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# **The World's Greatest War**

## **Volume I**

**THE CAUSES OF THE WAR**

**THE EVENTS OF 1914-1915  
INCLUDING SUMMARY**

**THE EVENTS OF 1916  
AND SUMMARY**







#### THE GREAT COMMANDERS OF ALL THE AGES

Albert of Belgium, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, Sir Douglas Haig, Napoleon, Gustavus Adolphus, Tamerlane, General Pershing, John III (Sobieski), George Washington, Marshal Foch, General Grant, Charlemagne, General Robert E. Lee

# The Book of History

## The World's Greatest War

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR  
TO THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

WITH MORE THAN 1,000 ILLUSTRATIONS

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### Volume XVI

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR  
THE EVENTS OF 1914-1915 AND SUMMARY  
THE EVENTS OF 1916 AND SUMMARY

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## PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

**W**HEN the Great War broke out in Europe more than six years ago we promised our patrons that we would present to them a volume containing the story of the contest. At that time no one foresaw the duration, the intensity, or the extent of the conflict and certainly no one dreamed that almost the whole world would become involved. Quite evidently no single volume can describe adequately such a struggle of nations. Therefore the history which we now offer is more than three times the length of the narrative planned six years ago.

The delay in publication has been unavoidable. We were unwilling to offer our readers a hasty sketch made up from newspaper accounts which, however interesting, could have neither the accuracy nor the balance of true history. Such a course would have been entirely contrary to our policy and out of harmony with the other volumes of our great BOOK OF HISTORY, which this HISTORY OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST WAR now adequately completes.

Though our editorial staff collected, studied, and filed all the accounts, reports and documents as they appeared, actual writing was not begun until long after the Armistice was signed. Only when the end of the war brought to light hundreds of secret documents, when the final reports of the military and naval officers were published, and the leaders, civil and military, of all the nations began writing to explain, to justify or to excuse their actions, did it become possible to prepare a history of permanent value.

The contributors to the history form an unusual group drawn from Europe, Canada, and the United States. Some were distinguished participants in the military or naval actions; others held high positions as civilians, while still others are able students and writers of history. Their contributions, moreover, are not a series of unrelated essays as so often happens in works by a number of authors. All the contributors have co-operated most generously in carrying out the general plan worked out by the incessant labor of the Editor-in-Chief,—himself a well-known historian,—who has welded their contributions into a well-balanced and harmonious whole.

The thousand and more illustrations and maps add immense value to the text. Through our connections in Europe we have been able to secure many rare photographs not before published on this side of the Atlantic and some which have not been published at all. The official photographs of the leading nations have been freely used, and many have come from daring civilian photographers who risked their lives to secure the coveted pictures. The many pictures made

within the lines of the Central Powers are especially unusual and interesting. We show the war, not only as it appeared to the Entente nations, but as it appeared to the Central Powers, and the smaller nations as well.

It is with genuine satisfaction that we offer, therefore, in our HISTORY OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST WAR an interesting and accurate account of the great struggle which will be of permanent value on account of plan, authorship and illustration.

THE GROLIER SOCIETY.

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE difficulties which present themselves in the preparation of an account of a great cataclysm like the World War are stupendous, and may well disturb any author or editor. The task is not alone to write the story of a convulsed world writhing in agony for more than four years, but to find the reasons, often obscure, why the rulers of nations dared to provoke or to enter into such a contest.

Perhaps the most difficult decisions confronting the editor had to do with proportion and selection. A full account of the participation of any one of the great nations involved would require many volumes. The story of Verdun or of the Somme will some day be told in thousands of pages, but that day is not yet. Since the space is limited, what shall be told and what omitted? Since the editor must make a selection from the almost infinite number of important facts, what shall be his guiding principle?

It would be easier to tell the story from the standpoint of some one of the participants, giving the greater part of the space to the actions and decisions of that nation, with brief summaries of those operations with which the soldiers or the statesmen of that nation were not immediately concerned; but such an account would not be a real history of the war.

It fell to the lot of the Editor as his chief share in the war to attempt to explain and interpret the confusing events of those crowded days to more than two thousand keen-minded youths, among whom could be found representatives of the blood of nearly every warring power. Their eager interest and searching questions forced him to strive to see the war in its entirety and not simply the part of Britain or Belgium or Russia or France. He has sought in planning this work to show the whole world at war, armies and peoples, and not simply the Western Front or the war upon the seas, or the part of a single nation.

The plan finally adopted was a combination of the topical and chronological methods. Approximately one-third of the space is devoted to the background, and the events of 1914-15, one-third to the events of 1916-17, and the remainder to the events of 1918, the Peace Conference and the subsidiary agencies. The value of pictures has been recognized throughout, and the choice has been made from more than twenty thousand.

When the question of proportion and selection of subjects was settled, only a part of the difficulties was overcome. Many of the accounts of battles and campaigns are absolutely contradictory. This is true not only of opposing leaders as Lord French and General von Kluck, or General Ludendorff and Sir Douglas

Haig, but also of leaders upon the same side. Some of these contradictions can be reconciled; others are as opposed as the Poles. Often a third or a fourth story or explanation is presented.

That the authors have entirely succeeded in avoiding error is not to be hoped. Every effort has been made, however, to find the truth. No pains have been spared in gathering, comparing and sifting the voluminous literature of the war which confuses by its bewildering abundance. The chapters have been checked again and again, and where accounts are contradictory that version has been chosen which has seemed to have most of the marks of truth.

The list of those who have helped by special knowledge, wise advice or keen interest, is so long that special credit is impossible, and selection would be invidious. The Editor cannot refrain, however, from recognizing the ability, zeal and untiring industry of his office assistants, and must express his appreciation of the kindly interest of the contributors, and their forbearance under his many queries. The liberal and sympathetic attitude of the publishers has made the difficult task easier.

HOLLAND THOMPSON.

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Various Types of Hand Grenades

## CHAPTER I

# The World War and Other Wars

## A COMPARISON OF THE MAGNITUDE AND THE METHODS OF PREVIOUS WARS

**T**HE World War, which began when the great German tide swept into Belgium and the Austrian host advanced into Serbia, in August, 1914, and ended formally with the signing of the treaties of peace at Versailles at various times, surpassed all other wars in history in the number of countries involved, the number of men engaged, and in the cost in blood and treasure. Waged on three continents—Europe, Asia, and Africa—on many islands, on all the seas, under the sea and in the air, by white men, black, yellow, brown and red, no country and hardly an individual in the remotest corner of the earth has failed to feel its influence.

### NATIONS RATHER THAN ARMIES WERE AT WAR.

Coming at a time when an increasing proportion of the population of the civilized world was beginning to feel that no great war could ever occur again, it has surpassed all previous wars, not only in the size of the armies on the battlefield, and the variety and the deadliness of the weapons, but also in the extent to which the whole population of the belligerent lands was engaged. Whole nations have been at war, and not simply armies. Every resource of some of the countries has been called upon and some of those

who remained at home were quite as useful as those in the ranks. Both arms and other goods useful in warfare were produced on an unprecedented scale.

Countries entirely unmilitaristic, with only tiny armies in times of peace, raised millions of men, and sent them across intervening water to meet other millions in combat. Boys and their bearded grandfathers served together in the trenches. The number of men mobilized can only be estimated now, but official statistics and estimates fix the total at about 60,000,000, and of these nearly 10,000,000 were killed or died of wounds or disease. The estimate of the wounded is more than 20,000,000, but many of these are counted more than once. The number of prisoners and missing is near 6,000,000, and of these it is estimated that half are dead. The estimate of civilian dead due to the war—massacre, famine, disease, and other causes—is more than 9,000,000, but there is more uncertainty about this figure. Many refugees counted dead may be yet alive. The estimate of soldier deaths then is nearly 13,000,000. During the Napoleonic Wars (including the French Revolutionary Wars) which lasted from 1790 to 1815, the best estimate of the dead is only 2,100,000.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### NEW INSTRUMENTS AND THE REVIVAL OF OLD ONES.

Unprecedented debts were incurred in waging the war. The production and expenditure of munitions of war was tremendous. In many single weeks more ammunition was used than in the whole of previous great wars. Machine guns were almost as common as rifles. New weapons and implements of war were invented, as for example, the "tank", and old ones as the hand-grenade, Greek fire and poison gas were revived. Armor was revived, partially at least, and the whole war was a strange mixture of the old and the new.

Undersea boats sent to the bottom millions of tons of merchant shipping, and destroyed many vessels of war; and were themselves destroyed by gunfire, or the deadly depth bomb, or were entangled in great nets stretched across their path under the water. Airplanes dropped bombs from the skies upon cities, towns and men, or else fought one another like hawks, swooping and darting high in the air. Great steerable airships made their silent way across France to Paris, and even across the North Sea to drop great bombs upon the cities and the peaceful English countryside.

### THE SCIENTISTS BOTH TAKE AND PRESERVE LIFE.

Every resource of the scientist and the inventor was utilized to take life, on the one hand, and to preserve it on the other. With such an array of destructive instruments as the world has never before seen, were also appliances, inventions and discoveries which prevented disease, neutralized the dangerous gases, healed the wounded and gave new hope to the maimed or disfigured.

In our childhood we were awed by the accounts of the great hosts which advanced to battle, but the stories told of the great multitudes in the armies of the Persian kings who attacked Greece five hundred years before the Christian era, are no longer believed by modern historians. Herodotus estimated the army of Xerxes at nearly 5,000,000, but this number should be divided by ten at

least, even if it does seem to lessen the glory of the Greek victory. Perhaps this exaggeration of the Persian armies was deliberately intended to give greater lustre to the story of the Greek state. The same doubt may be cast upon similar stories of the combatants opposed to Alexander the Great. If there were no other obstacle, the impossibility of feeding immense numbers with only the slightest organization of supply trains made very large armies impossible.

### THE SMALL NUMBERS ENGAGED IN PREVIOUS WARS.

Some of the most important battles and wars in history have been waged by comparatively few soldiers. Alexander the Great won his greatest victories with armies seldom if ever exceeding 50,000 men. His opponents had greater armies but their very size was often a hindrance. The number of soldiers in the Teutonic armies which broke across the Rhine and the Danube, captured Rome and overran the Roman Empire was small. The highest estimate of the army with which William the Conqueror won the battle of Hastings and conquered England is about 60,000, and some students believe that he had hardly more than 25,000. The armies of Frederick the Great were only about 250,000, including allies and mercenaries, when he was contending for his very existence.

During the American Revolution there were few battles in which 20,000 men were engaged on both sides and in the greater part of them the number did not exceed 10,000. A British force of 3,500 captured the city of Washington in 1814. During the Mexican War General Taylor had only about 12,000. Wolfe captured Quebec and thereby won Canada for Great Britain with 4,500 men, though he had as many more who did not take part in the deciding battle on the Plains of Abraham.

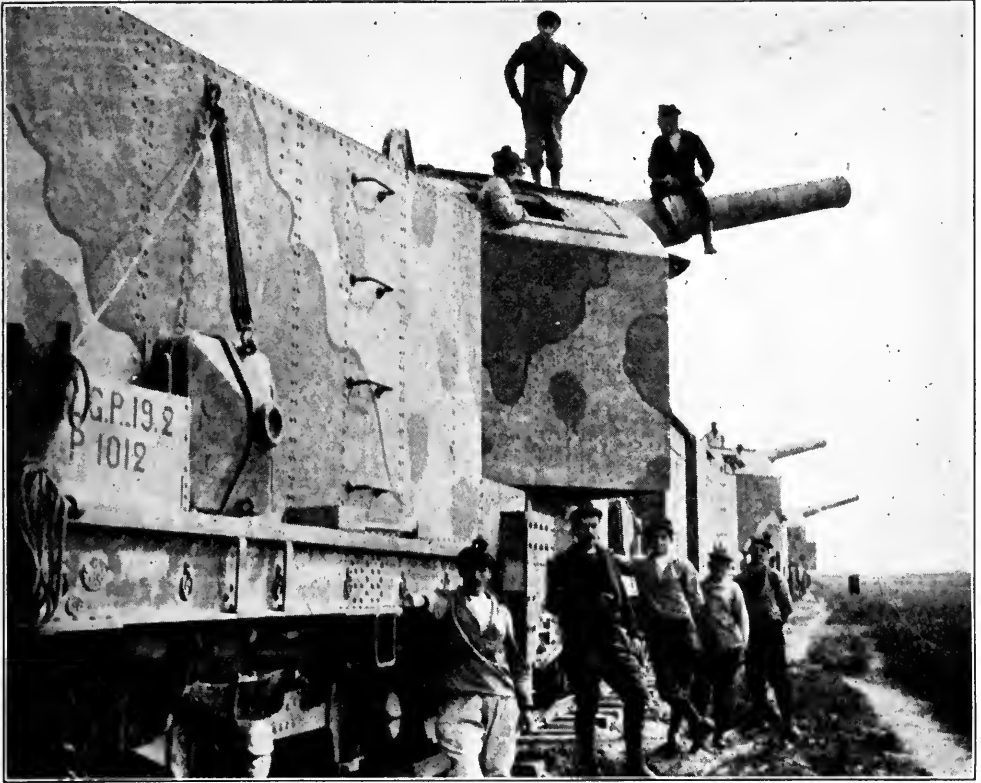
### SOME COMPARISONS WITH OTHER GREAT WARS.

The only wars with which the World War may be compared in the extent of territory and the number of coun-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

tries involved are the Seven Years War and the Napoleonic Wars. In the Seven Years War (1756-1763) Austria, France, Russia, Sweden and Saxony joined forces against Prussia, aided first by Great Britain. Later the astute Frederick was able to detach Russia from the coalition, when Great Britain

dom had as many as 200,000 men in any of his battles, though he did lead 400,000 into Russia. At Waterloo, the battle which definitely ended the dream of French supremacy in Europe, Napoleon had only 125,000 men and Wellington and Blücher had together about 214,000, but not all of these were



**FRENCH ARMORED TRAIN IN POSITION BEHIND THE WESTERN FRONT**

In designing railway equipment for artillery two loads must be considered by builders. One is the ordinary weight of the gun and its carriage upon the car wheels. The other, the so-called firing load, is the weight of the unit plus the additional weight of the downthrust of the gun when it recoils. © Underwood and Underwood

showed signs of withdrawing her help. The allied forces attempted to raise 500,000 men to fight Frederick, but in no year of the seven was anything approaching that number under arms. The British fleet carried the war to North America and took Canada, and also took India and some of the West Indies from France, but the number of men engaged in any of these operations was small.

In the Napoleonic Wars all Europe was engaged; but it was armies, not nations which fought. Napoleon sel-

engaged. The fate of Europe was settled by armies which seem tiny now, and with insignificant losses.

### THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.

In the four years of the American Civil War, more than 2,600,000 men were enlisted in the North. The number in the Southern armies is not definitely known, as the Confederate records were destroyed. The estimates range from 600,000 (obviously too low) to about 1,100,000. The proportion of men of military age enlisted is estimated

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

by one student at 45 per cent in the North, and at 90 per cent in the South. If the later figure is accurate, then the South was drained of its man power in a degree approaching the sacrifices of France and Great Britain. In the North there were more short enlistments, and nothing approaching two and a half million was ever under arms at one time. So far as actual fighting is concerned the numbers engaged in the great battles of this war were not overwhelmingly large. At Gettysburg, the battle which proved the turning point of the war, about 82,000 Union soldiers were opposed by hardly 75,000 Confederates; Grant captured less than 30,000 at Vicksburg and Sherman with 60,000 marched to the sea. At the Wilderness the Federal Army amounted to only 120,000 and Lee had a little more than half as many. Lee surrendered at Appomattox less than 27,000 men.

The Franco-Prussian War which made the German states into an Empire, was over too soon to bring out immense numbers. The three German armies numbered only 475,000 men and less than 400,000 of these made up the invading force, though it was shortly reinforced. The French could oppose to this force at first only 250,000 men, though later a million more were called into service. Through bad generalship, in nearly every battle the French forces were locally inferior to their opponents and the result was inevitable.

### THE WHOLE WORLD ENGAGED IN WAR.

Beside the Great War, all of these fade almost into insignificance. From first to last twenty-eight nations made formal declarations of war, twenty-four on the side of the Allies as against four of the Central Powers. Five others severed diplomatic relations with one or another of the Central Powers. Only sixteen nations, none of them of the first rank, and some of them insignificant in power, remained neutral, and some of these, as Denmark, The Netherlands, and Norway, would doubtless have declared war if it had been possible. These neutral nations

include hardly one-sixteenth of the population of the world. The remaining fifteen-sixteenths belong to nations which took one side or the other side in the great conflict.

Country	Population
Austria-Hungary . . . . .	50,000,000
Belgium . . . . .	8,000,000
Bulgaria . . . . .	5,000,000
Brazil . . . . .	24,500,000
British Empire . . . . .	400,000,000
China . . . . .	320,600,000
Costa Rica . . . . .	440,000
Cuba . . . . .	2,500,000
France (including colonies) . . . . .	81,000,000
Germany (including colonies) . . . . .	79,000,000
Greece . . . . .	5,000,000
Guatemala . . . . .	2,000,000
Haiti . . . . .	2,500,000
Honduras . . . . .	560,000
Italy . . . . .	37,000,000
Japan . . . . .	54,000,000
Liberia . . . . .	2,000,000
Montenegro . . . . .	500,000
Nicaragua . . . . .	700,000
Panama . . . . .	450,000
Portugal (including colonies) . . . . .	15,000,000
Rumania . . . . .	7,500,000
Russia . . . . .	180,000,000
San Marino . . . . .	12,000
Serbia . . . . .	4,500,000
Siam . . . . .	8,000,000
Turkey . . . . .	21,000,000
United States . . . . .	110,000,000
	<hr/>
	1,421,762,000

The following nations severed diplomatic relations with one or other of the Central Powers

Bolivia . . . . .	2,900,000
Ecuador . . . . .	1,325,000
Egypt . . . . .	12,500,000
Peru . . . . .	5,000,000
Uruguay . . . . .	1,380,000
	<hr/>
	23,105,000

### NOT ALL OF THESE NATIONS ACTIVELY ENGAGED.

Not all of the nations which declared war against the Central Powers gave effective military aid. China, for example, did little or nothing, nor did Liberia. The soldiers of Portugal and Siam were comparatively few. San Marino, with its area of 38 square miles and its population of 12,000, could not be expected to make a large contribution, though it sent 300 soldiers to the Italian army. China, however, sent thousands of laborers to France who liberated fighting men for the front. Only Brazil of the Latin-American states rendered any active aid, in this

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

case through her navy, though a Cuban army was mobilized and ready, if needed. The moral effect of this awakening of the world, however, was tremendous, and its effect will continue through future years.

### WHICH NATIONS FURNISHED THE FIGHTING MEN.

The great armies of fighting men were furnished by comparatively few of the great nations. All figures now given are subject to revision, particularly those of Russia and the Central Powers which have issued no official statistics. The best estimate now available of the numbers of the Central Powers as follows;

German Empire . . . . .	11,000,000
Austrian Empire . . . . .	6,500,000
Turkey . . . . .	1,600,000
Bulgaria . . . . .	400,000
	<hr/>
	19,500,000

The figures for the Allied nations opposed to the Central Powers are even more impressive. The latest accounts largely drawn from official statements are as follows;

France . . . . .	8,500,000
British Empire . (approximately)	8,654,000
Belgium . . . . .	267,000
Serbia . . . . .	707,343
Montenegro . . . . .	50,000
Italy . . . . .	5,500,000
Rumania . . . . .	750,000
Greece . . . . .	230,000
United States . . . . .	4,272,521
Portugal . . . . .	100,000
Russia . . . . . (uncertain)	12,000,000
Japan . . . . .	800,000
Miscellaneous, including Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Arabs, Siamese, etc. . . . .	580,000
	<hr/>
	42,410,864

### BRITISH AND FRENCH CONTRIBUTIONS COMPARED.

The French figures include the colonial troops, some of which were among the best fighting men engaged on the Western Front, while others served only behind the front lines. Continental France alone furnished about 8,000,000 men out of a population of 40,000,000.

The British total of 8,654,000 includes a considerable number of non-combatants in the Indian Army, and some irregular native troops in Africa

concerning which there is little available data. The principal sources from which regularly mobilized troops were drawn are as follows;

Great Britain and Ireland . . . . .	5,704,416
India (combatant troops) . . . . .	757,747
Canada . . . . . (official figures)	595,441
Australia . . . . .	416,000
New Zealand . . . . .	220,000
South Africa . . . . .	136,000

In comparing the contributions of France and Great Britain, it must be remembered that France, a country where universal service prevails, called all the men on the rolls to the colors. Many thousands unfit for active service were detailed to war industries or the production of food, tasks which in Great Britain were generally left to civilians. The actual contribution of France in fighting men was not so large as it appears at first glance.

### WHERE WERE THE NEUTRAL NATIONS IN THE STRUGGLE?

Take a map of the world, color the territories of the states at war, and their colonies, and see how little is left. In Europe there are Spain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and The Netherlands, all second or third class powers, and none except The Netherlands had any colonies or dependencies worth mentioning, for Iceland and Greenland, which are attached to Denmark, are out of the course of trade and commerce. In Africa, Abyssinia and a Spanish dependency or two are left white. All Asia was at war with the exception of three tiny native states. In North America, Canada and the United States covering by far the greater part of the continent were at war with all their resources and strength. Mexico was professedly neutral, though, because of her jealousy toward her neighbor to the north, and toward English capitalists, apparently unfriendly toward the Allies. A horde of German propagandists exaggerated every petty difficulty, and poured out through a subsidized press a flood of falsehoods. In Central and South America, there are more neutral states Salvador, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay and Venezuela declared their

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entire neutrality. Though they did not go to the extent of declaring actual warfare, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay, however, severed diplomatic relations with one or more of the Central Powers. On the other hand the remaining states, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, made formal declarations of war against the German Empire, and Cuba and Panama fol-

lowed the example of the United States and declared war against Austria-Hungary also.

long after the war has technically ended, and the amount of which is difficult to prophesy. There are, in addition, other factors less easy to determine, some of which can not be reduced to figures at all.

There is the fact that large numbers of men are withdrawn from productive employment for varying periods. Even though, by the employment of women and by greater exertions of the re-



**MAMMOTH FRENCH HOWITZER ON THE WESTERN FRONT**

The ammunition for a howitzer includes both shrapnel to attack men and animals, and high-explosive shell for the attack of material objects, and overhead cover. A howitzer concealed behind steep cover, over which its curved trajectory makes it possible to fire, can attack the field gun which can not effectively reply because of the flatness of its trajectory.

lowed the example of the United States and declared war against Austria-Hungary also.

### **THE MONEY COST OF THE WORLD WAR.**

Any attempt to compute the real cost of any war is necessarily futile. The cost of the material of war expended can be found, the total cost of maintaining the troops can be calculated, and likewise the additional cost of the civil government over peace times. The value of property destroyed, incidentally or purposely, can also be estimated. There are other expenses, as pensions, which continue

maining workers, the total production of goods remains as great, there may still be an economic loss in the long run through injury to health or endurance of the workers. The actual value of the lives lost in war is seldom computed. It is evidently true that if the death of a man by accident in industry or transportation is an economic loss, for which compensation must be paid, the death in war is no less serious to the state.

