian house of deputies there was sarcastic comment on the government's sudden conversion to democracy, which was characterized as a comedy that foreign governments ought to see through; militarism and imperialism were declared to be as superfluous as the dynasty. Mass meetings of the Independent Socialist Democrats were reported throughout all Germany.

In Austria-Hungary the Hussarek ministry resigned, and on October 26 it was announced that Dr. Heinrich Lammasch, an advocate of peace, would form a cabinet. Meanwhile a movement

for a new German-Austrian state within the empire had resulted in a so-called Constituent German Assembly which met at Vienna on October 21 and unanimously passed a resolution declaring it to be the will of the German people in Austria to determine their own destiny and form an independent state. By the end of October a condition of anarchy was reported throughout the country. A provisional government was set up and a republic proclaimed. The emperor abdicated November 3. In Hungary the movement to break away from Austria proceeded rapidly and on October 17 the diet adopted a resolution declaring Hungary independent except for the union in the person of the emperor. Soon afterwards Count Michael Karolyi led a sharp attack upon the ministry and demanded the resignation of the prime minister, Dr. Wekherle. The latter resigned on October 25 and was succeeded by Count Apponyi. The announcement of the emperor's intention to concede the independence of Hungary produced no effect, and early in November the diet, now styling itself the national assembly, proclaimed Hungary a republic with Count Michael Karolyi as prime minister of foreign affairs. Meanwhile the disintegration through the Slav movements for separation was continuing. The Czecho-Slovak provisional government sitting in Paris issued a formal declaration of independence, asserting that the Czecho-Slovaks would no longer live under the direct or indirect rule of the violators of Belgium, that they repudiated the Vienna government's promises of independence, and that no one among them would care to have anything to do with those who had not wished to do justice to them or to the Polish and Jugo-Slav nations. There were violent scenes in the diet as the result of the assertion

of a Rumanian deputy that henceforth the Rumanians of Hungary were a nation. The resignation of Dr. Wekherle had followed the news that a Croatian regiment at Fiume had disarmed the Hungarian Honved (militia). This movement was a sequel to several southern Slav attempts at revolt in the army and navy, notably the mutinies among the sailors of the fleet in Italian waters in the latter part of 1917 at Sebenico and Pola and in February, 1918, at Pola and Cattaro. The Croatian troops after the revolt at Fiume seized the buildings of the city. All Croatia meanwhile was in revolt. In the United States a great Slavic demonstration took place at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, October 27, comprising representatives of eighteen Slav states of Middle Europe with a population of some fifty millions and representatives of other nationalities under alien rule. Among them were Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, Ukrainians, Ukro-Russians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Italian Irredentists, Unredeemed Greeks, Zionists, and Albanians. Meanwhile preparations were made for an Allied conference at Paris where Col. House, as the personal representative of the President, arrived on October 26 and was followed by the British prime minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, secretary for foreign affairs. On November 11 the armistice with Germany was signed. See military section *above*.

Although the above evidences of disruption in Austria-Hungary and in Germany were reported in the press, prominent statesmen in the countries of the Allies continued to profess the belief that the peace move of the two Central Powers was of the same order as previous peace moves and could not be regarded in any other light than as

an attempt to secure an advantage. The belief that it was merely part of Germany's and Austria's diplomatic strategy continued down to the moment of the conclusion of the armistice. The complete internal disorganization of the two Germanic powers during October and the first week in November seemed not to be in the least appreciated by many of the leading statesmen in spite of the numerous signs.

*Dr. Solf's Appeal.*—Shortly after the signing of the armistice, an appeal was addressed by Dr. Solf to the Allied governments, comprising among others the following points: The conditions imposed by the armistice, he said, threatened the economic security of the left bank of the Rhine and its relations with German territory on the right bank. Unless those conditions were modified, Germany could not exist, and, moreover, the peaceful development which was beginning in Germany would be checked, with the result that a more or less Bolshevik movement would take shape. Hence it was urged that normal intercourse between the left bank of the Rhine and the rest of Germany and with foreign countries should not be disturbed even during military occupation. Then followed a long list of economic activities that Germany desired to resume in relation to the left bank of the Rhine, including permission to exploit as hitherto the coal, potash, and ore mines; to transport the requisite coal, ore, and potash; to use completely the Rhine for transports within the old boundary of the German Empire; to have the right of free navigation via Rotterdam and the coast for provisioning Germany; to have free railway traffic and the right to electric power; to allow the civil and military organizations on the left bank of the Rhine to continue to work, etc.

At the same time, a special appeal was made to the United States government that the distress was urgent and that the oppressive terms of the armistice were making the situation unbearable; that anarchy could only be avoided if aid were quickly given. The government of the United States was implored to save the German people from starvation and anarchy by sending envoys to the Hague or some other place to discuss with envoys from Germany details as to how American aid could be given. Still another appeal was made to the United States government requesting the President's intervention on behalf of the German civilians in Turkey who, by the 19th article of the Anglo-Turkish armistice, were required to leave the Turkish Empire—a requirement that would cause severe hardship especially to the poor people under German care, etc.

*France and Peace Terms.*—On December 30 Premier Clemenceau made an important address in the chamber of deputies, in the course of which he replied to various criticisms, especially in regard to his not having kept the chamber informed as to what was going on. He said if he had told the chamber all the details of the discussions in regard to the various claims of the powers, he would have been the worst prime minister in Europe. He declared that while he was in accord with President

Wilson on some points, he disagreed with him on others; and he added this statement, which was regarded as highly significant since it indicated a divergence of view between the French government and the governments of the United States and England. He said France found itself in a particularly difficult situation. It was the nearest country to Germany. The United States was at a distance and it took its own time in entering the war. England entered immediately upon the appeal of Mr. Asquith. "We have suffered and fought; our men have been mowed down, and our cities and villages destroyed. There exists an old system of alliance known as the balance of power. Everybody seems to condemn it now, and nevertheless if England, the United States, France, and Italy had agreed that whatever power would attack any one of them, it would be equivalent to a declaration of war upon the whole world, this war would never have taken place. This system, moreover, which I have not renounced, will be my all-guiding thought at the Peace Conference if your confidence sends me there." He demanded a vote of confidence saying that if there were any doubt as to the wisdom of leaving him in control, it should be settled now. The vote of confidence was accorded by an overwhelming majority, namely, 398 against 93.

## XI. RELIEF MEASURES

The outbreak of the European War very soon made it evident that millions of innocent victims in the fighting areas would be without independent means of support on account of wholesale destruction of property, the confiscation of food supplies, and the paralysis of industry. This was first illustrated in Belgium, where it was estimated that by November, 1914, over 6,000,000 people had been rendered homeless and 1,500,000 destitute. The prosecution of the war, however, resulted in the creation of a similar situation in Russian Poland, Galicia, and in Serbia. The situation in Poland was even worse than that in Belgium. Finally the unprecedented butchery of the Armenians by the Turks rendered relief for the remnant of the Armenian population an absolute necessity.

As early as September, 1914, relief organizations began to be formed in the United States. After considerable duplication at first, relief committees gradually were systematized under central committees. All sorts of devices were resorted to, including appeals through newspapers, endless-chain whist parties, fairs and bazaars, theatrical and musical performances, "tag" days, balls and fêtes of various kinds, and appeals through churches and other organizations.

### **Commission for Relief in Belgium.**

—This was the most extensive relief organization, embracing all neutral countries. It was brought into existence through the activities of the American and Spanish ambassadors at London and ministers at Brussels, the American

Ambassador at Berlin and the American Minister at The Hague. There were national organizations in America, Spain, Italy, and England, besides a most extensive distributory organization in Belgium and northern France. It carried out the distribution of its aid in Belgium through the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation. Similarly on account of the devastation in the occupied French territory the Comité d'Alimentation du Nord de France was organized. The commission had assembling depots in every State in the United States, and representative executives in all but about 12 States.

The committee secured pledges from England, Holland, and Germany, permitting the transportation of food products to the occupied territory and the pledge of Germany that such food would not be confiscated for war purposes. The general policy of the commission was to coöperate with organizations of every sort in Belgium and northern France; local committees were brought into existence in almost every commune of the occupied territory, and over these were district and provincial committees, all under the Comité National. The work was carried out under three main divisions: the Provisioning Department; the Financial Relief and Exchange Department; and the Benevolent Department. The Provisioning Department provided food for about 7,000,000 people in Belgium and 2,300,000 in northern France. Foodstuffs were sold to the population and the profits thus secured were used by



the Benevolent Department for the care of the destitute. Food was given out through a system of canteens covering all Belgium, meals being supplied at a per capita cost of only eight cents a day. There were also baby canteens, cheap restaurants, meals for school children, and in some cases provision of shelter. Aid was also given to or through the following: a committee to aid doctors and pharmacists by supplying medicines, serums and other necessities; child institutions working for the better feeding of infants, the aid of private and public orphanages, and assistance to war orphans and other homeless children; the treatment of indigent consumptives; an agricultural committee to control the supply of seeds and fodder; a committee for the aid and protection of artists, some 50,000 lace workers (mostly Belgian women), destitute foreigners, and refugees from other localities; a committee for the rehabilitation of churches; local work-rooms for the repair of clothing for the destitute; and miscellaneous grants for Cardinal Mercier for trade training for maimed soldiers, and for maternity hospitals.

The total amount of money entrusted to the commission up to the close of the war was about \$500,000,000, which, with the exception of overhead charges, were spent for food in Belgium and France. The British and French governments contributed more than \$150,000,000 for relief in Belgium. After the diplomatic break between the United States and Germany the Dutch took over the work of the Commission.

**Belgian Relief Fund.** This fund "for women, children and other non-combatants" had its headquarters in New York City. It embraced numerous local committees, including one in every State. Most of the cash received was

spent for food, but small sums were sent to refugees in Holland and to war victims in the unoccupied parts of Belgium.

**Jewish Relief.** On account of the great number of Jews in Poland and other parts of Europe who suffered extreme privation as a result of the war, the American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War was organized in New York City. Towards the close of the year 1915, a most active campaign for funds was undertaken. Local committees were formed in cities throughout the country. In 1916 a great bazaar was held in New York City which realized about \$1,000,000.

In Great Britain was formed the Russian Jews' Relief Fund for the aid of Jews in Russia and Poland. It had branches in all the principal cities. By means of it over 120 relief centres were feeding every day more than 200,000 homeless and destitute Jews.

In Russia a central relief committee at Petrograd sent out word that military authorities had forcibly removed 250,000 Jews from their homes in the occupied territory and that 200,000 more had left voluntarily. The committee had opened employment agencies in 31 cities and equipped 10 workshops. Hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, and schools were opened.

**The Federal Council of Allied War Charities** comprised some seventy-five organizations of varied interest and national in scope. It was created as a part of the movement to coördinate activities, decrease duplication, and increase financial responsibility and efficiency. It served also as a medium for effecting concerted action of its constituents with the Red Cross. The latter's Committee on Coöperation extended an invitation to the war relief bodies to become auxiliaries of the Red

Cross and this was accomplished to some extent. The individual organizations, however, were loath to surrender their independence either in the collection of funds or in the machinery, methods, and area of the distribution of benefits. The aggregate membership of the bodies in the Federal Council was over 2,000,000. Its members had sent a total of more than \$4,000,000 in cash and goods for relief work in Europe since the war began.

**Quakers in War Relief.** Within a few months after the outbreak of the war Quakers of the United States and England began relief activities among peasants of devastated areas in France and Belgium. By the fall of 1917 they had erected nearly 500 wooden houses for peasants and assisted in securing supplies of agricultural implements and tools, seeds, poultry, rabbits, etc., as well as household furniture and utensils. They established work-rooms for farm women, convalescent homes, a small general hospital, and a maternity hospital. They organized industries and recreation among the thousands of Belgians in refuge camps in Holland. Later they began similar work among Russians driven from home on the eastern battle line, this branch being in charge of the American Friends Service Committee, assisted by a group of English Friends. This committee began in July, 1917, also the training at Haverford College of 100 young men for reconstruction work in France, including agriculture, building, repairing, sanitation, medical and social work.

**The American Ambulance** was one of the most important relief activities. It organized ambulance sections for work in different parts of France, and Italy, and at Saloniki. Ambulance drivers were secured primarily from American colleges, considerably more

than 1,000 such men having been recruited. The American Ambulance Field Service had in July, 1917, eighteen sections of ambulances serving the French army with staffs totalling 700 volunteers. In all it was maintaining more than 700 ambulances at the front, in reserve, or under construction. A branch of this service, ammunition transport, had nearly 80,000 auto-trucks at work. This latter branch was long handicapped for lack of capable drivers, but by mid-summer this was overcome, three reserve groups of forty men each being under training. The American Ambulance Hospital at Paris was at first run entirely by voluntary workers; it was afterwards turned over to the Red Cross. It then became the American Military Hospital, run by American money, with its staff drawn from various countries, partly volunteer and partly paid professional physicians and surgeons. It had 600 beds, excellent surgical equipment, 250 motor ambulances, a hospital train fitted to accommodate 264 wounded and having operating room, sterilizing plant, diet kitchen and a staff of doctors, surgeons, and nurses. Another feature was the Mobile Field Hospital with 108 beds; and still another the Advance Hospital near the front at Juilly-sur-Marne. It organized the War Relief Clearing House for France and her Allies with its American headquarters in New York and its Paris headquarters in the house of the former ambassadors of the United States to France. This body was officially recognized by the French government as the agency for the distribution of American charity in France. It was given free transportation by the French government for all of its supplies on French liners and over all French railways.

Perhaps the most important other relief activities were those directed toward Poland and Serbia. To a large extent Jewish relief funds were directed toward the former country. There was in addition the Polish Victims' Relief Fund with headquarters at 33 West Forty-second Street, New York, Frank A. Vanderlip, treasurer, which had collected more than \$1,150,000 at the beginning of 1919. There was also the Polish Children's Relief Fund, 37 East Thirty-sixth Street, New York, Mrs. Louisa Satterlee, treasurer, which had collected over \$50,000. The Serbian Relief Committee had headquarters at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, Murray H. Coggshall, treasurer; it had secured \$450,000. The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, 1 Madison Avenue, New York, and Cleveland, Ohio, H. Dodge, treasurer, had spent many millions of dollars and was at the close of the year planning a drive for \$30,000,000 more. The Serbian Aid Fund Clothing Committee, 338 Madison Avenue, New York, was engaged in a campaign for 500 tons of warm clothing to be transmitted through the Serbian legation at Washington; while the Serbian Aid Fund, 1 Madison Avenue, New York, Otto T. Bannard, treasurer, had collected over \$180,000.

Some of the other principal relief funds with their headquarters, treasurers, and collections to the close of 1918 were as follows: American Committee for Devastated France, 16 East Thirty-ninth Street, New York, Dr. A. C. Humphreys, treasurer, \$501,592; American Committee for Training Maimed Soldiers, Hotel Biltmore, New York, Mrs. Edmund L. Baylies, \$428,763; American Fund for French Wounded, 73 Park Avenue, New York, Mrs. W. P. Bliss, \$567,693; Amer-

ican Students Committee, 107 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York, H. R. Sedgwick, \$131,293; American Women's Hospitals, 637 Madison Avenue, New York, Dr. Sue Radcliffe, \$310,029; British War Relief Association, 542 Fifth Avenue, New York, Henry Clews, \$171,258; Christian Relief in France and Belgium, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, Alfred R. Kimball, \$155,419; Duryea War Relief, 9 East Thirtieth Street, New York, Charles E. Warren, \$218,860; Fatherless Children of France, 140 Broadway, New York, Alexander J. Hemphill, \$741,043; Food for France, 10 East Fifty-eighth Street, New York, Alexander J. Hemphill, \$148,485; Free Milk for France, 675 Fifth Avenue, New York, Henry E. Cooper, \$98,237; Italian War Relief Fund, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, S. R. Bertron, \$43,730; Lafayette Fund, Hotel Vanderbilt, New York, Francis Roche, \$301,000; Secours National Fund, 16 East Forty-seventh Street, New York, Mrs. Whitney Warren, \$581,148; Stage Women's War Relief, 366 Fifth Avenue, New York, Mrs. Shelley Hull, \$178,321.

**Red Cross.** This society was put to the severest test it ever had to undergo. In all the belligerent countries, the work of the relief committees was supplemented by the efficient service rendered by the Red Cross Society. The American National Red Cross Society rendered greater continuous service than was ever given by any Red Cross of a neutral country during a foreign war. At the outbreak of the war this society had an enrollment of about 6,000 nurses and surgeons. It sent over a number of surgical and sanitary units (a unit is a working force of 3 surgeons and 12 nurses sent to a hospital, together with the neces-

sary supplies) for hospital work and the relief of noncombatants. An enormous quantity of purchased and donated medical, surgical, and hospital supplies, bed linen, garments, etc., were shipped from the United States to practically all the battle fronts by the American Red Cross. In Serbia and Montenegro the American Red Cross, in conjunction with the Rockefeller Foundation, suppressed the epidemic of typhus fever which destroyed 150,000 lives.

**United War Work Drive.** One of the most comprehensive and unique campaigns for relief work with the military forces was that carried out in November, 1918, in combination by the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, the War Work Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Catholic War Council (Knights of Columbus), the Jewish Welfare Board, the American Library Association, the Salvation Army, and the War Camp Community Service. These organizations were engaged in activities distinctly different from those of the bodies treated in the foregoing paragraphs, inasmuch as their work was designed primarily to maintain the morale of soldiers in the fields. These seven agencies sought a total of \$170,500,000 to be distributed as follows: Y. M. C. A., \$100,000,000; K. of C., \$30,000,000; Jewish Welfare Board, \$3,500,000; American Library Association, \$3,500,000; Salvation Army, \$3,500,000; War Camp Community Service, \$15,000,000. This was the most remarkable campaign of money solicitation ever carried out in the United States. It was organized by experts in such activities. In every community an organization was per-

fecting and the campaign, which lasted for one week only, was carried out with vim and exceptional thoroughness. Total pledges in excess of the amount originally expected were secured.

**The Near East.** Next to Belgium the most important relief problems at the close of war were those connected with the millions of destitute persons in Armenia, Syria, Russian Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Macedonia, Egypt, and Palestine. Throughout this immense area the Red Cross did not maintain any relief system. To meet these problems the American Committee for Relief in the Near East was organized and incorporated by act of Congress. Among its principal organizers were Harry G. Hoak, William G. Willcox, John B. Brighton, Mrs. George W. Vanderbilt, Mrs. Nicholas Murray Butler, Mrs. W. Bourke Cochran, Mrs. Adrian Iselin, Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, Mrs. Oren Root, Mrs. W. E. Guggenheim, Charles E. Hughes, Bishop Greer, and Rabbi Wise. It began at once to formulate plans for an extensive campaign to raise \$30,000,000 for relief work.

**Fraudulent Charities.** From time to time, from the very beginning of war charities in the fall of 1914, there were exposures of fraudulent promotions and solicitations. The most extensive exposure, however, was the result of a special investigation made by the District Attorney of New York and made public at the close of 1918. He found that millions of war charities had been stolen and announced that his investigation was the means of recovering \$250,000 for worthy projects. He recommended Federal investigation. His study led to the indictment of twenty-six alleged offenders, a number of whom were convicted by the end of the year. It was shown that the National Committee of Defence had esti-

mated that the American people had contributed between three and four billion dollars for war relief work, of which about 60 per cent was raised in New York. The investigation showed that many persons of high character and great prominence had carelessly lent their names to the charitable promotions of "ex-convicts," "confidence men," "adventurers," and "social parasites." The "social climber" found in ostentatious philanthropy and patriotism means of acquiring social recognition. Frequently names of well-known persons were used without their consent or knowledge. The investigation showed that many projects made contracts with solicitors whereby the latter received from 40 per cent to 85 per cent of all their collections. The

district attorney thought that worthy war relief societies had been robbed of \$3,000,000 and that in a great many cases two-thirds of the money collected had been wasted by fraudulent or careless methods. After investigating 534 organizations he classified many of them as wasteful, profiteering, or foolish charities, and miscellaneous frauds. He declared: "The field of war relief work in the United States presented a vast jungle of forms and fancies as various as the human imagination might suggest." Among those classified as wasteful he enumerated the Army and Navy Bazaar, the American Ambulance in Russia, Holland-American Home for Belgian Widows and Orphans; and the French Restoration Fund.

## XII. FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

In ancient times wars involved the entire male population and frequently the women as well in the actual fighting and campaigning, but modern wars affect the vast majority of the population, even of belligerent nations, only through their economic relations. The development of the vast mechanism called into operation by war to-day has however required such immense financial transactions and such gigantic demands upon industrial resources that these indirect effects in the European War were felt not merely by every family in the fighting areas but indeed by every family in the civilized world. The first immediate financial effect of the outbreak of war is a disturbance of the machinery of international credit. Foreign investments frequently aid during peace in restoring the balance of trade, but in this war investment movements were exactly reversed. Thus normally the great excess of United States exports of merchandise over imports is offset in large part by foreign investments in American securities. But the war brought a sharp reversal of this process, the New York Stock Exchange being deluged with orders from abroad to sell at any price. The outbreak of hostilities creates a desire to delay payment of obligations owed but to insist on immediate payment of those due. Trade temporarily comes to a standstill and gold shipments become dangerous and are impeded by great advances in insurance rates and by the reluctance of its holders to part with it. Moreover so paralyzing was the

effect of the war at the moment it began that a temporary cessation of international exchange must have been inevitable. The greatest force of these conditions was naturally felt at London, the world centre. Consequently we find there the government taking most extraordinary measures to restore the movement of exchange. In war as in times of financial crisis each nation seeks to increase its gold holdings. This can be done only by increasing exports, decreasing imports, selling foreign investments, or contracting obligations abroad. Now it is not possible for belligerent nations to increase their exports because of the disturbance of their own production, the drafting of workers into the armies, the increased demand for goods due to the war, and, in the case of nations hostile to England, the control of the high seas by the British fleet. On the other hand all fighting nations experience a greatly increased demand for goods, especially for food and all kinds of military supplies. This may be in part offset, and vigorous efforts were made in all countries and notably in England, France, and Germany to offset this in part, by cutting down the consumption of articles classed as luxuries. The great reduction of trade to and from the Central Powers made their foreign exchange problem relatively simple, though the rates of exchange ran heavily against them. The Allies on the other hand began the war with rates of exchange in their favor, mainly owing to the enormous obligations of the United States. This sit-

uation, however, was within a few months exactly reversed owing to the extensive purchases of the Allies and the great volume of American securities sold by them. So unfavorable became the rate and so necessary were American goods that international loans of unprecedented size were effected to enable the Allied Powers to continue their purchases in the American market.

Closely involved with the problem of international exchange are the banking institutions and their rates of interest. In addition, however, the banks must meet great internal problems connected with currency, the flotation of government loans, and the special problems arising from the unique conditions in internal trade. Currency systems are deeply affected though less markedly than formerly when their basis was less firmly established. Nevertheless the shock of war was everywhere so pronounced in its effect upon instruments of credit that every belligerent nation and the United States were compelled to issue additions to their outstanding currency. The interruption of foreign trade and the consequent dislocation of business are reflected in the movement of the stock markets. Almost upon the instant that hostilities began the world's stock exchanges were paralyzed. The Bourses at Toronto and Madrid closed July 28; those at Vienna, Budapest, Brussels, Antwerp, Berlin, and Rome on July 29; and those at Paris, St. Petersburg (Petrograd), Montreal, and all South American centres on July 30. This threw the burden of the world's stock market operations on the London and New York exchanges. The former of these closed on July 31 for the first time in its history. The governors of the New York Exchange

thus faced a crucial situation. A panicky state of mind prevailed; brokers were deluged with orders, especially from abroad, to "sell at the market"; it was evident that to remain open meant complete demoralization. Consequently this exchange also was closed on July 31, shortly after that at London.

The gradual readjustment of industries to the new war basis is another fundamental aspect of its effects. Never before was concerted action in industrial life so supremely important for the outcome of a trial at arms. The war brought about an actual mobilization of industries for war purposes in every belligerent country. Moreover the productive efforts of neutrals, not merely in munitions manufacture, but in many lines, were tremendously stimulated. The productive power of the entire world was raised almost to its highest pitch in the vast attempt at mutual destruction by the belligerents. Never were goods produced so abundantly and never was capital destroyed so rapidly or the world hastened towards pauperization at such a pace. The nearly complete cessation of exports from the Central Powers involved a violent readjustment in many industries previously engaged in producing for foreign markets. Among the Allies such industries were less disturbed, while in the United States and other neutral countries there were numerous transformations due not merely to the development of munitions factories, but to the manufacture of all kinds of military supplies, and the development of industries for supplying articles previously imported from Germany and Austria as well as supplying the similar needs of other neutrals. Finally the outbreak of the war was speedily followed in every nation

by the adoption of special financial measures for supplying the needed public funds and the longer the war continued the more vital became the extent, variety, and basis of the various war loans. The foregoing—exchange, banking, currency, stock market, war loans, and the readjustments of industry—constitute the principal features of the effects of war on finance and trade.

**International Exchange and Banking Problems.** The financial problems confronting the bankers and traders of Great Britain were of the most momentous importance for the trade and commerce of the world. The priority of England in the development of international trade had long since made London both the financial and commercial centre of the world. In consequence an important part of London financial institutions had been devoted to settling accounts between debtors and creditors in all parts of the world. Here are included the accepting houses, bill brokers and discounters, and the banks. The immense volume of this business is realized when it is known that at any one time there were before the war about \$1,600,000,000 of trade and finance bills for which the accepting houses and banks were liable, many millions falling due daily. The entire system of handling international exchanges collapsed early in August and it was not until about mid-September that regular quotations of rates of exchange again appeared in London. Accepting houses and joint-stock banks faced ruin because clients for whom acceptances had been made failed to remit; but these clients themselves were confronted with canceled orders, cessation of trade, stoppage of the supply of goods, impossibility of remitting and similar contingencies.

The discounters and bill brokers found themselves with large quantities of discounted bills on hand for which they could not be reimbursed and at the same time their banks were calling for a return of loans. Even the banks themselves were directly involved through the possession of bills which they had discounted. Moreover their loans to bill brokers were counted as quick assets and the embarrassment of the brokers necessarily weakened the banks. To check demands upon its resources the Bank of England raised its rate to 10 per cent.

Before this situation became unmanageable, the government on August 2, two days before its own declaration of war, declared a moratorium on bills of exchange to last one month. This checked the tendency to panic by giving a breathing spell during which methods and means of handling the problem were formulated.

Nine days later a Treasury statement announced that the Bank of England would rediscount on certain terms any "approved bill" before it became due; and that acceptors of bills would be given time in which to make payment but would be required to pay 2 per cent above bank rate for the privilege of extension. The government suggested that the bank be prepared to approve all bills customarily discounted, "and also good trade bills, and the acceptances of such foreign and colonial firms and bank agencies as are established in Great Britain," with the understanding that the government would guarantee the bank against loss. On September 5 another Treasury statement announced that, owing to the choking of the exchange mechanism by pre-moratorium bills, acceptors would be lent funds for paying such bills as they came due, and that any



unpaid balance of such loans would not be pressed "for a period of one year after the close of the war." Thus both old and new acceptances seemed amply protected. A further difficulty was met in foreign indebtedness. On November 3 was promulgated a plan to investigate solvent traders and advance them funds up to 50 per cent of the foreign debts due them. Thus every obstacle to the resumption of exchange business was removed. On the Continent similar, but less stupendous, problems were to be met. Moratoria were declared in every belligerent country except Germany, and in some neutral countries for reasons similar to the foregoing. Germany avoided a moratorium mainly because of her isolation and partly by the stoppage of collections on bills owed abroad. In both France and Germany, as in England, the central banks were permitted to greatly enlarge their note circulations and thus expanded to unprecedented figures their rediscounts for other banks.

The most serious aspect of the American financial situation and the fundamental cause of most difficulties was the stupendous debt owing to Europe upon the outbreak of war. Although this country had normally a trade balance of about one-half billion dollars annually, nevertheless its indebtedness for interest and dividends, for tourists' expenditures, for freight, and other items, changed the great trade surplus into a net debt. Sir George Paish, an international authority who was sent to the United States in October, 1914, by English bankers to expedite the payment of these obligations, estimated their total at \$600,000,000. This included more than \$100,000,000 of short-term loans which ordinarily could have been easily renewed or met by fall exports. Abroad

refuge had been taken behind moratoria; and the great central banks of Europe served to pool resources and control operations, while in the United States the new Federal Reserve System was not yet in working order. Although \$45,000,000 in gold was sent to Europe during the last few days of July and the first week of August, sight exchange on London at New York, normally \$4.86 per pound sterling, rose to \$5, then to \$6, and finally to \$7, a height never before approached, and regular exchange was not quoted until September 11. A special factor in aggravating the banking difficulties at New York was the maturing early in the fall of about \$82,000,000 of New York City warrants held in London and Paris. To meet these and to strengthen the city's credit there was provided a loan of \$100,000,000 in gold to which every bank and trust company in the city but one contributed. At the same time bankers of the country created a "Gold Pool" of over \$100,000,000 to meet urgent mercantile obligations abroad, and to provide gold needed for export. It was composed of contributions from banks in reserve cities in proportion to their gold holdings. It served as a guarantee against the complete collapse of American credit abroad and removed from the banks the necessity of seeking refuge behind an unofficial moratorium. Portions of this fund were shipped to the branch of the Bank of England established at Ottawa, Canada, to serve as a basis for exchange on London. The sharp rebound of trade towards the close of the year, the entrance of the world into the American market for goods and loans made possible the dissolution of the "Gold Pool" in January, 1915.

The exchange situation was made

particularly difficult by the great reduction of the export trade, especially the exportation of cotton. Moreover the prosperity of the South was seriously threatened unless some means could be devised whereby cotton could serve as a basis for additional credit. Congress and Secretary McAdoo authorized banks to issue emergency currency on the basis of cotton warehouse certificates. About the same time a plan for a Cotton Loan Pool was devised whereby pledges to supply funds to be loaned through Southern banks to cotton growers were deposited with members of the Federal Reserve Board as individuals. By the middle of November more than \$100,000,000 was thus subscribed. However the considerable revival of the export trade in cotton towards the close of 1914 together with the great improvement of internal trade, and the bracing effect of the establishment of the Federal Reserve System made the cotton pool well-nigh unnecessary. It became inoperative in January, 1915, only \$28,000 having been applied for.

The rates of international exchange reflect the conditions both of trade and of credit. At New York the rate on London was not regularly quoted until September 11, when the cable transfer rate stood at \$4.95, par of exchange being \$4.86. It became still more unfavorable, reaching \$4.975 in the weeks of October 8 and 15. It thereafter fell steadily, reaching par on December 22. It continued to fall until early September, 1915, when it reached \$4.63. It was partially restored by the Anglo-French loan, but only for a brief period. In December the British government began to borrow or purchase American and Canadian securities owned by English citizens with a view to their use as secur-

ity for loans to be advanced by American bankers as a means of preventing further declines in the rate of exchange. About the same time the importation of certain luxuries was prohibited for a like reason.