### **LOSSES WHICH ARE IMPOSSIBLE TO CALCULATE.**

The number who are rendered less efficient by wounds, or by loss of health

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

is no less a loss. This is not to deny that some of these men may, perhaps, through greater effort become more efficient economically than when able-bodied; and service in the army will also energize some men who are not wounded, and make them more effective workers. On the other hand some men are always permanently demoralized by temporary emancipation from the usual restraints and the ordinary routine of civil life. These are factors which can not be estimated in money.

Another point which must be considered in the life of a nation is the loss of potential population. Not only have the belligerents suffered the loss of some millions of young lives, but they have lost the children which these young men would have fathered. Over long periods of time the number of men and women in any country is approximately equal. As a result of this War there can be no husbands for many young women, and fewer children can be born into the world. France, for example, and in a lesser degree, other nations will feel the losses of the war twenty to thirty years from now perhaps more keenly than today.

Another incalculable economic loss is the derangement of the financial systems which has come to every country. Though the United States has remained upon a gold basis, the whole economic structure has been dislocated for the time. All the other principal contestants were forced to go upon a paper basis. This allows some men, lucky or shrewd, to make fortunes, but in the long run the nation loses through the disturbance of its foreign trade. No country in which the price of money varies from day to day can trade upon equal terms with a country in which financial conditions are more settled.

### THE DIRECT MONEY COSTS OF THE WORLD WAR.

The direct costs of this war have been calculated by many distinguished economists, who do not differ in their results so much as might be expected. Under authority of the General Staff of the United States an estimate of \$186,000,000,000 was published in 1919. The expert of the Carnegie

Foundation arrived at practically the same result. Professor E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, using somewhat later figures, arrived at the conclusion that the cost had been about \$211,000,000,000. As some of the statistics were of no later date than March, 1919, Professor Seligman believes that the total money cost of the war will reach \$215,000,000,000.

This estimate does not include the value of property destroyed during the war. No accurate estimate of this can be made now, if indeed it can ever be done. Some economists believe that the destruction of property, private and national, was as great as the money cost of the war. This is probably an exaggeration, but at present there is no way of disproving the accuracy of the estimate.

It is interesting to note that the cost increased progressively. The cost of the first year is estimated at less than \$19,000,000,000. The fourth year cost more than the other three together. This was partly due to the increased use of the instruments of warfare by the contending powers, and partly to the great expenditure of the United States, which was spending an average of over \$60,000,000 a day at the end. This figure, however, includes some advances to the Allies, which can be included only if they are not paid back.

### WHAT THE GREAT WAR HAS ALREADY COST.

Professor Seligman's table of the direct money costs of the great struggle is as follows;

	In Millions
British Empire . . . . .	46,085
France . . . . .	32,617
Russia . . . . .	26,522
Italy . . . . .	15,636
Belgium . . . . .	1,387
Rumania . . . . .	997
Serbia . . . . .	635
United States . . . . .	32,261
<b>Total Entente</b>	
Powers . . . . .	156,050
<b>CENTRAL POWERS</b>	
Germany . . . . .	48,616
Austria-Hungary . . . . .	24,858
Turkey . . . . .	1,802
Bulgaria . . . . .	732
<b>Total Central</b>	
Powers . . . . .	76,008
<b>Total Cost . . . . .</b>	<b>\$232,058,000,000</b>



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

From this figure must be deducted the loans to allied powers as follows;

Great Britain . . .	8,467
France . . .	1,293
Germany . . .	2,261
United States . . .	9,102

Total . . . . .	21,123,000,000
Total War Expenditure	\$210,935,000,000

### THE MIND UNABLE TO COMPREHEND SUCH FIGURES.

The mind is unable to grasp such figures, for which no basis of comparison exists. Neither ordinary peace time expenditures nor the costs of any previous wars can afford any standard. The total debts of all the belligerent powers before the war were less than twenty-eight billions. The direct cost of the Civil War in the United States was about \$3,330,000,000 to the Union though this sum was largely increased later by the liberal pension policy and other reasons. The cost to the Confederate states can not be calculated. It is believed that the cost of the Franco-Prussian War was not more than \$500,000,000. The total expenditure of Great Britain in the Napoleonic Wars was not above four billion dollars.

Public debts increased enormously as few countries attempted to pay any considerable part of the war expenditures by taxation. Only Great Britain and the United States made any determined effort in this direction. Great Britain's war debt is about 35 billions and that of the United States about 24 billions, or, excluding the loans to the Allies, about 15 billions. Great Britain raised about 7 billions by taxation and the United States about 7 and a half billions. The other nations engaged paid almost the entire costs by loans.

### THE STRUGGLE BECOMES A WAR OF POSITION.

Perhaps the most impressive fact of the war, particularly on the Western Front, was the condition of equilibrium into which the struggle so soon fell. After the first German rush for Paris, and the hardly less precipitate retreat, movement largely ceased. For nearly four years the line from the Swiss border to the sea really varied little.

A few yards here, a mile there, marked the only changes for months at a time over long stretches of the front. In other sectors there was greater progress or loss, but these gains or losses were small compared with any standards in common use in measuring invasion. Even the great German gains in 1918 were small compared with those an attacking army had been accustomed to make.

This does not mean that trench warfare was something entirely new. Every Roman camp, though occupied only for a night was fortified by a "wall and a ditch." In all wars the weaker party has always taken advantage of trenches and ramparts, though not always willingly. During the Civil War "hasty entrenchments" were first used to any considerable extent in modern warfare. It may be noted that during the first months of that war, both sides largely ignored the use of such means of protection. The soldiers themselves dug most unwillingly, many expressing the feeling that such warfare was "not quite honorable." Time brought wisdom, however, and it was not long until their "dirt diggers" were honored as much as they had been despised. The Confederates naturally made the larger use of these entrenchments and also planted sharpened stakes, and made temporary barricades of such stakes. Some of these entrenchments were strong enough to resist frontal attacks almost indefinitely, but the Confederate line was never so long that it could not be flanked.

### A CONTINUOUS LINE FROM SWITZERLAND TO THE SEA.

Here was the great contrast with the World War. The Western line was continuous. With one end on the sea and the other on Switzerland, the line could not be flanked but must be broken. In all previous wars, a more or less simple flanking movement caused the retirement of the weaker party, as Lee was flanked out of one position after another in 1864, and Johnston was compelled to fall back toward Atlanta, as Sherman flanked his positions one by one.





#### HOW INTELLIGENCE IS RELAYED ON THE FRONT

Double listening post, used both for wireless telegraphy and telephony. The man on the right is furnished with receivers and has near him in a portable box the necessary equipment for receiving wireless messages; he writes them and communicates them to the telephone operator on the left who transmits them to headquarters to which he is attached. When aeroplanes were fitted with fuller wireless sets, artillery fire was directed in this manner.



#### GOING UP THROUGH GERMAN COMMUNICATION TRENCHES

Communication trenches were as varied as the nature of the terrain through which they were made. In Macedonia they were often deeply blasted through solid masses of rock. In France sometimes they ran through a village street, their walls raised by packing cases. Here the Germans are shown bringing up ammunition.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

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The Germans seem to have prepared trenches in advance along the line of the Aisne, to which they might fall back from the Marne. They were not the elaborate constructions they later became, but they served to halt the Allied advance, and perhaps to prevent the German retreat from becoming a rout. The French and British learned the lesson and after the race for the sea, the line quickly became stabilized. Dug from six to ten feet into the ground except on the Belgian coast where breastworks largely took their place in that marshy region, they were later elaborated into perfect webs of defenses. First line trenches, backed by second and third lines, all connected by communication trenches reaching far back. All of these trenches had dugouts excavated in either the front or back walls where the men might try to sleep when off duty.

Though varying much in different sectors and at different times, the general plan was largely the same. Over hills and through woods and valleys the trenches ran on, though, of course, a range of hills was followed if possible. The top of the side next the enemy, the parapet, was reinforced by several layers of sandbags as a protection both against bullets and against crumbling. If necessary the sides were strengthened by boards or wicker work.

### POWERFUL WEAPONS ARE MET BY STRONGER DEFENCES.

Not only did the World War surpass all other wars in the number of men engaged, but also in the variety, magnitude and deadliness of the weapons used, and conversely in the ingenuity and elaboration of the means and methods of defense. In fact much of the history of war is the story of the balance between weapons intended to destroy and defenses designed to preserve. As the naval guns became heavier, the armor became thicker and more resistant, or else speed was increased. Stronger forts were met by heavier guns. Rifles of longer range were less effective against uniforms of a neutral color which faded

into the background. In other cases a more vigorous method of attack was adopted as a method of defense.

Some few of the weapons of the war were new, as the aeroplane, and the depth charge and the automobile torpedo. Practically all the others are improvements or modifications of instruments already existing, or else revivals of weapons long since deemed obsolete. Some of these had been forgotten so long that they were generally considered to be new.

### NEW WEAPONS AND THE REVIVAL OF THE OLD.

The artillery of the present war fired larger shells, loaded with heavier charges of more powerful explosives, a longer distance, with greater accuracy than in any previous war, but all of these changes are developments rather than innovations. The greater use of concrete for gun foundations, and the use of caterpillar tread and the motor in heavy artillery are new. The rifle of the World War was a better weapon than the rifle of the Civil War, and incomparably better than the flint lock of the Revolution, but weapons just as good, — in some cases the same — have been used in many of the smaller wars which have disturbed the twentieth century.

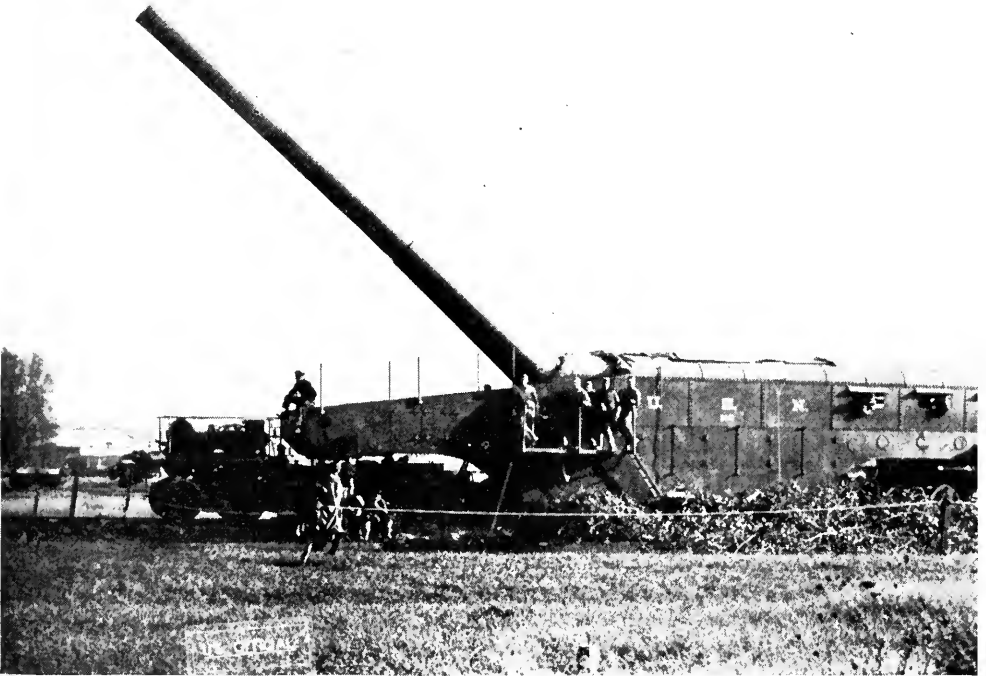
### THE ENORMOUS EXPENDITURE OF ARTILLERY AMMUNITION.

The story of the artillery during the World War is almost incredible. Larger guns with heavier projectiles were used than ever before, and the number of rounds fired surpassed anything previously known. For example in the Battle of the Somme British guns fired 4,000,000 rounds in seven days. During the entire Civil War in the United States, only 5,000,000 rounds were fired in four years by the Union forces. The monthly average of the British and French together during the last twelve months of war was over 12,700,000. During the short Franco-Prussian War the German Army used, including the expenditure during the siege of Paris, only a little more than 800,000 rounds. The Russians in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 fired only 950,000 rounds. The total weight of metal



#### FRENCH ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS ON ARMORED CARS

Extreme mobility, high-angle fire, rapid and accurate calculation are the essentials for anti-aircraft work. The German guns first proved formidable by reason of a method adopted for range-finding. Eventually, range-finders taking into account altitude and wind and engine-speed were adopted, though these could not calculate the various evolutions of the aeroplane.



#### THE MOST POWERFUL GUNS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

The most powerful guns on the Western Front were the fourteen-inch United States Naval Guns, mounted on special railway carriages instead of on ships, and manned by United States sailors, under the command of a rear-admiral. These guns did great damage to the German railway communications. This picture was taken near Belleville, Meuse, October 22, 1918.

Photograph, United States Official

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

thrown in this war was more than proportionately greater.

We have read of the 17-inch Austrian gun which crumbled the Belgian forts and of the German guns which threw projectiles into Paris from points seventy-five miles away. We have heard less of the heavy naval guns mounted on railway carriages which ranged up and down the Western Front. Much has also been written of the French "75" and the "155" and the great British guns.

### THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF GUNS EXPLAINED.

These differed however in more than size or weight of projectile. Artillery may be divided into guns, howitzers, and mortars. A gun has a long barrel compared with its bore. For example, the barrel of a fifty calibre gun is fifty times the diameter of the bore. Guns are designed to throw their shells with a flat trajectory, that is, to fire almost directly at the object. As a matter of fact the muzzle is always slightly elevated unless the fire is directed at an object lower than the position of the gun. Many years ago, however, it was found desirable to throw a shell into or upon a fort rather than against the walls, or over a hill or other obstruction. Pieces with shorter barrels were designed which were fired at a considerable angle, that is, the muzzle was sharply raised. The shell rises into the air and describes a sharp curve. These are mortars. The impact of a large shell falling from a considerable height will do great damage which is increased by the explosion of the shell.

For a long time guns have been rifled, that is, the inside of the barrels is provided with spiral grooves which set the shell to spinning upon its own axis, thereby increasing the accuracy of its flight. Mortars were not rifled, as the nearby target was large and easier to hit. In the course of time a compromise gun was designed called the howitzer. The barrel is somewhat longer than that of a mortar, and is rifled. It can find a target over a hill, at a greater distance than a mortar is able to do, but it has not the range of a gun of anything like equivalent calibre.

### HOW EUROPEANS EXPRESS THE SIZE OF SHELLS.

Europeans almost universally use the metric system. The metre (39.37 in.) is divided into hundredths (centimetres) and thousandths (millimetres). The forty-two centimetre howitzer then had a bore of a little more than 16.5 inches. The shell weighed a little more than 2100 pounds and was nearly five feet long. Though these guns captured the popular imagination, they were too heavy to be transported easily, and similar pieces of smaller calibre were more useful, as they could be taken apart and carried from place to place by special motor cars. All of the principal belligerents used more howitzers than heavy guns.

The German long range gun was simply an application of what artilleryists had long known; that is, by lengthening the barrel in proportion to the diameter and weight of the projectile, a heavy charge of explosive can throw a shell much further than guns in common use are able to do. Of course accuracy diminished with increased range. The shells which fell in Paris were apparently only about nine inches in diameter and did comparatively little damage. At the highest point of its curve it is estimated that the shell was twenty-four miles from the earth.

### THE DESIGN OF ANOTHER SUPER-GUN.

It is said that the Ordnance Department of the United States designed a gun which would throw a ten-inch shell more than 120 miles. At the highest point of its trajectory it would be forty-six miles from the earth. The regular 10 inch gun has a barrel 42 feet long and 200 pounds of powder can throw a shell weighing 500 pounds about 25 miles. The barrel of this long range gun (which no one ever considered building) was to be 225 feet long and 1440 pounds of powder were to project a 400-pound shell.

Other large guns, 8 inches to 14 inches, were provided with railway mounts or were fixed in position and did good service. More valuable than any of these in their influence upon the



#### FAMOUS SKODA MORTAR BELONGING TO AUSTRIAN ARMY

These guns figured in the attack on the forts of Liège, and other fortified places in the north, together with the famous Krupp guns. Later they battered in the Russian and Italian fronts. In those early months the Allies did not produce anything that compared with these great pieces, but after two years their heavy artillery was excellent.



#### TYPES OF ENGLISH HOWITZERS ON THE FLANDERS ROADS

When a war of positions succeeded to a war of movement, it was necessary to resort to the use of heavy artillery wherever the enemy's line was especially fortified. This picture shows how the needed mobility for the guns was attained by means of tractors mounted on caterpillar wheels which could travel on the worst roads. Over the excellent roads of Belgium and Northern France they were able to move with comparative ease.



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struggle were the field guns ranging in calibre from 37 mm. (one and a half inches) to a little more than six inches. The most famous and the best loved was the French 75 millimetre gun, a marvel of rapidity and accuracy. Remembering the length of the metre it is seen that this gun was just under three inches in calibre. Its projectile was simply a giant rifle cartridge in shape and a trained crew could fire twenty shots a minute, with almost the accuracy of a rifle. In the larger guns as the 155 millimetre and the howitzers, powder and shell were inserted separately.

### THE HAVOC WROUGHT BY A BURSTING SHELL.

While the explosive shell is not a modern invention, solid shot were the principal reliance in the wars of a century ago. Even in the Civil War guns fired principally solid shot, though mortars generally used shell. A shell is simply a hollow projectile containing an explosive which is detonated either by a fuse cut to burn a certain number of seconds, or else is exploded by contact when it strikes some object, throwing the pieces in all directions, killing men and destroying houses or fortifications. The charge in the shell is not of powder but of some one or other of the so-called "high explosives," that is, explosives which are quickly converted into great quantities of gas. Such an explosive can not be used as a propelling charge, as it would burst the gun. The concussion when a shell bursts is dreadful.

Shrapnel of which so much was heard in the earlier years of the war is also not a modern invention. A shrapnel shell is filled with powder and about 250 bullets. By an ingenious contrivance it explodes at an arranged time after it leaves the gun and sprays the vicinity with bullets. It was chiefly because of the extensive use of shrapnel that the contending armies adopted the metal helmet. It would turn a shrapnel bullet, though of little use against a rifle or a machine gun.

The modern machine gun is enormously more effective than the Gatling gun of the Civil War, or the *mitrail-*

*leuse* used in the Franco-Prussian war, but it can hardly be said to be a new invention. Mortars and hand grenades have been greatly improved but they are old. The grenade goes back almost to the invention of gun powder, though for a time it almost went out of use. The mortar has always been used more or less. The great use of both in this war grew out of its stationary character for long periods.

Three instruments of war attracted much attention. These were poison gas, liquid fire and the tank, which were among the surprises of the war and all of them created more or less consternation. None of these however is absolutely new. There is a record of the use of poison gas, in this case the fumes of sulphur, over 2300 years ago in one of the wars between the Spartans and the Athenians, and there are many instances of the use of sulphur or similar substances during the Middle Ages. These "stink-pots" were a part of the equipment of many besieging armies. Compared with the poison gases employed in the Great War they were almost harmless, but the difference is in degree of deadliness not in kind or intention.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MACHINE GUN.

First may be considered the machine gun which was used more extensively than ever before, though it is not a new weapon. The first true machine gun was invented by Dr. Richard J. Gatling, a physician with a mechanical turn of mind. Though Southern born, Dr. Gatling was not a secessionist and his gun was used to some extent by the Union forces in the Civil War. By present standards it was clumsy and slow. It consisted of a number of barrels bound together, and by turning a crank each of these in turn was supplied with a cartridge. This gun was adopted in Europe and some were used in the Franco-Prussian War. Improved models were used in the Spanish War and in the Russo-Japanese contest.

A decided step in advance was taken by Sir Hiram S. Maxim, American born but a British subject, who

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utilized the force of the recoil, to continue the firing. This gun was effective in the Boer War, where it was able to fire 500 shots a minute. With certain changes it became the Vickers gun and was the standard British gun during the war, though several other types were used. There were two difficulties with the earlier types of machine guns, namely, weight and the tendency of the barrel to become red hot after firing a few minutes. The Benét-Mercié, the joint invention of an American and a Frenchman, met the difficulty by providing extra barrels to replace the one which had become heated. Other inventors used a water jacket surrounding the barrel. This added so much weight that the gun could not be fired from the shoulder, but required a rest of some sort, usually a tripod.

### THE DIFFERENT GUNS USED IN THE WAR.

There were at least a dozen different guns in use by one or other of the belligerents, as the Schwarzlose used by the Austrians; the Hotchkiss and the Chauchat, used by the French; the Fiat used by the Italians and the Spandau and Maxim used by the Germans. However there were only two distinct lines of development. The light machine gun, air-cooled, was simply an automatic rifle fired from the shoulder until it became too hot. The heavier gun, generally water cooled, was fired from a fixed position, though it could be moved by one man. Both used clips or belts of cartridges with one exception, again the invention of an American.

This was the Lewis gun invented by Col. I. N. Lewis. The ammunition is contained in a round flat magazine containing forty-seven cartridges, but a fresh magazine can be quickly inserted. Both light and heavy guns of this type were produced and it was found to be especially useful on airplanes. It was largely used by the Allies. It was unaffected by the weather and seldom got out of order.

Before the War the Germans saw dimly the value of the machine gun, and had a larger supply than any

other belligerent, according to report, 50,000 Maxims. Even they did not foresee the importance this weapon was to assume. Guns were used on airplanes, and against airplanes in both attack and in defense. The Germans built many inconspicuous forts (pill-boxes) in which one or more guns were placed, or else "nests," somewhat less elaborate. Oftener a gun or two in an old shell hole, behind a log or a rock, or concealed simply by vegetation, took heavy toll of the advancing opponents. The gun could be swung around. The ground could be sprayed with bullets. The machine gun is largely responsible for the unprecedented quantity of ammunition used in this war.

When the United States entered the War the regulation equipment of an infantry division was fifty machine guns. At the end it was 260 heavy guns and 768 automatic rifles. Several different guns were issued to American soldiers, but the guns with which all the American infantry would have been equipped but for the sudden end of hostilities were the Brownings both light and heavy.

### THE REVIVAL OF THE USE OF HAND GRENADES.

Soon after the discovery of gunpowder the hand grenade was invented. It was simply a metal container filled with powder and slugs and provided with a fuse, which was hurled at the enemy. In the close quarters allowed by the weapons then existing they were deadly, and specially picked regiments—grenadiers—were later organized to use them. As muskets were improved the opportunities for use were lessened and the missile went out of use, though the name of the special regiments persisted.

In the close fighting of the Russo-Japanese war the grenade was revived to a limited extent, and a few appear to have been used in the Balkan wars. With the exception of Germany the Western Powers ignored this revival of an old weapon. The Germans in their desire to be prepared for any emergency provided themselves with considerable numbers, and when trench

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fighting was established, were able to work havoc upon the Allied lines. In return British soldiers improvised grenades of jam tins which they filled with old nails, bullets or slugs, inserted fuses and threw them toward the trenches of the enemy. As might be supposed they were not very satisfactory. Sometimes the fuse went out, or became separated in the flight through the air. Sometimes the fuse burned too rapidly and the grenade exploded before it had been well started on its journey. Occasionally an overcautious thrower cut his fuse too long and the spark could be extinguished by the enemy after it had fallen, or there might even be time to return the missile to its source.

### VARIOUS TYPES OF GRENADES USED IN THE WEST.

The French quickly manufactured satisfactory grenades and many grenadiers were specially trained. The British later developed the Mills grenade, which was about the size of a lemon. An internal fuse could be set alight by a percussion cap, but a safety pin prevented explosion until the missile had left the hand of the thrower. The shell of these grenades was marked by grooves so that it would fly into numerous pieces. Such grenades could be used only when the throwers were protected by trenches or other defenses.

Other grenades were used. Some contained toxic gas, others phosphorus which produced a dense smoke, while still others were designed to cause fires. Then there was the offensive grenade made of water-proof paper which was carried by advancing troops. It would kill by concussion within a radius of about ten feet from its point of explosion and had no metal to fly back toward the thrower. Many grenades were manufactured to be shot from rifles. By this method they could be sent further, and more accurately than by hand.

### THE USEFUL TRENCH MORTAR AND ITS TYPES.

Another important weapon was the trench mortar, of which the most successful type was the Stokes, the

invention of an English civilian. This was simply a steel tube the closed end of which rested upon the ground. Two legs were attached near the muzzle, and the mortar could be inclined at any desired angle, as the butt and the legs formed a tripod. A light charge of black powder or other slow explosive could throw a shell filled with high explosive a considerable distance. Three and four inches were the most popular, but some were larger. The Germans were fond of these *minenwerfer*, and had large quantities of them. The French had a trench mortar using compressed air as a propellant. These mortars were useful not only against trenches and machine gun positions but also against barbed wire. Shells containing gas, oil, and chemicals were also used with deadly effect.

The service rifles of the contending armies differed little from those used in previous wars of the twentieth century. The number required for modern armies is so great that there must be a large reserve, and large facilities for continued production. Unless the ammunition is interchangeable, no improved piece is likely to be adopted in war time. For this reason it was not possible to arm all American troops with the new Springfield which the War Department experts believed to be the best gun in the world. Several manufacturers were producing Lee-Enfields for the British army, and advantage was taken of their facilities to produce this rifle, though bored to receive the regular American ammunition.

### THE ROMAN EQUIVALENT OF THE MODERN TANK.

When news of the appearance of the tanks in the Battle of the Somme was given to the world, the invention was hailed as the most brilliant new idea of the war. The value of the tank was great, and in a sense the idea was new, but any one who in his youth fought over some of this same territory with Caesar, was not so certain. He seemed dimly to remember that the great captain, — certainly as great as any leader developed in the recent struggle, — used something similar. Search of

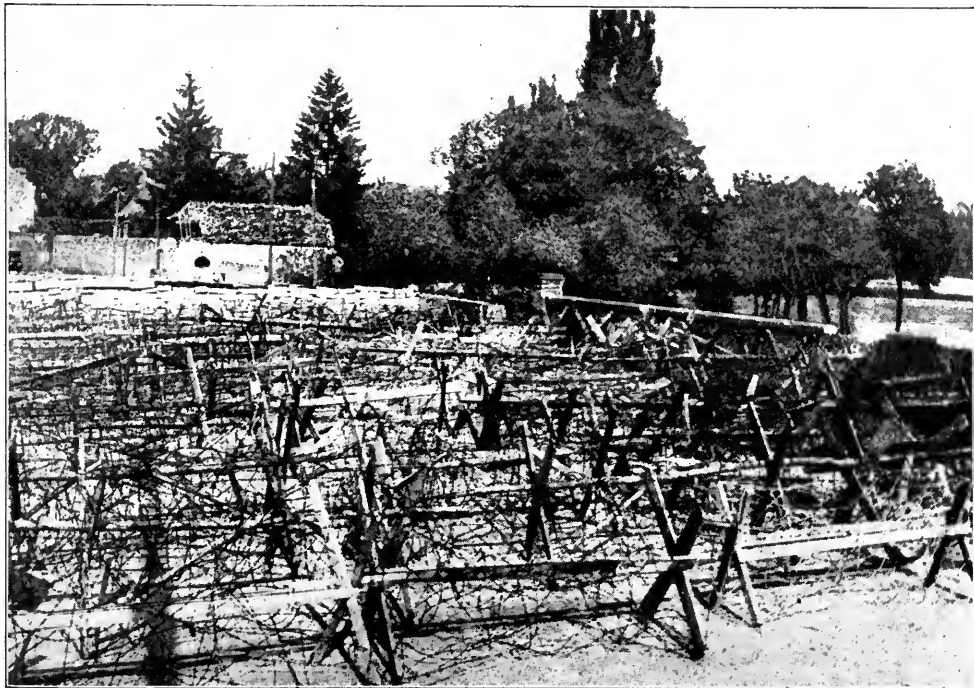




#### SETTING OFF SMOKE POTS TO HIDE TROOP MOVEMENTS

Smoke pots being set off by Lieutenant Colonel B. C. Goss, Chemical Warfare Service, in the Argonne Forest near Beaucamp, Meuse, France, October, 1918. It was a curious development that was manifested when belligerents who for long had been perfecting a smokeless powder for rifles and artillery, had to turn their attention to devising fresh means of producing smoke-clouds to mask advance or hinder attack.

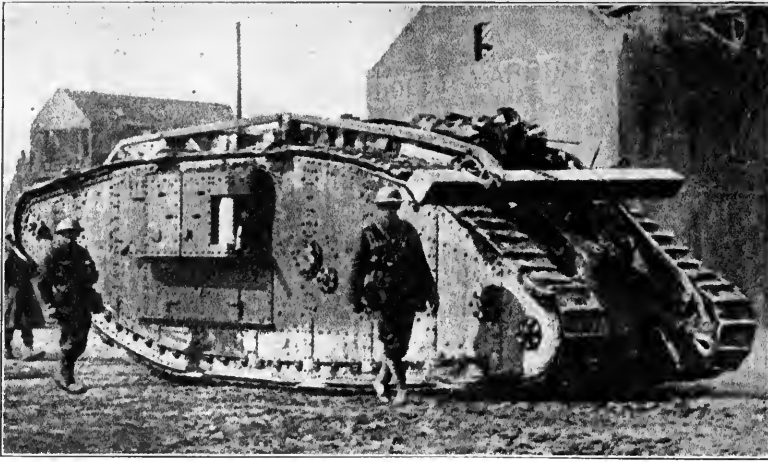
U. S. Official



#### TANGLES OF BARBED WIRE IN FRONT OF TRENCHES

This is a picture of German barbed-wire entanglements beside the Vesle River. The enemy used especially constructed manganese wire which required a very strong two-handed cutter to sever. Under cover of night parties of wire-cutters did their work, and fire-shells would reveal both destroyers and builders of entanglements at work, as offensive or defensive tactics were adopted by either side.

Times Photograph.



BRITISH TANK OF EARLIEST TYPE

This was one of the earliest kinds of tanks used by the British in the great drive for Cambrai. It was capable of containing a dozen men, and its armor plate was about five-eighths of an inch thick. Some of the later types were much superior.

court worked to develop the idea, while at the last Sir William Tritton, of Foster, Tritton and Company, the constructors, worked out many of the practical details. It seems however that the French had experimented with the idea, before the British be-

his half-forgotten texts brought a certain satisfaction.

Farfetched though the comparison may seem to be, there were three instruments of warfare used by the Romans which accomplished what the tank was expected to do. There was "aries," the battering ram, protected by a heavy roof, which was rolled forward to breach the walls. There was "testudo," the tortoise, composed of interlocked shields which protected the assailants of a walled town until they could reach the breached wall. There was "turreis," the tower, as high as the walls, which was rolled forward until the occupants could attack the besieged from above. These were all probably as effective against ordinary defenses in their day, as the tank in this.

## HOW THE TANK WAS INVENTED AND IMPROVED.

No one can say who invented the tank, and the question is likely to remain a subject of controversy. This much seems to be certain. Mr. H. G. Wells, the versatile British author, suggested the idea of a movable fortress in a story which attracted the attention of military men. Colonel Crompton, Royal Engineers, began to work upon this idea. Lieutenant Macfie of the Navy suggested the "caterpillar tread" common on American tractors. Colonel Swinton, and Naval Constructor d'Eyn-

gan, though they did not use them until after the British had demonstrated their usefulness.

The first tanks were heavy, slow and cumbersome. They waddled along under the power of their gasoline engines, but were difficult to steer. Their heavy armor was proof against bullet, shrapnel, or grenades, but not of course against artillery. Their power was sufficient to break through the strongest barbed wire, to smash the concrete machine gun nests the Germans had constructed, and to push down the walls of houses. They could cross a trench not more than six feet wide and climb out of shell holes unless very deep and with steep sides. These first tanks carried everything before them and if the British had waited until a large number had been constructed before springing the surprise, they would have been more effective.

## THE GERMANS FAIL TO PRODUCE SATISFACTORY TANKS.

Later, smaller tanks carrying crews of only two men were developed both by the British and the French. Because of their speed, (about twelve miles an hour) they were called whippet, or mosquito tanks. The large tanks carried one or more small calibre guns, but the smaller carried only one machine gun. They were particularly useful in pursuing retreating infantry, and on

occasion did  
deadly execu-  
tion.

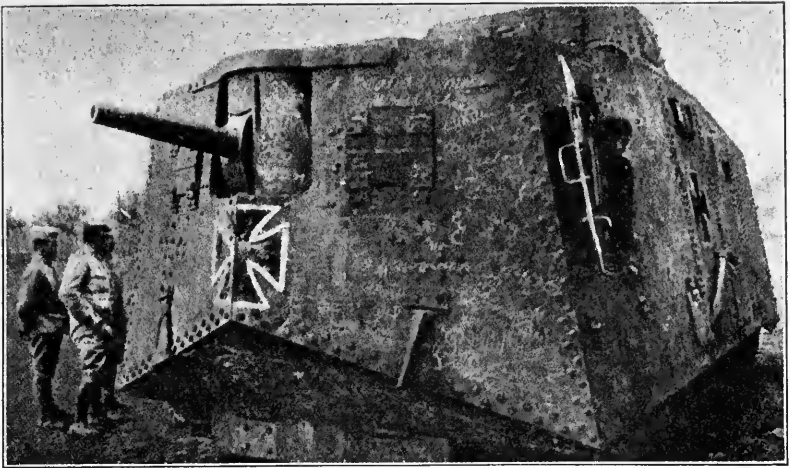
The Ger-  
mans, using  
a captured  
British tank  
as a model,  
built a small  
number of  
large tanks.  
General  
Ludendorff  
says in his  
book that the  
army could  
not spare the  
men neces-  
sary to build  
large num-  
bers, and

seems not to have valued them highly. Those which were sent to the battle front were distinctly inferior both to the British or the French types. They were very heavy, but neither material nor workmanship was good.

## THE USE OF BODY ARMOR IS REVIVED.

The use of body armor was of course a revival of the practices of the Middle Ages. In fact armor has been occasionally used almost to the present day. In the Revolution, in the Napoleonic Wars and even in the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, breast plates were used to some extent. The helmet, or "tin hat," as it was disrespectfully called by the wearers, was almost universally used during the latter part of the World War. The French were the first to issue them to their soldiers, and all the other belligerents followed. They would hardly stop a bullet fired at ordinary rifle range which struck squarely, but they turned thousands which struck obliquely, and they were an effective protection against shrapnel bullets and small pieces of bursting shell. Heavier helmets protecting the neck also were provided for aviators.

Other experiments in body armor were made and some breastplates and guards for the arms and legs were produced, but they interfered with the



GERMAN LAND BATTLESHIP

A tank that was captured in 1918 on the Western Front. The enemy affected to scoff at the usefulness of this grotesque machine but copied captured models. The closing months of the tanks' brief history found them used by both sides in increasing numbers.

movements of the wearers, and were not liked for that reason by the Allied soldiers. The Germans issued complete sets of body armor to many soldiers particularly machine gunners in fixed positions.

In spite of the greater range of modern projectiles, in no recent war has there been so much hand to hand fighting. For this reason the use of the bayonet was greater, and there was also a great development of the trench knife. This was a knife with a blade nine or ten inches long, and with a heavy corrugated handle which provided protection for the fingers, and, on occasion, could also be used as a weapon itself.

## THE FIRST USE OF POISON GAS AT YPRES.

As mentioned above, the use of suffocating gases in warfare is old, but the methods of distribution were new. In spite of the Hague Convention forbidding the use of gas, which the German delegates had signed, the General Staff determined to use it late in 1914, and the first trial was made at the second Battle of Ypres, April 22, 1915, the story of which is told in another chapter. In this case the gas was chlorine discharged from cylinders through nozzles led under the parapet of their trenches. Driven by a gentle wind it rolled along the intervening

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

space, struck the Turcos and the Canadians and almost opened the road to Calais.

The French and English were forced not only to find means of protecting themselves, but also to retaliate in kind. Various other gases were used before the end of the war, some of them much more deadly than chlorine, as, for example, phosgene and the dreaded

cheaper than the heavier poison gases.

The method of forcing from cylinders was risky as a chance wind might carry the deadly cloud back to the points from which it had been discharged. Besides if the wind was too strong the cloud might be dissipated before reaching the enemy trenches. Soon the method of loading in shell or grenades was adopted, and during the latter part of the war the number of gas shells fired approached the number filled with high explosives.

The first means of protection adopted were simply pads soaked in various chemicals. These soon became useless and the gas mask which covered the entire head was devised. It was found that charcoal made from the shells of coconuts or other hardshelled nuts had marvelous power of absorbing gases. The air from outside was led through a canister filled with a mixture of carbon and cement granules. So effective were the later masks that the soldiers could move among bursting gas shells almost without danger. The dreaded mustard gas was both dangerous and powerful if it came in contact with the skin and heavy gloves were necessary to enable the men to avoid danger. A large part of the gas discharged, however, was intended to produce smoke under cover of which troops might advance, rather than to do bodily harm.



**IMPROVED AMERICAN GAS MASK**

There were ten principal parts in a double-protection mask: a knapsack, metal canister containing the neutralizing chemicals, hose, flutter valve, face-piece, eyepieces, harness, body guard and angle tube.

U. S. Official

mustard gas. Some of the later gases were more dangerous because they did not sting and burn the throat and lungs, as did chlorine. A man might be fatally gassed without realizing the fact.

### **P**ROTECTION FROM THE EFFECT OF GAS.

In addition to the gases which killed, large quantities of the so-called tear gases were used. These were particularly irritating to the membrane of the eyelids, and temporarily blinded all who got the slightest touch. The tear gases were more volatile, spread over a larger area, and were also much

### **T**HE FLAME THROWER ANOTHER REVIVAL OF ANCIENT WEAPONS.

The flame thrower introduced by the Germans was an adaptation of an old idea. We read in ancient history of Greek fire which could not be extinguished, and of boiling fire poured upon the heads of assaulting troops. The flame thrower in this war was a tank of oil discharged through a long nozzle by pressure of compressed air. By it the enemy trenches could be sprayed with fire as by a garden hose. Some of these tanks were stationary but more were carried upon the backs of selected men. No task was more dangerous. At any moment an incendiary bullet might pierce the tank, and transform the bearer into a writhing pillar of fire.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

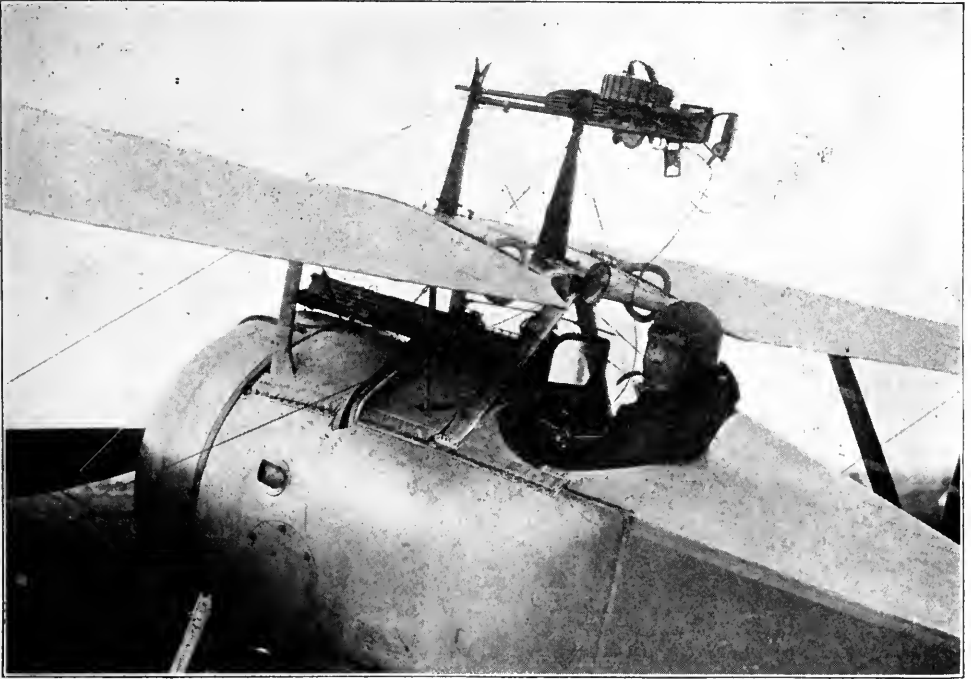
### FIGHTING AND SCOUTING HIGH IN THE AIR.

The extent of the use of aircraft in this war is of course greater than ever before. In fact any previous use is negligible. The airplane had not reached an effective stage of development at the time of any former war, and almost the same may be said of dirigible balloons, from which explosives might be dropped. Observation balloons have been employed more

with the other. The dirigible balloon was, on the whole, a disappointment. The cost in money and in man power required for care and management was greater than the results justified. The observation balloon, on the contrary, was of inestimable value.

### THE SUBMARINE AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE WAR.

The submarine, or more properly, the submersible vessel of war was likewise so important that it almost



#### AEROPLANE ARMED WITH TWO MACHINE GUNS IN READINESS FOR ASCENT

Type of a single-seater French Nieuport fighting plane armed with two machine guns. The Lewis gun above is fed from a drum containing 47 cartridges and is fired by pulling a string. Empty drums are quickly replaced. The lower gun fires between the blades of the propeller, as engine and gun are geared together.

or less for over half a century. The subject is so large that separate chapters must be devoted to the development and use of these vessels of the skies.

It must suffice to say here that the importance of the airplane was such that its exclusive possession by either side would easily have ended the struggle in its favor. As it was each struggled to improve existing models, and to invent new devices with the result that the advantage fluctuated, resting first with one side and then

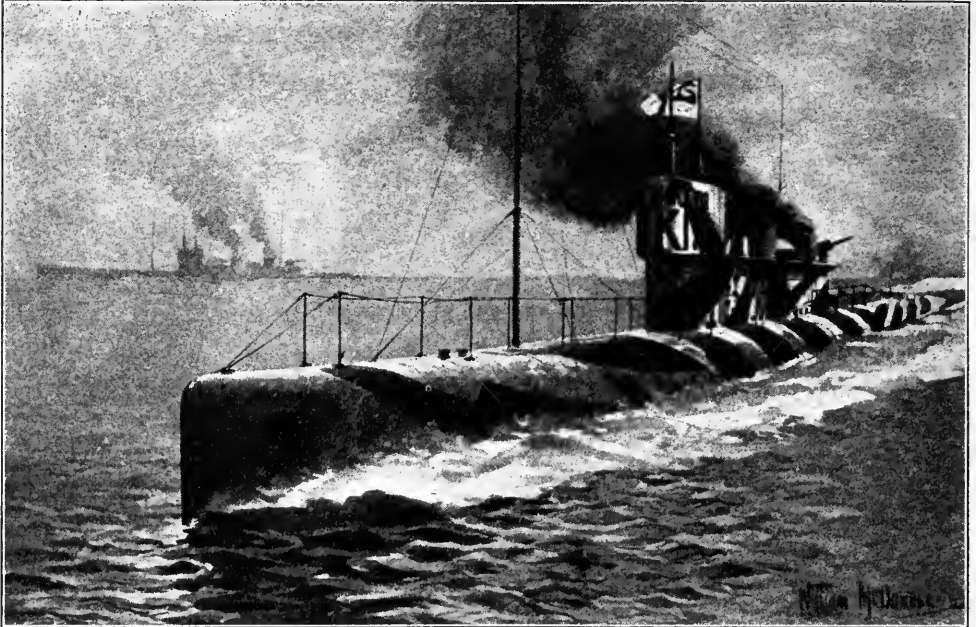
turned the war issue in favor of the Central Powers. The effect upon vessels of war was insignificant, for the first submarines were built of plates so thin that they could almost be penetrated by a rifle bullet, and they carried no armament except their torpedo tubes. A lucky shot from the smallest piece of artillery generally meant the end. Some of the later types carried a gun or two, a few as large as six inches, and also were built of thicker plates. They were almost submersible cruisers, but nevertheless the sub-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

marine remained vulnerable on the surface.

The development of the depth bomb, a charge of high explosive (up to 300 pounds) which can be arranged to explode by hydraulic pressure at any desired depth, greatly lessened the chances of the submarine under water. Against unprotected merchantmen, however, the submarine was desperately effective, and the destruction of

have been mentioned and much more might be told of each. While the dangers and hardships of war seem to have been multiplied, it is also true that never before have great armies been so well fed and so well cared for, as in the recent war. The Service of Supply by whatever name, it was called was more efficient, due largely to modern methods of refrigeration, and to the great use of motor transport.



This is the K 17, a recently completed British submersible cruiser, built to run by steam when traveling along the surface of the water and by electricity when submerged. In the latter case, the smoke-stacks are laid back. The boat, as here shown, also furnishes a striking illustration of dazzle-painting, which played so important a part on land as well as on sea in the World War. At a little distance the form of the craft can not be distinguished, owing to the irregular bands of light and dark color distributed upon its surface.

Allied tonnage brought bitter hardship. In the spring and summer of 1917, victory hung in the balance. The adoption of the convoy system soon relieved the situation.

This subject is likewise so large and the story so important that the under-sea craft and their effect upon the war, must be treated in separate chapters in this and in the other volumes.

### **D** EVELOPMENT OF METHODS OF PRE-SERVING LIFE.

The story of the weapons and instruments of warfare invented or developed during the contest might easily be extended. Only the most important

In fact this might almost be called the war of gasoline.

The ambulance and hospital service was infinitely superior to anything ever before known, upon the Western Front at least. Some of the achievements of the surgeons would have been hailed as miracles a half century ago. Nor must mention of the opportunities for amusement and recreation be neglected. The work of the various volunteer and semi-official organizations did much to preserve and even to raise the morale of the armies. No innovation was more important, and the story will be told elsewhere.





A Detachment of German Engineers Halted by the Roadside

## CHAPTER II

# Some Causes of the World War

## THE REASONS FOR THE CONTEST GO FAR BACK INTO HISTORY

**T**HE shot which a neurotic youth fired at the heir of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, on June 28, 1914, was not the cause of the war, hardly even the occasion. It was the spark which fired the train, but the explosives had been accumulating for many years. There is no one cause for this greatest of all wars, but, on the other hand, there are many causes, some of which go far back into History.

Some of these reasons which can be held partially responsible for the world conflagration, seem, on first examination, hardly to be connected at all. Yet, if we study them carefully, we shall see that if they had not happened when they did the whole course of the world might have been different. It would be easy to defend the statement that this war would not have been without Napoleon; that the action of the Congress of Vienna over a hundred years ago made impossible permanent peace in Europe.