At Paris the rate of exchange was slightly unfavorable to London during the first half of October, no rates being quoted during August and September; it gradually declined until November 26 and thereafter rose continuously, reaching par again February 19, 1915. It thereafter continued to become slightly more unfavorable to Paris with every passing week. In May, 1916, Finance Minister Ribot began the collection of American, Swiss, Dutch, Scandinavian, and South American securities to be used as a basis for credits for equalizing exchange with the United States. At the same time the government announced a long list of articles the importation of which was prohibited partly to affect exchange rates.

Almost from the beginning of the war rates of exchange were unfavorable to Berlin. The slight volume of foreign trade and the adjustment of outstanding accounts early brought the rates to considerable stability. Nevertheless the continued purchases in neighboring neutral countries and the steady inflation of German currency brought about a decline of German credit in the later months of 1915. Thus the exchange rate at New York had been only 14 per cent unfavorable until November, 1915, when it dropped rapidly to 26 per cent unfavorable. Similar rapid declines brought about rates unfavorable by 38 per cent at Amsterdam, and by 28 per cent at Zurich.

As stated above the New York Stock Exchange was forced to close very

quickly after the closing of the London Exchange. This naturally disturbed the banking situation since considerable loans were based on stock as collateral. Such collateral is generally most fluid of all, but with its market closed it became quite solidified. The banks, however, gradually readjusted affairs without forcing repayment of loans or otherwise unduly disturbing a delicate situation. The reopening of the Exchange was delayed in part to prevent the resumption of the pressure of European sellers and the consequent increase of foreign obligations. The Exchange declared the level of prices on July 30 the official minimum, and on this basis some transactions were carried through under the direction of a Committee of Five. In this manner more than \$100,000,000 of bonds and 250,000 shares of stock were transferred by the end of November. In Philadelphia public auction sales of stocks and bonds were held at various times, prices ranging not far below those of July 30. Gradually at New York the scope of exchange business was enlarged; transactions in a restricted list of bonds were begun on November 28; and two weeks later trading in 181 specified stocks with definitely established minimum prices was begun. The total dealings, however, on the New York Exchange aggregated only 47,899,000 shares for the year 1914, slightly more than one-third those of 1912.

With the opening of 1915, however, pessimism gradually disappeared under the revival of business and was replaced by waves of speculative fever in the stock market. This was notably true in April when 21,000,000 shares were transferred, and in August, September, and October, 26,000,000 shares being transferred in the latter month.

The shares of the munitions companies were popularly known as "war brides." Many of these stocks made most phenomenal advances in price during the year. Less speculative interest was shown in the stocks of numerous companies manufacturing supplies the demand for which had been greatly stimulated by the conditions of war. Moreover the great increase in the volume of railway traffic, which towards the close of 1915 amounted to an unprecedented congestion of freight and the refusal of numerous roads with terminals on the Atlantic seaboard to receive additional goods for export during certain periods, resulted in advances in railway stocks. This revival of business did not occur soon enough to prevent a very large amount of railway mileage from going into the hands of receivers, but railway stocks in general showed advances of 10 to 20 points.

The bond market likewise reflected the great abundance of capital seeking investment. While advances in bond prices were not remarkable, there was a general upward movement ranging from 1 to 6 per cent during 1915. Moreover the easy money market resulted in the ready flotation of an unusual amount of public and corporation bonds.

In addition to the foregoing the American market absorbed an astonishing volume of securities previously held by foreign investors. At the opening of the war the par value of American corporation securities owned abroad was variously estimated at from \$4,000,000,000 to \$6,000,000,000. The most authoritative estimate showed that \$620,000,000 of these securities were repurchased during the first five months of 1915; the estimate for the entire year was that not less

than \$1,000,000,000 of such stocks and bonds were transferred to American investors. *See below.*

**Currency.** Every country in war time experiences an irresistible demand for increases in credit instruments. Not only do governments issue treasury notes but banks are certain, as in times of panic, to increase their note issues. In England there was much discussion of a proposed "suspension of the Bank Act," meaning a proposal to permit the Bank of England to expand its note circulation without increasing its reserves. The steps devised for reestablishing foreign exchange obviated this measure, though Bank of England circulation was expanded and a large volume of £1 and 5s treasury notes were issued. A law of August 7 made not merely these treasury notes legal tender but also postal money orders. Provision was also made for the issue of certificates, like clearing-house certificates, for the settlement of bank balances. Finally the currency and Bank Notes Act authorized the Bank of England to issue to depositary banks notes up to 20 per cent of their deposits and current balances. In May, 1916, the bank held \$140,000,000 in gold against over \$500,000,000 of paper. The bank, however, owing to its command of the entire gold production of South Africa amounting to about \$200,000,000 per year, was enabled to make extensive gold shipments to the United States and at the same time maintain its credit unimpaired. In France the government authorized practically unlimited issues by the Bank of France and various promises of the government were issued. (See below, *Cost of the War.*) It was estimated that whereas the actual inflation in England amounted to about 14½ per cent by December, 1915, it was

157 per cent in France. In Germany, as explained below, the *Darlehnkassen* and the *Kriegskreditbanken* notes were based on property of various kinds. These tended to drive gold and silver out of circulation so that the government authorized the Reichsbank to issue its own notes in exchange for them. At the same time, however, the bank was instructed to refuse to pay out gold for its own notes, but a vigorous effort was made to increase the bank's gold reserves. This reserve was thus increased from about \$300,000,000 in July, 1914, to \$610,000,000 in January, 1916. But the notes for which the bank was responsible had increased from \$475,000,000 to \$1,560,000,000. Austria and Hungary likewise went speedily to a paper basis.

The breaking down of the mechanism of international credit seemed certain to produce a panic in American banking circles. The American banking system was individualistic and proverbially weak under strained credit. It failed to supply additions to the currency at times when most needed. The Federal Reserve System was particularly designed to remedy this weakness, but in August, 1914, this system had not been finally established. After a conference of bankers and the Secretary of the Treasury at New York on August 2 it was decided to issue emergency currency under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act as modified by the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, and to issue in addition clearing-house certificates. Congress responded to the situation by hurriedly enacting a law reducing the tax on emergency notes for the first three months to 3 per cent and increasing their limit to 125 per cent of capital and surplus. Moreover State banks affiliated with the reserve system were authorized to take out notes;

and cotton and tobacco warehouse receipts were made a legal basis for note issues. In consequence more than \$250,000,000 of emergency currency had been issued by September 1; a total of \$384,500,000 of such notes was issued by December 1. Very little publicity was given to the issue of clearing-house certificates in principal banking centres of the country, but \$250,000,000 of them were issued. Practically all of the emergency currency and the clearing-house certificates were retired by the end of January, 1915. Meanwhile the banking and credit situation had been materially strengthened indirectly by the revival of trade and directly by the final establishment of the Federal Reserve System, which was in full working order by November 28, 1914. *See below.*

**Employment and Wages.** In every nation the opening of hostilities brought on a temporary paralysis of trade, making the problem of unemployment acute in every belligerent country. Special committees, national and local, and special relief funds were created to meet the situation. The gradual readjustment of industry to a war basis and the recruiting of vast armies, however, very soon solved the problem. In Great Britain the labor problem was greatly complicated by the requirements of international trade. There were not merely the demands of the army and navy for equipment and munitions, but the immense difficulty of paying for greatly increased imports from countries to which exports were reduced. This difficulty was greatly increased by the requirement that Great Britain aid in financing her allies and colonies. Consequently the raising of an army at home was directly counter to her financial and commercial demands. The general effect

of war on labor was stated by Gladstone to be an immense stimulus during war with enlarged employment and rise in wages, but excessive labor competition, severe unemployment, and reductions in wages when war is over. The truth of the first part of this statement was made manifest in 1914. Very shortly in every country there was less unemployment than in times of peace, labor shortage actually became acute, wages advanced, and great numbers of women were drawn into unwonted industrial pursuits.

At the outset Great Britain was more unfavorably situated with regard to the manufacture of munitions of war than France, Germany, or Austria. Except for a few scattered private firms, a few small governmental establishments working for both army and navy, and the Woolwich Arsenal employing about 10,000 men, she had no munitions factories operating in July, 1914. Nevertheless 18 months later the entire country was dotted with such factories, their creation being one of the striking phenomena of the war. The astounding demands early aroused the existing arm makers to the highest pitch of activity, but it early became evident that the output of existing plants would be inadequate. By February, 1915, it became manifest that heroic measures must be adopted to secure an adequate output. Out of the delays and confusion resulted a ministerial crisis in May, 1915, which led to the formation of the Ministry of Munitions with Mr. Lloyd-George as its head. This sought to develop the latent capacities of manufactures in engineering and mechanical trades. The entire country was divided into eight munitions districts, besides two in Scotland and two in Ireland, with committees in principal towns. In

March the Defense of the Realm Act had authorized the government to commandeer any factory for war purposes. Under this Act many old plants had already been transformed and new ones built, equipped, and manned. The Ministry of Munitions was needed, however, to bring order out of existing chaos by centralizing responsibility and control. It systematically investigated and listed every available factory and private resource. By the close of 1915 there were in addition 33 national shell factories employing from 300 to 1,000 persons each, which had been created at government expense by adapting existing establishments. At the same time a number of national projectile factories were being completed to manufacture ammunition for a new type of heavy gun. Gradually the staff of the munitions office, including over 3,000 persons divided among numerous departments, was brought to a high state of efficiency. From the first a source of great embarrassment was the inadequacy of skilled labor and its attitude towards the training and employment of unskilled workers. This problem was intensified by the enormous enlargement of the munitions industry, and was not alleviated by extensive advertisement for machinists in the United States. It was estimated that early in 1916 this business alone employed not less than 1,000,000 workers. Among these were included about 300,000 women who were found in England, as in France and Germany, to be capable of performing practically every kind of labor required in munitions making. The organized skilled workers objected to the "dilution" of the shops by unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and resorted to strikes and other interruptions. Acts of Parliament very considerably re-

duced the privileges of labor to leave work and to transfer at will, but special boards for adjusting demands were created and elaborate rules were established to protect the health of the workers, especially of women and children.

Statistical measures of the amount of unemployment were not wanting. The *Labor Gazette* gave the percentage of trade-union members unemployed in June, 1914, as 2.4; it rose to 7.3 in August, and declined steadily thereafter to 2.5 in December, 1914, and to 0.5 in February, 1916. Wages showed little advance before January, 1915, but in February moved sharply upward in engineering, shipbuilding, railway service, docking, and carting, and thereafter the advance spread to all lines. The dearth of skilled labor resulted in many labor tangles, but the government and trade-union officials succeeded in maintaining an unusual degree of industrial peace. The number of trade disputes in 1914 was 999, involving 448,529 workers and a loss of 10,111,337 days of work; while in 1915 they numbered only 674, involving 445,936 workers and a loss of only 2,929,700 days of work.

The French Ministry of Labor reported that in August, 1914, only 48 per cent of establishments and 58 per cent of workers were employed. There was, however, a continuous improvement. By October, 1915, 81 per cent of establishments and 98 per cent of workers were employed. In metal manufactures and transportation new workers had been employed in numbers nearly sufficient to offset those with the colors; and this was partially true of food and chemical industries. But in printing, woodworking, building, glass and pottery making, and precious metals the numbers employed

at the later date were less than half the peace normal. As in England women were drawn in great numbers, not only into munitions manufacture, but into many lines of industry, agriculture, and transportation.

In Germany the general course of events was very similar to that in England and France. The general dislocation of industry at the outbreak of the war brought into operation concerted action not merely to relieve unemployment but to shift industry to a war basis. The amount of unemployment among trade unions was 22.4 per cent at the end of August, 1914. It dropped to 15.7 per cent by the end of September, and continued steadily downward to 7.2 per cent at the end of December. This, however, was sufficiently above normal to require a special appropriation of \$125,000 per month by the city of Berlin to relieve unemployment during the winter of 1914-1915. By May, 1915, trade-union members unemployed numbered only 2.9 per cent; by September, only 2.5 per cent, at which percentage it remained until February, 1916. As in other countries all trades engaged directly or indirectly in the production of military supplies were unusually prosperous, were employing unusual numbers of workers, and paying higher wages than before the war. But among hat makers, printers, lithographers, bookbinders, woodworkers, and porcelain workers the percentage of unemployment was considerably higher than normal. The employment of women was very extensive; their number in unaccustomed pursuits reached 500,000 by July, 1915; they were found in nearly every branch of industry.

The effect of the war upon American industrial conditions was most remarkable. The impetus of the new demands

set up by the war began to be felt before the close of 1914. Early in 1915 feverish activity began in various branches of the iron and steel industry, in the production of copper, lead, spelter, and other metals, and in all branches of munitions manufacture. From these industries the impetus gradually spread to all allied industries and to those engaged in manufacturing such articles as automobiles, railway supplies, boots and shoes, blankets and woolen goods, and food products. While in the fall of 1914 unemployment had been extensive, this problem gradually disappeared, with the result that by the middle of 1915 there was an actual scarcity of labor in many lines, especially skilled labor, and wages had begun to advance. Consequently by the fall of 1915 the tremendous stimulus to American industry had reached all branches of the retail trade. Estimates of war orders placed in the United States during 1915 varied widely, ranging all the way from \$1,000,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000. During the early months of 1915 the Allies were victimized extensively by smooth, self-constituted, and often irresponsible agents of manufacturers, and by other speculating intermediaries seeking fortunes in commissions on war orders. Occasionally the Allies were defrauded by the manufacturers themselves. In all of this immense war business there was a feverish haste and a recklessness in expenditure that involved much waste. This was reduced, however, by the development by the Allies of regular channels for placing orders and by an elaborate and extremely thorough system of inspection of products. (*See below.*)

**American Foreign Trade.** Not only did the Allies resort to the United States for unprecedented quantities of

goods of numerous kinds, but Secretary of Commerce Redfield pointed out in his annual report for 1915 that the demands of Canada, Central and South America, India, the Near East, South Africa, and indeed every part of the world for American goods had increased. The impetus of this worldwide demand was scarcely felt during 1914. Consequently the exports in that year differed very little from those of the preceding years, being slightly less than in 1912 or 1913. For the calendar year 1915, however, the exports reached the remarkable figure of \$3,547,480,372. This was an excess over imports of \$1,768,883,677, an excess more than two and one-half times that of the previous maximum in 1913. Net importations of gold aggregated \$530,000,000 in 1916, as compared with net importations of \$420,000,000 in 1915. The fiscal year, 1916, showed imports valued at \$2,197,883,510 and exports at \$4,333,482,885; 1917, imports, \$2,659,355,185, exports, \$6,290,048,394; 1918, imports, \$2,946,059,403; exports, \$5,928,285,641.

The immense volume of American export trade created an unprecedented situation in the shipping world. By the fall of 1915 the quantity of goods for export actually exceeded the carrying capacity of merchant vessels available, in spite of great advances in freight rates and the utilization of every type of craft however old. British experts pointed out that their government had requisitioned for war purposes not less than 50 per cent of the entire British merchant fleet. German submarine activities had destroyed about 6 per cent. Moreover the large German merchant marine was practically nonexistent. Consequently freight rates first doubled, then trebled and

quadrupled, and in special cases advanced as much as 900 per cent by the spring of 1916. In some instances a vessel would earn its entire cost on a single round trip. Antiquated steam vessels were selling at prices from two to five times their value before the war; consequently there developed unprecedented activity in American shipbuilding yards. By April 1, 1916, orders had been given for 360 vessels with a tonnage of more than 1,000,000, and 6,000,000 were expected in 1918.

**World Trade.** The war seemed destined to have permanent and far-reaching effects upon the world's commerce. In America active measures were begun before the close of 1915 to strengthen the American hold upon new markets and to increase coöperation in foreign trade after the war. On December 1, 1915, e.g., was organized the American International Corporation, with \$50,000,000 capital. Its purpose was to develop trade connections in foreign countries and promote the investment of American capital abroad. Its organization was led by the National City Bank, which was then engaged in establishing branches in principal South American countries. This bank also had acquired control of the International Banking Corporation with 16 banks in China, Japan, India, the Philippines, and Panama. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and the Federal Trade Commission and numerous business organizations devoted much attention to the furtherance of all efforts to secure a firm grasp of markets previously held by English and German traders. Similarly plans were formulated early in 1916 for systematic study of the demands of Europe during the period of reconstruction following the war. Among the Allies every effort was made to



stamp out every trace of German economic penetration, and plans were formulated for reducing German competition upon the restoration of peace. On April 23, 1916, there opened in Paris the International Parliamentary Economic Conference of the Entente Allies for the discussion of trade agreements and legislative measures designed to reduce German competition and facilitate trade among the Allies and their colonies. From Germany it was reported that systematic measures were being taken to prosecute most vigorously efforts to regain lost trade. *See below.*

**Foreign Credits.** The commanding importance of the United States as the greatest neutral market of the world made it for the first time in its history a lender on a large scale. During 1915 loans aggregating \$1,000,000,000 were contracted in America by foreign governments, more than four-fifths of the proceeds being expended there for war supplies. Loans to the Canadian Dominion government, eight provinces, and ten cities, aggregated \$147,000,000. Argentina borrowed \$64,000,000; Switzerland, \$15,000,000; Sweden, \$5,000,000; Norway, \$8,000,000; Greece, \$7,000,000; notes of the German Treasury to the amount of \$10,000,000 were sold to American investors. Russia secured loans for \$92,000,000; Italy borrowed \$25,000,000; but the great loans were those contracted by France and Great Britain. In addition to the Anglo-French loan of \$500,000,000, France secured \$75,000,000 on notes, bonds, and collateral; and London banks borrowed \$50,000,000. The purpose of these loans was to equalize rates of exchange, but in spite of them and extensive gold shipments sterling exchange declined to \$4.63 by September, 1915. It was therefore nec-

essary for British financiers to restore a more normal rate. In that month a commission of British and French financiers came to the United States to establish a credit for \$750,000,000 or even \$1,000,000,000. The sum, however, was reduced to \$500,000,000 after various conferences. A syndicate was formed led by J. P. Morgan & Company which took the loan at 96 or on a basis to yield an average of 5.75 per cent. Early in 1916 Argentina secured an additional \$15,000,000; and Canada, \$75,000,000. *See below.*

**Prices and Food Supplies.** Inevitably the war had a far-reaching effect upon the movements of prices throughout the world. War not only destroys existing property, but it requires the creation and consumption of goods in amounts immensly greater than the demands of peace. All sorts of raw materials are required in unprecedented amounts and their prices together with those of products made from them rise correspondingly. The most striking advances were those of copper, nickel, lead, zinc, and all kinds of steel products, together with the various constituents used in the manufacture of explosives; but even more important in their effect upon the general welfare of the inhabitants not only of belligerent but of all other nations was the rise in the prices of food products. Thus, e.g., the price of copper rose from about 12 cents to nearly 30 cents per pound; cotton doubled in value; and food prices rose so extensively that administrative measures to regulate them were undertaken by Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Norway, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey. Most of these countries prohibited the exportation of foodstuffs. In most

of them municipal authorities either alone or in conjunction with national or military authorities fixed maximum prices.

The actual extent of the rise in prices is best indicated by index numbers. For the United States *Bradstreet's Index* rose from \$8.7087 on August 1 to \$9.8495 on August 15, 1914. It dropped during the next 10 weeks and thereafter rose steadily to \$11.7598 on April 1, 1916. In Great Britain an astonishing rise in the price of coal resulted in the appointment of a commission of investigation in March, 1915. This body found that the increase of 100 per cent or more was a natural consequence of the recruiting of nearly 250,000 miners and increases in cost of transportation. According to the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* retail food prices advanced from July, 1914, to March, 1916, by 45 per cent in small towns and 51 per cent in large towns, an average of 48 per cent for the United Kingdom.

The greatest interest attached to the question whether Germany could be starved into submission. Normally the annual excess of German food imports over exports is considerable. In 1912 and 1913 this excess amounted to 2,000,000 tons of wheat, 3,000,000 tons of barley, 1,000,000 tons of corn, and 500,000 tons of rice and potatoes. There are normally also large imports of meat and animal products, oil cake, and fodder. Imports amounted to about 40 per cent of the annual consumption of meat products, and 20 to 30 per cent of grains and vegetable products. The war cut off most of the imports; the campaigns in East Prussia and Alsace destroyed crops; agricultural labor was reduced; North Sea fisheries were closed; and Chile fertilizer no longer available. Nevertheless considerable

supplies were still derived from Holland, Scandinavia, and Switzerland, and through military and diplomatic operations large supplies of grain and fodder were procured from Bulgaria and Rumania. Moreover the entire economic resources of the Empire were mobilized by the early creation of an economic general staff, "The Division of Raw Materials of War," which reorganized industry, reduced consumption, reclaimed old materials, utilized by-products, created new materials and new chemical and industrial methods, erected factories, controlled goods seized by the armies and had great powers of appraisal and price fixing.

By January, 1915, the extravagance of many consumers, the speculation in food prices, and the manipulation of food supplies and markets induced the government to extend its control. On January 25 it was decreed that all supplies of wheat and rye should come under control of the War Grain Association; and local supplies were placed in charge of Communal Associations. The consumption of cereals was brought under the supervision of an Imperial Distributing Bureau. In February a system of regulating the bread supply by bread cards, which limited the weekly consumption of each individual or family, was instituted. With the passage of time similar regulations were extended to meat and vegetables, and finally in May, 1916, the control of all food supplies was placed in charge of a "food dictator" or government bureau. While the best statistical evidence seemed to indicate that food supplies were sufficient to meet minimum requirements there was some evidence that high prices led to serious food riots and much popular discontent late in 1915 and in 1916. According to the Prussian official *Statistische Korrespondenz*

the prices of 20 important food products rose 88.5 per cent from July, 1914, to Feb. 1, 1916.

In Vienna official reports showed an advance of 112.9 per cent in 17 important foods from July, 1914, to December, 1915. In Italy the general level of food prices was 31.2 per cent higher in December, 1915, than in July, 1914. The official index of retail food prices in Australia advanced 31 per cent from July, 1914, to July, 1915; 39 per cent to August, 1915; and then fell, being 31 per cent higher in November, 1915, than in July, 1914. In New Zealand general prices rose 30 per cent from August, 1914, to December, 1915, inclusive. Official publications showed that in Copenhagen the cost of living rose 24.2 per cent from July, 1914, to February, 1916; for food prices alone the advance was 33.4 per cent.

The *Monthly Labor Review* for October, 1918, gave comparative figures of changes in retail prices from July, 1914, to various dates in 1918 for a considerable number of countries. If the retail price level of July, 1914, be considered in each case equal to 100, then the retail prices of 22 foodstuffs in the United States advanced to 125 by January, 1917; 157 by January, 1918; and 159 by June, 1918. In Australia 46 foods advanced to 125 by January, 1917; 129 by January, 1918, and 131 by March, 1918. The Australian price level for foods did, in fact, change little after July, 1915, when it was 131. For Vienna, Austria, figures were not abundant, but showed that 18 foods rose to about 220 by January, 1916; 272, by January, 1917, and 315 by August, 1917. Subsequent comparative figures were lacking. In Canada 29 foodstuffs reached a level of 138 by January, 1917; 167 by Janu-

ary, 1918, and 172 by June, 1918, thus exceeding the advance in the United States. In France, 13 foodstuffs, in cities over 10,000 population, except Paris, rose to 123 by July, 1915; 141, by July, 1916; 184 by July, 1917, and 232 by April, 1918. While a satisfactory index for Germany was wanting, it was found that 19 foodstuffs at Berlin had somewhat more than doubled in prices between July, 1914, and October, 1916. In Great Britain the index of 21 foodstuffs doubled between July, 1914, and June, 1917, but remained almost stationary for the succeeding year. The index of 24 articles of food for Norway had doubled by March, 1917, when the index was 204; it rose steadily to 312 in May, 1918. For Sweden, the advance was less sharp than in Norway; the index for 21 articles of food did not reach 200 until November, 1917; for May, 1918, it was 258. From the *Labour Gazette* (October, 1918), it appears that the cost of living in Norway had advanced during the war up to April, 1918, by at least 140 per cent, while wages had advanced only 90 per cent. In Sweden, the cost of living, based on the average family budget, was estimated to have increased 119 per cent during the same period.

**Cost of the War.** The real cost of war should be measured in terms of the sacrifices of the people engaged in it and of the rest of the world. Such sacrifices would include not merely the loss of lives of those killed in combat, the sufferings of the wounded, and the increased death rate both during and after the war consequent upon injuries and deprivations, but also the labors, hardships, and sufferings imposed upon the soldiers and the non-fighting population both during actual hostilities and during the long years of recuperation thereafter. It is evident that such

a cost cannot be computed. Even when measured in financial terms the cost should include not merely the huge public expenditures but also the dislocation, misdirection, and destruction of productive power, both of labor and of capital, and the destruction of private and public property, works of art, and great historical landmarks. It is evident that these latter items can be only roughly approximated. Consequently the cost of war is usually stated in terms of governmental expenditures.

The approximate per capita indebtedness on March 1 was: Great Britain, \$242; France, \$330; Germany, \$177; Austria-Hungary, \$159; Italy, \$87; and Russia (in Europe), \$57.

The daily cost of war gradually increased from less than \$40,000,000 per day at the beginning to fully \$122,500,000 per day to January, 1918. The following table estimates total and daily costs, exclusive of the United States.

| Country                 | Cost to Jan. 1, 1918 | Daily cost    |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Great Britain.....      | \$27,236,500,000     | \$32,500,000  |
| France.....             | 18,405,000,000       | 17,000,000    |
| Russia.....             | 14,340,000,000       | 16,000,000    |
| Italy.....              | 7,650,000,000        | 10,000,000    |
| Other Allies.....       | 2,165,000,000        | 3,000,000     |
| Total for Allies.....   | \$69,796,500,000     | \$78,500,000  |
| Germany.....            | 24,455,000,000       | 27,000,000    |
| Austria-Hungary.....    | 10,475,000,000       | 15,000,000    |
| Turkey and Bulgaria.... | 1,755,000,000        | 2,000,000     |
| Central Powers.....     | \$36,685,000,000     | \$44,000,000  |
| Grand Total.....        | \$106,481,500,000    | \$122,500,000 |

The loans of the various belligerents from the beginning of the war to March 1, 1916, aggregated over \$29,000,000,000. Of this enormous sum the Allied Powers had contracted 68 per cent and Great Britain alone 26 per cent or more than one-fourth. British loans included the first war loan of \$1,750,000,000 of 3½ per cent bonds on a basis of 3.97 per cent; the second war loan of \$2,925,000,000 of 4½ per

cent bonds on a basis of 4.58 per cent; and treasury bills of over \$2,000,000,000. There were also included loans for Canada, India, and Australia aggregating over \$260,000,000, one-half of the Anglo-French loan in the United States, and advances to Allies and colonies exceeding \$2,000,000,000. In addition to the above the English Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced in February, 1916, that an additional war credit of \$2,500,000,000 was immediately needed, bringing the English total of loans to over \$10,000,000,000. The principal item for France was the Loan of Victory of 5 per cents at 87 to yield 5.75 per cent aggregating \$3,100,000,000. There were advances from the Bank of France to Feb. 17, 1916, of \$1,120,000,000; bonds and notes in London of \$506,000,000; and one-half of the Anglo-French loan, besides notes and banking credits in New York amounting to \$80,000,000. France had also issued national-defense bonds to the amount of \$1,392,584,000. Russia had issued four internal loans aggregating \$1,545,000,000; 4 per cent bonds to the amount of \$309,000,000; treasury bills at 5 per cent aggregating \$1,364,750,000; and had contracted loans in England, France, Japan, and the United States to complete her total. In Italy there had been three issues of 25-year bonds bearing 4½ or 5 per cent in the aggregate amount of \$1,190,000,000. In addition she had contracted obligations in England for \$250,000,000 and in the United States for \$25,000,000. France and England had advanced to Belgium \$218,000,000. Japan issued a loan for \$26,000,000 in 1914. Serbia had secured \$33,000,000 from France.

The German loans began with a 5 per cent issue at 97.5 in September, 1914, to the amount of \$2,125,000,000.

A second issue of 5 per cents at 98 in May, 1915, totaled \$2,250,000,000. A third in September, 1915, at 99 aggregated \$3,000,000,000. The fourth loan bearing 5 per cent interest, the books for which were closed in April, 1916, reached \$2,500,000,000. Special banks (*Darlehnskassen*) were established by the government for the purpose of advancing money on securities of various kinds, such money to be invested in the loans. Similar advances of paper money (*Darlehnskassenscheine*) were made on goods for export but unable to leave Germany during the war. In some cases even pledged property, household goods, and instruments of trade could be mortgaged to these banks in order to secure funds for investment in the war loans. In the second loan the bonds of the first loan were accepted in part payment; but the amount of such transactions was not published. In the third loan the government exchanged its obligations for contracts of manufacturers and traders to deliver to the government goods of a specified value. It was believed by many that the slight resort to taxation, the great expansion of paper currency, and excessive use of credit were unsound methods of war finance.

The Austro-Hungarian loans included a first, second, and third Austrian loan aggregating \$1,782,000,000 and a first and second Hungarian loan aggregating \$471,000,000 besides loans contracted in Germany to the amount of \$298,500,000. The actual expenditures, however, of the Dual Monarchy were somewhat shrouded in mystery. In floating their loans special banks and methods similar to those adopted in Germany were used. Turkey contracted two loans in Germany amounting to \$214,000,000; and Bulgaria borrowed \$30,000,000 from German bankers.

In addition to the foregoing various neutral countries had been forced to contract loans by the added expenditures made necessary by the war. These amounted to \$143,000,000 in Holland; \$40,000,000 for Rumania; \$25,000,000 for Egypt; \$51,000,000 for Switzerland; \$28,000,000 for Denmark; \$24,800,000 for Spain; \$16,000,000 for Norway; \$14,380,000 for Sweden; and \$8,000,000 for Greece.

#### **The Last Two Years of the War.**

*The Wall Street Journal* computed the total outlay of all nations for the first three full years of war, July, 1914, to August, 1917, at 90 billion dollars. The daily cost had reached \$117,000,000. The daily cost to Great Britain rose to about \$40,000,000 in the winter of 1916-17, but fell off nearly \$5,000,000 by mid-summer. The total for all belligerents must have approximated at least 122 billions by the middle of 1918.