### THE ROOTS OF THE WAR ARE FOUND IN THE PAST.

Looking backward we can now see that practically every important policy of the past century had its effect upon the situation in 1914. One is tempted to feel that the War was inevitable, that Europe had gradually come into such a position, that only a great war, if not this greatest of all wars, could

relieve the tension. Jealousies, rivalries, conflicting ambitions, all had developed and apparently could not be composed without a test of strength which should determine which could be gratified and which must be repressed or surrendered.

When the star of Napoleon set at Waterloo the confusion in Europe was only less than at the signing of the Armistice in 1918. Old landmarks had been destroyed and the wreckage of states was piled high. Napoleon had wiped out dozens of tiny states in Italy and in the old Holy Roman Empire, and had divided and consolidated others as he saw fit. Some of his work was to be undone, some endures to the present day. The exiled princes clamored for their thrones, and others who had risked much to overthrow the Corsican demanded compensation. Those who had aided him feared the consequences.

### THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA WHICH REMADE EUROPE.

At Vienna a grand council met during 1814-1815, the Congress of Vienna, and there the representatives of all the rulers of Europe, except Turkey, met and discussed the reorganization of Europe. Out of the confusion and the conflict of interests grew a Europe full of the seeds of future wars. One principle governed the Congress: the

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

right of the ruler was to be considered above the rights of the people. The right of people to be associated with others of the same race or language or culture as themselves, which we may call the principle of nationality, was disregarded in favor of the supposed claims of the rulers. Slices of territory were added to, or subtracted from states, without considering the wishes of the inhabitants. Austria, Prussia and Russia kept their Poles, and to the races of Austria were added some millions of dissatisfied Italians. The Catholic and the Protestant Netherlands were yoked together, and Greece and the other Balkan peoples were left to groan under the Turkish yoke.

Not satisfied with disregard of the principle of nationality, a determined effort was made to destroy any heritage of the French Revolution in the way of liberalism. Prince Metternich, the actual ruler of Austria, was "guide, philosopher, and friend" of European rulers for a long generation, and succeeded in communicating his horror of democracy to many of his friends among the rulers—if indeed they needed his teaching. The good old days before the Rights of Man was considered more than mere philosophical speculations were to be restored.

### MUCH OF THE WORK OF METTERNICH UNDONE BEFORE HIS DEATH.

Metternich was to live to see much of his work undone. The two ideas of nationality and democracy which the French Revolution had left to the world, were not to be entirely repressed. The flame of revolution in 1830, and again in 1848, was to run through Europe, and finally to drive him a fugitive from Vienna. Though checked in some places and even suppressed in others, there were real gains for the ideas of democracy and nationalism. The Austrian Netherlands broke away from the Protestant provinces and was erected into the kingdom of Belgium with its neutrality guaranteed, in 1831, and in 1839, by Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia. Greece (in 1829) and Serbia (in 1830) were freed from Turkish dominion and before the middle of the century Italy

was aflame with the nationalistic idea, though the peninsula was not united until 1870. Even then some regions Italian in blood were left under the power of Vienna for a half century longer.

Though much of the structure he had erected had crumbled, Metternich died before the worst had come. The Congress of Vienna had left only thirty-eight German states instead of the hundreds in existence before Napoleon. Austria assumed first place among these as a matter of right, but soon her position was challenged by upstart Prussia which had gained strength during the Napoleonic Wars. Inveigled by Bismarck into joining in the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, the master of the Prussian state was soon to provoke Austria into a quarrel, in which she was surprisingly, almost instantaneously, defeated. Discredited and weakened she then found her interests outside of Germany with the Magyars and the Slavs, while Prussia took her place as the leading German state, though not yet master of all the others. This sight, at least, Metternich was spared.

### THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND UNITED GERMANY.

Then Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, gave to Bismarck, wily schemer as well as man of "blood and iron," an excuse for war which the Iron Chancellor was not slow to seize. Altering a despatch of King William so that it became an insult to the French who had been led to believe that their army was irresistible, and many of whom were eager for war, he waited for the inevitable consequences. The deceived French saw their armies beaten or captured, the Emperor deposed, Paris besieged, then taken, and the parade of Prussians through Paris. Then came Bismarck's demand for Alsace and a part of Lorraine and an indemnity of a billion dollars, a demand far exceeding any previous indemnity in history. The Prussian was to remain in France until payment was made. With feverish industry the French people sought to deliver their land from the foot of the conqueror. After this was the struggle





**THE BRANDENBURG GATE IN POTSDAM, LEADING TO SANS SOUCI**

Potsdam, the seat of the Prussian Province of Brandenburg, has a number of fine gates. The Brandenburg Gate, built in 1770, leads from the city to the park of Sans Souci. The ex-Emperor William II used the Palace of Frederick the Great in Sans Souci as a summer residence.



**THE ENORMOUS PALACE OF THE EMPEROR**

This is the only public building in Berlin which is not modern, for it was erected in the reign of Frederick the Great. In it are more than 600 rooms and halls of which the Old Throne Room with gorgeous rococo decoration, the *Weisse-saal* used for court pageants, and the halls of the chapters of the Black and Red Eagle orders are most beautiful.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

for a government which a majority of the people would support, finally ending in the establishment of the Third Republic.

While the German armies were still besieging Paris, the Throne Room at Versailles on January 16, 1871, saw a pageant destined to change the face of Europe. On that day in the presence of the allied German kings and princes, with uniforms and decorations everywhere, the Prussian King became the German Emperor. "Through blood and iron" as Bismarck had predicted, Germany had attained outward unity. How the spirit of Prussia came to influence and even to dominate the gentler states of South Germany, we shall see shortly. Prussia and Germany came to be, as the years passed, more and more nearly synonymous. Austria no longer influenced the other German states. Bismarck had succeeded Metternich as the arbiter of Europe.

### NEW COMBINATIONS OF STATES ARE FORMED.

With the sudden appearance of Germany and Italy as full-grown states, a new arrangement of Europe was necessary. At first there was the League of the Three Emperors (of Germany, Austria and Russia) which was to serve the common interests of the rulers concerned. Germany's failure to support Russia in her march toward Constantinople, discussed in Chapter IV, led to Russia's withdrawal, and in 1879 Austria and Germany formed a new alliance to which Italy was admitted in 1882. Italy's part in this Triple Alliance is told in Chapter XXI. Once Austria acknowledged the superiority of Germany the alliance was useful to both in their ambitions in the Balkans and the Near East, while France was left without a friend. Great Britain had been a traditional enemy of France for centuries, and there was little in common between the Russian autocracy and the turbulent republic in the west. Any understanding seemed highly improbable.

The improbable happened however, and in 1891, a treaty between France and Russia was signed. The Dual

Alliance had come into being, as a counterpoise to the triple agreement. France was no longer isolated. Instead of being alone and powerless, grieving always for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and hugging the idea of revenge, she was now buttressed by the mighty power of Russia. The latter, an undeveloped country, sorely needed capital to develop industries, and this France furnished, so that the advantage was not all on one side.

### THE ENTENTE CORDIALE BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN.

When Germany became obsessed by the desire for colonial possessions, and began to develop her fleet with the apparent intention of equaling or surpassing Great Britain, that country was disturbed. If Germany, easily dominant upon land, through the size, equipment and training of her army, turned her attention to the water, there was a decided menace to the British Empire. The policy of Great Britain for more than half a century had been one of isolation with France and Russia as traditional enemies. King Edward VII was quick to see that Germany was a greater threat to the continued existence of the Empire, than either France or Russia. Though France and Great Britain had been on the point of a contest over a part of the Sudan in 1898 (Fashoda), all differences were composed before what both considered to be a greater menace. After about 1904 we hear of the *Entente Cordiale*, between the two,—not precisely an alliance but a friendly understanding at least.

The British diplomats had refused to allow Russia to march upon Constantinople for fear of danger to their interests in Egypt, the Suez Canal, and India. Russian propaganda among the Afghans had been a real danger in the past but under new conditions Sir Edward Grey feared Germany more than Russia. In 1907, all questions at issue were patched up, and the Entente now bound three members. Meanwhile Italy and France had composed their differences, and agreed to bury their jealousies over Africa. The Triple



#### A MONARCH'S INDULGENCE IN ARCHITECTURE

This is a view of Linderhof, one of several magnificent castles built for the gratification of Ludwig II of Bavaria, the friend and benefactor of Richard Wagner. This monarch's enthusiastic devotion to art and music led him into extravagant expenditures. In 1886, pronounced insane and incapable of governing, he ended his life by drowning.



#### IN BEAUTIFUL MUNICH, THE CAPITAL OF BAVARIA

Munich, the third largest town in Germany, is situated on a high plain near the foothills of the Alps. Its architecture is beautiful and interesting, with many buildings designed after celebrated prototypes of other countries and other periods. King Ludwig I, a patron of art, who came to the throne in 1825, did much to beautify and modernize the city. Munich is noted for its splendid collections of art, which are handsomely housed.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Alliance was thereby weakened, though Austria was still bound to the chariot wheels of Germany and Italy did not repudiate her obligations. On the other side was the Triple Entente, watchful, and more or less prepared for whatever might come. The Powers were divided into two unfriendly camps, though tentative gestures of friendship between Germany and England were made.

### THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS WHICH CAUSED THE WAR.

With this brief summary of the development of the Great Powers, and their alignment in the first decade of the twentieth century, let us prepare for the study of the causes of the war. A survey of Europe in 1914 will aid in the task of bringing order out of what appears to be a hopeless tangle.

Studying the causes of this War, one may see that it arose from a series of conflicts. (There is the conflict of nationalities, of dynastic ambitions, of economic interests, of desires for territorial aggrandizement, of the democratic idea with that of the all powerful state, and last but by no means least the inevitable conflict between the German dream of world domination and the instinct of self-preservation in the other states of Europe.)

Before the war few continental states were homogeneous. Nearly all held territory inhabited by people of a different stock kept against their will. The old Poland had been divided among Prussia, Austria and Russia more than a century before, but the Poles never ceased to think of themselves as a separate people, in spite of all the efforts to submerge them. Germany and Russia vainly attempted to destroy the spirit of Polish nationality, only to see it flame the brighter. Austria was more liberal, for it was her policy to govern her ramshackle empire by setting the races against one another. In Galicia it suited her purpose to placate her Poles by privileges and they appreciated their better fortune.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, A MEDLEY OF DISCORDANT RACES.

(Austria-Hungary itself was a medley of races in which the German and the

Magyar, though a minority of the total population, had formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, to enable them to dominate the other nationalities. Each was to "rule its own barbarians." Northern Slavs, Southern Slavs, Ruthenians, Poles, Italians, all were held subject against their will, and dreamed either of independence or of joining aggregates of their fellows.) The Northern Slavs wished for independence, a revived free Bohemia, which finally came as the result of the War. The Southern Slavs likewise dreamed of union with the Serbs, a result likewise obtained with the end of the great struggle. Italy had never ceased to look with longing eyes at the "unredeemed lands," Italian in blood, speech and culture. The Austrian Poles felt the spirit, though less strongly perhaps. The Ruthenians though feeling their kinship with the Ukrainians, hesitated only because they feared that absorption into Russia would mean only a change of masters. In Transylvania were many Rumanians.

(All the inhabitants of the German Empire were not Germans. Besides the Poles already mentioned, there were Danes in Schleswig who obstinately insisted upon remaining Danish in speech and thought, and then there was the crown land of Alsace-Lorraine, the greatest disturbing factor of all, which had threatened the peace of Europe for a half-century. Though profiting economically by inclusion in the German Empire, the people obstinately refused to love the harsh rule of the Prussians, and looked back to France.)

### WHAT WAS THE QUESTION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE.

Alsace and Lorraine are a part of that borderland between the kingdoms of the East and the West Franks, which has been a cause of contention for over a thousand years. Though both had belonged to the old Holy Roman Empire, the numerous feudal states of which they were composed had been practically independent. The East Franks and the West Franks grew further apart with the passage of centuries, but these districts partook

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

of the culture of both. The German language prevailed in Alsace, and had a firm foot hold in Lorraine.

By conquest, treaty, and by the free will of the inhabitants these provinces became united to France. At the time of the French Revolution they chose to remain a part of the French state and until 1870 were an integral part of France. (When Alsace and a large part of Lorraine were snatched away, and

men brooded upon the loss until they were not quite sane. Never could there be accord between the nations until the wrong was righted. In the Place de la Concorde in Paris are statues representing the eight great cities of France outside Paris. Wreaths and mourning garlands have decorated Strassburg, snatched away from France by the seizure of Alsace, and served as a perpetual reminder of the loss.



TESTING THE BORES OF GUNS IN A FRENCH ARMAMENT PLANT

In the great armament works of Creusot, Bourges, and Saint-Chamond, the Vulcans of France were equipped with machinery for turning out quantities of guns and other war material. This picture shows a part of one of the largest plants that was used for testing newly-forged gun-barrels. A sort of sounding apparatus is inserted in the bore of the gun for the purpose of discovering any possible defect.

joined to the new German Empire there was almost a unanimous protest. Many thousands refused to live under German rule, and emigrated. Though greater economic prosperity came during German occupation the people as a whole did not become Germans.)

### THE FRENCH ATTITUDE TOWARD THE LOST PROVINCES.

France never forgot the gaping wound which the seizure of the districts had left. The determination to gain again the stolen territory has colored French life and French thought all through the period. Some French-

Bismarck had taken the provinces largely because they were demanded by the General Staff to make the frontier impregnable. He confesses that he moved the frontier line farther west to include Metz because of the insistence of his military advisers. Of course the feeling that they were really German lands had its influence, and the value of the natural resources, particularly in iron, had weight also. This last factor, however, was not the determining reason, for Germany had not yet become industrialized and only a few far-sighted Germans had yet



visualized the future of the Empire as one of the great manufacturing nations of the world. If they had realized the importance of these deposits of iron they would doubtless have moved the frontier line still farther to take in the great iron district of France, the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle.)

**THE PEOPLE OF  
ALSACE-LOR-  
RAINE AND GER-  
MAN RULE.**

The inhabitants of the annexed provinces protested almost unanimously at the transfer and many thousands, refusing to live under German rule, emigrated to France or elsewhere. Considering the fact that a majority of the inhabitants were undoubtedly of German blood, who used and still use a German dialect, this fact of continued protest is the strongest possible testimony to the liberality of French rule. With the development of industry these provinces have greatly prospered economically. It is possible, even probable, that they might have grown reconciled to the transfer but for the stupid tactlessness of the rule imposed upon them. They had been an integral part of France enjoying the same privileges as the remainder of the country. They were not made a state of the Empire, but were constituted a "crown land" (*Reichsland*) under the control of the central government. The governor was appointed by the Emperor and, until



**WILLIAM II AND HIS EMPRESS**

On February 27, 1881, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia was married to the Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, who has filled her difficult place at his side with dignity and devotion. They assumed Imperial responsibilities in 1888.

1911, he was practically supreme in local affairs, though the inhabitants chose members of the Reichstag. In that year a local legislature was granted, but the members of the Bundesrat allotted were to be appointed by the governor. (It is enough to say here that in nearly fifty years German rule never became popular, and the people continued to hope either for reunion with France, or for the creation of an autonomous state.)

Though the nationalistic

problems in the German Empire were serious they were insignificant compared with those of Austria-Hungary, for there they were complicated with dynastic considerations. The Hohenzollerns were firmly fixed upon the throne and there was no expectation that they would be expelled. In Austria-Hungary the tenure of the Emperor-King was precarious, or at least it was understood that the tenure of the successors of Franz Josef would be uncertain. In another chapter the difficulties of the ruler of that strange conglomeration of people are told, an empire which continued to exist because no man could suggest a better arrangement of the fragments, if it should perchance be destroyed. Some one, paraphrasing another famous epigram, once said that "if Austria-Hungary had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent it." However this may be,

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

the Hapsburgs, shorn of much of their former greatness, were less and less able to suppress the discordant voices of their subjects, who were not placed on the same plane as the favored Germans or Magyars.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE SLAVS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The greatest problem was that of the Jugo-Slavs, that is, the South Slavs. The most ambitious of the northern Slavs were almost surrounded by Germans. They had rebelled many times in the past, but the probability of another revolt was slight. With the southern Slavs the case was different. Millions of them spoke the same language as the free peoples of the Balkans. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, lately annexed, had felt that their destiny was to become a part of a Greater Serbia, once the last vestige of Turkish rule was eliminated. Croatia and Slavonia had also heard the call of blood and were dreaming of Jugo-Slav unity. Other Slavic people under Austrian rule were restless.

Naturally Serbia, which in the fourteenth century had dominated the Balkans, and had grown more ambitious since the Balkan Wars, was eager to encourage any unrest. All the Jugo-Slavs would make a considerable state, perhaps of fifteen millions, almost a first class power. To Austria-Hungary the matter was vital. If these Slavic provinces were shorn away, the dual monarchy would be left an inland state, without access to the sea. The Austrian dream of access to the Ægean would also vanish. Then too, the matter of prestige was no less important. If one body of Slavs succeeded in securing freedom, the remaining divisions were sure to redouble their efforts. For the same reason Serbia must not be allowed to become too powerful in the Balkans. Under no circumstances must a Slav outlet to the Adriatic be allowed. All of these things are discussed at length in other chapters.

### RUSSIA BECOMES THE CHAMPION OF THE SMALL SLAV STATES.

Meanwhile the most powerful representative of the Slav people was not

idle. For centuries Russia has been looking toward the West and toward the South. There is no real Russian—there are Russians—and so the nationalistic feeling took the form of Pan-Slavism, a union of all the Slavs under the guidance of Russia, though the idea was always indefinite. For this reason Russia favored Bulgaria until the people of that state showed themselves Bulgarians first and Slavs afterward, and repulsed somewhat rudely the efforts of Russia to guide them. Then she turned her attention to Serbia and the other southern Slavs, assuming the right to advise and protect.

This sense of Slav kinship was not the only reason for the expenditure of Russian effort in the south. There was Constantinople, the holy city of their religion, in the hands of the Turk; and Constantinople also controlled the outlet to the Mediterranean. Russia had been striving to "get her feet into warm water" for centuries. She had gained the Black Sea, only to have the fruits of the conquest taken away. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 she was again within sight of her ambition, only to have the fruit snatched from her grasp by the Great Powers, led by Great Britain, who was unwilling to have her own influence in the East threatened.

### THE INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Considerations of another sort guided the rulers of the German state for two decades after 1870. Between 1870 and 1900 the country underwent a marvelous industrial transformation. In 1870 there were few factories, and almost no exports of manufactured goods. The great mass of the population was composed of frugal peasants living upon the soil. Forty years afterward the proportion had dropped from 67 per cent to 33 per cent. In 1910 there were forty-seven cities of over 100,000 compared with the eight of 1870. There was a veritable exodus as the peasants moved from the farms to the factories, and after about 1900 the immigration into Germany exceeded the emigration.

(Almost at a bound Germany became

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

an industrial nation. German goods were to be found in every market, often poor in quality, at first, imitations of British or French wares perhaps. Soon, however, "Made in Germany" became a legend to be dreaded by her competitors in the world markets. A docile people, accustomed to discipline, almost without illiterates, made excellent workmen and they were well directed. The discovery of the "Thomas process" in 1878, made the heretofore difficult iron ores of Lorraine of immense value, and before the outbreak of the World War over three-fourths of the iron smelted in the Empire came from this source. The production of Great Britain was surpassed in 1903, and only the United States remained superior./

### GERMAN MANUFACTURERS GUIDED BY A DEFINITE POLICY.

The story of German steel production is similar. There has, however, been a definite policy in German manufacturing. Since the population is large for the area, and the natural resources small, it is obviously unprofitable in the long run to export either raw materials, or those which have passed through only the first stages of fabrication. Therefore the pig iron must be made at least into steel, or better still, made into machinery of various sorts in which the labor cost represents a large proportion of the value. Therefore electrical machinery, cutlery, fine tools and instruments and the like made up a large proportion of the exports.

(When the Empire began to develop a merchant marine the first ships were built in Great Britain, but before long immense shipyards were constructed from which came some of the largest ships in the world, including the very largest, the Vaterland, renamed the Leviathan when taken over by the United States.) It is one of the ironies of fate that this ship which was designed to fill all beholders with envy and admiration should have carried to Europe more American soldiers than any other transport. In total tonnage, however, the Empire was far from rivaling Great Britain, owing to the

large number of tramp freighters owned in the latter country. )

### GERMAN SCIENCE DEVOTED TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Great progress was made in the textile industry, especially in hosiery and knit goods. In Saxony and Alsace especially the industry flourished, but here again the start of Great Britain was too great, and her hold upon her markets too firm, to allow her to lose her place in the industry. In china and glassware German exports were large, and in optical glass she had almost a monopoly. Leather and leather goods were also important items.

An Englishman, W. H. Perkin, in 1856 derived a purple dye from coal tar, and other dyes were soon found. The industry was begun in Great Britain to some extent, but was soon taken up in Germany where dozens of tints and shades were developed and placed upon the market. The universities and technical schools co-operated with the manufacturers. (German chemists are painstaking and industrious, and in 1914, four-fifths of the world's demand was supplied by Germany. The once despised tar is wonderfully complex, and dozens of drugs were also extracted from it. In the preparation of these and many other chemicals Germany led the world.)

### SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE INCREASES THE FOOD SUPPLY.

This marvelous development did not come at the expense of agriculture. In Great Britain, when the manufacturing and industrial interests came into power at the middle of the nineteenth century, they were committed to the policy of Free Trade. A logical corollary was the desire for cheap food. Expensive food necessitated higher wages, which in turn made competition more difficult. Therefore they were able finally to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws, and English agriculture unable to compete with the fresher lands of the newer parts of the world, has declined until England raises hardly a third of the food necessary to support the population.

In Germany, as it happens, the manufacturers desired protection and to get





**THE PORT OF BREMEN ON THE RIVER WESER**

Bremen, the second largest of the three Free Cities of Germany, is divided into the old town and the new town. The Gothic town hall (Rathaus) with its celebrated wine-cellar stands on the market square, and the Cathedral of St. Peter was built in the twelfth century on the site of Charlemagne's wooden church.



**HAMBURG, THE LARGEST PORT IN EUROPE**

Early in the 9th century, Charlemagne founded the castle of Hamburg as a defense against the Slavs. After an episcopal see was established there in 831, it became a centre of civilization for northern Europe. By treaties with Lübeck and Bremen it initiated the Hanseatic League about 1250, and has increased rapidly in commercial importance. It is now one of the important ports of the world.

Pictures from Henry Ruschin

it formed an alliance with the agricultural interests, giving them protection also. As a result in a country not naturally fertile, a smaller and smaller proportion of the total population engaged in agriculture has been able to produce a very large proportion of the food required for the rapidly expanding population. By scientific farming the yield has been enormously increased. In fact through the cultivation of improved varieties of the sugar beet, it has been possible to export large quantities of sugar, and food stuffs are another large item in the exports.

### THE GROWING NECESSITY FOR MARKETS FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS.

(The development of the German Empire which has just been outlined brings us to another cause of the World War.) Any industrial country can produce more goods than it can consume. The remainder must be sold, and if there are several rivals competing for the same markets, discord is likely to arise. Great Britain and Germany were the two great industrial nations of Europe. In France and Italy the balance between agriculture and manufacturing was fairly even. Russia was not yet industrialized, and some other European states were even less influenced by the new forces. Which should sell them the goods they must buy? Undoubtedly the rapid growth of German trade had excited alarm in some quarters in Great Britain, but that country had not yet experienced any disastrous results from German competition. German trade was increasing much faster but British trade was increasing also. The Empire itself furnishes an immense market and Great Britain had the greater part of this trade, though no obstacles were placed in the way of German goods. Great Britain's machinery for supplying her colonies and dependencies was organized, and habit, inertia and old commercial ties combined to give British merchants the lion's share.

(Germans on the other hand were intensely jealous of the British commercial position. They feared that some sort of a customs union would be formed in the Empire which would

have the effect of shutting them out altogether. Already some of the self-governing Dominions had adopted a system of "imperial preference" giving lower rates to goods manufactured within the British Empire. An extension of this policy might be disastrous to Germany.)

### THE GERMAN DESIRE FOR A GREAT COLONIAL EMPIRE.

It was only a step farther to attribute British success to the possession of a world wide Empire, protected by a great navy. Great Britain had been first to gain large colonial possessions. When most other nations of Europe had been engrossed in European affairs, the British flag was being planted in every part of the world. When the other nations woke up—France, Italy, Portugal, the German Empire,—the fairest portions of the earth had already been appropriated by Great Britain and the Netherlands. France managed to gain an Empire in Africa and Asia, much of it desert or swamp, but there was little for Germany. (She laid claim to slices of Africa, Togo, Cameroon, South-West Africa, and German East Africa, to various islands of little worth, and also gained a strong foothold in China. The expenses of all these possessions were large, and the returns very small. Moreover, they were unsuited to white settlement, and the Germans who left home to seek their fortunes must go to another state, there perhaps to be merged into another nationality. That Germany, populous, powerful, should be shut out from the benefits of a colonial empire seemed intolerable.

Naturally Great Britain was not disposed to transfer any considerable part of her empire to Germany, and some Germans persuaded themselves that this was an intolerable wrong. When the Entente Cordiale was formed these people persuaded themselves, and sought to persuade all Germans, that the purpose was to strangle expanding Germany.)

### THE GERMAN BELIEF IN THEIR OWN SUPERIORITY.

This brings us to a peculiar twist in the German mentality. The overwhelm-

ing victory over France in 1870 inspired the German people with both confidence in their power and pride in their achievements. These feelings were deliberately fostered by high officials, distinguished professors, preachers, authors and soldiers, and developed into a cult. (Professors in the universities taught their students, of course with the imperial sanction, that the German was the only pure race, and that it had been preserved to rule the world.)

(For example a distinguished professor in Berlin said: "A man who is not a German knows nothing of Germany. We are morally and intellectually superior to all, without peers. It is the same with our organizations and our institutions." A professor at Jena says: "We have a right to say that we form the soul of humanity, and that the destruction of the German nature would rob world history of its deepest meaning." A professor of history at Heidelberg says: "The destinies of the immortal great nations stand so high that they can not but have the right in case of need to stride over existencies that can not defend themselves but support themselves shamelessly upon the rivalries of the great.")

Some one has said that "what the professors think today the people will think tomorrow" and in Germany this was especially true. Possession of a university degree was a requisite for many of the high offices in the Empire and all the governing class, the teachers in the gymnasia, and in the lower schools passed on the teaching they had received at the universities and every German became saturated with the idea of German superiority.) 1096

## THIS BELIEF IN GERMAN DESTINY BECOMES UNIVERSAL.

Even the Socialists devoted to the brotherhood of man though they pretended to be, meant Germany was to be the elder brother who should guide the less developed nations. A distinguished Socialist unblushingly said: "The German race is called to bind the earth under its control, to exploit the natural resources and the

physical powers of man, to use the passive races in subordinate capacity for the development of its Kultur."

Therefore, taught as he was in school, church, and army, the humblest German, no matter how hard his lot, had a belief in German superiority which could not be shaken and was willing to fight and to die for that conviction in common with his officer of higher social station. (Professor Vernon Kellogg who lived with German officers and soldiers for months in connection with the relief work in Belgium and France sums up the attitude thus: "And they fought not simply because they are forced to, but because, curiously enough, they believe much of their talk. This is one of the dangers of the Germans to which the world is exposed; they really believe much of what they say.")

With such fixed ideas as these it is easy to see the Germans needed no persuasion to believe that any nation or people which opposed Germany was jealous of her superiority, and persistence in such opposition was a sign of depravity. Declining England, licentious France, corrupt Belgium and uncouth Russia all were jealous "because Germany is the leader in the entire domain of intellect, character and soul," in the words of a German pastor.)

(Out of these ideas grew the German dream of dominating the world as the Romans once had done. "The Teutonic race is called to circle the earth with its rule, to exploit the treasures of nature and of human labor power, and to make the passive races servile elements in its cultural development." Since the Germans were superior to all others, the German state must be omnipotent and all-wise. All the world must profit by the experience of German rule, and the Germans themselves deserved the responsibility and the profits.) 1127

## THE DREAM OF THE PAN-GERMAN LEAGUE.

First, however, all the Germans must be brought under one head. This was the aim of the Pan-German League founded in 1890. The Teutonic hypothesis was stretched to the fullest

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extent. The Scandinavians were Teutonic and must become a part of Greater Germany; likewise the Dutch and the Flemish. Austria proper was German and part of Switzerland also. Some French citizens were German in blood, and they too must come. Northern Italy was originally Teutonic, and the Baltic provinces of Russia had Teutonic blood. England was once Teutonic and must share the blessings of German Kultur. The Germans who had migrated to other lands must preserve their German allegiance and all of German descent, no matter how far removed, were to be brought back into the fold. (A catalogue of Germans in foreign lands was completed in 1899, and in 1913 the Delbrueck law gave Germans authority to become naturalized in their new home and at the same time to preserve their German citizenship.)

Strange as it may seem this policy of recalling the dispersed and scattered abroad had some success, even in the United States. When Germany declared war in 1914 there were citizens of the United States, native born and educated in the public schools, who showed more interest in the welfare of Germany than in that of their own country. Some did not change their attitude when the United States declared war, so powerful was the idea of *Deutschtum im Ausland*. )

### THE GERMAN HOPE OF DOMINATING THE WORLD.

(The Pan-German League did not confine its efforts to the advocacy of "Mittel-Europa." It was sympathetic with the organizations advocating a larger colonial empire. It worked in harmony with the Navy League which strove to increase the desire to make of the German Empire a great sea power. Everything which made for a more powerful Germany became its province; and then it was only a step to the idea that Germany ought to dominate the world.

This idea, which was really a sort of diseased nationalism, is important enough to deserve treatment separately; it ranks as one of the real causes of the war. Handed down from above this

idea spread to broader and broader layers of the pyramid which was social Germany. The speeches of the Kaiser, and the Princes, the speeches and writings of high officials, the lectures of the professors, the sermons of the pastors, taught that Germany deserved and must have the dominion which she craved. )

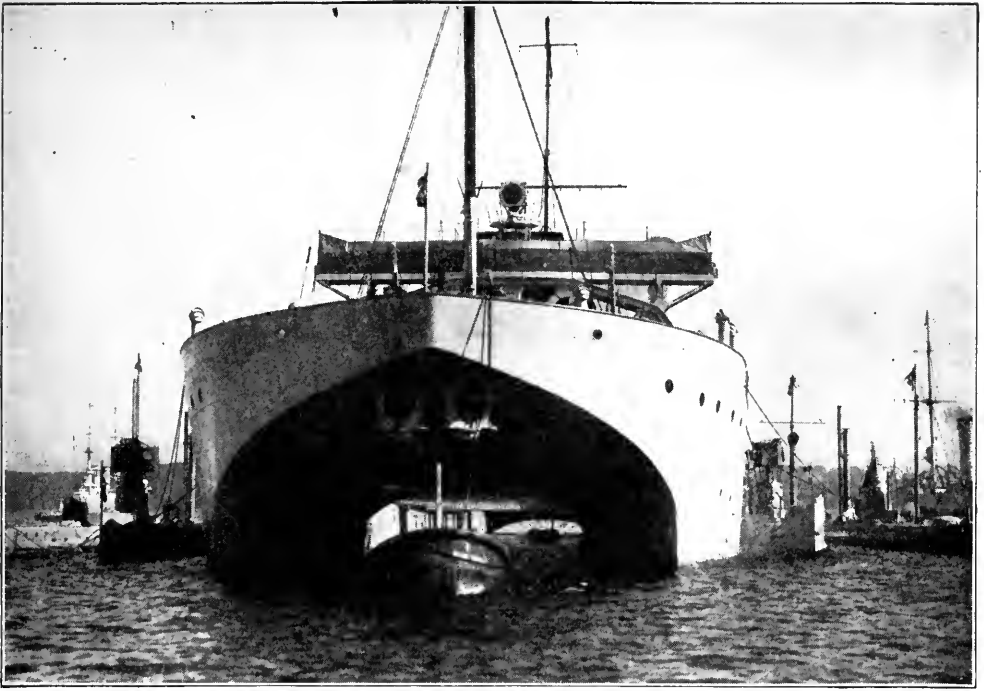
### THE GERMANS REALLY BELIEVED IN THEIR MISSION.

As said above, the danger in the programme lay in the fact that the Germans really believed what they said. Other nations have had men of extravagant speech. There have been flamboyant individuals in the United States, who, intoxicated by their own oratory, have pictured the future United States as stretching from the Arctic Circle to the Straits of Magellan, with authority over all islands of the Western seas. They knew they were talking nonsense, when they spoke, and their hearers have only ridiculed them. In Germany similar individuals were treated with respect, and the next step was the attempt to make the dream come true.

An unsuccessful attempt to extend German influence is seen in the Morocco incident. In the early years of the century Morocco was still nominally independent, but the Sultan was utterly unable to preserve order. Both Germany and France had acquired concessions, but their citizens were often attacked by the restless tribesmen. French troops were sent to restore order and France gained a commanding position in the country, which was recognized by Great Britain and Spain in 1904. Germany at first raised no objections but in 1905 the Kaiser visited Morocco and encouraged the Sultan to resist French control, and to demand a conference of the powers. This was held at Algeciras, Spain, in 1906. Germany found no support except from Austria, and the conference practically gave France control, subject to guarantees of economic equality.

### THE PANTHER SUDDENLY APPEARS AT AGADIR, MOROCCO.

(The Pan-Germans were not satisfied, and as France in reducing the country



**THE DOCKSHIP VULCAN IN KIEL HARBOR**

This picture shows the dockship Vulcan at Kiel. It was able to lift a small ship entirely out of the water for repairs or could raise a sunken ship from the bottom. This boat was particularly useful in repairing and refitting of submarines to which it acted on occasions as a mother ship.



**KIEL, WHERE THE GERMAN FLEET WAS STATIONED**

Kiel is the eastern terminus of the great Kaiser Wilhelm Canal connecting the Baltic with the North Sea. As the chief naval station of Germany its war harbor is perhaps the best example of its kind. The Imperial shipyards, with two large basins connected by a canal, have three shipways for the launching of newly-built ships, four dry docks, a floating dock and a haven for torpedo boats.

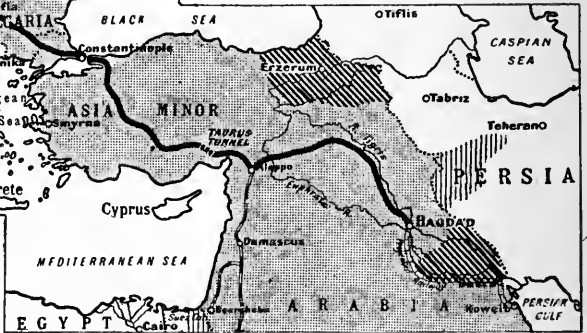
Pictures from Henry Ruschin

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR



### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BERLIN TO BAGDAD RAILWAY.

(The Berlin to Bagdad Railway (or as the Germans called it, the Berlin-Byzantium-Bagdad) was an ambitious scheme to connect Hamburg with the head of the Persian Gulf. A branch line through Syria to Mecca would pass not far from the Suez Canal. Through con-



### GERMANY'S FAMOUS ALLITERATIVE RAILWAY

In order to make the way safe for the Kaiser's Bremen-Berlin-Bosphorus-Bagdad-Bahn to be operated, German influence and control had to be extended through Austria-Hungary across the Balkan lands, where Serbia and Rumania were a menace.

to order had penetrated deeply into the interior, in 1911, the German gunboat, Panther, suddenly appeared at Agadir, in which region Germans had secured valuable concessions. Apparently German aid in resisting French control was promised the native chiefs. Maps showing "German West Morocco" were published in Berlin. War seemed imminent and both France and Germany sent troops to their respective frontiers. Great Britain, however, took a firm stand on the side of France, and Germany was forced to recede and acknowledge the right of France to establish a protectorate. Though receiving compensation in the form of an addition to Cameroon from the French Congo, the Germans felt that they had been humiliated by a great diplomatic defeat.)

This setback caused much bitterness among the advocates of a greater Germany and many of the publicists frothed with rage. The Kaiser was blamed for the humiliation Germany had suffered and for a time was actually unpopular. Some students of international affairs believe that the determination to have a war with France and a settlement with Great Britain became irrevocable at this time. Certainly the bill increasing the military strength of Germany was passed soon after, with the result that France immediately extended the period of military service from two years to three years.

control of this railway all Asiatic Turkey would be made economically tributary to Berlin. Its existence would be a threat for the British interests in Egypt; by it forces could be easily mobilized for an attack upon India. The completion of this railway would have cut the British Empire in two, and would have been a challenge to French influence in the Orient.

It is doubtful whether the German promoters at first realized the enormous strategic value of the road. The possible economic results seem chiefly to have been considered in the beginning. The first steps were taken just before the Kaiser's first visit to Constantinople in 1889. The previous year a concession for a short line along the Asiatic side of the Gulf of Marmora had been granted to a German company. This concession was extended to cover a line to Angora and Konia. After the Kaiser's second visit in 1898 during which he proclaimed himself the friend and protector of the Mohammedans of the world, a concession was granted for the continuation of the line

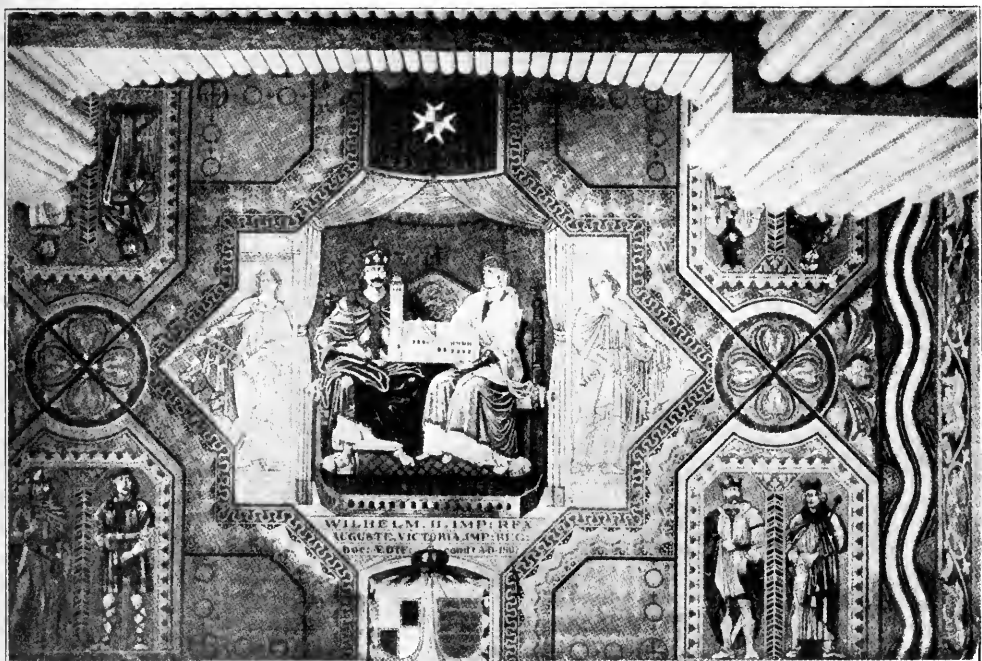


to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. A supplementary concession in 1903 gave the Germans, backed by the Deutsche Bank, still more favorable terms.)

## GREAT BRITAIN BLOCKS THE GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS.

The authority of the Sultan on the Persian Gulf was, however, only shadowy. There were Turkish garrisons in a few towns, but for the most part the sheikhs repudiated his pretensions to

without the consent of Great Britain. Blocked for the moment the Germans sought a foothold in other parts of the Gulf, but were everywhere checked and were forced to be content with Basra, up the Shatt-al-Arab, in what was distinctly Turkish territory. To the British their course seemed necessary for self-preservation. To the Germans it was another proof of the intention of Great Britain to strangle them, just



GERMANY'S EMPEROR AND EMPRESS ON A CHURCH CEILING IN JERUSALEM

In 1889 and again in 1898 William II was the guest of the Sultan. The second time he went on into Palestine and attended the consecration of the German Protestant Church of the Redeemer at Jerusalem, which is connected with a hospice. The Sultan's domains were honored with Imperial gifts. In this ceiling decoration in the church at Jerusalem a German artist has made a mediaeval-looking group of the Kaiser and his consort, Augusta.

rule them. With one or other of these tribal chiefs the Germans must deal to secure a terminus on the Gulf. They chose the Bay of Koweit, and sought to make a bargain with the sheikh of Koweit. He courteously refused to sell or lease the twenty square miles of land desired and with a good reason.

A few British statesmen had realized the importance of the threat and Lord Curzon, in 1899, within a month of assuming the viceroyalty of India, had made an agreement with the sheikh of Koweit. That ruler bound himself not to sell or lease to a foreign government or its citizens any part of his dominions

as the British occupation of Walfish Bay in South West Africa had been.

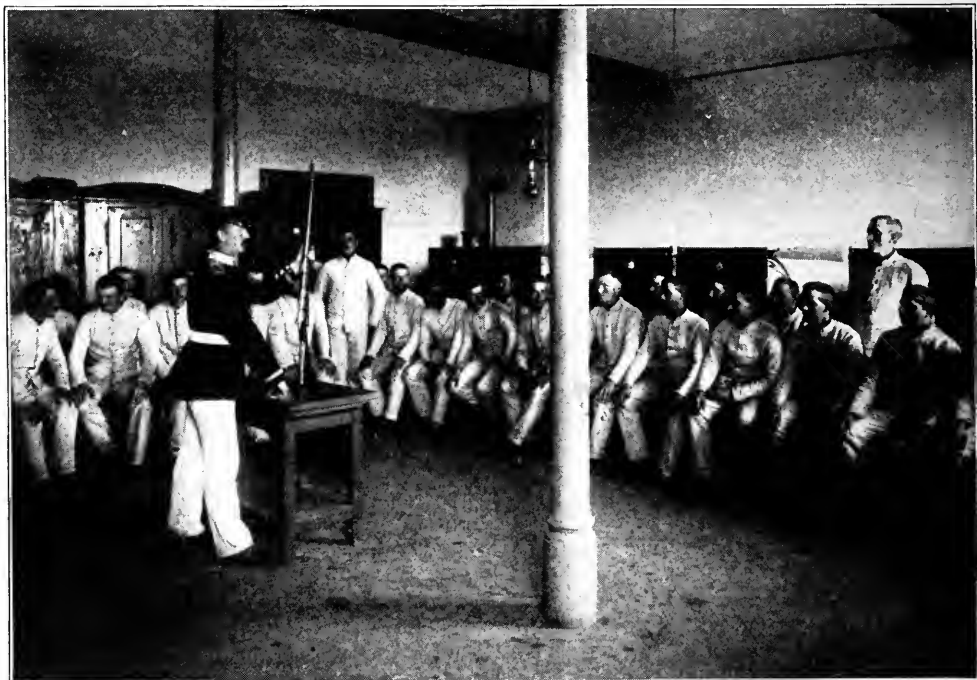
## WHAT IS MEANT BY PRUSSIAN MILITARISM?

Since the days of the first Napoleon, the Prussian ideal had been universal military service, "the nation in arms." The system was extended to the new Empire, and as a result, the other nations of continental Europe followed more or less completely; but no other nation gave so much thought and pains to its military machine as the governing body of the German Empire. Every German male physically qualified was liable for military service, either two or

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three years. Usually he reported for service at the age of twenty, but might be called at seventeen. After completing his time he then passed into the reserve for five years, during which he was called out for drill for two periods of six weeks each. Then came enrollment in the Landwehr with some drills until the age of thirty-nine, after which was the Landsturm until the age

people. They were taught to obey orders unquestioningly, to the smallest detail, to observe habits of neatness and punctuality. Usually there was a gain in physique also. Undoubtedly the docility and reliability of the German workman was a great factor in favor of Germany in the struggle for industrial supremacy. Through the systems of old age pensions, health and



A SERGEANT GIVING INSTRUCTIONS IN HANDLING GUNS

Every mother's son in the German Empire was a soldier during part of his life and received minute training in military accomplishments. Here a class of soldiers is being instructed in the handling of a gun. In actual conflict the Germans showed least strength in bayonet fighting. They did not stand up well before steel.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

of forty-five. During all this time he was subject to call, must inform the proper authority of any change of address, and must know exactly where and to what officer he must report in case of call. There were certain special services, but the usual routine is stated above. On a peace footing the army was over 800,000 men and there were millions of trained men in the various reserves.

### THE INFLUENCE OF MILITARY SERVICE UPON CHARACTER.

The rigid discipline to which the German youth were subjected had its influence in molding the German

accident insurance he was made to feel that the state was interested in his welfare, and his attitude toward the state was generally one of loyalty and devotion in spite of the growth of Socialism.

The officers were drawn from the aristocracy, and to a less extent from the sons of professional men and wealthy townsmen. They were permanent and were expected to have private means. Their enhanced social position was supposed to be ample compensation for the smallness of their pay. In fact the officers formed what amounted to a separate caste with its





#### AN INTERESTED GROUP ATTENDING THE YEARLY MANŒUVRES

Military manœuvres were an important event in Germany, and were planned to imitate as nearly as possible actual war movements. Representatives of friendly governments were eager for invitations. Here Count Cadorna, then Italian Chief of Staff, is present in company with the German Emperor and his nephew, Prince Waldemar.



#### GERMAN MILITARY MANŒUVRES IN FREIBURG, SILESIA, 1913

These guests of the Emperor—a family party—include his sister, two brothers-in-law and two nephews. On the left, Queen Sophia of Greece, unshakably Prussian in sympathy, is absorbed in the manœuvres. Next is her eldest son, Prince George, with his cousin, Prince Waldemar of Prussia (son of the Kaiser's brother, Prince Henry). Beyond are King Constantine of Greece and Prince Bernard of Saxe-Meiningen, husband of the Kaiser's eldest sister.

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own code of laws, morals and conduct, and had a supreme contempt for civilians. This was especially true in Prussia, but as the years went on the other states were more and more Prussianized. Since the army was in the opinion of all the most important institution in Germany, the officers worked hard and the abler were detailed to the General Staff, where they toiled terribly. Nothing was left to chance but all was planned to the tiniest detail.

### THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNING CLASS TOWARD WAR.

(The world marveled in the days before the war at the perfection of the workings of the military machine, but it was a machine which had really not been tried in actual warfare. The High Command, which had exercised it in manœuvres and which had worked out every possible military plan to invade the territories of their neighbors or to defend their own, was eager to see it function, to test their theories in actual practice. Tired of peace, fearing that their officers would grow stale in time, and that the people might tire of the burden of maintaining the army, the High Command as well as the officers themselves clamored for war with any enemy. War would also prove to the Socialists that the army was a necessity. This desire for war on the part of practically all the thousands of officers must not be neglected as one of the reasons why there was war.