**American War Finance.** The Federal war finance programme was prodigious. Little exact knowledge existed within the first months after the declaration of war of the total disbursements that would be required. Even as late as November 1 estimates were given to the papers that the requirements for the fiscal year 1917-18 would range from 14 billion dollars to 19 billion dollars. The actual appropriations for war purposes made by the 64th Congress, 2d session, were \$1,977,210,000. The appropriations made by the 1st session of the 65th Congress were \$16,901,967,000. There were in addition authorized contracts for \$2,511,954,000. The total of these three items is \$21,390,731,000. Of this seven billion dollars was to be lent to the Allies at the rate of \$500,000,000 per month. It was not known even in December how much of these vast appropriations would be actually spent before June,

1918. It did not seem possible in view of the productive capacity of the country for the government to spend the entire appropriation. In December there was much agitation over the delays in production. It was reported that, although the government's programme called for expenditures of one billion dollars in October, only \$450,000,000 of goods could be produced. To secure funds an extensive system of new taxes was authorized and two liberty loans were put out besides short-term Treasury certificates of indebtedness and the war savings stamps described below. Acts authorizing the issue of loans were passed on April 24 and September 24, 1917; the former called for seven billion dollars of bonds and the latter for \$11,538,945,460 of bonds, certificates, and savings stamps.

*First Liberty Loan.*—In the war revenue act of April 24, 1917, Congress had authorized the borrowing of \$7,000,000,000, of which three billions were to be invested in war bonds of the Allies. On May 14, 1917, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo announced the offering of the first Liberty Loan to consist of \$2,000,000,000 of 30-year 3½ per cent bonds. These bonds were absolutely exempted from all Federal and State taxes except the Federal inheritance tax. They were made convertible into the bonds of any subsequent issue at a higher rate of interest. In order to secure subscriptions an organization was perfected with the twelve Federal reserve banks as the central agencies in their respective districts. In addition to the twelve district committees great numbers of subcommittees, including one in every city and town, with still other subordinate committees for special classes or groups in each community, were brought into operation. Numerous avenues of pub-

licity were utilized. Subscriptions were closed on June 15 and the bonds dated from that day although not issued until late in the year. Total subscriptions from more than 4,000,000 persons were \$3,035,000,000. Since only \$2,000,000,000 had been offered, the larger applications were reduced. Each reserve district, except those centering at Kansas City, Minneapolis, and Atlanta, collected subscriptions in excess of the allotment.

*The Second Liberty Loan.*—Subscriptions to the second loan were opened October 1, 1917, and closed October 27. The minimum amount authorized was three billion dollars with the proviso that one-half of any excess subscriptions would be accepted. The plan called for payment down of 2 per cent, 18 per cent on November 15, 40 per cent on December 15, and 40 per cent on January 15, 1918. The interest rate was 4 per cent, payable semi-annually on November 15 and May 15. The bonds will run for 25 years, but are redeemable at the option of the government after 10 years. They are convertible into any subsequent war issue bearing a higher rate of interest within six months after such issue is announced. They are exempt from State and local taxation except State inheritance taxes and the "additional" income taxes; such "additional" tax, however, applies only to the interest on holdings of \$5,000 or more. It was believed that this issue was by these taxes made more attractive to the small investors. The same thorough organization for every State and locality was utilized as in the case of the First Liberty Loan. There were also numerous advertisements by billboards, street cars, newspapers, magazines, and circulars; numerous corporations and banking and other institutions generally

urged their employees or constituencies to subscribe. Much interest and enthusiasm was also aroused by hundreds of volunteer canvassers and speakers.

The total subscriptions from 9,500,000 persons were \$4,617,532,300, so that the actual issue was \$3,808,766,150. In every Federal Reserve District the minimum allotment was over-subscribed, the percentage of over-subscription ranging from somewhat less than 4 per cent for Dallas to 62 per cent for Cleveland, 68 per cent for Richmond, and 72 per cent for New York; the average over-subscription was 54 per cent. In determining the allotments it was decided to fill all subscriptions up to and including \$50,000 at the full amount; but to allow only 90 per cent of subscriptions between \$50,000 and \$100,000, but no allowance in this group to be less than \$50,000; 75 per cent of subscriptions between \$100,000 and \$200,000, but no allotment less than \$90,000; 60 per cent of subscriptions between \$200,000 and \$1,000,000, but none less than \$150,000; 50 per cent of subscriptions between \$1,000,000 and \$8,000,000, but no allotment less than \$600,000; 41.2 per cent of subscriptions between \$8,000,000 and \$30,000,000, but not less than \$4,000,000; and 40.8152 per cent of a subscription for \$50,000,000. Treasury certificates which were outstanding to the amount of \$2,320,493,000, due at different dates in November and December, were applicable to purchase of these bonds. In the stock market the 3½ per cent Liberty Bonds had fluctuated about par with a usually slight discount before the issue of the second series. Thereafter the 3½s fluctuated about 98-99 and the 4s about 97-98.

*Third Liberty Loan.*—On April 6 the campaign for the Third Liberty Loan

was launched and continued until May 4. During this period 18,376,815 people subscribed to \$4,176,516,850 in bonds, an over-subscription of nearly 40 per cent. These bonds are of shorter term than any of the other issues, becoming due in 1928, but unlike the other issues are not collectible before maturity. They bear 4¼ per cent interest and are not convertible, thus differing from the First and Second Loans, but similar in this respect to subsequent issues. Inheritance taxes are payable with these bonds, for which purpose they are receivable at par, if they have been held for six months prior to death. These are exempt from all State and local taxation but are subject to surtaxes, inheritance taxes, and excess and war profits taxes, on holdings in excess of \$50,000.

*Fourth Liberty Loan.*—The largest sum ever raised in a single national loan was raised in the drive for this loan, which extended from September 28 to October 19. The vastness of the efforts may be gleaned from the fact that the Fifth Federal Reserve District alone mailed \$9,000,000 of advertising matter to prospective buyers; \$6,989,047,000 was raised, and there were over 21,000,000 subscribers. But while the number who bought was unparalleled, the greater part of the loan was taken by the wealthy. For instance, in the New York Federal Reserve District, with 3,604,101 subscribers, 2,279,165 subscriptions were for \$50 bonds, totaling but \$113,958,250, whereas 967 of the larger subscribers alone invested in \$768,167,950 of the total, of slightly over \$2,000,000,000. The bonds mature in 1938 but are collectible in 1933. Additional exemption is granted in that the interest on amounts of the bonds not in excess of \$30,000 is not subject to surtaxes.

*Fifth Loan.*—Before the close of 1918 plans were well under way for the floating of this loan—the Victory Loan, as it was to be called. The first and second issues of Treasury Certificates of indebtedness in anticipation of the Fifth Loan were oversubscribed, one of the subscribers of the latter issue being the Japanese government. These certificates bore interest at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and matured May 6, 1919. The Victory Loan was over-subscribed.

*Stabilizing Market Values.*—With a view to keeping the price of Liberty Bonds from dropping below par purchases of such bonds were made by the treasury's sinking fund. Until November 1, \$244,036,500 worth of bonds were purchased on the open market for \$234,310,443, making an average price of 96 per cent. These purchases were made in accordance with the act of April 4, 1918, which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to buy at such prices and upon such terms as he might prescribe. This did not prevent a considerable decline in market values of all except Liberty 1sts.

*War Savings Stamps.*—For the purpose of raising funds and cultivating thrift Congress authorized the sale of war savings stamps in two denominations, 25 cents (thrift stamps) and five dollars (war savings stamps). A Thrift Card was furnished having space for 16 stamps; when filled this could be exchanged for a \$5 stamp by the payment of 12 cents in December, 1917, or January, 1918; thereafter the cost for 16 stamps advanced one cent per month. These large stamps could be attached to a War Savings Certificate which had spaces for 20 stamps. If this was filled out between December 1, 1917, and January 31, 1918, at a cost of \$82.40, the government would redeem the certificate on January 1,

1923, for \$100; similarly for later dates. All stamps and certificates mature in five years from date of issue. The difference between \$4.12 and \$5.00 is the interest on the former sum for five years at 4 per cent compounded quarterly. No one person could hold more than \$1000 worth of these certificates, nor purchase more than \$100 worth at one time. The stamps were redeemable at the post office at any time at a lessened rate of interest. To carry out the plan there were appointed six Federal directors, giving their time to the work, each being in charge of two Federal reserve bank districts. There was a director for each State and further organization reaching to cities, counties, and towns. The national committee was: Frank A. Vanderlip, who resigned the presidency of the National City Bank of New York to serve without pay as chairman of this committee; Mrs. George Bass, Chicago; Henry Ford, Detroit; F. A. Delano, Washington; Eugene Meyer, Jr., New York, and Chas. L. Bayne, Boston.

The sale of these stamps was begun on December 3, 1917, under the supervision of the National War Savings Committee. This met with comparatively little success at first, there being considerable passive and some active opposition, and in the opening month only \$10,236,451 in stamps were sold. Greater publicity, however, was given to the stamps, and they were put on sale at every post office and by letter carriers. In addition agents for the sale of the stamps were appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, these numbering 233,287 at the end of October, 1918, while 151,361 war savings societies, numbering from 10 to 12,000 members each, had been formed by November 1, 1918.

The sales gradually increased until



they reached their maximum in July, 1918, during which months \$211,417,942.61 of stamps were disposed of. By November 1, 1918, the cash receipts from this source totaled \$834,253,213.44, representing an average maturity value of a little over \$1,000,000,000. Few persons availed themselves of the provision allowing for the redemption of the stamps, the redemption constituting less than 1 per cent. of the cash receipts. The success of this experience has led the Secretary of the Treasury to suggest in his annual report that this be made a permanent part of the scheme of the nation's financing. On September 24 an act was passed permitting the individual to hold as much as \$1000 of War Savings Stamps of any one issue; this superseded the previous restriction of \$1000 of stamps of all issues. This act also increased the total of stamps authorized from two to four billion dollars. About the same time Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, who had for a year given up his duties as president of the National City Bank to supervise the thrift campaign, resigned this latter function. The work was incorporated in the activities of the Treasury Department.

*Treasury Certificates.*—In order to raise immediate cash largely for the purpose of carrying out the proposed loans to the Allies, the Treasury issued at sixteen different times the varying amounts of temporary certificates of indebtedness. Their total amount was \$4,028,698,000; only \$690,000,000 issued November 21, 1917, bearing 4 per cent interest and due June 25, 1918, were still outstanding at the close of the year. Two small issues on March 31 and October 29, 1917, bore 2 per cent interest; 2 issues on April 25 and May 10, 1917, bore 3 per cent; 2 on May 25 and June 8, 1917, bore  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per

cent; 3 issues on August 9, August 28, and September 17, 1917, bore  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; and 7 other issues, all after September 26, 1917, bore 4 per cent. Nearly \$2,500,000,000 of these certificates were placed through the Federal reserve banks at New York.

*Advance to Allies.*—The plan of the government included advances to the Allies of \$500,000,000 per month. The first advance was of \$200,000,000 to Great Britain on April 25, 1917. By the close of the year the total advances had reached the sum of \$4,236,400,000, distributed as follows: Great Britain, \$2,045,000,000; France, \$1,285,000,000; Italy, \$500,000,000; Russia, \$325,000,000, of which \$5,000,000 was for the Rumanian government; Belgium, \$77,400,000; and Serbia, \$4,000,000. These advances were made on the basis of the obligations of foreign governments purchased by the Treasury. Loans were first made at the rate of 3 per cent per annum, but soon advanced to  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent in order to conform to the rates paid by the Treasury on its own certificates of indebtedness. Following the flotation of the first Liberty Loan the rate on foreign loans was advanced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; and finally following the issue of the second Liberty Loan the rate was raised to  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.

Preceding our entrance into the war it had been the practice of foreign governments to issue loans in this country; subsequently to our entrance, in order to avoid the competition of foreign governments with our own, the policy of making loans to the Allies by the government itself, as indicated in the following paragraphs, was adopted. It was estimated that previous to the American declaration of war about \$2,500,000,000 of foreign war loans had been floated in this country. The

only variation from the new rule was the issue by the British Treasury through the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company of 90-day discount bills. It was planned to issue about \$15,000,000 of bills weekly up to a total of not over \$150,000,000. In fact, the total issued was only \$100,000,000; this amount, bearing 6 per cent interest, was outstanding at the close of the year. In addition, the same firm acting for the British and French governments, sold some of the collateral upon which previous loans had been based and repurchased part of such loans themselves.

**Canada.** War financing occupied much of public attention in Canada during 1917. On February 8, 1917, Premier Borden in his budget speech stated that the cost of the war had exceeded all expectations. For the year 1917-18 the estimated military and naval expenditures were put at \$433,000,000, compared with \$217,000,000 for the preceding year; \$166,000,000 for 1915-16, and only \$61,000,000 for 1914-15. The loans of the year included the third war loan of \$150,000,000 in 5 per cent bonds at 96, issued in March, 1917. A loan of \$100,000,000 was floated in the United States in July, 1917, through the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company. This was the only foreign loan floated in the United States after its entrance into the war, and special permission for it was given by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo. Finally in November, 1917, the Victory Loan was put out, 807,361 subscribers asking for \$417,000,000. The loan amounted to \$400,000,000, in the form of 5½ per cent gold bonds in three series, maturing in 1922, 1927, and 1937. The flotation of this immense loan in Canada was an evidence of sound financial conditions; in 1916 two-thirds of the Canadian loans, Dominion and Provincial, had

been floated in the United States, whereas in 1917 only slightly more than one-fifth were sold here. In connection with war financing, Canada began early in the year to issue savings stamps and certificates on a plan similar to that adopted previously in Great Britain and later in the United States.

In trade and manufacturing new high points were reached.

Exports for 11 months totaled \$1,399,000,000, as compared with \$961,666,000 and \$521,953,000 for similar periods of 1916 and 1915. Imports for this period were \$943,500,000, as compared with \$698,709,000, and \$405,973,000 for the like periods of 1916 and 1915. There was thus a favorable balance of trade of nearly twice that of 1916 and fully three times that of 1915. Crops were fairly abundant and prices high. Shipbuilding rapidly advanced on both coasts. Mineral production was hampered by labor shortage and unrest but the total value of output was \$200,000,000, as against \$190,646,000 in 1914, and \$39,000,000 in 1916, to \$35,000,000 in 1917. Various new industries, notably potash, toy-making, and dye manufacture, developed rapidly. War orders aggregating about \$1,812,000,000 were placed by the Imperial Munitions Board.

Canada's Fifth War Loan was successful beyond all expectations. The subscriptions totaled \$695,389,000, while the maximum asked for was \$600,000,000 and the minimum \$300,000,000; the government accepted the maximum asked for. Maturing at five and fifteen years, the bonds become due on November 1, 1923 and 1933, and yield 5½ per cent interest, payable semi-annually. The bonds may be converted into any future domestic issues of like maturity or longer made during

the war. Unlike the later liberty issues in the United States, the bonds are exempt from taxes, including any income tax imposed in pursuance of legislation enacted by the parliament of Canada. The campaign extended from October 28 to November 16, 1918, and there were 1,104,107 subscriptions. The province of Ontario had 542,648 subscribers for \$336,055,000. In the entire Dominion one person in every 7.08 subscribed and the average per capita subscription was \$88.91.

**Great Britain.** The great financial and commercial strength of Great Britain showed to superior effect amidst the tremendous obstacles of the third year of war. Aggregate war expenditures reached £4,200,000,000 in February, 1917. In September, 1917, the war cost above the normal peace budgets was estimated at five billion pounds sterling (\$25,000,000,000) and yet not the slightest feeling of uncertainty had been manifest as to the soundness of the financial structure. This estimate, made by the Select Committee on National Expenditure, showed that advances to Allies had amounted to £1,321,000,000 to September, 1917. The deadweight national debt had thus been increased by about £3,500,000,000 and the annual debt charge by over £200,000,000, or a billion dollars. It was estimated that each six months of war would add £750,000,000, exclusive of advances to Allies, to the debt and £45,000,000 to the annual debt charge (interest at 5 per cent and sinking fund 1 per cent). The total war credits for the fiscal year April, 1917, to March, 1918, inclusive, were £2,450,000,000. There were quantities of Treasury bills outstanding at all times, their volume in December being £1,059,000,000. As elsewhere, prices advanced sharply. The London *Economist* estimated the index level of

general prices as follows: Average for 1901-5, 2200; September 30, 1916, 4423; September 30, 1917, 5634. As indicated above, British purchases in the United States necessitated large loans from the United States government to maintain trade balances. In addition for the same purpose, British owners of American securities were estimated to have sold \$1,750,000,000 of them back to American investors since the war started. The high rates of interest caused British Consols to drop in January to 51¾, their lowest since 1803, while securities in general continued to shrink in market values. The London *Bankers' Magazine* reported that declines in the market values of 387 representative stocks amounted to nearly £158,000,000 for the year and to £771,000,000 since July, 1914. The high level of trade is indicated by total exports for the eleven months ending November 30, 1917, of £488,168,000, an increase of 4.6 per cent over the same period of 1916 and 26 per cent above those of 1915. Imports for eleven months were £980,500,000, or 12.2 per cent for the same period of 1916, and greatly exceeding any previous year. Re-exports, however, were only £66,372,000 for 11 months, a decline of 27.6 per cent and much less than any recent year.

In October, 1917, Great Britain inaugurated its system of continuous sale of bonds known as National War Bonds and sold them throughout 1918. These consisted of 5 per cent bonds of 1922 at 102, of 1924 at 103, and of 1927 at 105, and of 4 per cent bonds of 1927. The coupon bonds were put forth in denominations ranging from £50 to £5000 and there were also registered bonds which are transferable either by deed or in the Bank Transfer Books. A legal tender privilege is attached, the

bonds being accepted at par and accrued interest by the commissioners of inland revenue in payment of death duties, provided bonds were held for six months before the date of decease. Both principal and interest are exempt from all British taxation, present or future, if shown to be in the beneficial ownership of persons neither domiciled nor ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom. Interest on the 4 per cent bonds is exempt from British income taxation other than the super tax. The 5 per cent and the 4 per cent bonds both have a convertibility feature. The chancellor pointed out that in the year beginning October 1, 1917, over £1,120,000,000 had been invested in war bonds, much more than expected; by January 18, 1919, the total had reached £1,500,000,000. The advantage claimed for the system of continuous borrowing is that it raises more money with the least disturbance of financial conditions, and it is argued that it is the best from a point of view of financial stability after the war is over.

Through its representatives in the United States, J. P. Morgan & Company, the British government offered its short term treasury bills throughout the year, these bonds selling on the market at 5½ per cent at the beginning of 1918, the interest increasing to 6 per cent for the greater part of the year, and the bonds being again offered at 6 per cent during 1919. During the first four years of the war Great Britain had borrowed over £5,900,000,000. The total indebtedness of Great Britain on January 1, 1919, was about \$40,000,000,000, over 44 per cent of the national wealth.

**Germany.** Financial conditions within the Central Powers were largely shrouded in mystery. There were,

however, many indications of financial stress, food and clothing shortage, and industrial unrest. The war finances were a prodigious burden. The fifth war loan was reported in April, 1917, to have produced 12,770,000,000 marks (\$3,192,000,000). In February, 1917, the Reichstag authorized a sixth credit of 15 billion marks and in July a seventh of like amount. The sixth loan was reported to have produced \$3,089,000,000, and the seventh \$3,156,000,000. This last called out 5,213,000 subscribers, of whom 3,233,000 made subscriptions of \$50 or less, and 1,280,000 others subscribed less than \$250 each. The total number of subscribers was less than for the fourth and fifth loans and greater reliance was placed on the large banks. The rapid growth of the public interest charge, the almost complete absence of foreign trade, and the concentration of industrial efforts within the narrowest range of military necessities made increasingly difficult the preservation of a sound financial structure. In addition, in July, 1917, Germany assumed responsibility for war expenditures of Bulgaria and Turkey. Numerous reports indicated increasing food scarcity and the efforts of the authorities to supply fertilizers and seeds and stimulate production. Nevertheless, Mr. Hoover reported to President Wilson in May, 1917, that the Germans could not be starved into surrender. The scarcity of gold and silver gave great concern because of the unfavorable trade balances with neighboring neutrals. The Reichsbank repeated its appeals for gold in any form and the government threatened to demonetize silver if it were not brought out of hiding. Loans were secured from Switzerland and Holland largely, according to report, by threats to cut off their coal supply.

The scarcity of clothing necessitated government regulation and the issue of clothing cards.

Plans for the rehabilitation of the merchant fleet and the recovery of foreign trade made much progress. It was reported that a merchant fleet was under construction; that the government would make generous allowances for vessels lost during the war and heavily subsidized shipping after the war; and that similar steps would be taken with reference to various branches of trade, especially toy-making and dye-manufacture. It was planned also to utilize monopolies of buying under government direction to secure raw materials.

During 1918 the German government floated two war loans, the eighth and the ninth. The eighth loan, offered to the public from March 18 until April 18, consisted of bonds bearing 5 per cent interest and treasury certificates bearing  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent interest. These, as in the two preceding loans, were issued at 98 and the amount was unlimited. They were dated July 1, 1918, but the bonds were "unkundbar" (or unannounceable) until October 1, 1924, whereas the treasury certificates mature on July 1, 1927, but subject to drawings, or, at the option of the government, to entire redemption at par, on or after July 1, 1927. However, the holder of the certificates, if the government exercises its right to redeem, may ask for 4 per cent treasury certificates which are redeemable by drawing at 115. The bonds were issued, as in the United States, in coupon bonds, being in denominations ranging from 100 to 20,000 marks. The treasury certificates were in series in coupon form, in denominations of 1,000 to 20,000 marks. Both the bonds and certificates of this and previous loans could

be deposited by subscribers in the securities department of the Reichsbank, which would collect and forward interest without charge until October, 1919. In the campaign for the raising of the funds much was made of Wilson's assertion that the United States was to put all its force into the winning of the war. A total of 15,001,425,000 marks (about \$3,520,000,000) was subscribed, which sum far exceeded the subscription to the sixth loan, which until then held the record of 13,120,000,000 marks. The number of subscribers, 6,510,278, exceeded the number for any previous loan except the sixth, to which over seven million subscribed.

The ninth German loan met with much less success. In accordance with the bill introduced into the Reichstag for a war credit of fifteen billion marks, a campaign was conducted from September 23 until October 23. The loan was issued as in the two preceding war loans in the form of 5 per cent bonds and of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent redeemable treasury certificates, both being put forth at 98. In its other essential features this loan was similar to the preceding. According to a statement attributed to the president of the Imperial Bank the total subscription amounted to 10,433,957,700 marks, which was considerably less than called for.

**Japan.** Japan was never so prosperous as in 1917. Although nominally a belligerent, her trade and manufacturing positions were those of a neutral. She nearly monopolized Oriental trans-Pacific trade and built up a thriving commerce with much of the rest of the world. She sent trade commissions to all important countries, opened new steamship lines to China, Russia, Australia, Africa, North and South America, Europe, India, and the South Sea Islands. Her shipyards were worked

at full capacity. Her combined imports and exports showed a value double that of 1914. As compared with 1916, there was an increase of over 50 per cent in exports and of about 20 per cent in imports. There were great advances in commodity prices, resulting among other things in numerous industrial disturbances. Some indication of industrial development is given by Japan's importation of cotton from the United States to the amount of 514,000 bales in the fiscal year 1917, as compared with 484,000 bales in 1916 and 337,000 in 1914. Her total exports for fiscal years were: 1917, \$130,472,000; 1916, \$74,470,000; 1915, \$41,517,000.

Japan, like the United States, has stood in the position of a lender, having furnished financial assistance to the extent of \$742,298,000 to Great Britain; \$254,168,000 to Russia; and \$155,569,000 to France; from the outbreak of the war until the end of April, 1918. A national loan of \$25,000,000 floated during 1918 drew forth subscriptions exceeding \$67,500,000. Bonds to the amount of \$400,000,000 were expected to be issued in 1918-19.

**France.** The Fourth French War Loan or "Liberty Loan" was opened for subscription October 20 and remained open until November 24, 1918. The bonds of nominal value of 100 francs were issued at 70.8 francs; with interest set at 4 per cent on the nominal value the yield is approximately  $5\frac{5}{8}$  per cent. By December 31, with final results of the campaign not yet known, it was announced that the subscriptions reached a nominal total of 27,750,000,000 francs or a real value of 19,750,000,000 francs. The sum by far exceeds the amounts raised in any previous war loans. In addition France offered a new form of short term obli-

gations beginning May 31, 1918. These were the National Defense Notes, which have a maturity of one month but which may be extended one or two months further. The interest set at 3.6 per cent the first month, increases to 3.9 per cent the second month, and to 4 per cent if held for four months. The French government's borrowings since the outbreak of the war to August 31, 1918, are classed as follows: Domestic, funded loans, 32,187,000,000 francs; national defense treasury bills, 26,453,000,000 francs; short term bonds, 679,000,000 francs; advances of the Bank of France and the Bank of Algeria, 19,415,000,000 francs; total domestic, 78,734,000,000 francs. Foreign, loans contracted in: England, 12,533,000,000 francs; United States, 11,887,000,000 francs; Argentina, 471,000,000 francs; Spain, 326,000,000 francs; Japan, 197,000,000 francs; Switzerland, 97,000,000 francs; Holland, Norway, and Sweden, 147,000,000 francs; total foreign, 25,678,000,000 francs.

**Australia.** During 1918 Australia floated two war loans, the sixth and the seventh. The sixth war loan campaign was carried on from February 18 to April 10 and £20,000,000 in bonds were issued. The bonds were offered so as to produce interest at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent free of Federal and State income taxes and of any levy of wealth hereafter to be made. There was, however, an alternative offer of 5 per cent interest subject to Federal but not to State income taxes—for those of smaller incomes who would not be liable to the tax and to whom the tax free consideration would have no special attraction. The bonds are accepted at par in payment of probate and succession duty due the Commonwealth. Further, trustees are allowed to invest in them notwithstanding the fact that the price

at the time of investment may be above or below par. Provision is made for the purchasing of the bonds on the market by the treasurer of the Commonwealth should they decline in price. The subscriptions which in aggregate were £43,500,000, more than doubled the amount asked for. Of this total only £6,500,000 was applied for at the 5 per cent rate.

The Seventh Australian War Loan called for £40,000,000 and the campaign for this was inaugurated on September 16. The bonds were issued at par in denominations ranging from £10 to £1000 and the rate of interest was fixed at 5 per cent. Unlike the preceding loans, the whole issue is subject to Federal, though not to state, taxation, and it is of short duration, the year of maturity being 1923. The number of applications was 223,863 (which was more than for any previous loan) and subscriptions amounted to £42,667,640. The seven war loans floated in Australia aggregated £186,994,940. In addition, up to June 30, 1918, Australia had borrowed from the British home government £38,000,000 for the prosecution of the war.

**New Zealand.** In the early part of 1918 New Zealand raised another war loan of £20,000,000. This, like the preceding loan, had a compulsory feature whereby if the set sum was not obtained persons with incomes of over £700 and who were thus able to subscribe but failed to do so were to be fined, and later compelled to put surplus funds in war bonds receiving only 3 per cent interest. The compulsory provision in the war loan of New Zealand in 1917 was probably the first instance of this form of conscription of wealth in the belligerent countries, though resort was not needed to this because there were enough subscriptions.

**India.** India continued its issue of its Post Office 5-Year Cash Certificates in 1918, these being offered continuously since April 1, 1917. The certificates are dated from the date of sale and become due in five years, thus being very similar to War Savings Certificates. These certificates may be cashed at any time within a year at cost price, and thereafter the cash value increases each quarter year until maturity. They are issued in denominations which vary from 10 to 100 rupees maturity value. The interest at 5.13 per cent per annum is compounded quarterly from the date of purchase and paid at the end of the five years. While these are exempt from the income tax, the maximum amount that an individual can hold is 7500 rupees, irrespective of the amount of other kinds of bonds held. The issue of these certificates as well as of the 5 per cent War Loan bonds of 1929-47 and the 5½ per cent war bonds of 1920-22, was authorized by the government of India on March 1, 1917.

**Other British Colonies.** Newfoundland, the Union of South Africa, the Malay States, and the Colony of Barbados, British West Indies, all raised loans for war purposes during 1918.

**Italy.** The sum raised by Italy by its Fourth War Loan (its fifth loan since the outbreak of the European War) exceeded by far the amount obtained in any previous campaign. From January 15 to March 10 about \$1,160,000,000 of bonds was subscribed for, as compared with the \$500,000,000 of the preceding loan, which had before held the record. They were issued at 86.5, with the interest set at 5 per cent, but had no definite date of maturity. Coupon bonds in denominations from 100 to 20,000 lire were exchangeable for registered bonds. The bonds of this loan were exempt from all taxes and

enjoy all of the advantages which were to go to future loans during the war.

**Neutral Countries.** The finances of neutral countries required that loans be floated to meet the expenses of mobilization and other expenditures occasioned by the war. For example, before Italy's entrance into the fray it had issued a mobilization loan and Switzerland put forth eight and Holland four mobilization loans.

**Switzerland.** Switzerland's eighth mobilization loan was opened to public subscription from January 7 to January 16, 1918. The bonds were issued at 100 in denominations ranging from 100 to 5000 francs in coupon bonds. Coupon bonds which had an aggregate par value of over 1000 francs could be deposited at the Federal treasury in exchange for registered certificates. The bonds are redeemable at par on or after January 31, 1928, upon the giving of six months' notice. Both principal and interest are exempt from all taxes, deduction or stamp duty of the Federal government. There were 31,601 subscriptions, totaling \$28,950,000.

**The Netherlands.** From January 2 to January 4 Holland disposed of its fourth mobilization loan. The bonds were issued at 100 and the interest rate was fixed at 4½ per cent. They are dated February 1, 1918, and mature forty years from that time, with the right of redemption by the government at any time after August 1, 1919. The coupon bonds were issued in denominations of 100, 500, and 1000 florins, the first coupon on definitive bonds maturing on February 1, 1919. In case the voluntary subscriptions to this loan did not amount to 400,000,000 florins, the law provided for compulsory subscriptions to a 3 per cent loan at 100 to make up the deficiency.

**Loans to Allies.** The American government, after its entrance into the war, made repeated loans to associated belligerents and also to certain neutrals. These advances were spent in this country for food and supplies; they were essential to the equalization of international exchange. They were based on the obligations of foreign governments purchased by the United States treasury; these bore rates of interest conforming to the Liberty Loans and interim certificates of the treasury. Previous to April, 1917, foreign loans to the amount of \$2,500,000,000 had been placed here through banking houses by numerous foreign governments. After America's entrance into the war all advances were made by the government, except certain short-term British treasury notes issued through J. P. Morgan and Company and certain Canadian obligations. By January 15, 1919, the aggregate loans of our government to foreign governments were \$8,598,773,702, apportioned as follows: Great Britain, \$1,175,981,000; France, \$2,436,427,000; Italy, \$1,310,000,000; Russia, \$325,000,000 (all previous to 1918); Belgium, \$256,145,000; Greece, \$39,554,036; Cuba, \$15,000,000; Serbia, \$12,000,000; Rumania, \$6,666,666; Liberia, \$5,000,000; and Czechoslovaks, \$17,000,000.