War was exalted as a positive good by many of the publicists, and professors who spoke for the Empire. For example, Professor von Treitschke, long the most influential man in Germany, said; "The living God will take care that war shall always return as a terrible medicine for the human race. We have learned to recognize the moral majesty of war precisely in those of its characteristics which to superficial observers seem brutal and inhuman." Another distinguished author wrote: "Everything in the state must be calculated for the possibility of war. Separate states are therefore by nature in a state of war with each other. . . . Between states there is one sort of

right—the right of the stronger. . . . A state can not commit a crime.")

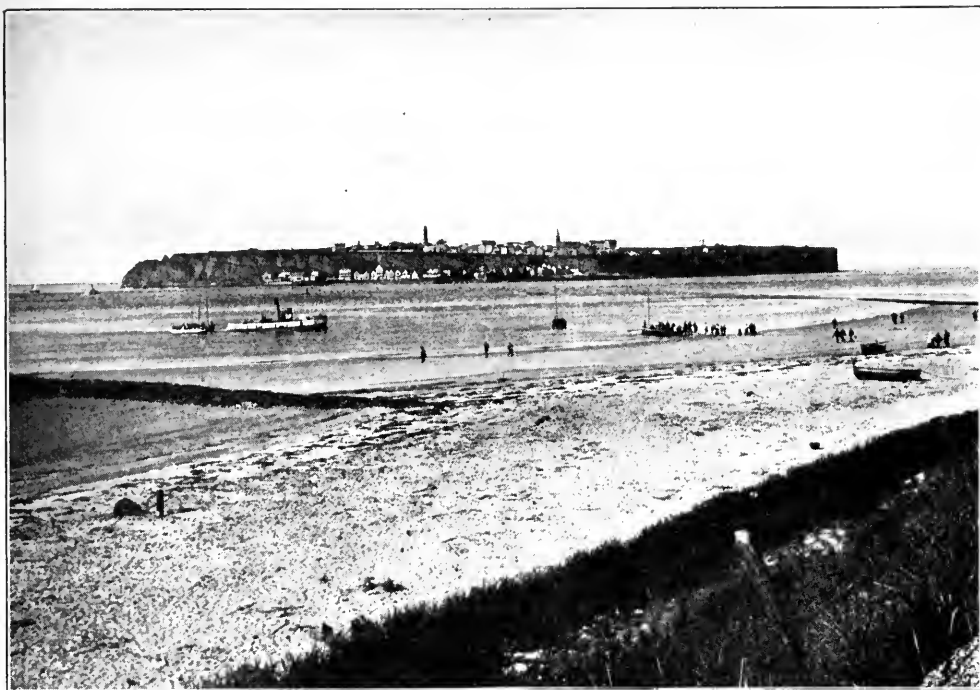
### THE JUNKER CLASS AND ITS VIEW OF THE STATE.

(The strongest supporters of such opinions were to be found among the country squires, the so-called "Junker" class, whose stronghold was in East Prussia. They lived on their estates and managed them in a fashion little different from the time a century before when their tenants were serfs. Few were wealthy, for in spite of tariffs upon agricultural products, tilling the soil was not generally very profitable. They were all devoted heart and soul to Prussia and absolutely loyal to the Emperor. This class furnished the greatest number of officers for the army and of officials for the government service. Their political influence was altogether out of proportion to their numbers or their wealth. The districts for the Reichstag had not been altered since they were first laid out in 1871, and the votes of the Junkers and those of their tenants in the rural districts counted for much more than the votes of the inhabitants of the rapidly growing towns. Consider the injustice if congressional or parliamentary districts in the United States or Canada had not been changed since 1871. The shifting of population in the German Empire had been almost as great.)

Some of the conditions in Europe which made war possible have been given above, but no extended discussion can be given in the space which can be allowed. In the chapters on Austria, the Balkans, and Italy, some influences which affected those states will be given at greater length. To know all of them would require a careful study of the political, economic and social history of all Europe for centuries. Study of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries does not really go to the roots of the question.

### CONDITIONS IN 1914 WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT WAR.

(The government of the German Empire was in no way democratic. The Bundesrat, the upper house of the federal legislature, was composed of personal representatives of the rulers



#### A ONCE IMPREGNABLE GERMAN OUTPOST

Heligoland consists of two islets: the smaller Dunen Insel and Main Island. The latter is almost triangular in shape and is surrounded by steep red cliffs, surmounted by fortifications built at a cost of more than \$175,000,000. Nevertheless its mighty guns fired but once throughout the war at the British warship Shannon.



#### MAIN OR ROCK ISLAND, HELIGOLAND

This island played a negative part in the defense of the German coast, probably because allied experts agree that it would have been impossible to silence its batteries. The ground on which the barracks stand was reclaimed from the sea at a cost of \$5,000,000 and everything in the defenses was worked by hydraulic power, and the water necessary for the purpose was drawn by huge pumps from fifty feet below sea-level. Picture from Henry Ruschin

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

of the German states, whether called kings, princes, archdukes or dukes. The Kaiser appointed the members assigned to Alsace-Lorraine thereby strengthening the power of Prussia, which could veto any change in the fundamental law. Only in the three city republics of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck, each entitled to one member, was there even a suspicion of popular control.

The lower house, the Reichstag, was elected by universal suffrage, but had little power. It became in fact a mere debating society, as practically all legislation originated in the Bundesrat, and the Imperial Chancellor, the executive head of the government was responsible only to the Emperor and his position was in no way affected by opposition in the Reichstag. As was said above, the districts were by no means uniform. Conservative rural districts had fewer voters than the more radical industrial cities.

In local affairs there was some variation. In a few of the petty states conditions were feudal. In others the people had some voice. In Prussia, however, which included nearly two-thirds of the area and population, the constitution gave to the King-Emperor and the aristocracy, either of birth or wealth, almost absolute power.)

### THE CONDITION OF EUROPE.

We may summarize conditions in 1914, as follows: All Europe was full of fragments of peoples or races which were attached to alien states. Most of these wished either independence or to be united to those of their own race and language. The democratic movement was strong, and only in Russia and Germany was autocracy still triumphant. We see Great Britain, with her flag in every part of the world, anxious to keep what she already had. We see the German Empire, increasing in population and wealth, eager to gain new lands to rule and new markets for her goods. Then there was Austria-Hungary with its discordant races, hoping to be preserved from extinction. In the Balkans there were restless states which desired to become greater.

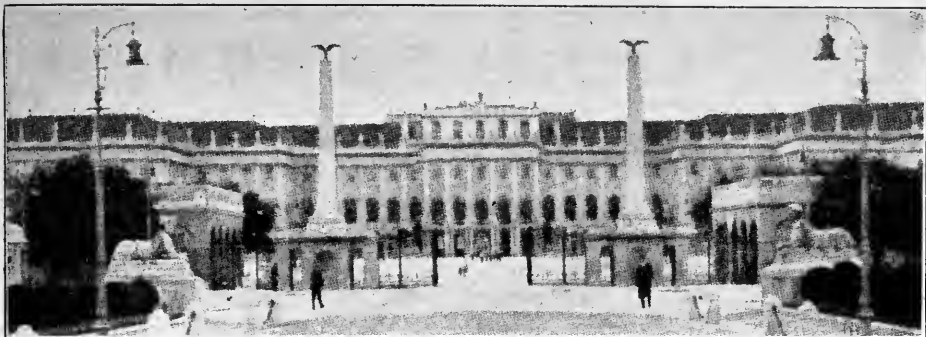
Italy was looking with longing eyes at the millions of Italians under foreign rule. France long the strongest power in Europe but now almost stationary in population, was seeing other nations surpass her in strength and one of them had wounded her sorely. Turkey uncertain as to the future was seeking a strong friend who would help preserve the remnants of her great empire. Belgium was also anxious only to be undisturbed. Finally there was Russia obeying the impulse to gather the scattered Slavs together as a great people.)

### ALL EUROPE AN ARMED CAMP IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Prussia first, and then the German Empire had set the example of compulsory military service for the greater part of the male population "the nation in arms." All the other states mentioned except Great Britain had followed suit and demanded that their young men spend from two to five years of their lives in barracks withdrawn from all productive industry. Great Britain alone had a small army in proportion to her population, but her fleet surpassed all others in power. Englishmen relied upon their insular position and felt that a large army was not needed.

In addition to the indirect costs mentioned above, the direct cost of all this preparation for war was enormous. In the budgets of all the states the items for military and naval expenditures were always the largest. While the saying that every European peasant carried a soldier on his back is perhaps an exaggeration, it is nevertheless true that all Europe was staggering under its military burden, a burden which seemed to grow greater.

Such was Europe in 1914, full of conflicting, contradictory ambitions, full of suspicion and jealousy, full of past wrongs, present threats and future dangers. A misguided youth, perhaps not quite sane, thinking to serve his fatherland, slew the man who was to rule over some millions of his fellow countrymen, thereby changing not only the whole map of Europe, but the whole face of the world.)



The Palace of Schoenbrunn in Vienna

### CHAPTER III

## The Tottering Empire of Austria-Hungary

### A LAND OF MANY DISCORDANT PEOPLES STRUGGLING FOR RACIAL ADVANTAGE

AS the year 1916 approached its end under dark clouds of war and depression, a scene of strange, almost barbaric, splendor was enacted upon the banks of the Danube. At Budapest, on December 30th, Karl I of Austria was crowned Karl IV, "traditional king and constitutional ruler of all Hungarian lands." Surrounded by a brilliant assemblage in purple and green, crimson and saffron and ultramarine, velvets, furs, jewels of great value, gold and silver and shimmering tissue, the young man — but recently considered distressingly democratic in his sympathies — stood up in the gold-brocaded coat of St. Stephen and, drawing the ancient iron sword of St. Stephen which had just been girded upon him, smote the air with it to all four points of the compass. Thus he signified "his intention to defend Hungary against all enemies." Next, his head was crowned with the battered old crown which Pope Sylvester II had bestowed upon Stephen, King of the Magyars, in 1001.

#### THE TASK OF THE YOUNG EMPEROR-KING.

Hungarian magnates and magnificoes in traditional gala attire, oddly picturesque, raised their "eljen" cheer. Here and there a simple field-gray uniform accentuated the impression of a gorgeous masquerade — the twentieth century masquerading as the fifteenth.

To a war correspondent looking upon that spectacle, it had the effect of a moving picture — "the most superb film" he had seen. In his ears the salvos of guns, the pealing organ-chords, the noise of brass and kettle-drums, could not drown the booming of war cannon and the rattle of shrapnel, not many hundred miles away, east, west, and southwest.

A few weeks earlier, on November 21st, the death of the veteran monarch, Franz Josef, had left young Karl (or Charles) Emperor of Austria, heir to all the glories and responsibilities of the House of Hapsburg. For the murder at Sarajevo, of his uncle, Franz Ferdinand, had made him next in line of succession to his famous old great-uncle. At his coronation in Vienna the eleven-hundred-year-old crown of Charlemagne figured, though it might no longer be placed upon the roval head, since Napoleon Bonaparte, the little Corsican soldier, in 1806, had divorced the Hapsburgs from the Holy Roman Empire and made an end of that ancient traditional institution. From that time, the title and the crown of Charlemagne ceased to be worn, but glorious tradition still clung about the name of Hapsburg. Visions of almost unparalleled dominion and power could be summoned by the sound. Had not Charles V and Ferdinand divided be-

tween them almost all of Europe, with priceless colonies beyond the sea to boot? Four centuries have passed since then. The dynasty crowns another Charles, — Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.

## THE BRILLIANT PAST OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

The Austrian Empire has been characterized as consisting of "a dynasty and a diplomacy." Of the diplomacy the two greatest exponents had been Metternich, the Chancellor, and Franz Josef, the Emperor. The former was so dominating a figure in European politics almost throughout the first half of the nineteenth century that his period is known as the "era of Metternich." When emperors and kings and princes and statesmen met at the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, to make over the map of Europe, the adroit and charming diplomat exerted a strong personal influence over the distinguished circle, while politically he achieved several victories. Austria, quickly recovering from the blows of the Napoleonic upheaval, emerged with restored dignity and no mean territorial control. Italy was simply a "geographical expression," wholly at the disposal of Austrian policy. Germany was a loose confederation of states, in which Austria held the foremost position.

In a world surging with discontent and political agitation, Metternich felt himself to be the one sure rock and support for European society in general and for the House of Hapsburg in particular. To restore everything as nearly as possible to its old order and maintain that order became his object. "The Revolution," in all its phases, must be suppressed, since democracy was but a door to anarchy. Germany, Naples, Piedmont, Spain, full of impulses toward nationalism and liberty, one after another felt the compelling pressure of Metternich's "system." But in the Empire itself were forces growing bold and strong in their reach for freedom. Hungary, with characteristic impetuosity, flung itself against the bars of autocracy. On the high wave of revolution that swept Europe in 1848, Metternich was carried from his seat.

## THE VARIOUS SUBJECT RACES IN THE EMPIRE DO NOT AGREE.

The revolutionary wave bore off Metternich; the wave of reaction that followed brought in Franz Josef. On the verge of disruption, the Austrian Empire was saved from ruin by the very diversity and incompatibility of the elements that composed it. In Bohemia, Germans and Czechs, who had fought side by side against Austria, failed to agree how to use independence once it were gained. In Hungary, Magyars and Slavs were even more antagonistic. The Magyars showed a tendency to be as masterful as the rulers from whom they were breaking away. They demanded supremacy for their race and their language in the proposed new state. The Croatians refused to comply. Therefore, the success of the rebellious races was short-lived. Austrian armies subdued the efforts for liberty in Italy and Bohemia, and, when reinforced from Russia, even the brilliant dash of the Hungarians under Kossuth's leadership.

In order that the Austrian government might start anew, untrammelled by any concessions granted in a moment of necessity, the Emperor Ferdinand had abdicated in December 1848, in favor of his nephew, young Franz Josef, who then began the longest personal reign in European history. For almost sixty-eight years he held the actual control of affairs, while of the seventy-two years granted to Louis XIV of France, sixteen must be counted out as belonging to his irresponsible youth.

## THE PERSONAL INFLUENCE OF FRANZ JOSEF, THE OLD EMPEROR.

By a clever policy of adjustment and temporizing, supported by a serviceable army, Metternich had held together a state inherently weak, filled with forces that make for disintegration. Franz Josef, temporizing when necessary, firm when possible, carried that difficult state through another half-century and more. He relied partly upon the prestige of his dynastic name, and upon the power of the scepter, "wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings." Personal devotion to him as



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

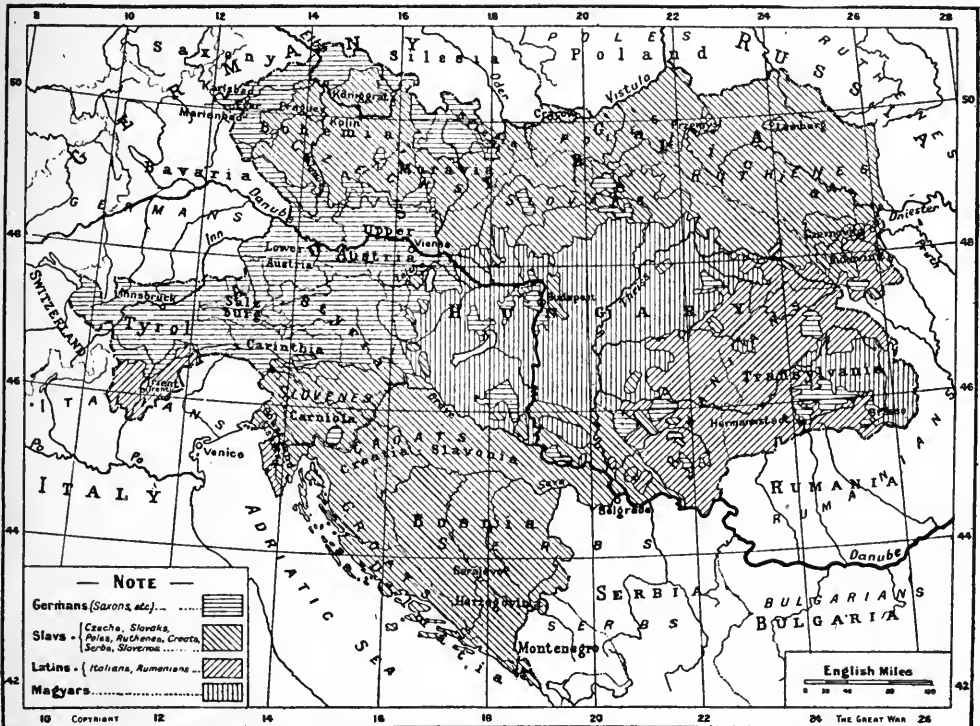
the hereditary ruler of the land probably played a large part in preventing the fall of the empire in a time when political independence and race-consciousness were astir on every side.

Coming to the throne at the age of eighteen, in a period of revolutionary danger, he had reason to distrust liberal or progressive movements, although later he found it wise to offer

unifying motive of his decisions and acts was dynastic purpose and ambition.

### PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA STRUGGLE FOR THE GERMAN HEADSHIP.

Some of the inconsistencies of Franz Josef's policies can be accounted for by considering the shifting phases of history during his long reign. In 1851, Austria was in a position to hold in



THE VARIOUS RACES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Of the races in the Empire of Austria-Hungary, those in the northern strip, known as Czecho-Slovaks, Poles and Ruthenians, lived in Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Galicia. In the south, the Jugo-Slav countries were Carniola, Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. In Austria and Hungary, between the two Slavic regions, lived the ruling races—Germans and Magyars. In Transylvania were Rumanians, of Latin descent; and in some Adriatic and Alpine regions were Italians.

constitutions and parliaments to his peoples. He early took into his own hands control of state matters and always administered them with strict attention to detail and great diligence. His knowledge of affairs was extensive; his perceptions were quick and clear. In European councils his influence was moderate and pacific, unless he saw something to be gained by a different attitude. He was clever, shrewd, and practical, and on the whole good-natured, if somewhat cynical. The

check her own subdued races and to rebuke Prussia's ambitious step toward supremacy in the German Confederation. Instead of being excluded from the union, Austria inflicted upon her presumptuous rival the "humiliation of Olmütz." But by 1861, when Napoleon III had helped Piedmont to take Lombardy from Austria and the Hungarians had again shown signs of rebellion, the Emperor tried new methods to strengthen his hold. His plan for a single Constitution and a single



THE EMPEROR-KING FRANZ JOSEF

Franz Josef, the aged Emperor of Austria, after a life of tragedy and a reign of great historic significance, died on November 21, 1916, in the midst of the World War.

Parliament to represent the whole Empire met with little enthusiasm in Hungary, where Francis Deák, a wise and moderate statesman, was taking the lead.

Hungary's attitude was this: Nothing short of the recognition of her historic rights as a separate and individual kingdom would be acceptable. No constitution granted by the Emperor of Austria was desired. Her own constitution, suspended since 1848, was the only constitution to be considered. Hungary always had been a separate state whose union with Austria was simply personal, through the monarch.

For several years no agreement could be reached. Then came Bismarck's sudden blow, the Seven Weeks' War of 1866, and the Peace of Prague. Austria found herself bereft of Venetia and shut out of the German Confedera-

tion. Franz Josef began to realize that Hapsburg policy would better "seek its centre of gravity in its own realms." As a result, then, of political stress, when the Empire was in danger from outside pressure, a compromise was contrived, without due deliberation, for the sake of reconciling the elements at home. This was the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which gave Europe an unprecedented kind of state, the Dual Monarchy, Austria-Hungary.

#### THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

The plan arranged for two states, distinct and equal before the law, with separate Parliaments, Ministries, and Internal Administrations. Each had its own capital — Vienna for Austria, and Budapest for Hungary. The ties of union were two-fold, the monarch and a joint ministry. The Emperor of Austria was by dynastic right the King of Hungary. The joint ministry, which was apart from the individual ministries and in addition to them, consisted of three departments, War, Finance, and Foreign Affairs. It was responsible to neither the Austrian nor the Hungarian Parliament, but to the Delegations, made up of sixty members from each Parliament. The Delegations were in the nature of committees. They met simultaneously, alternating their sessions between Vienna and Budapest. Their meetings were separate, and all communications between the two bodies were in writing, except in case of disagreement. At such times they met together to vote, but without discussion. The most unsatisfactory part of the Dual System was that providing for the control of tariff and currency. These matters were regulated by arrangements drawn up between the two Parliaments every ten years. There came a time when the relations between the sister states were so strained that the terms could be renewed only for a year at a time and then only by an arbitrary act of the Emperor.

Franz Josef was crowned at Budapest with the iron crown of St. Stephen, and for better or for worse the Hapsburgs had recognized the individuality of the Magyars in Hungary. For it was only



the dominating race of the country that was satisfied with the new arrangement. In the Hungarian territories the Slavs and Rumanians, far outnumbering the Magyar population, but politically inferior, gained little or nothing by the *Ausgleich*. Of them we shall see more.

## THE OLD BOHEMIAN NATIONALISTIC AMBITIONS RE-AWAKENED.

In the Austrian side of the Monarchy a variety of nationalities was represented. Encouraged by the success of Hungary, they began to press claims for recognition. Foremost of all, the Czechs of Bohemia asserted their right to restore an old and independent kingdom, demanding that Franz Josef should be crowned at Prague with the crown of King Wenceslaus. Of the two leading elements in Bohemia, the German and the Czech, the former held supremacy in the state. This German faction at once protested against any increase of power for the Czechs. The Magyars added their voice to the protest, fearing that the Slavs of Hungary would become importunate if their Slav brothers in Bohemia gained equality with German and Magyar. Therefore, the Emperor was forced to withdraw his promise already given to Bohemia, and the Dual Monarchy remained unchanged. The Slavs continued under the oppressive mastery of German and Magyar.

It must be borne in mind that when one of the Emperors, in making a proclamation, used the words, "my peoples" or "my countries," the term included not only the two domains Austria and Hungary, but the great masses of diverse races and tongues that composed those states. Somewhere I have read that Franz Josef could converse in at least seventeen different languages or dialects spoken by his various subjects. In order to understand the his-



THE ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND

The Archduke Franz Ferdinand, nephew of Franz Josef, was not in favor with either German diplomats in Austria or Magyar rulers in Hungary. His plan for the Empire was a triple, instead of a dual, arrangement giving Slavs equality with Magyars.

tory of the Dual Monarchy and its fate we must consider carefully the distribution of its strangely consorted elements. The Austrian Empire was never a nation but rather a group of nationalities with conflicting traditions and aims, all held together by a single bond, that of government.

## THE LOCATION OF THE DIFFERENT RACES IN THE EMPIRE.

In a large way, the peoples are massed in geographic areas whose positions can be stated quite definitely, although it must not be forgotten that there are often large numbers of the other races sprinkled through the population, besides islands, or enclaves, of some particular race, dotted here and there over a region mainly inhabited by a different people. German settlements of this kind are scattered over the whole Empire, among Magyars, Slavs and Rumanians.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Austria proper, home of the South Germans who were the ruling class of the country, held the westernmost position. It included Tyrol among the Austrian Alps, where it touched Italy, Switzerland, Wurtemberg and Bavaria, and extended east to the junction of the March with the Danube near Pressburg. On the north it adjoined Bohemia and Moravia, the lands of the Czechs, and on the south, Carniola, inhabited by Slovenes.

East of Pressburg, and occupying the central valleys of the Danube and the Theiss, is situated Hungary proper, whose Magyar people long dominated all the neighboring regions. The Drave and the Danube form the southern boundary, beyond which lie Croatia and Slavonia, of the southern Slav group. Less than a hundred miles east of the Theiss, the old borders of Hungary met those of Transylvania, with its Rumanian population, later incorporated into Hungary proper. This, with Bukovina lying northeast, reached the eastern limit of the Empire, except for an extreme outpost of Hungarians, called Szeklers, descendants of a colony established in very early times to guard the eastern frontier.

### THE POLYGLOT LANDS OF THE EMPIRE IN THE EAST.

North of Hungary, from Pressburg east to the headwaters of the Theiss, is the country of the Slovaks. Austria and Moravia are its western neighbors, while on the north and northeast it meets Galicia, whose Polish and Ruthenian occupants share the tongues and customs of their home countries, Poland and Russia. Eastern Galicia covers the upper valley of the Dniester. Western Galicia has for its northern boundary the Vistula and includes the cities of Cracow and Tarnov.

There remain to be mentioned several small sections on the outskirts. Austrian Silesia, mostly German, fits between Bohemia and Galicia, north of Moravia. In the extreme south, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia, Slavic in race, lay between Serbia and the Adriatic. And Istria, Gradisca and the Trentino, were long known as the "unredeemed" regions of Italy.

If we divide these peoples according to nationality, we find that there are two groups of Slavs, one in the North and one in the South, separated by a broad belt of non-Slavic races. Inasmuch as the central region contains the Germans and the Magyars, we shall turn our attention first to that. From west to east the order is: Germans of Austria, Magyars of Hungary, and Rumanians of Transylvania.

### HOW THE AUSTRIANS DIFFER FROM THE PRUSSIAN TO THE NORTH.

The Germans whose center is at Vienna are in many ways different from their northern brothers around Berlin. With less providence and efficiency, more ease and charm of manner, they are more likely to make good diplomats and pleasant companions than great leaders of thought or successful business men. In the thirteenth century, the Hapsburgs began to turn their attention from their "Hawk's Castle" near the Rhine to their new duchy of Austria beside the Danube. From generation to generation, by marriage, inheritance, and conquest their dominions increased, until they held sway over an agglomeration of folks of varied blood, language and religion. In order the better to bind their lands together, they established here and there centers of German influence, which were also strongholds against foreign invasion.

A part of Hungary was added to the realm of the Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century when it was claimed, through marriage, by the Archduke Ferdinand. He was a brother of the great Charles V, the head of the Holy Roman Empire. The Magyars had just suffered their greatest national calamity in the disastrous battle of Mohacs, where the Turks had defeated them with shocking slaughter. Although that happened in 1526, the Hungarians still commemorate it in a mournful ballad, with the refrain:

"Well, no matter! More was lost at Mohacs Field."

### THE OVERWHELMING SENSE OF NATIONALITY OF THE HUNGARIANS.

A hope of presenting stronger resistance to the Turkish invaders led the Magyars to offer their crown of St.

Stephen to Ferdinand. He, on his part, promised to preserve their "nation and language." The centuries since have not weakened the conviction that language and nationality must stand or fall together. During the nineteenth century it appeared in the attitude of the Magyar masters of Hungary, seeking to impose their speech upon all their subjects, Slav and Rumanian, and holding out against Franz Josef because he refused to allow the Magyar tongue to be substituted for German in the Hungarian branch of the Imperial Army.

The Magyars are not a Caucasian people, but on the other hand, are akin to the Turks. Coming from Asia in the ninth century, they made a wild sweep across central Europe, then settled down in the rich valleys of the Danube and the Theiss. Their conversion to Christianity and the adoption of Western civilization differentiated them from the Turks, who later sought to absorb them. But their fiery energy and somewhat exotic wildness still perpetuate their oriental origin. To Metternich is attributed the saying, "Asia begins on the Landstrasse" (the eastern suburb of Vienna). Their individuality is distinct. They have never been entirely Europeanized, nor have they been at all assimilated by the Germans.

## MAGYAR POWER AND POPULATION COMPARED WITH THAT OF OTHER NATIONALITIES.

The Hungarian territories, beside Hungary proper with which Transylvania has been joined, include Croatia and Slavonia. Hardly half of the population of the kingdom are Magyars. As the Magyar nobility have been the landowners, wealth and power have lain in the hands of the few—a condition similar to that of France before the Revolution. Anarchy is the most natural result of such a situation.

The principal force holding Hungary to Austria has been a dread lest the Slavs should become strong enough to assert their independence. Again and again the Imperial government held out false promises to the Slavs of the South, for the purpose of checking insubordination on the part of Hungary. In the revolutionary uprisings of 1848



THE YOUNG EMPEROR-KING

Karl Franz Josef came to the throne "in a stormy time." With his brief reign the sceptre of the Hapsburgs ceased to hang "like the sword of Damocles over the peace of the world."

the Magyars under Louis Kossuth made a determined struggle for independence. Even the compromise of 1867, with all its concessions, has never satisfied the nationalistic ambitions of many. But, eager as they have been for the recognition of their own rights, they have in their turn refused to acknowledge the claims of their subjects. The Law of 1868, whose author was Francis Deák, indeed guaranteed the "equal rights of nationalities," but with the passing of Deák's influence, the law became a dead letter, retained only for the sake of answering critics or blinding the eyes of those who showed signs of investigating. Entire Magyarization of all Hungarian domains became the policy of the governing circles.

## THE MAGYAR OPPOSITION TO EXTENDED FRANCHISE TO OTHER RACES.

Attempts to reform the franchise so as to give the large non-Magyar population fair representation met with determined opposition in Budapest. When Franz Josef offered to yield to the de-

mand for the use of the Magyar speech in the Hungarian army, on condition that universal suffrage were adopted in Hungary, he felt safe. Both measures were put aside. At last, in 1908, manhood suffrage was granted, but qualified by educational and other conditions that practically shut out most of the Slav and Rumanian subjects. With difficulty, it is true, yet not without success, the Hungarians preserved the integrity of their kingdom up to the year of reckoning, 1914. Steering between too great compliance to the Hapsburgs at Vienna and embarrassing concessions to their subject races, they thought it possible to hold to their course; but beyond Vienna lay Berlin. Hohenzollern schemes were a web woven to entangle Hapsburg and Magyar alike.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE RUMANIANS.

In Transylvania, a high mountain plateau of the eastern Carpathians, with a steep approach on the border, Hungary possessed a frontier that was a natural fortress. In addition, the land is rich in agricultural and mineral resources. Grains, fruits and forest-trees flourish there; the richest gold mines in Europe are found among its mountains. The great majority of the inhabitants are Rumanians—a part of the remnant of old Dacia, the Roman colony founded by Trajan early in the second century. In spite of the surging of many waves of nationality across the plateau, the people have preserved the Latin flavor in their speech and customs. Language and tradition bind them to Rumania, their neighbor on the south. Race pride is strong among them.

Superiority in numbers did not make for power in Transylvania. Control of the land and of the government was in the hands of the Magyar minority. The Rumanians were chiefly peasants, tillers of the soil and herders. Even the forest lands that belonged to them the Magyars sought to take away. The land is not thickly peopled. Most of the settlements are in the river valleys. The cities contain the greater part of the non-Rumanian inhabitants, Magyars and Germans. Whatever indus-

tries there are have been developed chiefly by the Germans, who are the artisans, manufacturers, and merchants.

## ALIEN ISLANDS IN THE RUMANIAN TERRITORY.

The large enclave of Hungarian Szeklers ("frontier guardsmen"), at the southeastern point of Transylvania, has been mentioned before. It was an outpost against the Turks, established in the twelfth or thirteenth century. There alone are found Magyars who work on the land. Along its western edge lie clustered settlements of Germans known as "Saxons," a relic of the German advance guard sent forward to keep off the Turkish incursion in the Middle Ages. They are valuable industrially and have been allowed considerable political latitude.

Even in religion there is no bond of unity for the several elements in Transylvania. The Magyars and Germans are either Roman Catholic or Protestant Christians, while the Rumanians learned their Christianity from the Orthodox Church of the East, to which they nearly all belong. Transylvania became fully incorporated with Hungary in 1868, but because of unfair and discriminating treatment by their rulers, the native people did not cease to hope for ultimate union with Rumania. They believe their proverb, "The Rumanian never dies."

## THE TINY PROVINCE OF BUKOVINA A MEDLEY OF RACES.

Bukovina, a small province fitted in between Transylvania and Galicia, just south of the Dneister River and west of Rumania, was added to the Hapsburg crown in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The population, once principally Rumanian and Ruthenian, now represents almost every race in the Empire. Many settled in the province as colonists after it became an Austrian possession, especially Germans from the West and Magyars from Transylvania. The Rumanian inhabitants, like those of Transylvania, are peasants, but of a more prosperous class. In the little area there is a broad diversity of religions, with Orthodox Greek Christians and Jews in the lead.



#### HUNGARIAN PEASANT RECRUITS FOR THE AUSTRIAN ARMY

These peasants of Hungary in their ornate sheepskin coats are waiting to be transformed into soldiers of the Hapsburg empire. The army, though made up of a variety of races, was an organization for the Empire. Commands for the whole army were in German, but instruction was given in languages varying with the composition of the regiments.



#### HUNGARIAN RESERVISTS OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN LANDSTURM

The Army of Austria-Hungary was organized mainly on the same lines as that of Germany. The Landsturm was the last reserve class, into which a man passed after twelve years of liability for the common army, the Landwehr, or the Ersatz Reserve. These men are moving through a street of the Hungarian capital, Budapest.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin.

Bukovina is like a vestibule connecting the central non-Slavic region with the chain of Slavic states stretching across the northern part of Austria-Hungary. Of these, Galicia is farthest east and has a more detached character than the others. It was a part of Poland, Austria's share in the partitions of that unhappy country made in 1772 and 1795. "Galicia" is the name given it at that time. The Polish population, not quite half of the entire count, live chiefly in the western part, although there is another Polish area around the city of Lemberg. In Eastern Galicia, the Ruthenians are almost as numerous as the Poles in the West. They are Ukrainians, or Little Russians. Few of them live in the towns. They are peasants, toiling in the fields for the most part. Those who do seek the cities find their places as factory workers.

### **THE POSITION OF THE JEWS IN GALICIA, NOT ALTOGETHER BAD.**

The third important element in Galicia is the Jewish, making up about thirteen per cent of the population. Encouraged by Austrian statesmen, in order to keep Slavic aspirations under control, the Jews have secured many large domains in the land and exert considerable influence in the cities. There are, too, numbers of poor, uneducated Jews living there. As elsewhere, Germans manage many of the industries.

The Poles in Austria have had greater prosperity than their kinsmen in either Russia or Prussia. They own large estates in Galicia, and have been granted unusual political advantages. The Diet for local government was made up of Poles and Ruthenians, who used each his own language; but the Poles, superior in culture and political ability, held the predominance. Indeed, the Ruthenians have suffered much from exploitation by both Poles and Jews.

The policy of the Hapsburg rulers has played with the interests of these peoples as seemed expedient. Under the Taaffe Ministry, in the later years of the nineteenth century, the Poles and other Slavs were given preferment for the sake of checking a refractory

German faction in the government. And very recently the Ruthenians have been given unprecedented encouragement in their efforts for a nationalistic revival and the establishment of a university, in order that they may be diverted from giving too much attention to Russian propaganda. Apparently religious and educational, the movement had distinctly political significance. Should the Ukrainians consider their language and race Russian or count themselves a separate Slav entity? The Austrians declared for the latter point of view.

### **THE CZECHO-SLOVAK PEOPLES AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.**

Bohemia, Moravia, and the Western Carpathian home of the Slovaks may be looked upon as a connected Czecho-Slovak area. Like a bold headland or promontory Bohemia's mountain-rimmed plateau is thrust out into the surrounding sea of German states. Saxony, Bavaria, Austria are her neighbors; and, nearer yet, a ring of German population occupies her own mountain wall. Far back in history, Bohemian kings invited German colonization. The consequence has been a long, steady struggle between Teuton and Slav. Sometimes it has taken the form of religious controversy and persecution, as in the Hussite movement. Sometimes it has found expression in great literary activity, and in this respect the Bohemians have an advantage over other Slavs. They began early to preserve their language in literature. Always language has played a prominent part in their fight for nationality. "As long as the language lives, the nation is not dead," they say.

They would not accept Christianity presented by German missionaries in the German tongue, but appealed to Byzantium for teachers whom they could understand. Forthwith, they were sent priests provided with a Slavic translation of the Bible and became communicants of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Later, they were Roman Catholics, using Latin in their services. Again, after the Protestant Reformation, their own speech was the language they chose for religious expression.





#### WOMEN OF BUKOVINA SEEING THEIR MEN OFF TO WAR

In Bukovina, many of the inhabitants are nearly related in speech, appearance and customs to their neighbors on the east, the Ukrainians (or Little Russians). These peasant women, in their heavy skin coats, great boots, and clumsy head wrappings, show the same emotions upon bidding farewell as many of their sisters in other lands.



#### TYPICAL RUTHENIAN PEASANT HOUSE

This is a picture of a typical Ruthenian peasant's house in Galicia, scene of much fighting between Russians and Germans in the war. The population of Galicia is 47% Ruthenians and 53% Poles who replaced the original Germanic population at the time of the great migration of nations. The land is mainly agricultural and pastoral, but unequally distributed among the population.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

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The greatest catastrophe of the Bohemians was their severe defeat in 1620 at the battle of Bila Hora (White Mountain), after which their kingdom was lost in the Hapsburg dominions. They had passed under Hapsburg rule in 1526, at the same time that Hungary was claimed, but the earlier kings of the house allowed them much freedom. In the rigid reaction that followed, German became the language of government and culture. The best of the Bohemian nobility were dead. Their lands and the lands of other Slavs passed under German ownership. Then it was the turn of the sturdy peasants to keep alive the Bohemian speech. The trust was accepted.

### THE RECENT NATIONALISTIC AWAKENING OF THE CZECHS.

For the origin of the word Czech, we have to look back to the invasion of Europe in the sixth century by the Slavs. Czech was the name they gave to Bohemia. Of the present population at least two-thirds are Czechs, and three-fifths of the land is owned by them. In Moravia, which occupies the plateau adjoining Bohemia on the southeast, the proportion is even greater. The people of the two countries are so closely affiliated that they are all known as Czechs, although there are some variations of dialect, dress and customs to be distinguished among them.

In the nineteenth century a vigorous literary and nationalistic reawakening began. Bohemia was active in the uprisings of 1848, only to be suppressed, like her fellow-rebels, by the still-dominant Germans. Although disappointed, through German and Magyar opposition, in their hopes of recognition by Franz Josef in 1868, the Czechs did not allow the matter to drop. Later in the century, to offset German presumption at Vienna, the Taaffe Ministry favored them to the extent of giving them better electoral laws and granting them a separate university. This was obtained by dividing the old University of Prague into two institutions, one German and one Czech. In 1906 a further step was gained by the adoption of manhood suffrage.

### RECENT ECONOMIC AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOHEMIA.

In industrial and economic development, as well as political influence, the Czechs have been going forward. Bohemia is well endowed by nature to bring about industrial prosperity. Hops, sugar-beets, cereals, flax and fruit are some of the most abundant crops. A thrifty peasant class has developed agriculture to a high degree. With coal, iron and many other useful minerals supplied in the mountains, and water-power provided by the streams, manufacturing has been made easy and profitable. It is not surprising that Bohemia arrived at the first place industrially among her fellows of the Dual Monarchy.

The Slovaks, living in the mountainous country between Hungary, Moravia and Galicia, have not kept pace with their kin-folk, the Czechs. After they had been taken into the kingdom of Hungary, in the ninth century, they became separated politically from Bohemia. Race ties were renewed in the fifteenth century by the eager response of the Slovaks to the teachings of John Huss and their reception of the Bohemian translation of the Bible. The Catholic clergy sought to counteract this influence by urging a literary development of the Slovak language. Affiliation with Bohemians was increased when refugees fled into the Slovak region after the battle of White Mountain.

But it is only within recent years that the Slovaks have been aroused to any particular feeling of nationality. The process of Magyarization, pushed too far by Hungary, changing familiar ancient names of places and otherwise seeking to blot out all speech not Magyar, finally shook even them from their lethargy. There are Polish, Magyar and German settlements among the Slovaks, and many Slovaks live in Hungary, where their ancestors had their homes before the coming of the Magyars.

### A PLAN TO GIVE GREATER RECOGNITION TO THE SLAVS.

A recent writer says, "Every Hapsburg firmly believes in a special 'mis-



sion' of his own." It is believed that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, had he lived to become Emperor, would have felt it to be his mission to replace the Dual System by a new arrangement, "Trialism," giving to the Slavs of the Empire a position equal to that of the other nationalities. By that plan Hungary, with Croatia-Slavonia cut away from her, would have been united with a Galicia raised to a status equal with her own. The Slavs in Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Carniola and Istria were then to be consolidated in a new kingdom of Jugo-Slavs (South Slavs), which would have been the third member of the triple unit. Some supposed that Bohemia and Moravia might become a fourth part.

It can be seen how hateful in the eyes of the Magyars such a plan must be. They knew that the Heir Apparent scorned them and would show them no favor. In return, at Budapest, as well as in the Court circles at Vienna, he was disliked and distrusted. Slavic union was a plan entirely out of keeping with the policies of the existing governments. "Pan-Slavism" haunted them like a specter, for behind all other Slavs they saw looming the form of Russia.

**CAN THE WORD SLAV BE EXACTLY DEFINED AND LIMITED?**

In order to keep clearly in mind just what is implied in the name, Slav, it is well to recall the divisions of the race in Europe. The northern branch, we have seen, includes Russians, Poles, and Czecho-Slovaks. In the southern division, the Jugo-Slavs, are the Bulgars, the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes, although the Bulgars in the course of their history have become alienated from the others in their interests and sympathies.

It is hardly possible to separate the story of the Jugo-Slavs of Austria-Hungary from that of their brothers in the Balkan Peninsula beyond. They came into Southern Europe in groups of the same race, in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. Geographical conditions and other influences gradually worked to modify their natural char-

acteristics until differences among them in their different localities could be defined.

Foremost in the westward movement, those that we know as Slovenes (a term which originally included them all) came to a stop in the foreland of the Alps, on the northeastern shore of the Adriatic Sea. Surrounded by Germans, they were greatly influenced by them and were soon incorporated into Austria. Friction between Teuton and Slav has been less noticeable in their area than in any other. They live in the provinces of Carinthia, Styria, Carniola and Istria. Most important of all, they had the sea-port, Trieste.

**RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES AMONG THE DIFFERENT SLAV PEOPLES.**

Southeast of the Slovenes, in Croatia-Slavonia, the settlers eventually became known as Croats and Serbs, although the separate names were not used before the ninth century. The distinction came about chiefly because the eastern section was led naturally toward Byzantine and the western toward Roman influences. When the division in the Christian Church occurred, the Slavic converts were divided in their allegiance; the Croats became Roman Catholics; the Serbs, Greek Orthodox believers. In the course of years this made a difference in their alphabets and the written forms of their languages, although in sound the resemblance is so strong as to indicate the common origin. Since religion and politics often went hand in hand, the diversity of beliefs affected the choice in other matters.

By 1102 all the inhabitants of Croatia-Slavonia were a part of the Magyar kingdom of Hungary, which had thus spread to the south side of the River Drave. The main body of the Serbs in the Balkans developed a prosperous kingdom which reached its height under Stephen Dushan. Even Constantinople was almost in their grasp. But, like the Magyars at Mohacs and the Czechs at Bila Hora, the Serbs met a crushing disaster when the Turks overwhelmed them, in 1389, at Kosovo Field (Field of Blackbirds). Never has the mark of that blow been erased.

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Their ballads tell the sad tale still. In this battle and those that followed, the nobility of the Serbs were destroyed. They were beaten down to a "level of subjection."

### THE USEFUL SERVICE OF THE SERBS AGAINST THE TURKS.

In the years of terror after Kosovo, many Serbs fled into Austria and Hungary to take refuge with their kinsmen there. Well did these Slavs serve the Hapsburgs in battling against the Turks. Originally peaceful by nature, they were forced to assume the part of fighters. Rewards and privileges were freely promised by their masters, then as freely withdrawn or forgotten when danger was past. A kind of autonomy was granted to Croatia, under a "Ban" of its own; but this independence practically amounted to nothing. Fiume, its Adriatic port, was governed under a separate arrangement with the Crown. As this city is the industrial center for the whole region, the Croats vigorously resisted tendencies to Italianize it during the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century, overturning the whole European situation, brought many shifts in the South. Napoleon set up the first Jugo-Slav state of modern times, when he formed Illyria by massing together the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs of Austria-Hungary under one government. In spite of its brief existence, this state had called to life a feeling of separateness that grew under Metternich's régime of reaction and centralization and the efforts of Magyarization put forth by Hungary. As Montenegro and Serbia emerged from Turkish rule, the Slavs formed a center around which new hopes clustered. A "greater Serbia" seemed possible—one that would gather in all the Slavs of the South.

### HAPSBURG OPPOSITION TO INDEPENDENT SLAV STATES IN THE BALKANS.

Meanwhile, the Hapsburgs had been looking after their own interests. By the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Dal-

matia, the eastern coast of the Adriatic, was added to the Empire. The Congress of Berlin, in 1878, gave Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia's eastern neighbors, over for occupation and administration. Bosnia, pushed into Mohammedanism by the Turkish conquest, had previously been a bar to Serbian union. Now it became a gateway for Austrian aggression in the Balkans. Close upon the decree of Berlin followed rapid German immigration into Bosnia and Herzegovina with consequent results in industrial improvement. Natural facilities for agriculture, stock-raising, mining and manufacture were supplemented by German efficiency. There was a possibility of creating a Jugo-Slavia inside the Empire, if Serbia and Montenegro could be secured.

After the formation of the Dual Monarchy, Hungary had at first furnished a market for German industries. But Hungary promptly built up her own industries, leaving the Germans in need of a new field, for which they turned to the Balkan countries. Serbian aspirations interfered with Austrian and German plans. Whether it were to take the form of an expansion of Serbia into Greater Serbia or an independent union of Jugo-Slavs, the erection of a Slav barrier across the peninsula must not be allowed. To prevent any such achievement, Franz Josef announced in 1908, the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Empire. This became an added source of contention between the two halves of the government.

In the tossing turmoil of the next few years, race hatreds increased in fury. The "centripetal motions of the different nationalities" in Austria-Hungary whirled faster and faster up to the moment of the tragedy at Sarajevo in Bosnia. Hapsburg and Magyar could not agree except in the determination to deny their subject peoples the federal government which might have made for real unity.



View of Bucharest, the Capital of Rumania

## CHAPTER IV

# The Turbulent Balkans

## EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE ASSASSINATION OF THE HEIR TO THE AUSTRIAN THRONE

**T**O begin the story of the Great War with the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, of Austria-Hungary, at Sarajevo is to consider it only as a series of military operations. As a vast, human drama, tense with driving, human emotions, the story of the war has a prologue, without which the motives of the men who precipitated the great tragedy remain obscure.