*Gross Debts of Belligerents.*—As published by the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, the total debts of belligerents on January 1, 1919, as compared with debts August 1, 1914, were as follows (six figures [000,000] omitted):

|                      | August<br>1, 1914 | January<br>1, 1919 |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| United States.....   | \$1,000           | \$21,000           |
| Great Britain.....   | 3,500             | 40,000             |
| France.....          | 6,500             | 30,000             |
| Russia.....          | 4,600             | 27,000             |
| Italy.....           | 2,800             | 12,000             |
| Germany.....         | 5,200             | 40,000             |
| Austria-Hungary..... | 3,700             | 24,000             |
| Totals.....          | \$27,300          | \$194,000          |



### XIII. THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE TREATIES OF PEACE

**President Wilson's Visit to Europe.** After the signing of the armistice all the eyes of the world were focused on the forthcoming gathering of the leading diplomats of the world to settle the final terms of peace. On November 18, the President announced that he intended to sail for Europe himself in order to take part in the peace discussion because he felt that it would be impossible for him to handle the matter successfully by cable. On November 29 the American delegates to the Peace Conference were announced as follows: The President, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, Colonel Edward M. House, Henry White, former Ambassador to France, General Tasker H. Bliss, military representative of the United States at the Inter-Allied War Council. President Wilson, in his farewell address to Congress on December 2, stated that the Entente governments had accepted the principles laid down in his "fourteen peace points" address (see *above*), and that it was only reasonable for him to be present at the conference in order to interpret some of them as well as to offer suggestions as to their applications. The President and his party sailed for France on the steamer *George Washington*, on December 4. They arrived at Brest on December 13 and went to Paris on the same day. They were received by the French President and other high dignitaries and the President took up his residence at the palace of Prince Murat. On Christmas Day, President Wilson visited General Pershing at general headquarters and addressed American troops. On Decem-

ber 26 the President visited England and stayed until the 31st, when he returned to France. Later he made a trip to Italy. His visits and speeches were everywhere received with an enthusiasm and acclaim that was scarcely to be expected from a continent that had just passed through such a holocaust.

**The Peace Conference.** The Peace Conference held its first session on January 18, 1919. This meeting was preceded by a few sessions of the Inter-Allied War Council and two formal meetings between President Wilson and the ministers and ambassadors from Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. Before the meeting of the first full session it was announced that each day a formal communiqué would be issued to the press concerning the doings of the congress on that day. It was also stated that delegates had promised not to discuss with members of the press anything that had taken place at the sessions. This produced a formal protest from the correspondents present at Paris. They were finally permitted to attend the plenary sessions but were informed that deliberations would be held in secret. The Peace Conference held its sessions in the Salle de la Paix of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The following joint plan was issued with reference to the organization of the Peace Conference.

It was decided that the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan should be represented by five delegates apiece. The British Dominions and India, besides, shall be represented

as follows: Two delegates respectively for Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, including the native States, and one delegate from New Zealand.

Brazil will have three delegates. Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Rumania, and Serbia will have two delegates apiece, Siam one delegate, and Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama one delegate apiece.

Montenegro will have one delegate, but the rules concerning the designation of this delegate shall not be fixed until the moment when the political situation in that country shall have been cleared up.

The meeting adopted the following two general principles:

One—Each delegation being a unit, the number of delegates forming it shall have no influence upon its status at the conference.

Two—In the selection of its delegation each nation may avail itself of the panel system. This will enable each State at discretion to intrust its interests to such persons as it may designate.

The adoption of the panel system will in particular enable the British Empire to admit among its five delegates representatives of the dominions, including Newfoundland, which has no separate representation, and of India.

The following list of delegates was announced.

France—Georges Clemenceau,\* Prime

\* Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin Eugene, born (1841) in Mouilleron-en-Pareds in Vendée. Educated as physician, drifted into politics. In 1876 elected to Chamber of Deputies. Independent from beginning. In 1880 founded daily paper, *La Justice*. Lost seat in 1893 because suspected being in Panama scandal. Elected Senator in 1902. Founded *L'Aurore* to champion cause of Dreyfus. In 1906 became Minister of the Interior and shortly after pre-

Minister; Stephen Pichon, Foreign Minister; Louis Klotz, Finance Minister; André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States, and Jules Cambon.

Great Britain—David Lloyd George, Prime Minister; Arthur J. Balfour, Foreign Secretary; Andrew Bonar Law; George Nicoll Barnes, the labor leader, and another who was to act as alternate delegate.

United States—Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States; Robert Lansing, Secretary of State; Henry White; Colonel Edward M. House; and General Tasker H. Bliss.

Italy—Vittorio Orlando, Prime Minister; Baron Sonnino, Foreign Secretary; Antonio Salandra, former Premier; Marquis Salvago Raggi, and Signor Stringher, Minister of Finance.

Japan—The Marquis Saionji, former Prime Minister; Baron Makino, Baron Chinda, Baron Matsui, and Count Hayashi.

Brazil—Senator Epitacio Pessoa, Dr. Pandia Caloreras, and Deputy Raoul Fernandez.

Belgium—Paul Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Emile Vandervelde, and M. Vandenheuevel.

Serbia—Nikola Pashitch, former Prime Minister, and M. Trumbitch, former President of the Dalmatian Diet, who will alternate with Dr. M. R. Vesnitch, Serbian Minister to France, and M. Reber.

Greece—Eleutherios Venizelos, Premier, and M. Politis, Foreign Minister.

mier. Held office until 1909. Power continued. Known as Destroyer of Ministries. Became editor of *L'Homme Libre*. Is stormy petrel of French politics. A consistent radical. As prime minister bitter enemy of church. A brilliant writer and speaker. Wrote plays, novels, philosophic essays, and sociological studies.

Rumania—M. Bratiano, Prime Minister, and M. Mishr.

Czechoslovakia—Dr. Karl Kramarcz, Premier, and M. Benes, Foreign Minister.

Poland—M. Dmowski, Polish representative to the allied Governments, and a second delegate representing General Pilsudski.

China—Lu Cheng-Hsiang, Foreign Minister, and one other.

Kingdom of the Hedjaz—Two delegates.

Canada—Sir Robert Borden, Premier; Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, with others of the delegation alternating.

Australia—William Morris Hughes, Premier, and one other.

Union of South Africa—General Louis Botha and General Jan C. Smuts.

India—The Maharajah of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha.

Siam—M. Charoon, Minister to France, and one other.

New Zealand—William F. Massey, Premier.

Portugal—Ejas Moniz.

The opening session of the Peace Conference began on the afternoon of Saturday, January 18, 1919, at three o'clock. The opening address was made by President Poincaré of France. He greeted those present and then paid a warm tribute to the United States of America and the other republics that had come into the war to defend the ideals of democracy and liberty. He said that the war was a rising of the oppressed nations of the earth against those of the Central Powers which had held them in submission for centuries. He called the present meeting a meeting of free peoples and stated that the Germanic idea of conquest had been defeated forever. He finally appealed for a League of Nations which would make

a recurrence of the past holocaust impossible. His concluding paragraph was, "You are assembled in order to repair the evil that has been done and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you gentlemen to your grave deliberations and declare the Conference of Paris open." Immediately after the President of France had concluded his speech President Wilson nominated Clemenceau for the position of Permanent Chairman of the Conference. His nomination was seconded by Lloyd George and Baron Sonnino and the assemblage ratified it unanimously. After Clemenceau's speech of acceptance, the first session of the conference came to a close with the announcement that a League of Nations would be the first order of business at the next plenary session.

A Supreme Council, consisting of the two senior members of the five chief powers, was established. It held its first session on January 20, and adopted a resolution offered by President Wilson concerning the situation in Russia. All the warring factions in Russia were invited to take part in a discussion of the differences of opinion with the idea of attempting to settle them and thus restore peace and quietude over the vast area seething with unrest. The meeting was to be held on February 15 at the Princes' Island about 12 miles from Constantinople. The Bolsheviki, and the governments of Ukraine, Crimea, Esthonia, Lithuania, and the Lettish republic were invited to attend. Nothing however came of this suggestion on the part of the Associated Powers.

**The League of Nations.** On January 25 the Peace Conference adopted a resolution to create a League of Nations. It will be remembered that this was one of President Wilson's famous four-

teen peace points. President Wilson was named chairman of the committee which was to draft the constitution of the proposed League. President Wilson read his plan on February 14 and on the next day he sailed for the United States. During the meetings of the committee which drew up the constitution of the League of Nations there arose sharp differences of opinion. All of these differences centred around the question as to how much power should be given to the League to enforce its decisions. The French held out for the use of strong military power to make them effective, while the British and American delegates declared the League should have only a modified form of authority, such as economic restraints and the like. The discussion arose to such a height that Premier Clemenceau practically appealed to the American public over the head of President Wilson through the agency of the Associated Press. This action was wildly acclaimed by the French press and the latter modified its demands after a threat was made to remove the seat of the conference to another city. A compromise was effected only after the British and American delegates agreed to a revision of the armistice terms which assured the impossibility of Germany renewing the war or rejecting the peace terms. This satisfied the French and Belgian representatives and the work of the committee was considerably lightened. President Wilson read the text of the Constitution for the League of Nations which was presented to the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference on February 14 as a unanimous report of the committee. The following day President Wilson sailed for America. When he arrived there and presented the document to the American public it was received rather

coldly and this resulted in the making of several changes in the original text. When the President again went to Paris he presented several changes which were adopted by the Peace Congress. The following presents the text of the League of Nations as finally adopted. At the conclusion of the constitution there is a list of the differences added as a result of the hostility to the text in its original form.

### TEXT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT.

IN ORDER TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION AND TO ACHIEVE INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, BY THE ACCEPTANCE OF OBLIGATIONS NOT TO RESORT TO WAR, BY THE PRESCRIPTION OF OPEN, JUST AND HONORABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS, BY THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNDERSTANDINGS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AS TO ACTUAL RULE OF CONDUCT AMONG GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE MAINTENANCE OF JUSTICE AND A SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR ALL TREATY OBLIGATIONS IN THE DEALINGS OF ORGANIZED PEOPLES WITH ONE ANOTHER, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES AGREE TO THIS COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

#### ARTICLE ONE

The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the league.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the league if its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intentions to observe its international obligations and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the league may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the league, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

## ARTICLE TWO

The action of the league under this covenant shall be effective through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with a permanent secretariat.

## ARTICLE THREE

The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the league.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals, and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the league or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly each member of the league shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

## ARTICLE FOUR

The council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the league. These four members of the league shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the league first selected by the assembly, representatives of (blank) shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly the council may name additional members of the league, whose representatives shall always be members of the council. The council with like approval may increase the number of members of the league to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the league or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the league not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the league.

At meetings of the council each member of the league represented on the council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

## ARTICLE FIVE

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the

agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly or the council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the league represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting of the council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

## ARTICLE SIX

The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise a secretary-general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first secretary-general shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the secretary-general shall be appointed by the council with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary-general with the approval of the council.

The secretary-general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the league in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the international bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

## ARTICLE SEVEN

The seat of the league is established at Geneva.

The council may at any time decide that the seat of the league shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the league and officials of the league when engaged on the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the league or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

## ARTICLE EIGHT

The members of the league recognize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the

consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments, limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the league which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the league undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

#### ARTICLE NINE

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of Articles One and Eight and on military and naval questions generally.

#### ARTICLE TEN

The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

#### ARTICLE ELEVEN

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern of the whole league, and the league shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the secretary-general shall, on the request of any member of the league, forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

#### ARTICLE TWELVE

The members of the league agree that if there should arise between them any dispute

likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

#### ARTICLE THIRTEEN

The members of the league agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed upon by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the league agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the league which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

#### ARTICLE FOURTEEN

The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the league for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

#### ARTICLE FIFTEEN

If there should arise between members of the league any dispute likely to lead to a rupture which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the league agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary-general, who

will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the secretary-general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers. The council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute, terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled the council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the league represented on the council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute the members of the league agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article Twelve relating to the action and powers of the council shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the league represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the league, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force

as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

#### ARTICLE SIXTEEN

Should any member of the league resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article Twelve, Thirteen or Fifteen, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking member of the league and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking member of the league and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not.

It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

The members of the league agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking member of the state, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the league which are cooperating to protect the covenants of the league.

Any member of the league which has violated any covenant of the league may be declared to be no longer a member of the league by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the members of the league represented thereon.

#### ARTICLE SEVENTEEN

In the event of a dispute between a member of the league and a state which is not a member of the league or between states not members of the league, the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted the provisions of Articles Twelve to Sixteen inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

Upon such invitation being given the council

shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the league, the provisions of Article Sixteen shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

#### ARTICLE EIGHTEEN

Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

#### ARTICLE NINETEEN

The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

#### ARTICLE TWENTY

The members of the league severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case members of the league shall, before becoming a member of the league, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

#### ARTICLE TWENTY-ONE

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

#### ARTICLE TWENTY-TWO

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be

under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the league.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the nations for other than police purposes and the defence of territory and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

There are territories, such as southwest Africa and certain of the south Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centres of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.



The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the league, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual report of the mandatories, and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE TWENTY-THREE

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the league (A) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations, (B) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control, (C) will entrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, (D) will entrust the league with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest, (E) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be in mind, (F) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FOUR

There shall be placed under the direction of the league all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the league.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions the secretariat of the league shall, subject to the consent of the council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The council may include as part of the

expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the league.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIVE

The members of the league agree to encourage and promote the establishment and cooperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SIX

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the league whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the league whose representatives compose the assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the league which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the league.

ANNEX TO THE COVENANT

One—Original members of the League of Nations.

Signatories of the treaty of peace:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| UNITED STATES<br>OF AMERICA,  | GUATEMALA,<br>HAYTI,<br>HEDJAZ,<br>HONDURAS,<br>ITALY,<br>JAPAN,<br>LIBERIA,<br>NICARAGUA,<br>PANAMA,<br>PERU,<br>POLAND,<br>PORTUGAL,<br>RUMANIA,<br>SERBIA,<br>SIAM,<br>URUGUAY. |
| BELGIUM,<br>BOLIVIA,<br>BRAZIL,<br>BRITISH EMPIRE,<br>CANADA,<br>AUSTRALIA,<br>SOUTH AFRICA,<br>NEW ZEALAND,<br>INDIA,<br>CHINA,<br>CUBA,<br>CZECHO-SLOVAKIA,<br>ECUADOR,<br>FRANCE,<br>GREECE, |  |

States invited to accede to the covenant:

|  |  |
|--|--|
| ARGENTINE<br>REPUBLIC,<br>CHILE,<br>COLOMBIA,<br>DENMARK,<br>NETHERLANDS,<br>NORWAY, | PARAGUAY,<br>PERSIA,<br>SALVADOR,<br>SPAIN,<br>SWEDEN,<br>SWITZERLAND,<br>VENEZUELA. |
|--|--|

Two—First secretary-general of the League of Nations, —.

The first secretary of the League of Nations was Sir Eric Drummond.

Important changes that were made in the new constitution of the League of Nations and which did not appear in the first draft may be summed up briefly as follows.

## ARTICLE I

This article embodies parts of the old Article VII. It goes into detail regarding the method of admitting new members and provides for withdrawal from the League, which was not mentioned in the original covenant.

## ARTICLE II

Originally a part of Article I this gives the name of "assembly" to the representatives of member nations, formerly designated as the "body of delegates."

## ARTICLE III

This includes parts of the old Articles I, II and III, with slight alterations and has reference to "members of the League" instead of the "high contracting parties." This change is evident throughout the draft.

## ARTICLE IV

That part of the old Article III outlining the structure of the Council is contained in this article. It also provides that the membership of the Council may be increased.

## ARTICLE V

This is the same as the original Article IV except that the first paragraph requires unanimous agreement in both Council and Assembly, except where otherwise provided.

## ARTICLE VI

This is a substitute for the old Article V. In the replaced article the Council was to appoint the first Secretary-General and approval of a majority of the Assembly was not required for appointment of his successors.

## ARTICLE VII

Geneva is specifically named as the seat of the League, with the Council given the right to change it at any time. There is also a paragraph permitting women to hold positions in the League. This article embodies parts of the old Articles V and VI.

## ARTICLE VIII

While this article was largely covered by the original Article VIII, it has been changed to make plain that reduction of armaments must be approved by the nations affected.

## ARTICLE IX

This article is substantially the same as the original.

## ARTICLE X

Virtually no change has been made from the old article.

## ARTICLE XI

The phrase, "The League shall take any action," originally read, "The high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action."

## ARTICLE XII

Practically no change has been made in this article.

## ARTICLE XIII

The wording has been slightly changed.

## ARTICLE XIV

Provision for the Court to give an advisory opinion on any dispute is new.

## ARTICLE XV

Provision has been made for excluding domestic matters from the jurisdiction of the Council.

## ARTICLE XVI

Provision is made for removing from the League any member which has violated the covenant.

## ARTICLE XVII

Practically unchanged.

## ARTICLE XVIII

This was formerly Article XXIII.

## ARTICLE XIX

Practically the same as the old Article XXIV.

## ARTICLE XX

Practically the same as the old Article XXV.

## ARTICLE XXI

This article, recognizing the Monroe Doctrine, is new.

## ARTICLE XXII

This is only slightly changed from the old Article XIX., providing only that nations must be willing to accept the mandatories designated for them.

## ARTICLE XXIII.

Reference to supervision of traffic in women and children and in drugs is entirely new, as

is the preceding clause referring to treatment of natives. It contains portions of the old Articles XVIII and XXI and is a substitution for the original Article XXI.

## ARTICLE XXIV

Practically the same as the old Article XXII.

## ARTICLE XXV

Recognition of the Red Cross is new.

## ARTICLE XXVI

A change is made from the original in that amendments may be made by a "majority" vote instead of a three-fourths vote as before.

## ANNEX

The Annex, containing a list of the charter members and the nations to be invited to join at once, is new.

**The German Peace Treaty.** After the question of the League of Nations was disposed of for the time being the Peace Conference was able to take up the financial and economic problems that the war had brought in its wake. A Supreme Economic Council, an Economic Drafting Commission and a Financial Drafting Commission were established to enlighten the labors of the Peace Conference as a whole. The most prominent financiers and economists of the Allied nations were represented on these committees and they were a tremendous assistance in the ultimate solution of many knotty problems.

The question of reparation was one concerning which there was a vast diversity of opinion. The French and British averred that Germany should pay for all damages in full, while the American delegation held that the Germans should only be responsible for the wanton destruction that they caused during the war. This would mean that Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and parts of northern France would chiefly benefit from the reparation moneys, while Great Britain and the United States

would only receive damages for maritime losses and in the case of Great Britain for aerial losses.

At the plenary session of the Conference of the Congress on March 1, financial and economic subjects were reported by the two committees that had them in charge. On the same day Marshal Foch presented the military terms which he suggested should be incorporated in the treaty. On March 3, the Conference Committee on Reparation stated that it estimated that Germany and her allies should pay to the Entente Allies \$120,000,000,000.

During March and April the news that sifted through from behind the closed doors of the Peace Conference was very meagre. The Conference had now practically resolved itself into meetings between Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, and President Wilson. They were practically deciding the fate of the world.

On May 7, 1919, the Treaty of Peace, consisting of more than 80,000 words, was presented to the German delegates in the dining hall of the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles. The chairman of the German delegation, which consisted of six main delegates and a number of specialists in various fields, was Count Ulrich Brockdorff-Rantzau. The Allied Peace Treaty naturally was received with a great deal of hostility in Germany. The press was particularly bitter towards it and everywhere was heard the complaint that Germany was betrayed inasmuch as she had consented to make peace on the terms laid down by President Wilson. She maintained that these "fourteen points" were almost to the last one cast aside and a peace, based on the principle "to the victor belongs the spoils" was drawn up. Her protests had very little effect, slight changes being made in the text of the

treaty which was originally handed to her. The official summary of the treaty is as follows.

#### THE PREAMBLE

The preamble names as parties of the one part the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, described as the Five Allied and Associated Powers, and Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay, who with the five above are described as the allied and associated powers, and on the other part, Germany.

It states that: bearing in mind that on the request of the then Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on Nov. 11, 1918, by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and whereas the allied and associated powers, being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on Aug. 1, 1914, and against France on Aug. 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable peace, the plenipotentiaries (having communicated their full powers found in good and due form) have agreed as follows:

From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate. From the moment, and subject to the provisions of this treaty, official relations with Germany, and with each of the German States, will be resumed by the Allied and Associated Powers.

### SECTION I

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Section I of the peace treaty, which places upon the League many specific, in addition to its general, duties. It may question Germany at any time for a violation of the neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world's peace. It will appoint three of the five members of the Sarre Commission, oversee its régime, and carry out the plebiscite. It will appoint the High Commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city, and arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland. It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies, and act as a final court in part of the

plebiscites of the Belgian-German frontier, and in disputes as to the Kiel Canal, and decide certain of the economic and financial problems. An International Conference on Labor is to be held in October under its direction, and another on the international control of ports, waterways, and railways is foreshadowed.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The members of the League will be the signatories of the covenant and other States invited to accede who must lodge a declaration of accession without reservation within two months. A new State, dominion, or colony may be admitted, provided its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the assembly. A State may withdraw upon giving two years' notice, if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

#### SECRETARIAT

A permanent secretariat will be established at the seat of the League, which will be at Geneva.

#### ASSEMBLY

The Assembly will consist of representatives of the members of the League, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by States. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

#### COUNCIL

The Council will consist of representatives of the Five Great Allied Powers, together with representatives of four members selected by the Assembly from time to time; it may co-opt additional States and will meet at least once a year. Members not represented will be invited to send a representative when questions affecting their interests are discussed. Voting will be by States. Each State will have one vote and not more than one representative. A decision taken by the Assembly and Council must be unanimous except in regard to procedure, and in certain cases specified in the covenant and in the treaty, where decisions will be by a majority.

#### ARMAMENTS

The Council will formulate plans for a reduction of armaments for consideration and adoption. These plans will be revised every ten years. Once they are adopted, no member must exceed the armaments fixed without the concurrence of the Council. All members will exchange full information as to armaments and programs, and a permanent commission will advise the Council on military and naval questions.





By Permission of The Macmillan Company

CENTRAL EUROPE BEFORE THE WORLD WAR

# CENTRAL EUROPE

Scale of Miles  
0 50 100 200 300

Cities with over 1,000,000 ----- Berlin  
 Cities with 200,000 to 1,000,000 ----- Naples  
 Cities with 100,000 to 200,000 ----- Venice  
 Smaller Places ----- Erfurt  
 Capitals with less than 100,000 ----- BERNE  
 Capitals of Countries ⊙ Other Cities □

Nationalities to be decided by plebiscite -----  
 Boundaries not yet decided -----



By Permission of The Macmillan Company

CENTRAL EUROPE ACCORDING TO THE PEACE TREATIES OF 1919

Williams Engraving Co., N. Y.





## PREVENTING OF WAR

Upon any war, or threat of war, the Council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war until three months after the award. Members agree to carry out the arbitral award and not to go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with it. If a member fails to carry out the award, the Council will propose the necessary measures. The Council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions. Members who do not submit their case to arbitration must accept the jurisdiction of the Assembly. If the Council, less the parties to the dispute, is unanimously agreed upon the rights of it, the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with its recommendations. In this case, a recommendation, by the Assembly, concurred in by all its members represented on the Council and a simple majority of the rest, less the parties to the dispute, will have the force of a unanimous recommendation by the Council. In either case, if the necessary agreement cannot be secured, the members reserve the right to take such action as may be necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. Members resorting to war in disregard of the covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members. The Council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the League collectively for the protection of the covenants and will afford facilities to members co-operating in this enterprise.

## VALIDITY OF TREATIES

All treaties or international engagements concluded after the institution of the League will be registered with the secretariat and published. The Assembly may from time to time advise members to reconsider treaties which have become inapplicable or involve danger to peace. The covenant abrogates all obligations between members inconsistent with its terms, but nothing in it shall affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

## THE MANDATORY SYSTEM

The tutelage of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be intrusted to advanced nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The covenant recognizes three different stages of development requiring different kinds of mandatories:

(a) Communities like those belonging to the Turkish Empire, which can be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to advice and assistance from mandatory in whose selection they would be allowed a voice.

(b) Communities like those of Central Africa, to be administered by the mandatory under conditions generally approved by the members of the League, where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members; certain abuses, such as trade in slaves, arms, and liquor will be prohibited, and the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

(c) Other communities, such as Southwest Africa and the South Pacific Islands, but administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory. In every case the mandatory will render an annual report, and the degree of its authority will be defined.

## GENERAL INTERNATIONAL PROVISIONS

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international convention, existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League will in general endeavor, through the international organization established by the Labor Convention, to secure and maintain fair conditions of labor for men, women and children in their own countries and other countries, and undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; they will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements for the suppression of traffic in women and children, etc.: and the control of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control is necessary; they will make provision for freedom of communication and transit and equitable treatment for commerce of all members of the League, with special reference to the necessities of regions devastated during the war; and they will endeavor to take steps for international prevention and control of disease. International bureaus and commissions already established will be placed under the League, as well as those to be established in the future.

## AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT

Amendments to the covenant will take effect when ratified by the Council and by a majority of the Assembly.

## SECTION II

## BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY

Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, 5,600 square miles to the southwest, and to Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg

and Holland, totaling 382 square miles. She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia beyond and including Oppela, most of Posen, and West Prussia, 27,686 square miles, East Prussia being isolated from the main body by a part of Poland. She loses sovereignty over the northeastern tip of East Prussia, 40 square miles north of the river Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, 729 square miles, and the Basin of the Sarre, 738 square miles, between the western border of the Rhenish Palatinate of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg. The Danzig area consists of the V between the Nogat and Vistula Rivers made a W by the addition of a similar V on the west, including the city of Danzig. The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude 53 degrees 3 minutes is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, 5,785 square miles, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, 2,787 square miles.

### SECTION III

#### BELGIUM

Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839, by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and to agree in advance to any convention with which the allied and associated Powers may determine to replace them. She is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Moresnet and over part of Prussian Moresnet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights over the circles of Eupen and Malmedy, the inhabitants of which are to be entitled within six months to protest against this change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the League of Nations. A commission is to settle the details of the frontier, and various regulations for change of nationality are laid down.

#### LUXEMBOURG

Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it ceased to be a part of the German Zollverein from January first last, renounces all right of exploitation of the railroads, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it reached by the allied and associated Powers.

#### LEFT BANK OF THE RHINE

As provided in the military clauses, Germany will not maintain any fortifications or armed forces less than fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine, hold any manœuvres, nor maintain any works to facilitate mobilization. In case of violation, "she shall be regarded as com-

mitting a hostile act against the Powers who sign the present treaty and as intending to disturb the peace of the world." "By virtue of the present treaty, Germany shall be bound to respond to any request for an explanation which the Council of the League of Nations may think it necessary to address to her."

#### ALSACE-LORRAINE

After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the Treaty of Frankfort are restored to France with their frontiers as before 1871, to date from the signing of the armistice, and to be free of all public debts.

Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full French citizenship, those who have to make formal applications therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open after three years. The last named class includes German residents in Alsace-Lorraine, as distinguished from those who acquire the position of Alsace-Lorrainers as defined in the treaty. All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to France without payment or credit. France is substituted for Germany as regards ownership of the railroads and rights over concessions of tramways. The Rhine bridges pass to France with the obligation for their upkeep.

For five years manufactured products of Alsace-Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to a total amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war and textile materials may be imported from Germany to Alsace-Lorraine and re-exported free of duty. Contracts for electric power from the right bank must be continued for ten years. For seven years, with possible extension to ten, the ports of Kehl and Strasbourg shall be administered as a single unit by a French administrator appointed and supervised by the Central Rhine Commission. Property rights will be safeguarded in both ports and equality of treatment as respects traffic assured the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

Contracts between Alsace-Lorraine and Germans are maintained save for France's right to annul on grounds of public interest. Judgments of courts hold in certain classes of cases while in others a judicial exequatur is first required. Political condemnations during the war are null and void and the obligation to repay war fines is established as in other parts of allied territory.

Various clauses adjust the general provisions of the treaty to the special conditions of Alsace-Lorraine, certain matters of execution be-

ing left to conventions to be made between France and Germany.

#### THE SARRE

In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in Northern France and as payment on account of reparation, Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Sarre Basin with their subsidiaries, accessories and facilities. Their value will be estimated by the Reparation Commission and credited against that account. The French rights will be governed by German law in force at the armistice excepting war legislation, France replacing the present owners, whom Germany undertakes to indemnify. France will continue to furnish the present proportion of coal for local needs and contribute in just proportion to local taxes. The basin extends from the frontier of Lorraine as reannexed to France north as far as Stwendell including on the west the valley of the Sarre as far as Sarre Holzbach and on the east the town of Homburg.

In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population and guarantee to France entire freedom in working the mines the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations and consisting of five members, one French, one a native inhabitant of the Sarre, and three representing three different countries other than France and Germany. The League will appoint a member of the Commission as Chairman to act as executive of the commission. The commission will have all powers of government formerly belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria, will administer the railroads and other public services and have full power to interpret the treaty clauses. The local courts will continue, but subject to the Commission. Existing German legislation will remain the basis of the law, but the Commission may make modification after consulting a local representative assembly which it will organize. It will have the taxing power but for local purposes only. New taxes must be approved by this assembly. Labor legislation will consider the wishes of the local labor organizations and the labor program of the League. French and other labor may be freely utilized, the former being free to belong to French unions. All rights acquired as to pensions and social insurance will be maintained by Germany and the Sarre Commission.

There will be no military service but only a local gendarmerie to preserve order. The people will preserve their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools, and language, but may vote only for local assemblies. They will keep their present nationality except so far as individuals may change it. Those wishing to leave will have every facility with respect to their property. The territory will form part of the

French customs system, with no export tax on coal and metallurgical products going to Germany nor on German products entering the basin and for five years no import duties on products of the basin going to Germany or German products coming into the basin. For local consumption French money may circulate without restriction.

After fifteen years a plebiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing régime under the League of Nations, union with France or union with Germany. The right to vote will belong to all inhabitants over twenty resident therein at the signature. Taking into account the opinions thus expressed the League will decide the ultimate sovereignty. In any portion restored to Germany the German Government must buy out the French mines at an appraised valuation. If the price is not paid within six months thereafter this portion passes finally to France. If Germany buys back the mines the League will determine how much of the coal shall be annually sold to France.

#### SECTION IV

##### GERMAN AUSTRIA

Germany recognizes the total independence of German Austria in the boundaries traced.

##### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Czechoslovak State, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this State as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914. The usual stipulations as to acquisition and change of nationality follow.

##### POLAND

Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of Upper Silesia, Posen and the province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A Field Boundary Commission of seven, five representing the allied and associated powers and one each representing Poland and Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the peace to delimit this boundary. Such special provisions as are necessary to protect racial, linguistic or religious minorities and to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce of other nations shall be laid down in a subsequent treaty between the principal allied and associated powers and Poland.

##### EAST PRUSSIA

The southern and the eastern frontier of East Prussia as touching Poland is to be fixed

by plebiscites, the first in the regency of Allenstein between the southern frontier of East Prussia and the northern frontier, or Regierungsbezirk Allenstein from where it meets the boundary between East and West Prussia to its junction with the boundary between the circles of Oletsko and Angersburg, thence the northern boundary of Oletsko to its junction with the present frontier, and the second in the area comprising the circles of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the parts of the circles of Marienburg and Marienwerder east of the Vistula.

In each case German troops and authorities will move out within fifteen days of the peace, and the territories be placed under an international commission of five members appointed by the principal allied and associated powers, with the particular duty of arranging for a free, fair and secret vote. The commission will report the results of the plebiscites to the powers with a recommendation for the boundary, and will terminate its work as soon as the boundary has been laid down and the new authorities set up.

The principal allied and associated powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to and use of the Vistula. A subsequent convention, of which the terms will be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany and Danzig, to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

The northeastern corner of East Prussia about Memel is to be ceded by Germany to the associated powers, the former agreeing to accept the settlement made, especially as regards the nationality of the inhabitants.

#### DANZIG

Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the "free city of Danzig" under the guarantee of the League of Nations. A high commissioner appointed by the League and President of Danzig shall draw up a constitution in agreement with the duly appointed representatives of the city, and shall deal in the first instance with all differences arising between the city and Poland. The actual boundaries of the city shall be delimited by a commission appointed within six months from the peace and to include three representatives chosen by the allied and associated powers, and one each by Germany and Poland. A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig, which shall include Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers, though a free area in the

port; insure to Poland the free use of all the city's waterways, docks and other port facilities, the control and administration of the Vistula and the whole through railway system within the city, and postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; provide against discrimination against Poles within the city, and place its foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens abroad in charge of Poland.

#### DENMARK

The frontier between Germany and Denmark will be fixed by the self-determination of the population. Ten days from the peace German troops and authorities shall evacuate the region north of the line running from the mouth of the Schlei, south of Kappel, Schleswig, and Friedrichstadt along the Eider to the North Sea south of Tonning; the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils shall be dissolved, and the territory administered by an international commission of five, of whom Norway and Sweden shall be invited to name two.

The commission shall insure a free and secret vote in three zones. That between the German-Danish frontier and a line running south of the Island of Alsen, north of Flensburg, and south of Tondern to the North Sea north of the Island of Sylt, will vote as a unit within three weeks after the evacuation. Within five weeks after this vote the second zone, whose southern boundary runs from the North Sea south of the Island of Fehr to the Baltic south of Sygum, will vote by communes. Two weeks after that vote the third zone running to the limit of evacuation will also vote by communes. The international commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites and with due regard for geographical and economic conditions. Germany will renounce all sovereignty over territories north of this line in favor of the Associated Governments, who will hand them over to Denmark.

#### HELIGOLAND

The fortifications, military establishments, and harbors of the Islands of Heligoland and Dune are to be destroyed under the supervision of the Allies by German labor and at Germany's expense. They may not be reconstructed, nor any similar fortifications built in the future.

#### RUSSIA

Germany agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independency of all territories which were part of the former Russian Empire, to accept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk and other treaties entered into with the Maximalist Government of Russia, to recognize the full force of all treaties entered

into by the allied and associated powers with States which were a part of the former Russian Empire, and to recognize the frontiers as determined thereon. The allied and associated powers formerly reserve the right of Russia to obtain restitution and reparation on the principles of the present treaty.

## SECTION V

### GERMAN RIGHTS OUTSIDE EUROPE

Outside Europe, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges as to her own or her allies' territories to all the allied and associated powers, and undertakes to accept whatever measures are taken by the five allied powers in relation thereto.

### COLONIES AND OVERSEAS POSSESSIONS

Germany renounces in favor of the allied and associated powers her overseas possessions with all rights and titles therein. All movable and immovable property belonging to the German Empire, or to any German State, shall pass to the Government exercising authority therein. These Governments may make whatever provisions seem suitable for the repatriation of German nationals and as to the conditions on which German subjects of European origin shall reside, hold property, or carry on business. Germany undertakes to pay reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or its frontier zone through the acts of German civil and military authorities and of individual Germans from the 1st of January, 1900, to the 1st of August, 1914. Germany renounces all rights under the convention of the 4th of November, 1911, and the 29th of September, 1912, and undertakes to pay to France in accordance with an estimate presented and approved by the Repatriation Commission all deposits, credits, advances, &c., thereby secured. Germany undertakes to accept and observe any provisions by the allied and associated powers as to the trade in arms and spirits in Africa as well as to the General Act of Berlin of 1885 and the General Act of Brussels of 1890. Diplomatic protection to inhabitants of former German colonies is to be given by the Governments exercising authority.

### CHINA

Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer Protocol of 1901, and all buildings, wharves, barracks for munitions of warships, wireless plants, and other public property except diplomatic or consular establishments in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow and in other Chinese territory except Kiaochau and agrees to return to China at her

own expense all the astronomical instruments seized in 1900 and 1901. China will, however, take no measures for disposal of German property in the legation quarter of Peking without the consent of the powers signatory to the Boxer Protocol.

Germany accepts the abrogation of the concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, China agreeing to open them to international use. Germany renounces all claims against China or any allied and associated Government for the internment or repatriation of her citizens in China and for the seizure or liquidation of German interests there since Aug. 14, 1917. She renounces in favor of Great Britain her State property in the British concession at Canton and of France and China jointly of the property of the German school in the French concession at Shanghai.

### SIAM

Germany recognizes that all agreements between herself and Siam, including the right of extra-territoriality, ceased July 22, 1917. All German public property, except consular and diplomatic premises, passes without compensation to Siam, German private property to be dealt with in accordance with the economic clauses. Germany waives all claims against Siam for the seizure and condemnation of her ships, liquidation of her property, or internment of her nationals.

### LIBERIA

Germany renounces all rights under the international arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, more particularly the right to nominate a receiver of the customs, and disinterests herself in any further negotiations for the rehabilitation of Liberia. She regards as abrogated all commercial treaties and agreements between herself and Liberia and recognizes Liberia's right to determine the status and condition of the re-establishment of Germans in Liberia.

### MOROCCO

Germany renounces all her rights, titles, and privileges under the Act of Algeiras and the Franco-German agreements of 1909 and 1911, and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian Empire. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France and other powers, accepts all the consequences of the French protectorate and renounces the capitulations; the Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regard to German nationals, and all German protected persons shall be subject to the common law. All movable and immovable German property, including mining rights, may be sold at public auction, the proceeds to

be paid to the Sherifian Government and deducted from the reparation account. Germany is also required to relinquish her interests in the State Bank of Morocco. All Moroccan goods entering Germany shall have the same privilege as French goods.

#### EGYPT

Germany recognizes the British Protectorate over Egypt declared on Dec. 18, 1914, and renounces as from August 4, 1914, the capitulation and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations about Egypt between Great Britain and other powers. There are provisions for jurisdiction over German nationals and property and for German consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the Commission of Public Debt. Germany consents to the transfer to Great Britain of the powers given to the late Sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Arrangements for property belonging to German nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

#### TURKEY AND BULGARIA

Germany accepts all arrangements which the allied and associated powers make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any right, privileges or interests claimed in those countries by Germany or her nationals and not dealt with elsewhere.

#### SHANTUNG

Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles, and privileges, notably as to Kiao-Chau, and the railroads, mines, and cables acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1897, by and other agreements as to Shantung. All German rights to the railroad from Tsing-tao to Tsinan-fu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan, and the cables from Tsing-tao to Shanghai and Che-foo, the cables free of all charges. All German State property, movable and immovable, in Kiao-Chau is acquired by Japan free of all charges.

### SECTION VI

#### SUB-SECTION IV

##### MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes directly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.

##### MILITARY FORCES

The demobilization of the German Army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. Divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs. The great German General Staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives, is reduced to one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget. Employes of the German States, such as customs officers, first guards, and coast guards, may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

##### ARMAMENTS

All establishments for the manufacturing, preparation, storage, or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace, and their personnel dismissed. The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down in detail tables, all in excess to be surrendered or rendered useless. The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and all analogous liquids is forbidden as well as the importation of arms, munitions, and war materials. Germany may not manufacture such materials for foreign governments.

##### CONSCRIPTION

Conscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistments for terms of twelve consecutive years, the number of discharges before the expiration of that term not in any year to exceed 5 per cent. of the total effectives. Officers remaining in the service must agree to serve to the age of 45 years, and newly appointed officers must agree to serve actively for twenty-five years.

No military schools except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments or universities may occupy themselves with military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

##### FORTRESSES

All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory within a

zone of fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

#### CONTROL

Interallied commissions of control will see to the execution of the provisions for which a time limit is set, the maximum named being three months. They may establish headquarters at the German seat of Government and go to any part of Germany desired. Germany must give them complete facilities, pay their expenses, and also the expenses of execution of the treaty, including the labor and material necessary in demolition, destruction or surrender of war equipment.

#### NAVAL

The German navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace. She will be allowed 6 small battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, and no submarines, either military or commercial, with a personnel of 15,000 men, including officers, and no reserve force of any character. Conscription is abolished, only voluntary service being permitted, with a minimum period of 25 years service for officers and 12 for men. No member of the German mercantile marine will be permitted any naval training.

All German vessels of war in foreign ports and the German high sea fleet interned at Scapa Flow will be surrendered, the final disposition of these ships to be decided upon by the allied and associated powers. Germany must surrender 42 modern destroyers, 50 modern torpedo boats, and all submarines, with their salvage vessels. All war vessels under construction, including submarines, must be broken up. War vessels not otherwise provided for are to be placed in reserve, or used for commercial purposes. Replacement of ships except those lost can take place only at the end of 20 years for battleships and 15 years for destroyers. The largest armored ship Germany will be permitted will be 10,000 tons.

Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, as decided upon by the Allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic, defending the passages through the belts, must be demolished. Other coast defenses are permitted, but the number and calibre of the guns must not be increased.

#### WIRELESS

During a period of three months after the peace German high power wireless stations at Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin will not be permitted to send any messages except for commercial purposes, and under supervision of the

allied and associated Governments, nor may any more be constructed.

#### CABLES

Germany renounces all title to specified cables, the value of such as were privately owned being credited to her against reparation indebtedness.

Germany will be allowed to repair German submarine cables which have been cut but are not being utilized by the allied powers, and also portions of cables which, after having been cut, have been removed, or are at any rate not being utilized by any one of the allied and associated powers. In such cases the cables, or portions of cables, removed or utilized remain the property of the allied and associated powers, and accordingly fourteen cables or parts of cables are specified which will not be restored to Germany.

#### AIR

The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces except for not over 100 unarmed seaplanes to be retained till Oct. 1 to search for submarine mines. No dirigible shall be kept. The entire air personnel is to be demobilized within two months, except for 1,000 officers and men retained till October. No aviation grounds or dirigible sheds are to be allowed within 150 kilometers of the Rhine, or the eastern or southern frontiers, existing installations within these limits to be destroyed. The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aeronautical material under a most exhaustive definition must be surrendered within three months, except for the 100 seaplanes already specified.

### SUB-SECTION VI

#### PRISONERS OF WAR

The repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out without delay and at Germany's expense by a commission composed of representatives of the Allies and Germany. Those under sentence for offenses against discipline are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentences. Until Germany has surrendered persons guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war, the Allies have the right to retain selected German officers. The Allies may deal at their own discretion with German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, all repatriation being conditional on the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Germany. Germany is to accord facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war and of imposing penalties on German officials who have concealed allied na-

tionals. Germany is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

#### GRAVES

Both parties will respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried on their territories, agree to recognize and assist any commission charged by any allied or associate Government with identifying, registering, maintaining or erecting suitable monuments over the graves, and to afford to each other all facilities for the repatriation of the remains of their soldiers.

### SUB-SECTION VII

#### RESPONSIBILITIES

"The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William II. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, not for an offense against criminal law, but for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties."

The ex-Emperor's surrender is to be requested of Holland and a special tribunal set up, composed of one judge from each of the five great powers, with full guarantees of the right of defense. It is to be guided "by the highest motives of international policy with a view of vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality," and will fix the punishment it feels should be imposed.

Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals under military law. If the charges affect nationals of only one State, they will be tried before a tribunal of that State; if they affect nationals of several States, they will be tried before joint tribunals of the States concerned. Germany shall hand over to the associated Governments, either jointly or severally, all persons so accused and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the offenders, and the just appreciation of the responsibility.

### SECTION VII

#### REPARATION AND RESTITUTION

"The allied and associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of herself and her allies, for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."

The total obligation of Germany to pay, as defined in the category of damages, is to be determined and notified to her after a fair hearing and not later than May 1, 1921, by an inter-allied Reparation Commission. At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within thirty years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies. Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees to restore to the Allies cash and certain articles which can be identified.

As an immediate step towards restoration, Germany shall pay within two years 20,000,000,000 marks in either gold, goods, ships, or other specific forms of payment, with the understanding that certain expenses, such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials, may be deducted, at the discretion of the Allies.

Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from her allies as a result of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839 up to Nov. 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue at once and hand over to the Reparation Commission 5 per cent. gold bonds falling due in 1926.

While the allied and associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminution of such resources which will result from other treaty claims, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage, they require her to make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven main categories:

a. Damages by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war, directly or indirectly, including bombardments from the air.

b. Damages caused to civilians, including exposure at sea, resulting from acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy, and to civilians in the occupied territories.

c. Damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners.

d. Damages to the Allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances, capitalized at the signature of this treaty.

e. Damages to property other than naval or military materials.

f. Damages to civilians by being forced to labor.

g. Damages in the form of levies or fines imposed by the enemy.

"In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Reparation Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for



the service or discharge of any domestic loan; and secondly, so as to satisfy itself that in general the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission."

"The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances."

The commission shall consist of one representative each of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, and in certain cases of Japan and Serbia, with all other allied powers entitled, when their claims are under consideration, to the right of presentation without voting power. It shall permit Germany to give evidence regarding her capacity to pay, and shall assure her a just opportunity to be heard. It shall make its headquarters at Paris, establish its own procedure and personnel; have general control of the whole reparation problem; and become the exclusive agency of the Allies for receiving, holding, selling and distributing reparation payments. Majority vote shall prevail, except that unanimity is required on questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allies, the cancellation of all or part of Germany's obligations, the time and manner of selling, distributing, and negotiating bonds issued by Germany, and postponement between 1921 and 1926 of annual payments beyond 1930 and any postponement after 1926 for a period of more than three years, the application of a different method of measuring damage than in a similar former case, and the interpretation of provisions. Withdrawal from representation is permitted on twelve months' notice.

The Commission may require Germany to give from time to time, by way of guaranty, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied. In this connection and on account of the total amount of claims, bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgment of its debt as follows: 20,000,000,000 marks gold, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest; 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearing 2½ per cent. interest between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter 5 per cent., with a 1 per cent. sinking fund payment beginning 1926; and an undertaking to deliver 40,000,000,000 marks gold bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent., under terms to be fixed by the Commission.

Interest on Germany's debt will be 5 per cent. unless otherwise determined by the Commission in the future, and payments that are not made in gold may "be accepted by the Commis-

sion in the form of properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, &c." Certificates of beneficial interest, representing either bonds or goods delivered by Germany, may be issued by the Commission to the interest power, no power being entitled, however, to have its certificates divided into more than five pieces. As bonds are distributed and pass from the control of the Commission, an amount of Germany's debt equivalent to their par value is to be considered as liquidated.

#### SHIPPING

The German Government recognizes the right of the Allies to the replacement, ton for ton and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and agrees to cede to the Allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upward; one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons gross, and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and other fishing boats. These ships are to be delivered within two months to the Reparation Committee, together with documents of title evidencing the transfer of the ships free from encumbrance.

"As an additional part of reparation," the German Government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the Allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years.

All ships used for inland navigation taken by Germany from the Allies are to be restored within two months, the amount of loss not covered by such restitution to be made up by the cession of the German river fleet up to 20 per cent. thereof.

#### DYESTUFFS AND CHEMICAL DRUGS

In order to effect payment by deliveries in kind, Germany is required, for a limited number of years, varying in the case of each, to deliver coal, coal-tar products, dyestuffs and chemical drugs, in specific amounts to the Reparations Commission. The Commission may so modify the conditions of delivery as not to interfere unduly with Germany's industrial requirements. The deliveries of coal are based largely upon the principle of making good diminutions in the production of the allied countries resulting from the war.

Germany accords option to the commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs, including quinine, up to 50 per cent. of the total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes into force, and similar option during each six months to the end of 1924 up to 25 per cent. of the previous six months' output.

#### DEVASTATED AREAS

Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of

the invaded areas. The Reparations Commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, &c., existing in Germany, and to manufacture materials required for reconstruction purposes; all with due consideration for Germany's essential domestic requirements.

Germany is to deliver annually for ten years to France coal equivalent to the difference between the annual pre-war output of Nord and Pas de Calais mines and the annual production during the above ten-year period. Germany further gives options over ten years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons of coal per year to France in addition to the above of 8,000,000 tons to Belgium and of an amount rising from 4,500,000 tons in 1919 to 1920 to 8,500,000 in 1923 to 1924 to Italy at prices to be fixed as prescribed in the treaty. Coke may be taken in place of coal in the ratio of three tons to four. Provision is also made for delivery to France over three years of benzol, coal tar, and of ammonia. The Commission has powers to postpone or annul the above deliveries should they interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany.

Germany is to restore within six months the Koran of the Caliph Othman, formerly at Medina, to the King of the Hedjaz, and the skull of the Sultan Okwawa, formerly in German East Africa, to his Britannic Majesty's Government.

The German Government is also to restore to the French Government certain papers taken by the German authorities in 1870, belonging then to M. Reuher, and to restore the French flags taken during the war of 1870 and 1871.

As reparation for the destruction of the Library of Louvain Germany is to hand over manuscripts, early printed books, prints, &c., to the equivalent of those destroyed.

In addition to the above Germany is to hand over to Belgium wings, now in Berlin, belonging to the altar piece of "The Adoration of the Lamb," by Hubert and Jan van Eyck, the centre of which is now in the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent, and the wings, now in Berlin and Munich, of the altar-piece of "The Last Supper," by Dirk Bouts, the centre of which belongs to the Church of St. Peter at Louvain.

#### FINANCE

Powers to which German territory is ceded will assume a certain portion of the German pre-war debt, the amount to be fixed by the Reparations Commission on the basis of the ratio between the revenue and of the ceded territory and Germany's total revenues for the three years preceding the war. In view, however, of the special circumstances under which Alsace-Lorraine was separated from France in 1871, when Germany refused to accept any

part of the French public debt, France will not assume any part of Germany's pre-war debt there, nor will Poland share in certain German debts incurred for the oppression of Poland. If the value of the German public property in ceded territory exceeds the amount of debt assumed, the States to which property is ceded will give credit on reparation for the excess, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine. Mandatory powers will not assume any German debts or give any credit for German Government property. Germany renounces all right of representation on, or control of, State banks, commissions, or other similar international financial and economic organizations.

Germany is required to pay the total cost of the armies of occupation from the date of the armistice as long as they are maintained in German territory, this cost to be a first charge on her resources. The cost of reparation is the next charge, after making such provisions for payments for imports as the Allies may deem necessary.

Germany is to deliver to the allied and associated powers all sums deposited in Germany by Turkey and Austria-Hungary in connection with the financial support extended by her to them during the war, and to transfer to the Allies all claims against Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey in connection with agreements made during the war. Germany confirms the renunciation of the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk.

On the request of the Reparations Commission, Germany will expropriate any rights or interests of her nationals in public utilities in ceded territories or those administered by mandatories, and in Turkey, China, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, and transfer them to the Reparations Commission, which will credit her with their value. Germany guarantees to repay to Brazil the fund arising from the sale of Sao Paulo coffee which she refused to allow Brazil to withdraw from Germany.

### SECTION VIII

#### TEN ECONOMIC CLAUSES

##### CUSTOMS

For a period of six months Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in force in 1914, and for certain agricultural products, wines, vegetable oils, artificial silk, and washed or scoured wool this restriction obtains for two and a half years more. For five years, unless further extended by the League of Nations, Germany must give most favored nation treatment to the allied and associated powers. She shall impose no customs tariff for five years on goods originating in Alsace-Lorraine, and for three years on goods originating in former German territory ceded to Poland

with the right of observation of a similar exception for Luxemburg.

#### SHIPPING

Ships of the allied and associated powers shall for five years and thereafter under condition of reciprocity, unless the League of Nations otherwise decides, enjoy the same rights in German ports as German vessels, and have most favored nation treatment in fishing, coasting trade, and towage even in territorial waters. Ships of a country having no sea-coast may be registered at some one place within its territory.

#### UNFAIR COMPETITION

Germany undertakes to give the trade of the allied and associated powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition, and in particular to suppress the use of false wrappings and markings, and on condition of reciprocity to respect the laws and judicial decisions of allied and associated States in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits.

#### TREATMENT OF NATIONALS

Germany shall impose no exceptional taxes or restriction upon the nationals of allied and associated States for a period of five years and, unless the League of Nations acts, for an additional five years German nationality shall not continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an allied or associated State.

#### MULTILATERAL CONVENTIONS

Some forty multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the allied and associated powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several. As to postal and telegraphic conventions Germany must not refuse to make reciprocal agreements with the new States. She must agree as respects the radio-telegraphic convention to provisional rules to be communicated to her, and adhere to the new convention when formulated. In the North Sea fisheries and North Sea liquor traffic convention, rights of inspection and police over associated fishing boats shall be exercised for at least five years only by vessels of these powers. As to the international railway union she shall adhere to the new convention when formulated. China, as to the Chinese customs tariff arrangement of 1905 regarding Whangpoo, and the Boxer indemnity of 1901; France, Portugal, and Rumania, as to The Hague Convention of 1903, relating to civil procedure, and Great Britain and the United States as to Article III. of the Samoan Treaty of 1899, are relieved of all obligations toward Germany.

#### BILATERAL TREATIES

Each allied and associated State may renew any treaty with Germany in so far as consistent with the peace treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since Aug. 1, 1914, with other enemy States, and before or since that date with Rumania, Russia, and governments representing parts of Russia are abrogated, and concessions granted under pressure by Russia to German subjects are annulled. The allied and associated States are to enjoy most favored nation treatment under treaties entered into by Germany and other enemy States before Aug. 1, 1914, and under treaties entered into by Germany and neutral States during the war.

#### PREWAR DEBTS

A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one in each allied and associated State which adopts the plan for the payment of prewar debts, including those arising from contracts suspended by the war. For the adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property and the settlement of other obligations each participating State assumes responsibility for the payment of all debts owing by its nationals to nationals of the enemy States, except in cases of prewar insolvency of the debtor. The proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating State may be used to pay the debts owed to the nationals of that State, direct payment from debtor to creditor and all communications relating thereto being prohibited. Disputes may be settled by arbitration by the courts of the debtor country, or by the mixed arbitral tribunal. Any ally or associated power may, however, decline to participate in this system by giving Germany six months' notice.

#### ENEMY PROPERTY

Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The allied and associated States may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for property of their nationals not restored or paid for by Germany. For debts owed to their nationals by German nationals and for other claims against Germany, Germany is to compensate its nationals for such losses and to deliver within six months all documents relating to property held by its nationals in allied and associated States. All war legislation as to enemy property rights and interests is confirmed and all claims by Germany against the allied or associated Governments for acts under exceptional war measures abandoned.

Prewar contracts between allied and asso-

ciated nationals excepting the United States, Japan, and Brazil and German nationals are cancelled except for debts for accounts already performed.

#### AGREEMENTS

For the transfer of property where the property had already passed, leases of land and houses, contracts of mortgages, pledge or lien, mining concessions, contracts with governments and insurance contracts, mixed arbitral tribunals shall be established of three members, one chosen by Germany, one by the associated States and the third by agreement, or, failing which, by the President of Switzerland. They shall have jurisdiction over all disputes as to contracts concluded before the present peace treaty.

Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war, even if premiums have not been paid, but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the peace. Life insurance contracts may be restored by payments of accumulated premiums with interest, sums falling due on such contracts during the war to be recoverable with interest. Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war except where the risk insured against had already been incurred. Where the risk had not attached, premiums paid are recoverable, otherwise premiums due and sums due on losses are recoverable. Reinsurance treaties are abrogated unless invasion has made it impossible for the reinsured to find another reinsurer. Any allied or associated power, however, may cancel all the contracts running between its nationals and a German life insurance company, the latter being obligated to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

#### INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

Rights as to industrial, literary, and artistic property are re-established. The special war measures of the allied and associated powers are ratified and the right reserved to impose conditions on the use of German patents and copyrights when in the public interest. Except as between the United States and Germany, prewar licenses and rights to sue for infringements committed during the war are cancelled.

#### SECTION IX

##### OPIUM

The contracting powers agree, whether or not they have signed and ratified the opium convention of Jan. 23, 1912, or signed the special protocol opened at The Hague in accordance with resolutions adopted by the third opium conference in 1914, to bring the said conven-

tion into force by enacting within twelve months of the peace the necessary legislation.

#### RELIGIOUS MISSIONS

The allied and associated powers agree that the properties of religious missions in territories belonging or ceded to them shall continue in their work under the control of the powers, Germany renouncing all claims in their behalf.

#### SECTION X

##### GERMAN WATERWAYS

Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep draft Rhine-Meuse canal if she so desires within twenty-five years, in which case Germany must construct the part within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium, similarly the interested allied governments may construct a Rhine-Meuse canal, both, if constructed, to come under the competent international commission. Germany may not object if the Central Rhine Commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the lower Moselle, the upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

Germany must cede to the allied and associated governments certain tugs, vessels, and facilities for navigation on all these rivers, the specific details to be established by an arbiter named by the United States. Decision will be based on the legitimate needs of the parties concerned and on the shipping traffic during the five years before the war. The value will be included in the regular reparation account. In the case of the Rhine shares in the German navigation companies and property such as wharves and warehouses held by Germany in Rotterdam at the outbreak of the war must be handed over.

##### RAILWAYS

Germany, in addition to most favored nation treatment on her railways, agrees to cooperate in the establishment of through ticket services for passengers and baggage; to ensure communication by rail between the allied, associated, and other States; to allow the construction or improvement within twenty-five years of such lines as necessary; and to conform her rolling stock to enable its incorporation in trains of the allied or associated powers. She also agrees to accept the denunciation of the St. Gothard convention if Switzerland and Italy so request, and temporarily to execute instructions as to the transport of troops and supplies and the establishment of postal and telegraphic service, as provided.

##### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

To assure Czechoslovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her both north and

south. Toward the Adriatic she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her for ninety-nine years spaces in Hamburg and Stettin, the details to be worked out by a commission of three representing Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Great Britain.

#### THE KIEL CANAL

The Kiel Canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany, subjects, goods and ships of all States are to be treated on terms of absolute equality, and no taxes to be imposed beyond those necessary for upkeep and improvement for which Germany is to be responsible. In case of violation of or disagreement as to those provisions, any State may appeal to the League of Nations, and may demand the appointment of an international commission. For preliminary hearing of complaints Germany shall establish a local authority at Kiel.

### SECTION XI

#### AËRIAL NAVIGATION

Aircraft of the allied and associated powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German planes as to use of German air-dromes, and with most favored nation planes as to internal commercial traffic in Germany. Germany agrees to accept allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness, or competency or licenses and to apply the convention relative to aërial navigation concluded between the allied and associated powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923, unless Germany has since been admitted to the League of Nations or to the above convention.

### SECTION XII

#### FREEDOM OF TRANSIT

Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by mail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages, and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations based on nationality, means of transport, or place of entry or departure. Goods in transit shall be assured all possible speed of journey, especially perishable goods. Germany may not divert traffic from its normal course in favor of her own transport routes or maintain "control stations" in connection with transmigration traffic. She may not establish any tax discrimination against the ports of allied or associated powers; must grant the latter's seaports all

factors and reduced tariffs granted her own or other nationals, and afford the allied and associated powers equal rights with those of her own nationals in her ports and waterways, save that she is free to open or close her maritime coasting trade.

#### FREE ZONES IN PORTS

Free zones existing in German ports on Aug. 1, 1914, must be maintained with due facilities as to warehouses, and packing, without discrimination, and without charges except for expenses of administration and use. Goods leaving the free zones for consumption in Germany and goods brought into the free zones from Germany shall be subject to the ordinary import and export taxes.

The Elbe from the junction of the Ultava, the Ultava from Prague, the Oder from Oppa, the Niemen from Grodno, and the Danube from Ulm are declared international, together with their connections. The riparian states must ensure good conditions of navigation within their territories unless a special organization exists therefor. Otherwise appeal may be had to a special tribunal of the League of Nations, which also may arrange for a general international waterways convention.

#### INTERNATIONAL RIVERS

The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions to meet within three months, that for the Elbe composed of four representatives of Germany, two from Czechoslovakia, and one each from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium; and that for the Oder composed of one each from Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden. If any riparian state on the Niemen should so request of the League of Nations, a similar commission shall be established there. These commissions shall upon request of any riparian state meet within three months to revise existing international agreement.

#### THE DANUBE

The European Danube Commission reassumes its pre-war powers, but for the time being with representatives of only Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania. The upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission until a definitive statute be drawn up at a conference of the powers nominated by the allied and associated governments within one year after the peace. The enemy governments shall make full reparations for all war damages caused to the European Commission; shall cede their river facilities in surrendered territory, and give Czechoslovakia, Serbia, and Rumania any rights necessary on the shores for carrying on improvements in navigation.

## THE RHINE AND THE MOSELLE

The Rhine is placed under the Central Commission to meet at Strasbourg within six months after the peace, and to be composed of four representatives of France, which shall in addition select the President, four of Germany, and two each of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Germany must give France on the course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of her frontiers all rights to take water to feed canals, while herself agreeing not to make canals on the right bank opposite France. She must also hand over to France all her drafts and designs for this part of the river.

## SECTION XIII

## INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office.

The former is composed of four representatives of each State, two from the Government, and one each from the employers and the employed, each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberative legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which, if passed by two-thirds vote, must be submitted to the lawmaking authority in every State participating. Each Government may either enact the terms into law; approve the principle, but modify them to local needs; leave the actual legislation in case of a Federal State to local legislatures; or reject the convention altogether without further obligation.

The international labor office is established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its organization. It is to collect and distribute information on labor throughout the world and prepare agenda for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly other languages. Each State agrees to make to it for presentation to the conference an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions. The governing body, in its Executive, consists of twenty-four members, twelve representing the Governments, six the employers, and six the employes, to serve for three years.

On complaint that any Government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that Government, and in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment. A complaint by one Government against another may be referred by the governing body to a commission

of inquiry nominated by the Secretary General of the League. If the commission report fails to bring satisfactory action the matter may be taken to a permanent court of international justice for final decision. The chief reliance for securing enforcement of the law will be publicity with a possibility of economic action in the background.

The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week; prevention of unemployment; extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906, prohibiting night work for women, and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; and employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, of women before and after childbirth, including maternity benefit, and of children as regards minimum age.

## LABOR CLAUSES

Nine principles of labor conditions were recognized on the ground that "the well-being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance." With exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits and economic development. They include: the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; the right of association of employers and employes; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week; a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours; which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein, including foreigners; and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

## SECTION XIV

## GUARANTEES

## WESTERN EUROPE

As a guarantee for the execution of the treaty German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by allied and associated troops for a fifteen years' period. If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany, certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts including the bridgehead of Coblenz, and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier will be evacuated after ten years, and the remainder, including the

bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated after fifteen years. In case the Interallied Reparation Commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations, either during the occupation or after the fifteen years have expired, the whole or part of the areas specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the fifteen years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

#### EASTERN EUROPE

All German troops at present in territories to the east of the new frontier shall return as soon as the allied and associated governments deem wise. They are to abstain from all requisitions and are in no way to interfere with measures for national defense taken by the Government concerned.

All questions regarding occupation not provided for by the treaty will be regulated by a subsequent convention or conventions which will have similar force and effect.

#### SECTION XV

##### MISCELLANEOUS

Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers allied with Germany, to agree to the decisions to be taken as to the territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to recognize the new States in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated power signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Germany accepts all decrees as to German ships and goods made by any allied or associated prize court. The Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts. The present treaty, of which the French and British texts are both authentic, shall be ratified and the depositions of ratifications made in Paris as soon as possible. The treaty is to become effective in all respects for each power on the date of deposition of its ratification.

The German delegates and those of the Entente Allies officially signed the treaty of peace on June 28, 1919. Ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles were exchanged, and peace between Germany, France, Great Britain and the other Allied and associated

powers, with the exception of the United States, became effective at 4:16 P.M. January 10, 1920.

The ceremony took place in the Clock Hall at the French Foreign Ministry. Previously Baron Kurt von Lersner, head of the German mission, signed the protocol of November 1, providing for reparation for the sinking of the German warships at Scapa Flow, and to insure the carrying out of the armistice terms. The signing of this document took place in the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Owing to the failure of the United States to ratify the treaty, the American Secretary of State served notice on Germany that the conditions of the armistice still governed the relations between the United States and Germany.

**The Shantung Dispute.** One of the bitterest disputes that arose throughout the entire Peace Conference was the discussion concerning what should be done with Shantung, which was a sphere of influence under the control of Germany before the war. Japan insisted that it be turned over to her as compensation for what she had done toward winning the war. The chief opponent of this scheme was President Wilson. His argument was that China, who had been a faithful ally to the Entente cause, should not be made to suffer in order to satisfy another ally. President Wilson was ultimately forced to concede the rich province to Japan, presumably to get the support of Japan for the League of Nations idea. Japan's chief argument was that she had driven the Germans from this territory by military force and that inasmuch as it was Germany's before she was certainly entitled to it now. President Wilson was unwilling to accede to this point of view and finally accepted what amounted to a gentlemen's agreement, by the

terms of which Japan promised to return the disputed territory to China upon the fulfillment of certain conditions, i. e., sign the treaty immediately, giving Shantung to Japan without formal reservation and make an agreement with Japan in regard to the disposition of Shantung. If China agreed to these conditions then Japan would withdraw her troops as soon as practicable and give up Shantung, only insisting upon certain economic advantages.

**The Fiume Controversy.** The Fiume controversy, which was still unsettled as the year 1919 drew to a close, was the bitterest which presented itself at the Peace Conference. The dispute centred around the possession of the port and harbor of Fiume and parts of Dalmatia. The claims of Italy were countered by the claims of Jugoslavia. Italy claimed that inasmuch as the majority of the citizens of Fiume were Italian or of Italian origin, the city naturally belonged to Italy under the principle of self-determination. President Wilson, who opposed the Italian claims, maintained that inasmuch as the vast majority of the people outside of the city proper were Jugoslovaks, the city itself should belong to that newly formed country. Jugoslavia claimed that her commerce would be ruined before it even gained a foothold if Fiume were given to the Italians, while the Italians said that Fiume was a necessity to her as a protection against the Austrians and the desires of the Jugoslovaks who had been unfriendly to Italy during the war and after it was over.

The Peace Conference worked for weeks to bring about a peaceful settlement of the controversy. Great Britain and France, tied up to Italy by the secret treaty of 1915, were in favor of a settlement of the dispute which would

be favorable to Italy. President Wilson was adamant and stated on April 23 that he would not yield on the Adriatic question. As a result of this speech, Orlando and the other Italian delegates left the Peace Conference for Rome. They were everywhere received with patriotic fervor and their action seemed to receive the unanimous approval of the Italian press and populace. After an address to the Italian Parliament (April 29), Premier Orlando received a vote of confidence from the members. The vote was 382 to 40, only the Socialists refusing to acquiesce in the Premier's position. The Italian delegation returned to Paris on May 6 on their own initiative. The press stated that they had been invited to return by Clemenceau and Lloyd George. President Wilson apparently had no part in the request for their return.

The Fiume controversy, still unsettled by the Peace Conference, took another amazing turn during the month of September. Gabriele D'Annunzio, the poet-aviator, with a band of approximately 9,000 followers seized the city and held it in defiance of the Italian government and against the wishes of the Entente Allies. The Italian government on several occasions ordered D'Annunzio to return to Rome and submit himself to the authorities there. This he continually refused to do. An economic blockade, declared against him by his own government, proved ineffective because he was apparently able to get all the foodstuffs that he needed. The Italian government seemed exceedingly loath to use armed forces against him. He gradually extended his power up and down the Dalmatian coast and as the year 1919 drew to a close war clouds appeared on the horizon of battle scarred Europe. Even as the great world war had its birth in the Balkans,



so did this new threat of another struggle.

**Struggle Over the Ratification of the Treaty of Peace in the Senate of the United States.** President Wilson presented the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate of the United States on July 10, 1919. He stated that the treaty was a world settlement and that the United States had entered the war on a different footing from all European countries. He summed up the glorious deeds of the American army on the battlefield and stated that at the Peace Conference every effort was made to realize the hopes of freedom of the nations which had been succored by our army. The problem of the Peace Conference was not that of empires, they were all bankrupt, but of the smaller nations. From this theme he developed the idea of a League of Nations and the necessity for such an instrument in order to guarantee to these smaller nations a full measure of political and economic liberty. He closed his appeal for ratification by stating that the United States had now reached her majority as a world power and that she must "show the way."

The treaty debate began on July 14 and continued until December, when Congress adjourned without ratifying it. The keynote speech of the administration was delivered by Senator Swanson of Virginia. In a lengthy speech he asked the Senate to ratify the treaty as it stood. Three resolutions were reported on the same day, which opened the bitterest fight the Senate has probably seen. Senator Lodge called upon the State Department for a copy of the alleged secret treaty between Germany and Japan. Senator Borah asked for the report of some of the American Peace Commissioners opposing the Shantung agreement. Sen-

ator Johnson asked that a stenographic report of the Peace Conference be given to the Senate. This caused a wild outburst from administration followers.

On July 17, President Wilson began a series of conferences with Republican Senators with a view of changing their mind toward the League of Nations. Apparently the President was unable to change the point of view of any of the men he interviewed. After these meetings the Republicans threatened to hold up the ratification of the entire treaty if President Wilson did not accept certain amendments or at least reservations.

Impetus was given to the reservation idea when prominent Republican leaders like Messrs. Taft, Hughes, Root, and Lodge proposed reservations to the League of Nations that they believed would be acceptable to most Republicans who favored a League of Nations. Mr. Hughes's reservations, which seemed to fit in with those of Senator Lodge, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, may be summarized as follows:

1. That on giving notice of its intention to withdraw from the League, a power shall cease to be a member or subject to obligations of the covenant at the time specified in the notice, but that such withdrawal shall not release that power from debt or liability theretofore incurred.

2. That questions such as immigration or import duties, which are solely within domestic jurisdiction, shall not be submitted for consideration or action by the League.

3. That the United States shall not relinquish its traditional attitude toward purely American questions, which shall not be subject to jurisdiction of the League, leaving this country free to oppose acquisition by any non-

American country or territory in the Western Hemisphere.

4. That under Article X. the United States shall assume no obligation to undertake any military expedition or employ its armed forces on land or sea unless such action is authorized by Congress.

An important conference was held between President Wilson and the Foreign Relations Committee on August 19, when practically all the important points of the League and the peace treaty came up for discussion. President Wilson said that the article which was causing the most serious objection (X.) was drawn by himself and that American forces could never be sent abroad without the consent of Congress. He said that he would have preferred another solution of the Shantung controversy, but that he was handicapped by the secret treaties between Great Britain, France and Japan, the existence of which he was ignorant. After more than three hours of questioning, the Republican members were still opposed to ratification without amendments or reservations. The President suggested the use of "interpretive reservations" which would not be a specific part of the peace treaty, but which would bind the United States to a definite action. He desired in this way to make no changes in the treaty as it then stood. This solution was entirely unsatisfactory to the opponents of the League.

On September 10, the Senate Committee reported the Peace Treaty to the Senate. The majority report presented it with thirty-eight amendments and four reservations. On the following day the minority members presented their report, which was opposed to reservations and amendments. The bitter attack made on the treaty in the

Senate determined President Wilson to take the issue directly to the people. Consequently he started on a tour on September 3, 1919, in which he vigorously upheld the League of Nations Covenant and other provisions for the Peace Treaty. His itinerary was abruptly halted at Wichita, Kansas, on September 26, when he was taken seriously ill. He immediately had to give up all public duties and was constantly attended by specialists.

The first test between the opposing forces came on October 2, when the Senate defeated the 35 amendments proposed by Senator Fall of New Mexico. The purpose of these amendments was to prevent the participation by the United States representatives on various commissions created by the Peace Conference. The average vote (when a vote was taken) was about 2 to 1. The vote showed fairly plainly that the chances of securing amendments were very slight but that the treaty could not be ratified without reservations. On October 16, the six Lodge amendments, giving to China instead of to Japan the economic privileges taken from Germany, were defeated as a unit by the vote of 55 to 35.

On October 22, 23, and 24, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted fourteen revised amendments. These were designed to take the place of those adopted on September 10. A preamble was also adopted by the committee. The text of the preamble and the reservations follows.

#### TEXT OF RESERVATIONS

PREAMBLE.—The committee also reports the following reservations and understandings to be made a part and a condition of the resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said following reservations and understandings have been accepted as a part and a condition of said instrument of ratification by at

least three of the four principal allied and associated powers, to wit, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan:

*Reservation No. 1.*—The United States understands and construes Article I. that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

*Reservation No. 2.*—The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or to authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall, by act or joint resolution, so provide.

*Reservation No. 3.*—No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

*Reservation No. 4.*—The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction, and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and the suppression of the traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

*Reservation No. 5.*—The United States will not submit to arbitration by the assembly or the council of the League of Nations (provided for in said treaty of peace) any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend on or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

*Reservation No. 6.*—The United States with-

holds its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

*Reservation No. 7.*—The Congress of the United States by law will provide for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the assembly and the council of the League of Nations, and may in its discretion provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, of conference, or in the selection of any members thereof and for the appointment of members of said commission, committee, court, council, or conference, or any other representatives under the treaty of peace, or in carrying out its provisions and until such participation and appointment have been so provided for, and the powers and duties of such representative so defined, no person shall represent the United States under either such said League of Nations or the treaty, or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder, and no citizen of the United States shall be elected or appointed as a member of said commissions, committees, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Senate of the United States.

*Reservation No. 8.*—The United States understands that the Reparations Commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by its Congress approves such regulation or interference.

*Reservation No. 9.*—The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations or secretariat or any commission, committee, or conference or other agency, organized under the League of Nations, or under the treaty, or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

*Reservation No. 10.*—If the United States shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article VIII., it reserves the right to increase such armament without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

*Reservation No. 11.*—The United States construes subdivision "C" of Article XXIII. to mean that the League shall refuse to recognize agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and that the League shall use every means possible to abolish and do away with such practice.

*Reservation No. 12.*—The United States re-

serves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI. of the covenant of the League of Nations, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

*Reservation No. 13.*—The United States declines to accept any interest as trustee, or in her own right, or to accept any responsibility, for the government or disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany to which Germany renounces her right and titles to the principal allied and associated powers under Articles 119 to 127, inclusive.

*Reservation No. 14.*—The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions affect its honor or its vital interests and declares that such questions are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

Despite the efforts made by the Republicans and the Democrats to settle the question of the League of Nations and the entire treaty one way or the other, the year closed without ratification in any form. When the long session of the 66th Congress came to a close the matter remained deadlocked.

**Alliance Between France and Great Britain and the United States.** On the same day that the Germans concluded their treaty of peace with the Allies, France concluded treaties with the United States and Great Britain which guaranteed to France the aid of both of these nations if there was any aggressive act on the part of Germany toward that republic. A provision was contained to the effect that the treaties would be submitted to the League of Nations and the Senate of the United States and the Parliaments of Great Britain and France for ratification.

The text of the French-American treaty is as follows:

Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic are equally animated by a desire to maintain the peace of the world, so happily restored

by the treaty signed at Versailles on June 28, which put an end to the war begun by the aggression of the German Empire and terminated by the defeat of that power, and

Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, fully convinced that an unprovoked aggression directed by Germany against France would not only violate at the same time the letter and spirit of the Versailles Treaty, to which the United States and France are parties, thus exposing France anew to the intolerable burden of unprovoked war, but that such aggression on the act reputed by the Treaty of Versailles as being against all the powers signatory to the treaty and calculated to trouble the peace of the world, involving inevitably and directly the States of Europe and indirectly the entire world, as experience has amply and unhappily demonstrated, and

Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic apprehend that the stipulations concerning the left bank of the Rhine cannot assure immediately to France, on the one hand, and to the United States, on the other, as signatory powers to the Treaty of Versailles, appropriate security and protection:

Consequently, the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, having decided to conclude a treaty to realize these necessary ends, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, specially authorized to that end by the President of the United States of America, and Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of War, and Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, specially authorized to that end by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE I.—*The following stipulations concerning the left bank of the Rhine are contained in the Peace Treaty signed with Germany at Versailles, June 28, 1919, by the United States of America, by the Government of the French Republic, and by the British Empire, among other powers:*

Article 42.—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

Article 43.—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manœuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

Article 44.—In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of

Articles 42 and 43 she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

*In case these stipulations should not assure immediately to France appropriate security and protection, the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her aid in case of any unprovoked act of aggression directed against her by Germany.*

ARTICLE 2.—*The present treaty, couched in terms analogous to those of a treaty concluded on the same date and to the same end between Great Britain and the French Republic, a copy of which is hereto annexed, will not enter into force until the moment when the latter is ratified.*

ARTICLE 3.—*The present treaty must be submitted to the Council of the Society of Nations and must be recognized by the council, deciding if occasion arise by majority, as an engagement in conformity with the covenant of the society. It will remain in force until, upon demand of one of the parties to the treaty, the council deciding if occasion arise by a majority, finds that the society itself assures sufficient protection.*

ARTICLE 4.—*The present treaty shall be before ratification be submitted to the Chambers of the French Parliament for approval and it shall be submitted to the Senate of the United States of America at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles shall be submitted for assent to ratification. Ratifications shall be exchanged at the time of deposit in Paris of the ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles, or as soon afterward as possible.*

The agreement between England and France, the text of which was also given out, corresponds with that between the United States and France, with an additional provision that the treaty imposes no obligation upon any of the dominions of the British Empire unless and until it be approved by the Parliament of each dominion interested.

**The Polish Treaty.** Another important treaty was signed on the same day that the German delegates signed the treaty ending the great world war. This was the treaty with Poland, the terms of which follow.

*The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, the prin-*

*cipal allied and associated powers, on the one hand; and Poland, on the other hand:*

WHEREAS, The allied and associated powers have, by the success of their arms, restored to the Polish Nation the independence of which it had been unjustly deprived; and

WHEREAS, By the proclamation of March 30, 1917, the Government of Russia assented to the re-establishment of an independent Polish State; and

WHEREAS, The Polish State, which now, in fact, exercises sovereignty over those portions of the former Russian Empire which are inhabited by a majority of Poles, has already been recognized as a sovereign and important State by the principal allied and associated powers; and

WHEREAS, Under the treaty of peace concluded with Germany by the allied and associated powers, a treaty of which Poland is a signatory, certain portions of the former German Empire will be incorporated in the territory of Poland; and

WHEREAS, Under the terms of the said treaty of peace, the boundaries of Poland not already laid down are to be subsequently determined by the principal allied and associated powers;

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Polish State, constituted within the said limits as a sovereign and independent member of the family of nations and being anxious to insure the execution of the provisions of Article 93 of the said treaty of peace with Germany;

Poland, on the other hand, desiring to conform her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and to give a sure guarantee to the inhabitants of the territory over which she assumed sovereignty; for this purpose the following representatives of the high contracting parties:

The President of the United States of America; his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India; the President of the French Republic; his Majesty the King of Italy; his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the Polish Republic, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

## CHAPTER I

ARTICLE 1.—Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 and 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental law, and that no law, regulation, or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2.—Poland undertakes to assure

full and complete protection to life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ARTICLE 3.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals *ipso facto* Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident, at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland under the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, respectively, but subject to any provisions in the said treaties relating to persons who became resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over 12 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to option must, except where it is otherwise provided in the treaty of peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Polish territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals, *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality, persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Polish authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Polish nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Polish nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5.—Poland undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, to choose whether

or not they will acquire Polish nationality.

ARTICLE 6.—All persons born in Polish territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Polish nationals.

ARTICLE 7.—All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 8.—Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9.—Poland will provide, in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets, for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The provisions of this article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory on Aug. 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 10.—Educational committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of

the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

The provision of Article 9 concerning the use of language in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11.—Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision, however, shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defense, or the preservation of public order.

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12.—Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern, and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Poland agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to question of law or fact arising out of these articles, between the Polish Government and any of the principal allied and associated powers, or any other power a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereof demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

## CHAPTER II

ARTICLE 13.—Each of the principal allied and associated powers, on the one part, and Poland on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the Government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions, and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to Consular officers of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE 14.—Pending the establishment of a permanent tariff by the Polish Government, goods originating in the allied and associated States shall not be subject to any higher duties on importation into Poland than the most favorable rates of duty applicable to goods of the same kind under either the German, Austro-Hungarian, or Russian customs tariffs on July 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 15.—Poland undertakes to make no treaty, convention, or arrangement, and to take no other action, which will prevent her from joining in any general agreement for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Poland also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated States any favors or privileges in customs matters which they may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which, since August, 1914, the Allies have been at war, or to any State which may have concluded with Austria special customs arrangements as provided for in the treaty of peace to be concluded with Austria.

ARTICLE 16.—Pending the conclusion of the general agreement referred to above, Poland undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels, or vessels of the most favored nation, the vessels of all the allied and associated States which accord similar treatment to Polish vessels.

By way of exception from this provision, the right of Poland or any other allied or associated State to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 17.—Pending the conclusion, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Poland undertakes to accord freedom of tran-

sit of persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favored nationality, origin, importation, or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Poland on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties. Tariffs for transit traffic across Poland and tariffs between Poland and any allied or associated power, involving through tickets or waybills, shall be established at the request of that allied or associated power.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services.

It is agreed that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded with respect to the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate obligations of this article.

ARTICLE 18.—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Poland undertakes to apply to the river system of the Vistula (including the Bug and the Narest) the régime applicable to international waterways set out in Articles 332 to 337 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 19.—Poland undertakes to adhere, within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty, to the international conventions specified in Annex I.

Poland undertakes to adhere to any new convention, concluded with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty, to replace any of the international instruments specified in Annex I.

The Polish Government undertakes within twelve months to notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not Poland desires to adhere to either or both of the international conventions specified in Annex II.

Until Poland has adhered to the two conventions last specified in Annex I. she agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to protect by effective measures the industrial, literary, and artistic property of nationals of the allied and

associated States. In the case of any allied or associated State not adhering to the said conventions, Poland agrees to continue to afford such effective protection on the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bilateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such allied or associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I, Poland will secure to the nationals of the allied and associated powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary, or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the allied and associated States now in force or which, but for the war, would have been in force in any part of her territories before their transfer to Poland. For such purposes they will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

## ANNEX I

### TELEGRAPHIC AND RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

International Telegraphic Convention signed at St. Petersburg July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraph Conference signed at Lisbon June 11, 1908.

International Radio-Telegraphic Convention, July 5, 1912.

### RAILWAY CONVENTIONS

Conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on Oct. 14, 1890, Sept. 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, and Sept. 19, 1906, and the current supplementary provisions made under those conventions.

Agreement on May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to custom inspections, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways, as modified on May 18, 1907.

### SANITARY CONVENTION

Convention of Dec. 3, 1903.

### OTHER CONVENTIONS

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.



International conventions of Paris of March 20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International convention of Sept. 9, 1886, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic works.

#### ANNEX II

Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20.—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated States shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given. In that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21.—Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the principal allied and associated powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above States. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement, the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

*Done at Versailles, [June 28, 1919.] in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.*

**Austrian Peace Treaty.** The treaty of peace between Austria and the Allied

Powers was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye, a suburb of Paris, on September 10, 1919. The chief signatory for Austria was Dr. Karl Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, who had tried every means known to diplomacy to have the terms of the treaty modified. Despite his unceasing efforts to bring about fundamental changes, the treaty practically stood as originally drafted. On September 6, the Austrian Assembly by a vote of 97 to 23 decided to accept the terms of the treaty. The following digest of and quotations from the Austrian treaty were taken from the *Current History* magazine.

The treaty consists of 381 articles, making 181 pages in *The Congressional Record*. In general terms it follows the scheme of the German treaty. Part I., consisting of the first twenty-six articles, is the League of Nations covenant, already published as part of the treaty with Germany, which Austria likewise accepts, though she may not become a member of the League until admitted by vote of the other members.

Part II. lays down in detail the new boundaries of Austria. The frontiers with Switzerland and Lichtenstein remain unchanged. The treaty contains elaborate clauses covering the cession of territory to Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia. The frontiers with Italy, the Klagenfurt area, and Hungary have undergone much modification; that with Germany remains as before. Boundary commissions are to trace the various new lines, to fix points left undefined by the treaty, and to revise portions defined by administrative boundaries. The various States involved are pledged to furnish all possible information to these commissions.

One of the most vital parts of the treaty is that entitled "Political Clauses for Europe," referring to Austria's rela-

tions with neighbor nations. Article 88, which forbids annexation of Austria by Germany, save with the consent of the League of Nations Council, has a direct connection with Article 61 of the German Constitution, which foreshadowed political union between the two nations, and which the Peace Conference compelled Germany to modify.

Following is the text of "Part III.: Political Clauses for Europe":

#### SECTION I.—ITALY

*Article 36.*—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of Italy all rights and title over the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy situated beyond the frontier laid down in Article 27 (2) and lying between that frontier, the former Austro-Hungarian frontier, the Adriatic Sea, and the eastern frontier of Italy as subsequently determined.

Austria similarly renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of Italy all rights and title over other territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy which may be recognized as forming part of Italy by any treaties which may be concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement.

A commission composed of five members, one nominated by Italy, three by the other principal allied and associated powers, and one by Austria, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Italy and Austria. The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

*Article 37.*—Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 269 of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) persons having their usual residence in the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian mon-

archy transferred to Italy who, during the war, have been outside the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy or have been imprisoned, interned or evacuated, shall enjoy the full benefit of the provisions of Articles 252 and 253 of Part X., (Economic Clauses).

*Article 38.*—A special convention will determine the terms of repayment in Austrian currency of the special war expenditure advanced during the war by territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy transferred to Italy or by public associations in that territory on account of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy under its legislation, such as allowances to the families of persons mobilized, requisitions, billeting of troops, and relief to persons who have been evacuated.

In fixing the amount of these sums Austria shall be credited with the amount which the territory would have contributed to Austria-Hungary to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the revenues of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy derived from the territory in 1913.

*Article 39.*—The Italian Government will collect for its own account the taxes, dues, and charges of every kind leviable in the territories transferred to Italy and not collected on Nov. 3, 1918.

*Article 40.*—No sum shall be due by Italy on the ground of her entry into possession of the Palazzo Venezia at Rome.

*Article 41.*—Subject to the provisions of Article 204 of Part IX., (Financial Clauses,) relative to the acquisition of, and payment for, State property and possessions, the Italian Government is substituted in all the rights which the Austrian State possessed over

all the railways in the territories transferred to Italy which were administered by the Railway Administration of the said State and which are actually working or under construction.

The same shall apply to the rights of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the above-mentioned territories.

The frontier railway stations shall be determined by a subsequent agreement.

*Article 42.*—Austria shall restore to Italy within a period of three months all the wagons belonging to the Italian railways which before the outbreak of war had passed into Austria and have not returned to Italy.

*Article 43.*—Austria renounces as from Nov. 3, 1918, on behalf of herself and her nationals in regard to territories transferred to Italy all rights to which she may be entitled with regard to the products of the aforesaid territories under any agreements, stipulations, or laws establishing trusts, cartels or other similar organizations.

*Article 44.*—For a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty central electric power stations situated in Austrian territory and formerly furnishing electric power to the territories transferred to Italy or to any other establishment the exploitation of which passes to Italy shall be required to continue furnishing this supply up to an amount corresponding to the undertakings and contracts in force on Nov. 3, 1918.

Austria further admits the right of Italy to the free use of the waters of Lake Raibl and its derivative water-course and to divert the said waters to the basin of the Korinitza.

*Article 45.*—(1) Judgments rendered since Aug. 4, 1914, by the courts in the territory transferred to Italy in

civil and commercial cases between the inhabitants of such territory and other nationals of the former Austrian empire, or between such inhabitants and the subjects of the allies of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, shall not be carried into effect until after indorsement by the corresponding new court in such territory.

(2) All decisions rendered for political crimes or offenses since Aug. 4, 1914, by the judicial authorities of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy against Italian nationals, including persons who obtain Italian nationality under the present treaty, shall be annulled.

(3) In all matters relating to proceedings initiated before the coming into force of the present treaty before the competent authorities of the territory transferred to Italy, the Italian and Austrian judicial authorities respectively shall until the coming into force of a special convention on this subject be authorized to correspond with each other direct. Requests thus presented shall be given effect to so far as the laws of the public character allow in the country to the authorities of which the request is addressed.

(4) All appeals to the higher Austrian judicial and administrative authorities beyond the limits of the territory transferred to Italy against decisions of the administrative or judicial authorities of this territory shall be suspended. The records shall be submitted to the authorities against whose decision the appeal was entered. They must be transmitted to the competent Italian authorities without delay.

(5) All other questions as to jurisdiction, procedure, or the administration of justice will be determined by a special convention between Italy and Austria.

## SECTION II.—SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE

*Article 46.*—Austria, in conformity with the action already taken by the allied and associated powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

*Article 47.*—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State all rights and title over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Austria as laid down in Article 27 of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria,) and recognized by the present treaty, or by any treaties concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement, as forming part of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

*Article 48.*—A commission consisting of seven members, five nominated by the principal allied and associated powers, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and one by Austria, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line described in Article 27 (4) of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria).

The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

*Article 49.*—The inhabitants of the Klagenfurt area will be called upon, to the extent stated below, to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish the territory to belong.

[The definition of the Klagenfurt boundaries, and a boundary division of this area into two zones for the taking of the plebiscite, follow here.]

*Article 50.*—The Klagenfurt area will be placed under the control of a commission intrusted with the duty of preparing the plebiscite in that area and assuring the impartial administra-

tion thereof. This commission will be composed as follows: Four members nominated respectively by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy, one by Austria, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State; the Austrian member only taking part in the deliberations of the commission in regard to the second zone, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene member only taking part therein with regard to the first zone. The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority.

The second zone will be occupied by the Austrian troops and administered in accordance with the general regulations of the Austrian legislation.

The first zone will be occupied by the troops of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and administered in accordance with the general regulations of the legislation of that State.

In both zones the troops, whether Austrian or Serb-Croat-Slovene, shall be reduced to the numbers which the commission may consider necessary for the preservation of order, and shall carry out their mission under the control of the commission. These troops shall be replaced as speedily as possible by a police force recruited on the spot.

The commission will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to insure its freedom, fairness, and secrecy.

In the first zone the plebiscite will be held within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty, at a date fixed by the commission.

If the vote is in favor of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, a plebiscite will be held in the second zone within three weeks from the proclamation of the result of the plebiscite in the first zone, at a date to be fixed by the commission.

If on the other hand the vote in the first zone is in favor of Austria, no plebiscite will be held in the second zone, and the whole of the area will remain definitely under Austrian sovereignty.

The right of voting will be granted to every person without distinction of sex who:

(a) Has attained the age of twenty years on or before Jan. 1, 1919;

(b) Has on Jan. 1, 1919, his or her habitual residence within the zone subjected to the plebiscite; and,

(c) Was born within the said zone, or has had his or her habitual residence or rights of citizenship (*pertinenza*) there from a date previous to Jan. 1, 1912.

The result of the vote will be determined by the majority of votes in the whole of each zone.

On the conclusion of each vote the result will be communicated by the commission to the principal allied and associated powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote, and will be proclaimed.

If the vote is in favor of the incorporation either of the first zone or of both zones in the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Austria hereby renounces, so far as she is concerned and to the extent corresponding to the result of the vote, in favor of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State all rights and title over these territories.

After agreement with the commission the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government may definitively establish its authority over the said territories.

If the vote in the first or second zone is in favor of Austria, the Austrian Government, after agreement with the commission, will be entitled definitively to re-establish its authority over the whole of the Klagenfurt area, or in the second zone, as the case may be.

When the administration of the country, either by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or by Austria, as the case may be, has been thus assured, the powers of the commission will terminate.

Expenditure by the commission will be borne by Austria and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in equal moieties.

*Article 51.*—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as these powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

*Article 52.*—The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of the former Austrian Empire which the Serb-Croat-Slovene State will have to assume on account of the territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 203 of Part IX., (Financial Clauses,) of the present treaty. \*

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present treaty and which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

### SECTION III.—CZECHOSLOVAK STATE

*Article 53.*—Austria, in conformity with the action already taken by the allied and associated powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Czechoslovak State, which will include

the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians.

*Article 54.*—Austria renounces so far as she is concerned in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Austria as laid down in Article 27 of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria,) and recognized in accordance with the present treaty as forming part of the Czechoslovak State.

*Article 55.*—A commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the principal allied and associated powers, one by the Czechoslovak State, and one by Austria, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line laid down in Article 27, (6,) of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria,) of the present treaty.

The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

*Article 56.*—The Czechoslovak State undertakes not to erect any military works in that portion of its territory which lies on the right bank of the Danube to the south of Bratislava, (Pressburg.)

*Article 57.*—The Czechoslovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

The Czechoslovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as these powers may deem necessary to protect free-

dom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

*Article 58.*—The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of the former Austrian Empire which the Czechoslovak State will have to assume on account of the territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 203 of Part IX., (Financial Clauses,) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present treaty and which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

#### SECTION IV.—RUMANIA

*Article 59.*—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of Rumania all rights and title over such portion of the former Duchy of Bukovina as lies within the frontiers of Rumania which may ultimately be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers.

*Article 60.*—Rumania accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Rumania further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as these powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

*Article 61.*—The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of the former Austrian Empire which Rumania will have to assume on account of the territory placed under her sov-

ereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 203 of Part IX., (Financial Clauses,) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present treaty and which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

#### SECTION V.—PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

*Article 62.*—Austria undertakes that the stipulations contained in this section shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation, or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

*Article 63.*—Austria undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

All inhabitants of Austria shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

*Article 64.*—Austria admits and declares to be Austrian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality all persons possessing at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty rights of citizenship, (*pertinenza*.) within Austrian territory who are not nationals of any other State.

*Article 65.*—All persons born in Austrian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Austrian nationals.

*Article 66.*—All Austrian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights

without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Austrian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Austrian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Austrian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Austrian nationals of non-German speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

*Article 67.*—Austrian nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Austrian nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

*Article 68.*—Austria will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals of other than German speech are residents adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Austrian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Austrian

Government from making the teaching of the German language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets for education, religious, or charitable purposes.

*Article 69.*—Austria agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles of this section, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The allied and associated powers represented on the council severally agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Austria agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Austria further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Austrian Government and any one of the principal allied and associated powers or any other power, a member of the Council of the League

of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. The Austrian Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

#### SECTION VI.—CAUSES RELATING TO NATIONALITY

*Article 70.*—Every person possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenza*) in territory which formed part of the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall obtain *ipso facto* to the exclusion of Austrian nationality the nationality of the State exercising sovereignty over such territory.

*Article 71.*—Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 70, Italian nationality shall not, in the case of territory transferred to Italy, be acquired *ipso facto*;

(1) by persons possessing rights of citizenship in such territory who were not born there:

(2) by persons who acquired their rights of citizenship in such territory after May 24, 1915, or who acquired them only by reason of their official position.

*Article 72.*—The persons referred to in Article 71, as well as those who (a) formerly possessed rights of citizenship in the territories transferred to Italy, or whose father, or mother if the father is unknown, possessed rights of citizenship in such territories, or (b) have served in the Italian Army during the present war, and their descendants, may claim Italian nationality subject to the



conditions prescribed in Article 78 for the right of option.

*Article 73.*—The claim to Italian nationality by the persons referred to in Article 72 may in individual cases be refused by the competent Italian authority.

*Article 74.*—Where the claim to Italian nationality under Article 72 is not made, or is refused, the persons concerned will obtain *ipso facto* the nationality of the State exercising sovereignty over the territory in which they possessed rights of citizenship before acquiring such rights in the territory transferred to Italy.

*Article 75.*—Juridical persons established in the territories transferred to Italy shall be considered Italian if they are recognized as such either by the Italian administrative authorities or by an Italian judicial decision.

*Article 76.*—Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 70, persons who acquired rights of citizenship after Jan. 1, 1910, in territory transferred under the present treaty to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, or to the Czechoslovak State, will not acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene or Czechoslovak nationality without a permit from the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or the Czechoslovak State respectively.

*Article 77.*—If the permit referred to in Article 76 is not applied for, or is refused, the persons concerned will obtain *ipso facto* the nationality of the State exercising sovereignty over the territory in which they previously possessed rights of citizenship.

*Article 78.*—Persons over 18 years of age losing their Austrian nationality and obtaining *ipso facto* a new nationality under Article 70 shall be entitled within a period of one year from the coming into force of the present treaty to opt for the nationality of the State

in which they possessed rights of citizenship before acquiring such rights in the territory transferred.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising their right to opt.

They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

*Article 79.*—Persons entitled to vote in plebiscites provided for in the present treaty shall within a period of six months after the definitive attribution of the area in which the plebiscite has taken place be entitled to opt for the nationality of the State to which the area is not assigned.

The provisions of Article 78 relating to the right of option shall apply equally to the exercise of the right under this article.

*Article 80.*—Persons possessing rights of citizenship in territory forming part of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and differing in race and language from the majority of the population of such territory, shall within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty severally be entitled to opt for Austria, Italy, Poland, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, or the Czechoslovak State, if the majority of the population of the State selected is of the same race and language as the person exercising the right to

opt. The provisions of Article 78 as to the exercise of the right of option shall apply to the right of option given by this article.

*Article 81.*—The high contracting parties undertake to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have under the present treaty, or under treaties concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Hungary or Russia, or between any of the allied and associated powers themselves, to choose any other nationality which may be open to them.

*Article 82.*—For the purposes of the provisions of this section, the status of a married woman will be governed by that of her husband, and the status of children under 18 years of age by that of their parents.

#### SECTION VII.—CLAUSES RELATING TO CERTAIN NATIONS

[Section VII. binds Austria to accept all allied terms relating to Belgium, Luxemburg, Schleswig, Turkey, Bulgaria, and the Russian States.]

#### SECTION VIII.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

*Article 88.*—The independence of Austria is inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Consequently Austria undertakes in the absence of the consent of the said Council to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly or by any means whatever compromise her independence, particularly, and until her admission to membership of the League of Nations, by participation in the affairs of another power.

*Article 89.*—Austria hereby recognizes and accepts the frontiers of Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Ru-

mania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and the Czechoslovak State as these frontiers may be determined by the principal allied and associated powers.

*Article 90.*—Austria undertakes to recognize the full force of the treaties of peace and additional conventions which have been or may be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers who fought on the side of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and to recognize whatever dispositions have been or may be made concerning the territories of the former German Empire, of Hungary, of the Kingdom of Bulgaria and of the Ottoman Empire, and to recognize the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

*Article 91.*—Austria renounces so far as she is concerned in favor of the principal allied and associated powers all rights and title over the territories which previously belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and which, being situated outside the new frontiers of Austria as described in Article 27 of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria,) have not at present been assigned to any State.

Austria undertakes to accept the settlement made by the principal allied and associated powers in regard to these territories, particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.

*Article 92.*—No inhabitant of the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall be disturbed or molested on account either of his political attitude between July 28, 1914, and the definite settlement of the sovereignty over these territories, or of the determination of his nationality effected by the present treaty.

*Article 93.*—Austria will hand over without delay to the allied and associ-

ated Governments concerned archives, registers, plans, title-deeds, and documents of every kind belonging to the civil, military, financial, judicial or other forms of administration in the ceded territories. If any one of these documents, archives, registers, title-deeds or plans is missing, it shall be restored by Austria upon the demand of the allied or associated Government concerned.

In case the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds or documents referred to in the preceding paragraph, exclusive of those of a military character, concern equally the administrations in Austria, and cannot therefore be handed over without inconvenience to such administrations, Austria undertakes, subject to reciprocity, to give access thereto to the allied and associated Governments concerned.

*Article 94.*—Separate conventions between Austria and each of the States to which territory of the former Austrian Empire is transferred, and each of the States arising from the dismemberment of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, will provide for the interests of the inhabitants, especially in connection with their civil rights, their commerce, and the exercise of their professions.

#### PART IV.—AUSTRIAN INTERESTS OUTSIDE EUROPE

*Article 95.*—In territory outside her frontiers as fixed by the present treaty Austria renounces so far as she is concerned all rights, titles and privileges whatever in or over territory outside Europe which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, or to its allies, and all rights, titles and privileges whatever their origin which it held as against the allied and associated powers.

Austria undertakes immediately to

recognize and to conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the principal allied and associated powers, in agreement where necessary with third powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

#### SECTION I.—MOROCCO

*Article 96.*—Austria renounces so far as she is concerned all rights, titles and privileges conferred on her by the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German agreements of Feb. 9, 1909, and Nov. 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 12, 1914.

In no case can Austria avail herself of these acts and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other powers.

*Article 97.*—Austria hereby accepts all the consequences of the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, which had been recognized by the Government of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and she renounces so far as she is concerned the régime of the capitulations in Morocco.

This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 12, 1914.

*Article 98.*—The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of Austrian nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they can establish themselves.

Austrian protected persons, *sensars*, and “*associés agricoles*” shall be considered to have ceased, as from Aug. 12, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subject to the ordinary law.

*Article 99.*—All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy passes *ipso facto* to the Maghzen without compensation.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, and the private property of members of the former royal family of Austria-Hungary.

All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to Austrian nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections 3 and 4 of Part X. (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognized as belonging to Austrian nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Moroccan Mining Regulations shall be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to Austrian nationals.

*Article 100.*—The Austrian Government shall insure the transfer to the person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Austria's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. This person will repay to the persons entitled thereto the value of these shares, which shall be indicated by the State Bank.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which Austrian nationals may have contracted toward the State Bank of Morocco.

*Article 101.*—Moroccan goods entering Austria shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods.

## SECTION II.—EGYPT

*Article 102.*—Austria declares that she recognizes the protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain

on Dec. 18, 1914, and that she renounces so far as she is concerned the régime of the capitulations in Egypt.

This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 12, 1914.

*Article 103.*—All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by the Government of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 12, 1914.

In no case can Austria avail herself of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other powers.

*Article 104.*—Until an Egyptian law of judicial organization establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by his Highness the Sultan, for the exercise of jurisdiction over Austrian nationals and property by the British Consular tribunals.

*Article 105.*—The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of Austrian nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

*Article 106.*—Austria consents so far as she is concerned to the abrogation of the decree issued by his Highness the Khédive on Nov. 28, 1904, relating to the Commission of the Egyptian Public Debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Government may think it desirable to make therein.

*Article 107.*—Austria consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to his Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on his Imperial Majesty the Sultan by the convention signed at Constantinople on Oct. 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the

Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt, and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian authorities of the powers of that board.

*Article 108.*—All property and possessions in Egypt of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, and the private property of members of the former royal family of Austria-Hungary.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to Austrian nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

*Article 109.*—Egyptian goods entering Austria shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

### SECTION III.—SIAM

*Article 110.*—Austria recognizes, so far as she is concerned, that all treaties, conventions, and agreements between the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Siam, and all rights, titles, and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917.

*Article 111.*—Austria, so far as she is concerned, cedes to Siam all her rights over the goods and property in Siam which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, with the exception of premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, as well as the effects and furniture which they contain. These goods and property pass *ipso facto* and without compensation to the Siamese Government.

The goods, property, and private

rights of Austrian nationals in Siam shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

*Article 112.*—Austria waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself or her nationals arising out of the liquidation of Austrian property or the internment of Austrian nationals in Siam. This provision shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

### SECTION IV.—CHINA

*Article 113.*—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final protocol signed at Peking on Sept. 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes, and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favor of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to Aug. 14, 1917.

*Article 114.*—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them respectively:

(1) The arrangement of Aug. 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff.

(2) The arrangement of Sept. 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary arrangement of April 4, 1912.

China, however, will not be bound to grant to Austria the advantages or privileges which she allowed to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy under these arrangements.

*Article 115.*—Austria, so far as she is concerned, cedes to China all her rights over the buildings, wharves and

pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and which are situated or may be in the Austro-Hungarian concession at Tientsin or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, as well as the effects and furniture contained therein, are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the public and private property belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy situated within the so-called Legation Quarter at Peking without the consent of the diplomatic representatives of the powers which, on the coming into force of the present treaty, remain parties to the final protocol of Sept. 7, 1901.

*Article 116.*—Austria agrees, so far as she is concerned, to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the Austro-Hungarian concession at Tientsin is now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above area, declares her intention of opening it to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which the said concession is now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals of allied and associated powers who are holders of lots in this concession.

*Article 117.*—Austria waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any allied or associated Government arising out of the internment of Austrian nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces, so far as she is concerned, all

claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of Austro-Hungarian ships in China, or the liquidation, sequestration or control of Austrian properties, rights and interests in that country since Aug. 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

#### MILITARY AND NAVAL CLAUSES

The disarmament of Austria is required in as great detail as in the case of Germany. The Austrian Army is not to exceed 30,000 men. The number of guns and machine guns is strictly limited, mobilization is forbidden and compulsory military service is abolished. Surplus armament and munitions must be turned over to the Allies. The manufacture of arms is restricted to one factory controlled by the State, and the use of gases for warfare is prohibited.

The Austrian Navy henceforth will consist of three patrol boats on the Danube. All warships and submarines are declared finally surrendered to the Allies and the treaty names thirty-two cruisers and fleet auxiliaries, including the President Wilson, (ex-Kaiser Franz Joseph,) which are to be disarmed and treated as merchant ships. All warships begun must be broken up.

Austria will not be allowed to maintain any military or naval air forces nor any dirigibles, and all such equipment and material must be delivered to the Allies.

The disarmament of Austria will be carried out under the supervision of an interallied commission, on which the United States will be represented.

The repatriation of Austrian prisoners of war and interned civilians is fully

provided for under a joint commission.

Austrians accused of violating the laws and customs of war are to be delivered to the Allies for trial by military tribunals, together with all documentary evidence.

### REPARATIONS

Details of reparations to be made by Austria are given in Part VII., notably in the following articles:

*Article 177.*—The allied and associated Governments affirm, and Austria accepts the responsibility of Austria and her allies for causing the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Austria-Hungary and her allies.

*Article 178.*—The allied and associated Governments recognize that the resources of Austria are not adequate, after taking into account the permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present treaty, to make complete reparation for such loss and damage.

The allied and associated Governments, however, require and Austria undertakes that she will make compensation as hereinafter determined for damage on to the civilian population of the allied and associated powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an allied and associated power against Austria by the said aggression by land, by sea, and from the air, and in general damage as defined in Annex I hereto.

*Article 179.*—The amount of such damage for which compensation is to be made by Austria shall be determined by an interallied commission to be called the Reparation Commission and constituted in the form and with the

powers set forth hereunder and in annexed Nos. II.-V. inclusive hereto. The commission is the same as that provided for under Article 233 of the treaty with Germany, subject to any modifications resulting from the present treaty. The commission shall constitute a section to consider the special questions raised by the application of the present treaty. This section shall have consultative power only, except in cases in which the commission shall delegate to it such powers as may be deemed convenient.

The Reparation Commission shall consider the claims and give to the Austrian Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging by Austria within thirty years dating from May 1, 1921, that part of the debt which shall have been assigned to her, after the commission has decided whether Germany is in a position to pay the balance of the total amount of claims presented by Germany and her allies and approved by the commission. If, however, within the period mentioned Austria fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may within the discretion of the commission be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the allied and associated governments acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this part of the present treaty shall determine.

### MODIFICATION POSSIBLE

*Article 180.*—The Reparation Commission shall after May 1, 1921, from time to time consider the resources and capacity of Austria and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity

to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 179, but not to cancel any part except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented on the commission.

*Article 181.*—Austria shall pay in the course of the year 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, in such installments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may lay down, a reasonable sum which shall be determined by the commission.

Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the armistice of Nov. 3, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the principal allied and associated powers essential to enable Austria to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of said Government, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned toward the liquidation of the amount due for reparation.

#### ANNEXES

Annex No. 1 to the reparation articles schedules in detail the damages which may be claimed of Austria for injuries to persons or property resulting from acts of war, including naval and military pensions paid by the Allies, and also including repayment of levies or fines on civilian populations.

Annex No. 2 sets forth the organization of the Reparation Commission, its procedure in assessing damage payments by Austria and the financial arrangements Austria is required to make to secure to the Allies the discharge of its obligations.

Annex No. 3 provides for the replacement by Austria "ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war," and the Austrian Government cedes to the Allies the property in all merchant ships and fishing boats "belonging to nationals of the former Austrian Empire."

Under Annex No. 4 Austria undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of invaded allied territory.

In partial reparation Austria is required under Annex No. 5 to make annual deliveries of timber and manufactures of iron and magnesite.

Annex No. 6 provides for the renunciation to Italy of all Austrian cables in Italian ports and of other specified cables to the allied powers.

By special provisions laid down by Article 191-196 (including annex) Austria is required to surrender all loot from invaded allied territory, particularly objects of art and historical records taken from Italy by the Hapsburgs, not only in this but in previous wars. Some of the loot from Italy which the Austrians are required to return are the Crown jewels of Tuscany and the private jewels of the Princess Electress of Medici and other Medici heirlooms removed to Vienna in the eighteenth century; the furniture and silver plate belonging to the House of Medici and the "jewel of Aspasius" in payment of debt owed by the House of Austria to the Crown of Tuscany, and also the "ancient instruments of astronomy and physics belonging to the Academy of Cimento, removed by the House of Lorraine and sent as a present to the cousins of the imperial house of Vienna."

This annex also specifies the return to Italy of "The Virgin" by Andrea



del Sarto, and four drawings by Correggio belonging to the Pinacothek of Modena and removed in 1859 by Duke Francis V.; numerous manuscripts and rare books and bronzes stolen from Modena and "objects made in Palermo in the twelfth century for the Norman Kings and employed in the coronation of the Emperors."

Austria also is required to restore to Belgium various works of art removed to Vienna in the eighteenth century.

To Poland, Austria is required to restore the gold cup of King Ladislas IV., No. 1,114 of the Court Museum at Vienna.

Czechoslovakia will get back many historical documents removed by Maria Theresa and works of art taken from the Bohemian royal castles by various Austrian Emperors in the eighteenth century.

The remainder of the treaty is taken up by financial, economic, legal, river and maritime, transport, labor and general miscellaneous clauses subsidiary to the main provisions of the treaty summarized or quoted above. These sections are essentially similar to those in the German peace treaty.

### THE BULGARIAN TREATY

On November 27, 1919, the treaty of peace between the Entente Allies and Bulgaria was signed in the Mayor's office at Neuilly, near Paris. Although the United States had not declared war on Bulgaria, the treaty was signed by Frank L. Polk, Henry White, and General Bliss for that country. The chief Bulgarian signature was that of M. Stambuliwsky, the Prime Minister of Bulgaria. A summary of the terms handed Bulgaria in the middle of September follows.

Bulgaria agrees to—

Reduce her army to 20,000 men and gendarmerie to 10,000.

Surrender her warships and submarines to the Allies.

Recognize the independence of Jugoslavia and return property taken from that state during the war.

Cede Western Thrace to the Allies for future disposition.

Modify her frontier at four places in favor of Serbia and compensate Serbia for stolen coal.

Pay \$450,000,000 in gold as reparation for damages.

Renounce the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.

The treaty which was handed to the Bulgarian delegation in Paris followed the same general plan as the Austrian treaty. Many clauses are identical with the Austrian pact, except for the substitution of names, such as the League of Nations, labor, aerial navigation, penalties, prisoners of war and graves.

**Minority Races Protected.** The Bulgarians are required to recognize the independence of the Serb, Croats and Slovene state, and provisions are made to change the nationality of the inhabitants of the territory formerly Bulgarian and transferred to other states. Provisions are made for protection of the minorities of race, language, nationality and religion. Within three months the Bulgarians are required to demobilize the army and substitute volunteer enlistments.

The Bulgarian army is reduced to 20,000 men, exclusively for the maintenance of order and frontier control. The manufacture of war material is confined to one establishment, the other establishments to be closed or converted.

Bulgaria agrees to return to Greece, Roumania and the Serb, Croat and Slovene state the records, archives and ar-

ticles of historical and artistic value which were taken from these countries during the war, and livestock shall be returned within six months. As special compensation for the destruction of the Serbian coal mines Bulgaria shall for five years deliver 50,000 tons of coal annually to the Serb, Croat and Slovene state.

The financial clauses are similar to those of the Austrian treaty and provide priority over the charges against assets of Bulgaria for reparation shall be given to the cost of all armies of occupation of the Allies, and to services of the external pre-war Ottoman public debt. Bulgaria renounces the benefits of the Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk treaties and agrees to surrender the moneys and securities received according to those treaties.

**Rumanian Frontier Unchanged.** The frontier with Rumania remains the same as before the war, although it is understood the question of inducing Rumania to cede to Bulgaria that portion of Dobrudja which is wholly Bulgarian in character will be taken up later.

In the Timok Valley, at the north, Bulgaria cedes to Serbia a narrow territory sufficient to provide for proper policing of the important Serbian railway running through that valley. In the vicinity of Dragoman Pass Bulgaria cedes a small area, sufficient to protect Nish from Bulgarian attack. A little further south, in the vicinity of Varanye, where the Bulgarians in the war occupied the only railway that makes possible the defence of Northern Serbia, Bulgaria is required to cede a small area of mountainous territory sufficient to protect the Serbian frontier from similar [word missing] in the future. At the south of this frontier, where a projecting lobe of the Bulgarian territory came within six miles of the

same vital railway, Bulgaria cedes the western projecting lobe to Serbia, so her frontiers are removed ten or twelve miles eastward.

**Changes in South Important.** The most extensive territorial change is to the south. The frontier with Greece remains the same, except for slight rectification to afford proper protection to the Greek town Buk.

It is stipulated that, whatever solution is adopted with regard to Western Thrace, an economic outlet to the Ægean Sea will be guaranteed to Bulgaria, the powers having the right to return all or part of the territory to Bulgaria, transfer part to Greece, incorporate the remainder with Eastern Thrace in an international state, or to make any other solution ultimately agreed upon.

Greece agrees to embody in a treaty with the Allies such provisions to protect the interest of the minorities of race, language or religion, and make provisions necessary to protect the freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The number of Bulgarian gendarmes, customs officials and other armed guards shall not exceed 10,000 and there must exist only one military school. The importation or exportation of arms, munitions and war materials of all kinds is forbidden.

All existing Bulgarian warships, including submarines, will be surrendered to the Allies and warships or submarines under construction will be broken up. Construction or acquisition of any submarines, even for commercial purposes, will be forbidden. All naval arms, munitions and other war material belonging to Bulgaria at the date of the armistice will be surrendered to the Allies.

Bulgaria may have no military or naval air forces, including dirigibles, must demobilize all existing air forces within two months and must surrender to the principal Allied and associated powers such aviation material.

Bulgaria recognizes that by joining the war of aggression which Germany and Austria-Hungary waged against the Allied and associated powers, she caused the latter losses and sacrifices of all kinds for which she ought to make adequate reparation. As it is recognized that Bulgaria's resources are not sufficient to make adequate reparation, the reparation agreed upon, two and a quarter billion francs in gold (\$450,000,000) is agreed to be paid in thirty-seven years in half yearly payments, beginning January 1, 1920.

Payments are to be permitted through the inter-Allied commission to the Reparation Commission created by the German treaty. The inter-Allied commission shall consider the resources from time to time of Bulgaria, and shall have power to recommend to the reparation commission the cancellation or postponement of any payments to be made by Bulgaria. The livestock to be surrendered, totalling 73,126 animals, goes to Greece, Rumania and the Serb, the Croat and Slovene states.

The inter-Allied commission shall be established at Sofia as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present treaty. The commission shall consist of three members nominated by

Great Britain, France and Italy, with a right to withdraw upon six months' notice. Bulgaria will be represented by a commissioner, who may be invited to take part in the sittings but will have no vote. Cost and expenses of the commission will be paid by Bulgaria and will be a first charge on the revenues payable to the commission.

The economic clauses are of the same general import as those in the Austrian treaty, except that for one year customs duties on imports from the Allied and associated states will not be higher than the favorable duties when the war began.

**Danube is Internationalized.** The general provisions of the ports, waterways and railways clauses are similar to those of the Austrian treaty, providing that Danube is to be international from Ulm.

The European commission of the Danube shall reassume the powers it had before the war, but with only representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Rumania.

All disputes which may arise through carrying out provisions of these clauses shall be settled as provided by the League of Nations and without prejudice to the obligations of the present treaty. Bulgaria must agree to any general convention in regard to transportation concluded within five years by the Allied and associated powers with the approval of the League of Nations. See *above*.



#### XIV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: Carleton Hayes, *History of Modern Europe* (2 vols., New York, 1916); A. Bullard, *Diplomacy of the Great War* (ib., 1916); Charles Seymour, *Diplomatic Background of the War* (New Haven, 1916); B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany, 1740-1914* (Princeton, 1916). Histories of the war: *New York Times' Current History Magazine* (New York, monthly); *Nelson's History of the War* (London, 1914 et seq.); F. H. Simonds, *The Great War* (2 vols., ib., 1915); Allen and Whitehead, *The Great War* (Philadelphia, 1915); *London Times History of the War* (London, weekly); Hilaire Belloc, *General Sketch of the European War, First Phase* (ib., 1915); Gabriel Hanotaux (ed.), *Histoire illustrée de la guerre de 1914* (Bordeaux, 1914-15); *Chronik des deutschen Krieges*, vol. i (Munich, 1915); H. F. Helmolt, *Der Weltkrieg in Bildern und Dokumenten* (Leipzig, 1915); F. A. Mumby, *The Great War: A History*, vols. i-iii (London, 1915-16). Documentary collections and criticisms: *Collected Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (London, 1915); *American Journal of International Law*, vol. ix (New York, 1915); E. C. Stowell, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1914*, vol. i (Boston, 1915), containing an exhaustive analysis. Causes of the war—British point of view: E. P. Barker and others, "Why we are at War: Great Britain's Case," in *Oxford Pamphlets* (London, 1914); J. M. Beck, *The Evidence in the Case* (New York, 1915), a severe indictment of Germany; H. A. L. Fisher, *The War: Its Causes and Issues* (London, 1914); R. Muir, *Britain's Case against Germany* (Manchester, 1914); J. H. Rose, *Origins of the War* (London, 1914); J. H. Muirhead, *German Philosophy in Relation to the War* (ib., 1915). German point of view: H. F. Helmolt, *Die geheime Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Leipzig, 1914); G. S. Fullerton, *Why the German Nation has Gone to War* (Munich, 1914); P. Rohrbach, *Der Krieg und die deutsche Politik* (Dresden, 1914); J. W. Burgess, *The European War: Its Causes, Purposes, and Probable Results* (ib., 1915). French point of view: G. Arnould, "Les origines historiques de la guerre," in *Pages d'histoire, 1914-15* (Paris, 1915); Henri Charriaut, *Le droit contre la force* (ib., 1915); E. Denis, *La guerre, causes immédiates et lointaines* (ib., 1915). Italian point of view: G. A. Borgese, *Italia e Germania* (Milan, 1915); G. Ferrero, *La guerra Europea: studi e discorsi* (ib., 1915); id., *Le origini della guerra presente* (ib., 1915). United States and the war: Theodore Roosevelt, *America and the World War* (New York, 1915); Norman Angell, *America and the New World State* (ib., 1915); Hugo Münsterberg, *The War and America* (ib., 1915); R. G. Usher, *Pan-Americanism* (ib., 1915); Lange and Berry, *Books on the Great War* (ib., 1915-16). Woodrow Wilson, *Why We Are at War* (New York, 1917), a reprint of the president's addresses to Congress, etc.; G. W. Prothero, *German Policy Before the War* (ib., 1917); K'ung Yuan Ku'suh, *The Judgment of the Orient* (ib. 1917); Gustave Le Bon, *The Psychology of the Great War* (ib. 1917), translated by E. Andrews; Count Ernst zu Reventlow, *The Vampire of the Continent* (ib. 1917), translated by George Chatterton-Hill; A. H. Granger, *England's World Empire* (Chicago, 1917); Jacques Bainville, *Italy and the War* (New York, 1917), translated by Bernard Miall; David J. Hill, *The Rebuilding of Europe* (ib., 1917). André Chéradame, *The Pan-German Plot Unmasked* (New York, 1917); John W. Burgess, *America's Relations to the Great War* (Chicago, 1917); David Starr Jordan, *Alsace-Lorraine* (Indianapolis, 1917); Ian Hay, *Getting Together* (Garden City, 1917); Edmund von Mach (editor), *Official Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the War* (New York, 1917). E. de Schelking, *Recollections of a Russian Diplomat* (New York, 1918); H. C. Woods, *The Cradle of the War* (New York, 1918); Dr. William Mühlton, *The Vandal of Europe* (translated by William L. McPherson, New York, 1918); M. Prince, *The Creed of Deutschtum and Other War Essays* (New York, 1918); H. J. Suter-Lerch, *Germany Her Own Judge* (New York, 1918); J. Adam, *The Schemes of the Kaiser* (New York, 1918); J. S. Bassett, *The Lost Fruits of Waterloo* (New York, 1918); Karl Lichnowsky, *The Guilt of Germany* (New York, 1918); J. W. Gerard, *Face to Face with Kaiserism* (New York, 1918); A. G. Keller, *Through War to Peace* (New York, 1918); M. Smith, *Militarism and Statecraft* (New York, 1918); T. Tittoni, *Who Is Responsible for the War? The Verdict of History* (Paris, 1918); O. A. Marti, *Anglo-German Rivalry as a Cause of the Great War* (Boston, 1918); O. Ferrara, *Causes and Pretexts of the World War* (New York, 1918);

F. W. Halsey, *Balfour, Viviani, and Joffre* (New York, 1918); J. B. Scott, *A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany* . . . (Oxford, 1918); Princess C. Radziwill, *Rasputin and the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1918); G. Negulesco, *Romania's Sacrifice* (New York, 1918); *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York, 1918).

MILITARY OPERATIONS. General: F. H. Simonds, *The Great War: The First Phase* (2d ed., New York, 1914); id., *The Great War: The Second Phase* (ib., 1915); Edmund Dane, *Trench Warfare: The Effects of Spade-Power in Modern Battles* (London, 1915); Joachim Delbrück, *Der deutsche Krieg in Feldpostbriefen*, vols. i-vi (Munich, 1915); C. W. Bantine, *Military History of the War*, vol. i (London, 1916); Wilhelm Eisenberg, *Zum Landsturm nach Belgien und Nord-Frankreich* (Brunswick, 1916). In the West: Sir John French, "Dispatches: Official Records of the Great Battles of Mons, the Marne, and the Aisne," in the *Graphic*, special no. 1 (London, 1914); Pierre Dauzet, *Guerre de 1914: de Liège à la Marne, avec croquis et carte en couleur des positions successives des armées* (Paris, 1915); *Le martyre de Reims: l'occupation allemande, le bombardement* (parts i-xxviii, ib., 1915); *La campagne de l'armée belge (31 juillet, 1914-1er janvier, 1915) . . . d'après les documents officiels* (ib., 1915). In the East: John Morse, *An Englishman in the Russian Ranks: Ten Months' Fighting in Poland* (London, 1915); G. R. Fortescue, *Russia, the Balkans, and the Dardanelles* (ib., 1915); E. Serman, *Mit den Türken an der Front* (Berlin, 1915); Hermann Blumenthal, *Galizien, der Wall im Osten: Kriegserzählungen* (2d ed., Munich, 1915); also *Oxford Pamphlets* (London, 1914 et seq.); *Daily Telegraph War Books* (ib., 1914 et seq.); *Daily Chronicle War Library* (ib., 1914 et seq.). In the Far East: Jefferson Jones, *The Fall of Tsingtau, with a Study of Japan's Ambitions in China* (Boston, 1915); Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *A History of the Great War* (London and New York, 1917); F. Coleman, *With Cavalry in the Great War* (Philadelphia, 1917); Jules Destrées, *Britain in Arms* (New York, 1917); S. Washburn, *The Russian Advance* (New York, 1917); Frederick Palmer, *My Second Year of the War* (New York, 1917); E. Y. Priestman, *With a B. P. Scout in Gallipoli* (New York, 1917); C. Snouck, *The Revolt in Arabia* (ib., 1917); Count C. de Souza, *Germany in Defeat* (ib., 1917); H. W. Allen, *The Unbroken Line* (London, 1917); H. E. Brittain, *To Verdun from the Somme* (New York, 1917); R. M. McRae, *Offensive Fighting* (Philadelphia, 1918); C. Le Goffic, *General Foch at the Marne* (translated by L. Menzies, New York, 1918); J. Rouvier,

*Present Day Warfare* (New York, 1918); R. M. Johnston, *General Foch* (New York, 1918); S. Lauzanne, *Fighting France* (New York, 1918); Mario Alberti, etc., *Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations* (Milan, 1918); W. T. Massey, *The Desert Campaigns* (New York, 1918); R. Radiguet, *The Making of a Modern Army* (ib., 1918); I. F. Marcossan, *The Business of War* (ib., 1918); P. Azan, *The Warfare of To-day* (ib., 1918); F. Dodd, *Generals of the British Army* (ib., 1918); A. T. Clark, *To Bagdad with the British* (ib., 1918); F. H. Simonds, *History of the World War* (ib., 1918); G. Fortescue, *France Bears the Burden* (ib., 1918); *The Story of the Anzacs* (Melbourne, 1918); G. Blanchon, *The New Warfare* (New York, 1918).

NAVAL OPERATIONS. The best account of the naval operations of the war is given in *Gli avvenimenti navali nel conflitto europeo* by R. Mazzinghi. This is a monthly supplement to the *Rivista Marittima* (Rome, monthly). The most complete accounts published in English will be found in the *War Notes of the United States Naval Institute Proceedings* (Annapolis, bimonthly). See also *The Battles of the South Seas, containing the Official Narratives of the Three Engagements*, published by the *Yachting Monthly* (London, 1915); L. C. Cornford, *With the Grand Fleet* (ib., 1915); Sir Ian Hamilton, *Despatches from the Dardanelles* (ib., 1915); H. Kirshhoff, *Der Seekrieg, 1914-15* (Leipzig, 1915); O. Guihéneuc, *Dreadnaught ou submersible* (Paris, 1916); T. D. Parker, *Naval Handbook as Bearing on National Defense and the European War* (San Francisco, 1916); S. Lake, *The Submarine in War and Peace* (New York, 1918); G. Piennes, *Sea Power and Freedom* (ib., 1918); W. M. Dixon, *The British Navy at War* (ib., 1918); J. Leyland, *The Achievement of the British Navy in the World War* (ib., 1918); W. J. Abbot, *Aircraft and Submarines* (ib., 1918).

AÉRIAL OPERATIONS: "Aéroplanes et dirigeables de nos ennemis et de nos allies," in *Correspondant*, vol. cclxi (Paris, 1915); W. E. Dommett, *Aéroplanes and Airships, Including Steering, Propelling, and Navigating Apparatus* . . . (London, 1915); Graham-White and Harper, "Zeppelin Airships: Their Record in the War," in *Fortnightly Review*, x. s., vol. xxviii (New York, 1915); id., *Aircraft in the Great War: A Record and Study* (Chicago, 1915); R. P. Hearne, *Zeppelins and Super-Zeppelins* (New York, 1916); H. Bannerman-Phillips, "Progress in Aeronautics," a monthly summary in the *United Service Magazine* (London, monthly); for abstracts of technical and other articles, *International Military Digest* (ib., monthly, 1915 et seq.); Francis A. Collins, *The Air Man* (New York, 1917); C. D. Winslow, *With the French Flying Corps* (New

York, 1917); J. R. McConnell, *Flying for France* (ib., 1917); E. Middleton, *Aircraft of To-day and of the Future* (ib., 1918).

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS: W. J. Ashley, "The War and its Economic Aspects," in *Oxford Pamphlets* (London, 1914); E. J. Schuster, *Effect of War and Moratorium on Commercial Transactions* (2d rev. ed., ib., 1914); E. L. M. Meignen, *Les contrats et la guerre* (Paris, 1914); G. D. H. Cole, *Labour in War Times* (ib., 1915); containing a bibliography; F. W. Hirst, *Political Economy of War* (ib., 1915); A. W. Kirkaldy (ed.), *Credit Industry, and the War* (ib., 1915); J. E. Barker, *Modern Germany: Her Political and Economic Problems, her Foreign and Domestic Policy . . .* (5th ed., ib., 1915); A. L. Bowley, *Effect of the War on the External Trade of the United Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1915); E. J. Clapp, *Economic Aspects of the War: Neutral Rights, Belligerent Claims, and American Commerce in the Years 1914-1915* (New Haven, 1915); Paul Beauregard, "La vie économique en France pendant la guerre actuelle," in *Pages d'histoire, 1914-1915*, part lxii (Paris, 1915); F. Blanc, *Le danger national: notre situation économique générale, avant la guerre, pendant la guerre* (2d ed., Saint-Etienne, 1915); Mario Alberti, "Adriatico e Mediterraneo," in *Problemi italiani*, No. 5 (2d ed., Milan, 1915); Friedrich Lenz, *Ist Deutschlands Krieg ein Wirtschaftskrieg? Ueber die ökonomischen Grundlagen des deutsch-britischen Konflikts* (ib., 1915); Eduard Kuhn, *Die Rechtsfolgen der Kriegswirren in der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1915); J. F. Fraser, *Russia of To-Day* (New York, 1916); T. J. Hughes, *State Socialism after the War* (Philadelphia, 1917); J. C. Brown, *The Tariff and the Coming Trade War . . .* (New York, 1917); I. F. Marcossin, *The War after the War* (New York, 1917); Phillipe Millet, *Comrades in Arms* (New York, 1917); Boyd Cable, *Grapes of Wrath* (ib., 1917); H. L. Reed, *Serbia, A Sketch* (Boston, 1917); Bertrand Russell, *Why Men Fight* (New York, 1917); J. B. Pratt, *Democracy and Peace* (Boston, 1917); Emile Boutroux, *Philosophy and War* (New York, 1917), trans-

lated by F. Rothwell; Roland Hugins, *The Possible Peace* (ib., 1917); E. A. Victor, editor, *Canada's Future, etc.*, (ib., 1917); H. G. Wells, *Italy, France, and Great Britain at War* (ib., 1917); Donald Hankey, *A Student in Arms* (ib., 1917); A. N. Hyamson, *Palestine* (ib., 1917); S. Grumbach, *Germany's Annexationist Aims* (trans. by J. E. Barker, New York, 1918); G. D. Herron, *Woodrow Wilson and the World Peace* (ib., 1918); G. Stone (editor), *Women War Workers* (ib., 1918); H. Fraser, *Women and War Work* (ib., 1918); D. Blumenthal, *Alsace-Lorraine* (ib., 1918); T. Marburg, *League of Nations* (ib., 1918); R. Goldsmith, *A League to Enforce Peace* (ib., 1918); E. H. Griggs, *The Soul of Democracy* (ib., 1918); A. Petrunkevitch, and others, *The Russian Revolution* (ib., 1918); I. C. Clarke, *American Women and the World War* (ib., 1918); A. G. Keller, *Through War to Peace* (ib., 1918); H. L. Gray, *War-Time Control of Industry* (ib., 1918); A. Henderson, *The Aims of Labor* (ib., 1918); C. W. Ackerman, *Mexico's Dilemma* (ib., 1918); M. Jastrow, Jr., *The War and the Coming Peace* (Philadelphia, 1918); J. Spargo, *Americanism and Social Democracy* (New York, 1918); Norman Angell, *The Political Conditions of Allied Success* (ib., 1918); W. H. P. Faunce, *Religion and War* (ib., 1918); W. S. Howe, *War and Progress* (Boston, 1918); S. Herzog, *The Future of German Industrial Exports* (New York, 1918); G. F. Nicolai, *The Biology of War* (ib., 1918).

FINANCE: W. R. Lawson, *British War Finance, 1914-15* (ib., 1915); W. W. Wall, *The War and our Financial Fabric* (ib., 1915); Daniel Bellet, *Comment payer les frais de guerre: la fortune de l'Allemagne et celle des alliés* (2d ed., Paris, 1915); Gaston Jèze and others, *Problèmes de politiques et finances de guerre* (ib., 1915); Ugo Ancona, "L'aspetto finanziario della guerra," in *Quaderin della guerra*, No. 21 (Milan, 1915); Meisel und Spiethoff, *Oesterreichs finanzen und der Krieg* (2d ed., Munich, 1915); K. Helfferich, *How Germany Raises Billions* (Eng. trans., 2d ed., New York, 1915).



## INDEX

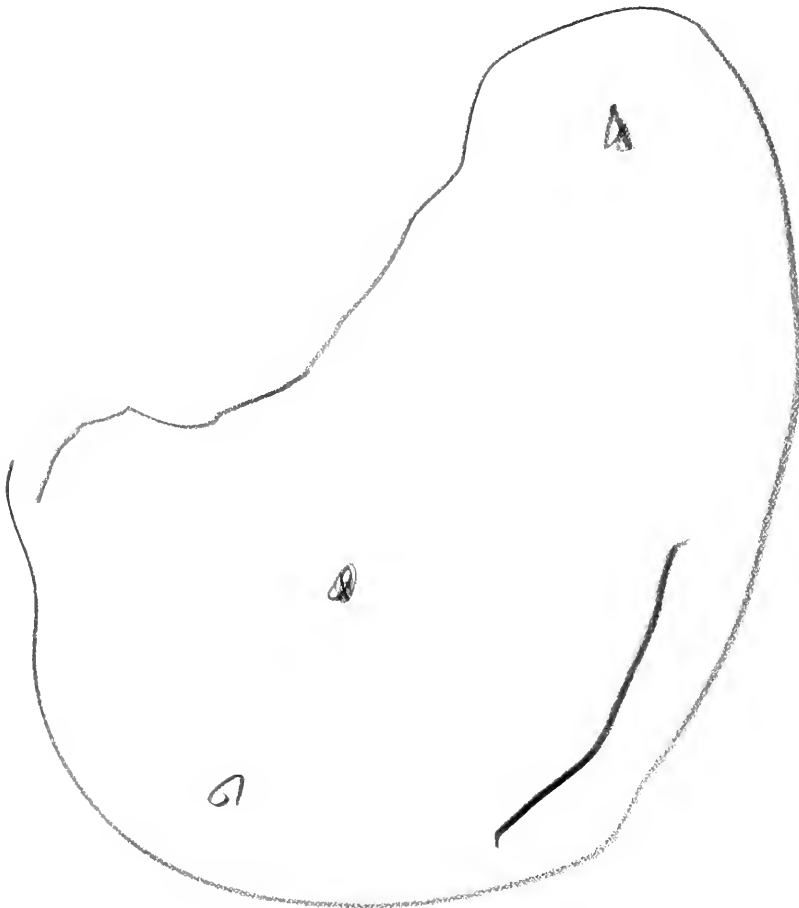
- Aërial Operations, 207  
 Africa, Campaigns in, 174  
 Agadir, 12  
 Aisne Offensive, 1917, 75  
 Aisne River, 2  
 Albert I., King of the Belgians, 26  
 Albrecht, Duke of Württemberg, 45  
 Algeciras Conference, 10  
 Allied Unity, 80  
 Alsace-Lorraine, 2; 5; 282  
 Amance, 49  
 American Ambulance, The, 300  
 American Expeditionary Force, 80  
 American Foreign Trade, 315  
 American War Finance, 319  
 Amiens, 2  
 Anglo-French-American Treaty, 362  
 Anti-Submarine Operations, 191  
 Antwerp, 45  
 Approach to Paris, 48  
 Archangel, 3  
 Argonne-Meuse Offensive, 100  
 Armed Merchantmen, Question of, 257  
 Armed Neutrality, (United States), 238  
 Armenia, Atrocities in, 222  
 Armistices  
     With Austria-Hungary, 153  
     With Bulgaria, 159  
     With Germany, 106  
     With Turkey, 173  
 Arras, Battle of, 74  
 Art and Architecture, Destruction of, 225  
 Artillery, 43  
 Artois, Battle of, 60  
 Asia Minor, 4  
 Asquith, Henry Herbert, 32  
 Atrocities, Alleged, 219  
 Australia, Finance, 328  
 Austria-Hungary, 1 *et seq.*  
 Austria-Hungary, Complete Collapse of, 153  
 Austrian Demands on Serbia, 19  
 Austrian Failure in Italy, 151  
 Austrian Peace Move, 293  
 Austro-Hungarian Peace Treaty, 367  
  
 Bagdad, 4  
 Bainsizza, 4  
 Balkan Wars, 12  
 Baltic Campaign, 119  
 Baltic, Naval Operations in, 192  
 Battleships and Battle Cruisers, 205  
 Beatty, Sir David, 183  
 Belgian Neutrality, Question of, 24  
 Belgium, 1 *et seq.*  
 Belgium, German Retreat from, 104  
 Belgium Relief Fund, 299  
 Berchtold, Count von, 18  
 Bernhardt, Friedrich von, 8  
 Bethmann-Hollweg, Theobald von, 26  
 Bibliography, 386  
 Bismarck, Prince von, 6  
  
 Bissing, Ferdinand Baron von, 222  
 Black Sea, Naval Operations in, 196  
 Blockade and Neutral Trade, 227  
 Bolsheviki, 130; 136  
 Bosnia, 11  
 Brazil, 268  
 Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of, 131  
 Brusiloff, Alexei Alexeievitch, 112  
 Bucharest, Treaty of, 164  
 Bukovina, 3  
 Bulgaria, 1 *et seq.*  
 Bulgarian Campaigns, 156  
 Bulgarian Peace Treaty, 383  
 Bülow, Prince von, 7  
  
 Cadorna, Count Luigi, 144  
 Calais, 54  
 Cambrai, Battle around, 79  
 Canada, Finance, 324  
 Carso Plateau, 4  
 Castelnau, General de, 45  
 Casualties, Estimated, 217  
 Caucasus, Campaigns in, 164  
 Cavell, Edith, 222  
 Central-American Countries, 269  
 Central Powers, 1 *et seq.*  
 Champagne, Battle of, 62  
 Charleroi, 2  
 Charles I., King of Rumania, 31  
 Chemin des Dames, 2  
 Chile, 267  
 China, 270  
 Commission for Relief in Belgium, 298  
 Compiègne, 54  
 Concentration of Military Forces, 40  
 Concert of Powers, 9  
 Congress of Vienna, 5-9  
 Constantine I., King of Greece, 21  
 Constituent Assembly (Russia), 140  
 Coronel, 2  
 Costa Rica, 1  
 Cost of the War, 317  
 Coudouriotis, Admiral, 35  
 Council of National Defense, 244  
 Craddock, Sir Christopher, 200  
 Cramb, John Adam, 9  
 Crown Prince of Prussia, 45  
 Cuba, 1  
 Cyrenaica, 12  
 Czecho-Slovakia, 36  
 Czecho-Slovaks, 3  
  
 Dardanelles, 166  
 Dardanelles, Naval Operations in, 196  
 Debts of Belligerents, 330  
 Declarations of War, 37  
 Deimling, General von, 45  
*Deutschland*, 233  
 Dixmude, 54  
 Dobrudja, 3  
 Dogger Bank, 2

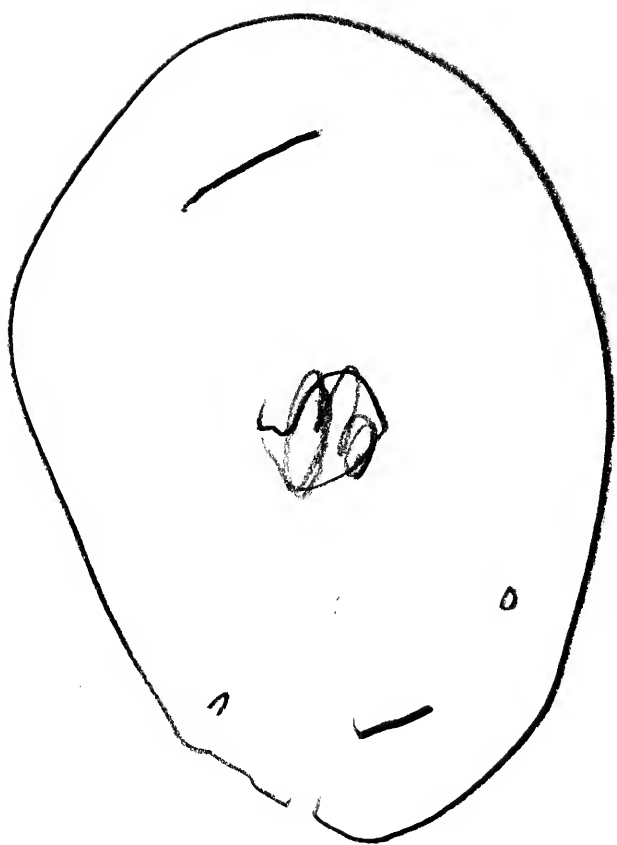
- Draft Acts, United States, 246  
 Drang nach Oesten, 11  
 Dubail, General, 45  
 Dubno, 3  
 Dunkirk, 54  
 d'Urbal, General, 54  
 Dwinsk, 3
- Eastern Theatre, Military, 109  
 East Prussia, Invasion of, 110  
 Economic Aspects of the War, 304  
 Economic Causes of the War, 14  
 Egyptian Campaigns, 164  
 Embargo and Blockade of German Trade, 252  
*Emden*, 201  
 Emmich, General von, 45  
 Employment and Wages, 311  
 Enemy Aliens, (United States), 245  
 Entente Allies, 1 *et seq.*  
 Equipment of the Armies, 43  
 Erzerum, 4  
 Erzincan, 4  
 Events before the Marne, 48
- Falkenhayn, General von, 41  
 Federal Council of Allied War Charities, 299  
 Ferdinand I, King of Bulgaria, 31  
 Financial Aspects of the War, 304  
 Finland, 135  
 Fiume Controversy, 358  
 Flanders, Battle of, 77  
 Foch, Ferdinand, 86  
 Forcing the Aisne and Marne, 90  
 Foreign Credits, 315  
 "Fourteen Peace Points," 277  
 France, 1 *et seq.*  
 France, Atrocities in, 224  
 France, Finance, 328  
 Francis Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, 5; 18  
 Fraudulent Charities, 302  
 French, General Sir John, 55  
 French Three Year Law, 13
- Galicia, Conquest of, 112  
 Galicia, Second Offensive in, 115  
 General Strategy and Resources, 41  
 German and American Peace Notes, 289  
 German Army Bill (1913), 13  
 German East Africa, 4  
 German Intrigues and Propaganda, (United States), 250  
 German Peace Treaty, 341  
 German Southwest Africa, 4  
 German Withdrawal, The (1917), 74  
 Germany, 1 *et seq.*  
 Ghent, 53  
 Giolitti, Giovanni, 28  
 Giuliano, Marquis di San, 29  
 Gorizia, 145  
 Grand Duke Nicholas, 4  
 Grand Pré, 52  
 Great Britain, 1 *et seq.*  
 Great Britain, Finance, 325  
 Greece, 33  
 Grey, Eir Edward, 1 *et seq.*  
 Guatemala, 1
- Hamadan, 4  
 Hapsburg Empire, 1 *et seq.*  
 Harden, Maximilian, 16  
 Hausen, General von, 45  
 Heeringen, General von, 45  
 Herzegovina, 11  
 Hindenburg Line, Breaking of, 102  
 Hindenburg, Paul von Beneckendorf, 111  
 Honduras, 7  
 Hoover, Herbert, 244  
 House, Edward Mandell, 262  
 Howitzer, 43
- Industrial Revolution, 14  
 Intervention in Russia and Siberia, 141  
 Invasion of Belgium, 46  
 Invasion of France, 47  
 Italian Campaigns, 143  
 Italian Retreat, 1917, 149  
 Italian Spring and Summer Campaigns, 1917, 147  
 Italy, 1 *et seq.*  
 Italy, Finance, 329
- Japan, 1 *et seq.*  
 Japan, Finance, 327  
 Jerusalem, 4  
 Jewish Relief, 299  
 Joffre, General, 48  
 Jutland, 2
- Kamerun, 4  
 Kerensky, Alexander, 124  
 Kermanshab, 4  
 Kiachow, 30  
 Kluck, General von, 45  
 Knocke, 54  
 Krupps, 77  
 Kut-el-Amara, 4
- La Bassée, 53  
 Ladies' Way, See Chemin des Dames  
 Laibach, 4  
 Lambros, Spyridon, 35  
 Langemarek, 54  
 Langle de Cary, General, 51  
 Lassigny, 53  
 League of Nations, The, 333  
 Léman, General, 46  
 Lenine, Nikolai, 125  
 Lens, 2  
 Liberia, 272  
 Lichnowsky Memorandum, 27  
 Liebknecht, Karl, 17  
 Liège, 43  
 Lille, 53  
 Longwy, 47  
 Loos, Battle of, 64  
 Louvain, 46  
*Lusitania*, Sinking of the, 254  
 Lutsk, 3  
 Luxemburg, 43  
 Lys River, Battle of the, 87  
 Lys Salient, Withdrawal from, 102
- Machine Guns, 44  
 Mackensen, General von, 3  
 Mail, Interference with, 231  
 Manoury, General, 48  
 Marne, First Battle of, 43
- Haig, Sir Douglas, 55  
 Haiti, 1

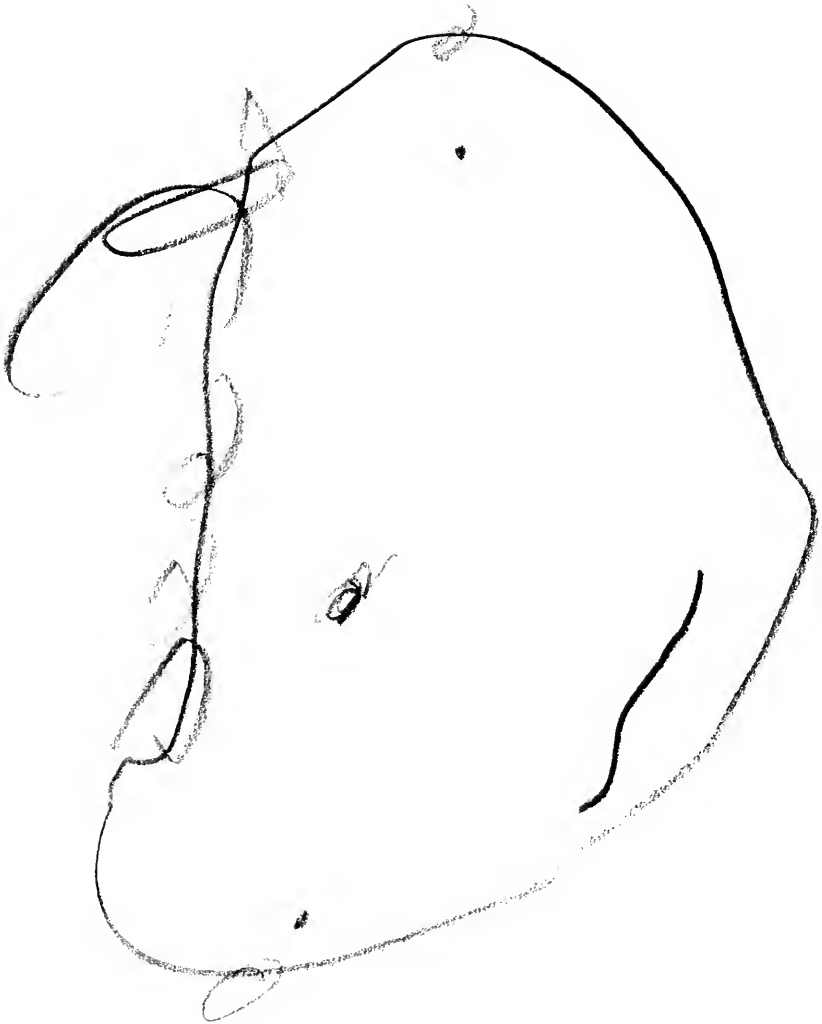


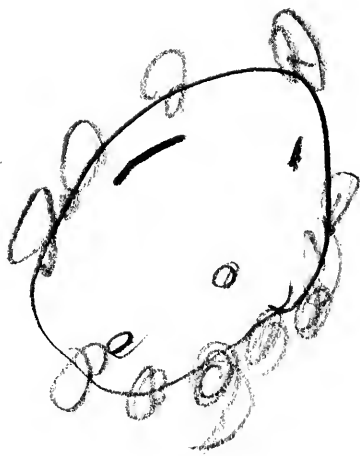
- Marne, Second Battle of, 93  
 Masaryk, Thomas G., 37  
 Maubeuge, 45  
 Maudsluy, General, 53  
 Mediterranean, Naval Operations in, 194  
 Mercier, Desiré Joseph, Cardinal, 222  
 Mesopotamian Campaigns, 169  
 Metternich, Prince, 5  
 Metz, 48  
 Meuse River, 2  
 Mexican Note, 237  
 Military Alliances, 8  
 Military Operations, 39  
 Milyukov, Pavel N., 124  
 Missions from Europe to the United States, 248  
 Mobilization, 39  
 Moltke, Helmuth von, 41  
 Monastir, 3  
 Monitors, 205  
 Mons, 47  
 Montenegro, 1  
 Moritz, Ritter von Auffenberg, 112  
 Moroccan Question, 10  
 Motor Trucks, 44  
 Murman, 3  
  
 Namur, 45  
 National Antagonisms, 5  
 Naval Lessons of the War, 205  
 Naval Operations, 177  
 Naval Strategy of the War, 204  
 Navies, Constitution of, 177  
 Netherlands, The, 264  
 Netherlands, The, Finance, 330  
 Neutral Flags, Use of, 231  
 Neutral Nations at Beginning of the War, 227  
 Neuve Chapelle, Battle of, 58  
 New Zealand, Finance, 329  
 Nicaragua, 1  
 Nicholas, Grand Duke, 110  
 Nieuport, 54  
 North Sea, Naval Operations in, 182  
  
 Official Papers, 21 *et seq.*  
 Ostend, 53  
 Ourcq, 48  
  
 Pacific, German Possessions in, 176  
 Pacific, Naval Operations in, 199  
 Palestine, Campaigns in, 171  
 Panama, Republic of, 1  
 Pan-Germanism, 7  
 Pan-Serbianism, 18  
 Pan-Slavism, 18  
 Participants, Estimated, 217  
 Passchendaele, 54  
 Peace Conference, 331  
 Peace Proposals, 273  
 Peace Treaties  
   Germany, 341  
   Anglo-French-American, 362  
   Poland, 363  
   Austria-Hungary, 367  
   Bulgaria, 383  
 Péronne, 53  
 Petain, Henry Philippe, 66  
 Piave River, 4  
 Picardy, Campaigns in, 2  
 Picardy, Second Battle of, 82  
 Plava, 146  
  
 Poelcapelle, 54  
 Poincaré, Raymond, 24  
 Poland, Atrocities in, 223  
 Polish Treaty, 363  
 Pope Benedict, 273  
 Portugal, 36  
 Prices and Food Supplies, 315  
 Pripet, 3  
 Przemysl, 115  
  
 Quakers in War Relief, 300  
  
 Ramscape, 56  
 Ratification of Treaty in United States Senate, 359  
 Red Cross, 301  
 Relief Measures, 298  
 Rennenkampf, Paul K., 110  
 Resources of Combatants, 41  
 Rheims, 2  
 Rifles, 44  
 Riga, 120  
 Riga, Fall of, 129  
 Riga, Gulf of, 2  
 Rodoslavoff, Vasil, 32  
 Root Mission to Russia, 125  
 Roye, 53  
 Ruffey, General, 45  
 Rumania, 39  
 Rumanian Campaigns, 160  
 Rupprecht, Crown Prince of Bavaria, 45  
 Russia, 1 *et seq.*  
 Russian Poland, 3  
 Russian Revolution, 123  
 Russo-Japanese War, 10  
  
 St. Mihiel, 99  
 St. Quentin, 2  
 Saloniki, 3  
 San Marino, 1  
 Sarrail, General, 49  
 Scandinavian Countries, 262  
 Scheldt River, 53  
 Serbia, 1 *et seq.*  
 Serbia, Atrocities in, 223  
 Serbian Campaigns, 143  
 Serbian Reply to Austrian Demands, 20  
 Shantung Dispute, 357  
 Siam, 270  
 Siberia, 3  
 Sims, William S., Admiral, 189  
 Sixtus Letter, 280  
 Skouloudis, Stephanos, 34  
 Soissons, 2  
 Solf, Dr., 296  
 Somme, Battle of, 72  
 Sonnino, Sidney, Baron, 29  
 South American Countries, 267  
 Southeastern Theatre, Military, 164  
 Southern Theatre, Military, 143  
 Statements of War Aims, 273  
 Stürmer, Baron von, 3  
 Submarine Campaign and Losses, 190  
 Suez Canal, 4  
 Switzerland, 266  
 Switzerland, Finance, 330  
  
 Tannenberg, 111  
 Togoland, 4  
 Tolmino, 145

- Townshend, General, 4  
 Transylvania, 3  
 Trebizond, 4  
 Trentino, 4  
 Trieste, 29  
 Triple Alliance, 28  
 Triple Entente, 10  
 Tripoli, 12  
 Trotzky, Leon, 130  
 Turco-Italian War, 12  
 Turkey, 1 *et seq.*  
 Turkish Campaigns, 164  
  
 Ukraine, The, 132  
 United States, 1 *et seq.*  
 United War Work Drive, 302  
  
 Vardar River, 3  
 Venizelos, Eleutherios, 33  
  
 Verdun, 66; 76  
 Vilna, 3  
  
 War Message of President Wilson, 241  
 Warsaw, Battles around, 114 *et seq.*  
 War Zone, 231  
 Western Theatre, Military Operations, 44  
 William II., 8  
 William of Wied, 31  
 World Trade, 314  
 Wytshaete, 54  
  
 Young Turk Revolution, 11  
 Ypres, Battle of, 56  
 Yser, Battle of the, 54  
  
 Zaimis, Alexander, 34  
 Zimmermann Note, 237  
 Zonnebeke, 54









LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 007 629 891 9