There are many causes of the war, especially where British, Japanese and American participation is concerned, but certainly one of the chief reasons lies in the Balkans. Here were enacted a series of events to which the World War was largely a dramatic climax. The narrative of these events rivals even the great story of the war itself in human interest; for again and again the reader must pause as the slender threads of the destinies of nations strain and twist. Again and again one wonders: had this man or that man spoken this word instead of that word, would the millions of dead be living still?

### **THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA EXPLAINS MUCH.**

The geography of the Balkan Peninsula is a partial explanation of the clashing interests involved in the great struggle. The territory known under that name is the great peninsula of

Southern Europe, which lies South of the Danube, the Save and the Kupa rivers. It contained at the beginning of the World War, European Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and Greece, besides certain provinces under Austrian rule as Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and part of Croatia. Politically speaking Rumania also belongs to the group of states.

### **THE BALKAN REGION A PATHWAY OF INVADING ARMIES FOR CENTURIES.**

The most striking characteristic of the peninsula, topographically speaking, is its mountains; indeed, "balkan" in Turkish signifies any mountain. Beginning from the Black Sea Coast, between Varna and Bourgas, in Bulgaria, a high mountain range sweeps inland, curving northward, reaching almost over to the Adriatic, then turns broadly into a semi-circle and shoots back, eastward, above Rumania. The southern half of this semi-circle is the Balkan Mountains; the upper is the Carpathians. Inside the semi-circle is a vast area of level plain, including northern Bulgaria and part of Rumania. Through the middle of the semi-circle bursts the great Danube River, pouring down the narrow pass known as the Iron Gate, across the broad basin to the Black Sea. Outside the semi-circle of towering granite, however, over toward the Adriatic

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Coast and down toward Greece and the Ægean Sea, the country is extremely rough, with here and there, a few small valleys and plateaus.

Broadly speaking, it will be observed that the peninsula forms almost an isthmus, a pathway, between Western Europe and the fertile plains of Asia. The mountainous nature of the country, however, renders the pathway extremely narrow, whether for railroad traffic or for marching armies. As a matter of fact, there is only one highway passing down from north to south, and that is a valley so narrow that it is almost a defile, the Morava. At Nish the road forks, one leg passing straight down the Vardar Valley to Saloniki, the other branching off eastward into Bulgaria, across the plains of Thrace to Constantinople. Only mighty armies as the Crusaders, and later the Moslem hordes on their way to Vienna, have ever forced this passageway, for the craggy steeps on either side are ideally suited to a strong defense by small forces. This mountainous country, furthermore, has been especially favorable to the development of a strong spirit of nationalism among its inhabitants, not only by impeding a wide intercourse with foreigners, but because of the comparative ease with which they have been able to defend themselves against invasion.

### THE PRESENT INHABITANTS FOR THE MOST PART RECENT ARRIVALS.

The ancient history of this region may be passed over with a few words, for, with the exception of the Greeks, the peoples involved in what has been known as the "Balkan Problem" are comparatively recent arrivals. Herodotus describes the inhabitants of parts of this territory as barbarians who used the skulls of their enemies as drinking vessels. Later appeared Philip of Macedon, and his son, Alexander the Great, whose capital was supposed to have been situated on the shores of Lake Enedjee, a short distance outside of Saloniki, the center of a region still unofficially known as Macedonia and the pivot of the entire Balkan question. For a while Roman armies

held certain areas of territory through Thrace and in the Danube Basin, and attempted to establish Roman colonies. The present day Rumanians claim descent from these early Roman settlers, pointing to the similarity between their speech and Latin, but racially they are now probably much mixed with other races.

After the fall of Rome the weakened descendants of the ancient Greeks ruled the Byzantine Empire, whose emperors in Constantinople were in perpetual conflict with the barbarian hordes pressing down on them from the mountainous regions in the north. These were the wild Slavs who swept down into the peninsula from the steppes of Southern Russia, later establishing settlements far down in Greece, almost to the shores of the Ægean and the flanks of Mt. Olympus. During the ninth century they became converted to Christianity and organized themselves into a kingdom, Serbia, which became powerful and for a time almost dominated the whole peninsula.

### THE ORIGINAL BULGARS WERE NOT OF SLAVIC STOCK.

It was in the seventh century that another barbarian tribe invaded the Balkans, the Volgars, or Bulgars, so called because they came from the banks of the Volga. They are supposed to be of Asiatic origin, and to have come from the same ethnic stock as the Finns. They, too, established a kingdom in what is now northern Bulgaria, south of the Danube and waged wars against the Serbians, at one time almost completely conquering them. Gradually they lost their racial identity through intermixture with the Slavs and developed a speech from which was developed the modern Russian.

The last to appear on the scene were the Ottoman Turks who, after conquering Asia Minor, crossed the Bosphorus and took Constantinople in 1453. Before their northward advance all fell; first the Greeks, then the Bulgarian and Serbian Tsars. The Bulgars were completely submerged, but a few remnants of the Serbs found refuge in the more inaccessible

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mountains over toward the Adriatic, in what is now Tsernagora, or, as it was called by the Italians, Montenegro. Further up another handful of Slavs maintained themselves in the fortified city of Ragusa, a seaport on the Adriatic, where they preserved the traditions and the best culture of the race, but they later fell under the sway of the Austrians.

### THE BALKAN STATES FINALLY EMERGE FROM THE TURKISH WAVE.

The Moslem tide swept up to the very gates of Vienna before it was turned, but finally it was turned and pushed back by the Moscovite Slavs and the Teutons, the former attacking from the east, the latter from the north. And as the Turks were driven back, so gradually the little Balkan nations emerged again. Which brings us up to modern times; to the late seventies of the last century, when the Balkan problem first began to engage the attention of the statesmen of Europe.

In its simplest terms, this was the problem: Two great powers were engaged in driving the Turks down the passageway toward Asia Minor—out of Europe. Down to the Danube the territory they conquered from the Turks was broad enough for the two of them. But down within the Balkan Peninsula itself there was no room for two. Each wished to pass down that narrow vestibule for the goal at the lower end, access to the Mediterranean, and the conquest of the Orient.

### THE INTEREST OF THE GREAT EUROPEAN POWERS IN THE BALKAN QUESTION.

Had only the two great empires, Russia and Austria, been concerned, they might have settled the difficulty in primitive fashion, and fought till one or the other emerged victorious. But other European powers were interested. Neither England nor France was willing to be excluded from the trade of the near East, and neither France nor Italy desired other naval powers on the Mediterranean. Thus Austria and Russia were obliged to halt at the upper banks of the Danube. And instead of fighting each other openly, they intrigued and fenced to gain the advantage.

Though great in territory and in population, Austria was weak because of the racial and national rivalries which split her people into many antagonistic groups, though this was also the reason why she could maintain her hold on them. But Austria herself was German; Vienna had been the capital of the old German Empire. And Prussia was beginning to dominate Austria, just as she later dominated, more directly, the individual states of the modern German Empire. As Prussia acquired power, after the Franco-Prussian War, through industrial development and military organization, she became ambitious and gradually evolved a scheme for an empire which should dominate all of Middle Europe and extend down into Asia Minor—a second Roman Empire. As this gigantic project became obvious, England and France threw their support over to the rival of Teutonic ambitions, Russia.

### THE MOTIVE OF RUSSIA'S INTEREST PARTICULARLY STRONG.

Austria had annexed the Slavic peoples on her way down to the Danube, partly through force, partly through their own realization of weakness. Russia based her hopes of annexation on a stronger motive, that of sympathy. Russia was Slavic, and so were the peoples of the Balkans down to Constantinople, with the exception of the Rumanians. Russia expected to be able to assimilate these peoples of kindred blood and make good Russians of them. This was the Pan-Slavism which the Teutons feared, which in fact all Europe feared.

These were the rivalries, the conflicting interests, among the great European Powers, which stayed the expulsion of the Turk from Europe. It was this situation which enabled the Balkan peoples to assert themselves and attain a partial independence, enough to develop military power of their own. Fortunately for them the majority of the Powers adopted the policy of encouraging their self-assertion, to a limited extent. Russia thought this would awaken their race consciousness, and bring them nearer to her. England and France thought

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they would serve as a check to Austria's imperialistic expansion. And the Teutons had no doubt that one could be bribed to serve her interests against the others.

### THE GREAT POWERS UNABLE TO SHAPE THE DESTINIES OF THE BALKANS.

The Balkan peoples were not so pliable as the Great Powers and thought and in the end it was they who shaped the destiny of Europe, in that they forced the final great climax. They almost upset the schemes and intrigues of all the European diplomats; therein lies the prologue to the story of the great war.

Some few words must be devoted to the actors themselves in the Balkan tragedy, for it was their individual rivalries and jealousies which created the internal Balkan Problem, and made of the Peninsula a scene of perpetual combat and political intrigue; the "cock pit of Europe," as it was called. Inside the wolves were fighting among themselves, while outside the bears clamored for admittance.

### MOST ACCOUNTS OF BALKAN POPULATIONS MISLEADING AND INACCURATE.

Regarding the moral qualities and relative numbers of the Balkan peoples much misinformation has been promulgated. In no other region of the world has the question of population and race kinship been the cause of such bitter controversy and falsification. Greek authorities have claimed that the Greek population extended up to the very banks of the Danube, while Serbian, Bulgarian and even Albanian champions have made equally wide claims for their people. The result is that no information originating within the Balkans is to be trusted, save the official census figures of Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, and these cover only their own respective territories as they were before the First Balkan War.

In 1910 Bulgaria had a population of 4,337,000. In the same year the Serbian census reported a population of 2,900,000. In Greece the people numbered 2,730,000 while little Montenegro reported less than 400,000. So far the figures may be considered fairly reliable, for they covered territory not under dispute. It is when



THE BALKAN STATES BEFORE 1913

The Balkan States, where Russia and Austria jostled each other, appear on this map as they were before the wars of 1912 and 1913, with Turkey extending from the Black Sea to the Adriatic and including Macedonia and Albania.

we come to that portion of the Balkans still occupied by Turkey before the Balkan Wars, chiefly Macedonia and Adrianople, that the confusion begins, for Turkey felt no interest in statistics. We must turn to outside sources for even approximate estimates, the trade reports of foreign countries and the observations of traveling Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans. Probably the most reliable estimates are those contained in the Austrian trade



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reports, published entirely for commercial purposes. Certainly all maps of the Balkans are based on Austrian surveys, and they have been found remarkably accurate.

**THE MOST OF THE POPULATION OF THE BALKANS IS UNDOUBTEDLY SLAVIC.**

Summing up all these authorities, there is little doubt that throughout

valla, and over toward the old Greek frontier.

Another important element of the population limited, however, to the cities and larger towns, is the Jewish. In Saloniki they form the bulk of the population; an average estimate gives them 100,000 out of the city's population of 175,000. They, too, constitute

one of the mercantile elements of the Balkans up into Rumania. But though they are racially Hebrews, and Jews by religion, they differ very much from the German or Russian Jews whom we know in America. Physically superior, they are apparently inferior mentally. These are the descendants of the Jews driven out of Spain, who were welcomed so cordially by the Turkish Sultan. Scholars and scientists and artists have not appeared from among them since the days of Spinoza; barter and commercial profit are their ideals. In politics they have been neutral, for which reason they were favored by the Turks above all the other subject races. Few individuals among them have participated in the various national or democratic movements.

**THE VLACHS, AN ISLAND OF RUMANIANS IN A SLAVIC SEA.**

Another of the minor race divisions is the Vlachs, or Wallachs, a simple, pastoral people who graze their flocks in the mountain regions during the summer and come

down into the lowlands during the cold months. On these Rumania has based her pretensions in the Balkans below the Danube, for they speak a dialect akin to the language of the Rumanians, and Bucharest has sent propagandists among them to arouse a "national spirit." In places they have formed permanent settlements. Berea, near Saloniki on the Monastir Railroad, is a Vlach city. Thence there are villages, stretching across Mace-



**THE BALKAN STATES AFTER 1913**

The Balkans, the scene of the prologue of the World War, are here shown as arranged in the Treaties of London and Bucharest, 1913, whereby Serbia, Greece and Rumania were extended, an independent Albania created, and Turkey reduced.

the interior of the Balkans (excluding Rumania) the population is overwhelmingly Slavic. Along the coasts, even up into Bulgaria on the Black Sea, but especially between Saloniki and the Bosphorus, there is a strip of Greek population. In all the larger cities, even in Varna, Bourgas and Plovdiv (Philippopolis), in Bulgaria the merchant classes are mainly Greek. As peasantry, however, they are found only down in Serres, Drama and Ka-



donia toward lower Albania, and dropping down into Greece proper.

## THE ALBANIANS, THE ORIGINAL STOCK OF THE PENINSULA.

The Albanians are solidly massed over a definite area, which has given them some political significance. Their territory stretches along the Adriatic Coast from upper Greece up to Montenegro, and extends to the lower slopes of the mountains forming the western side of the valley above Lake Ochrida. Outside of this territory they appear only as itinerant peddlers and wandering horse traders, while some of the more intelligent of them are found as clerks or kavasses in the big cities. As a people they may be compared somewhat to the Highland Scots during the seventeenth century; rude, primitive, almost completely illiterate, yet possessed of certain strong barbaric virtues, such as loyalty to friends and guests, and marked physical courage. In number they are about 800,000. Two-thirds of them are Mohammedan, but some in the North and in the South have been converted to Christianity. Their speech stands out in sharp contrast to all other languages or dialects in the Peninsula. They are supposed to be descended from the ancient Illyrian barbarians, who were such unruly neighbors of the ancient Greeks.

## COMPARATIVELY FEW TURKS LIVE IN THE BALKAN REGION.

The Turks nowhere in the Balkans form a solid mass of population, but many of them are scattered throughout the entire region, even up into Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. Judging from physical appearance, they are, for the most part, Slavs who have been converted to Mohammedanism; indeed, whole villages of them, fanatical Mohammedans, still speak a dialect which any Bulgar or Serb may easily understand. As peasantry they are found mainly in Thrace or Adrianople, but Turkish villages are plentiful around Monastir in central Macedonia. Peculiarly enough, they are quite numerous in Northern Bulgaria, over toward the Danube delta and along the Black Sea Coast; in Bourgas

and Varna they live in populous quarters, where they are chiefly engaged in petty trades. After her liberation Bulgaria proved very tolerant of the Moslem population. Serbia, on the other hand, persecuted them, and many emigrated.

## THE WANDERING GYPSIES OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN ADD ANOTHER ELEMENT.

Of least importance, and of purely casual interest, are the Gypsies, or "Copts," as they call themselves. Every town and city has a settlement of them, usually outside the town limits, for their customs and filthy habits cause them to be despised by all. Usually they are the metal workers of the community, but the majority live as free from labor as they can. In religion they are Mohammedans, but their native dialect differs from any other Balkan language and is largely made up of words of Hamitic origin. According to their traditions they are comparatively recent arrivals from Egypt.

Of all the Balkan races, however, as said above, chief and foremost stand the Slavs. With a slight knowledge of Slavic terminations, one has but to study a large scale map of the Balkans to realize this; down to the borders of Greece proper the names of villages, mountains, lakes and rivers are Slavic. But admitting this, there still remains ground for what is the bitterest dispute in the Balkans. Between Greek and Slav the casual tourist can almost distinguish, but between Serb and Bulgar the distinction is so vague that opinion rests largely with political sympathy. True, between the Serb of Belgrade and the Bulgar of Sofia there is a difference, but no more than may be found between the Slavic peasants of two communities in Macedonia, within a day's walk of each other. Forty years ago the statesmen of Europe agreed that the population in Serbia around Pirot and Vranje was Bulgarian, but to-day the keenest ethnologist might find difficulty in discovering Bulgar origin in these Serbian subjects. This dispute between Serb and Bulgar is the keynote of the Macedonian problem.

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### THE REGIONS UNDER TURKISH CONTROL AS LATE AS 1876.

In 1876 Turkey still controlled all of the Balkan Peninsula, except Greece, whose independence had been attained with the assistance of the Powers in 1829. Turkish territory furthermore included Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rumania was a vassal principality, and Serbia also enjoyed

culture as the race had possessed, had been almost completely wiped out.

Tyranny was not exercised by the Turks alone. The Eastern Catholic Church, personified by the Greek Patriarch, shared the control. Temperamentally the Greeks were different from all the other peoples subject to the Sultan. Courtiers rather than warriors, they bent under the Ottoman



ATHENS AS SEEN FROM THE ACROPOLIS

The cluster of houses at the foot of the Acropolis, on the site of ancient Athens, forms the inner city; and outside of this the Neapolis, or new city, extends in a semi-circular arc.

a certain measure of autonomy. Nominally Montenegro was also subject to the Sultan's rule, but as a matter of fact Turkish armies never attempted to invade the bleak crags and dark ravines among which dwelt this little nation of mountaineers. Bulgaria, however, was completely dominated by the pashas appointed from Stamboul and her people suffered from the blackest kind of tyranny. Never had a people been more completely leveled with the dust. With no inaccessible mountains in which to maintain themselves, the ancient nobles and leaders of the Bulgais, together with such rude

rule, rather than broke. What must be endured they smilingly accepted, and swept such crumbs as they could from the table of the ruling race. Many of their women were in the harems of the Turkish nobles and high officials, and they exercised an increasing measure of influence in the government.

### MUCH INFLUENCE WIELDED BY THE GREEKS THROUGH THE CHURCH.

The chief concession granted to them was the recognition of their Church as the spiritual representative of all the Christian peoples of European Turkey. The Greek Patriarch enjoyed a temporal power in European

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Turkey second only to that of the Sultan. The higher and more lucrative offices in the Christian provinces were, of course, filled by Turks, but the minor officials were largely the appointees of the Greek Church. Such educational institutions as the Government allowed to be maintained, were under the direct supervision of the Greek clergy. Since the Church must maintain itself on the crumbs left over after the Turkish taxgatherer had paid his visit, its taxes seemed all the more severe.

Such was the situation in Bulgaria and the sections down in the lower part of the peninsula, outside of Greece, in 1876. For years there had been revolutionary agitation among the peasants, carried on by young Bulgars who had been abroad and imbibed lessons in democracy taught by French and American histories. National independence for their people was their ideal, but they received Russian support, for that country was anxious to see racial consciousness aroused among the subject peoples in the Balkans. Furthermore, a revolutionary uprising might provide the pretext for active intervention.

### THE BULGARIAN MASSACRES CREATE MUCH EXCITEMENT IN EUROPE.

In the spring of 1876 an uprising did take place in Eastern Rumelia, near Plovdiv (Philippopolis). Limited to this locality, it attracted very little outside attention. It was suppressed after the characteristic Turkish fashion, with fire and massacre. Even the atrocities might have received little attention from the outside world, but a young American newspaper man, MacGahan, who had received a roving commission from the London *Daily Mail*, wandered down into that region and the Turkish officials carelessly allowed him to see something of what was going on. With a graphic pen and a heart burning with human indignation MacGahan wrote article after article for his paper, and though the pro-Turkish Tory Party was then in power, the London *Daily Mail* printed them unedited. All England read, and was aghast. Murmurs of protest began

rising on all sides, louder and louder.

"Coffee house babble," remarked Disraeli, the Tory Premier of Great Britain.

But the murmurs quickly rose to a roar, and swept all over Europe. MacGahan wrote as he saw things. It was one of those rare occasions when popular opinion asserted itself and could not be diverted or played with by the diplomats in power. National policies withered before popular indignation. The people of all the Western countries declared there must be an end of Turkish rule in Europe.

### RUSSIA SEIZES THE OPPORTUNITY TO DECLARE WAR ON TURKEY.

Here was Russia's grand opportunity. War was declared by the Russian Tsar against Turkey, and not a statesman in Europe, not even the flamboyant Disraeli, dared raise his voice in protest. Russia pushed her armies across the Danube and attacked the Turks furiously. Russian arms, supported by the Rumanians and some few bands of Bulgarian revolutionists, drove the Turks down from the Danube, through Shipka Pass in the Balkan Mountains and down into the plains of Thrace to the very gates of Constantinople. There the Turks sued for terms, and in the little town of San Stefano a treaty was drawn up and agreed to by both sides.

By this treaty the Turks in Europe would have been all but dispossessed. By it "Greater Bulgaria" would have been created; in her territory would have been included practically all of Macedonia, over to the Prespa and Ochrida Lakes; the Vardar and the Struma would have been Bulgarian streams from source to mouth.

### A GREAT BULGARIA UNDER RUSSIAN INFLUENCE FEARED BY THE POWERS.

But by this time popular indignation had cooled down, and the statesmen could once more assert their policies. To all the Powers there seemed to be good reasons why they should veto this plan for a Bulgarian state of such size in the Balkans. The Bulgars, blood kindred of the Russians, and presumably also deeply



**KING NICHOLAS OF MONTENEGRO**

Nicholas was proclaimed Prince of Montenegro after the assassination of his uncle in 1860. In 1878 his country obtained from the European Powers recognition of its independence in the Treaty of Berlin. In 1910 the title of King was conferred upon him by the Skupshtina. During the Balkan wars he played a very active part.



**KING PETER OF SERBIA**

The grandfather of Peter of Serbia led the Serbians in their struggle for independence against the Turks, but his father was deposed by the National Assembly and left the Balkans. Peter was put to school in Hungary, made frequent visits to Russia and finally entered the French military school of Saint-Cyr. He served with distinction against Germany 1870-1, and led a body of insurgents in Bosnia in 1875-6, a rising which culminated in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8 and the establishment of Serbian independence. In 1903 he was elected King of Serbia.

grateful to Russia for their liberation, would probably submit to Russian influence. Ultimately Russia would annex Bulgaria, and soon would take Constantinople. There was then no power in Europe which could tolerate such vast expansion of the Russian Empire. The Treaty of San Stefano, so the statesmen of the Powers believed, meant handing over the Balkans and Asia Minor to Russia, with the control of the Suez Canal, and thereby the Far East.

A conference of the Powers was called at Berlin, in 1878, and there the Treaty of San Stefano was discarded in favor of the Treaty of Berlin. Half of what was to have been Greater Bulgaria, namely Macedonia and Thrace, was handed back to Turkey, under limitations purely theoretical. Eastern Rumelia, just south of the Balkan Range, was made into a semi-autonomous province, and the territory north of the Balkans, the Danube Basin up to the Danube, was given over to a free Bulgaria, nominally under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but actually free. Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the administration of Austria-Hungary, so that the Austrians enjoyed the spoils of the war for which the Russians had fought. Serbia was given a slice of territory which included Nish and Pirot.

### THE MIXED INHABITANTS OF MACEDONIA HANDED BACK TO TURKEY.

The significant feature of the Treaty was that Macedonia was handed back to Turkey. It was a territory over which the three chief Balkan governments, those of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece, might brew perpetual intrigues. The Balkan state which became possessed of Saloniki, a first class seaport on the Mediterranean, would dominate the Balkans, politically and commercially. Here glowed the fire which was to set the Balkans ablaze; eventually to precipitate a world conflagration.

Russia, apparently, received none of the spoils of her own war, for Rumania was made entirely independent, and Bulgaria was set up as an independent principality under the

nominal suzerainty of the Sultan. Bessarabia was taken from Rumania and given to Russia. However, the signers of the Treaty of Berlin believed that they were handing Bulgaria over to Russia. No one believed that a population made up of half a dozen racial elements would be able to govern itself. There would be increasing disorders, and intervention by an outside power would become necessary. This would be Russia's opportunity for annexation. It was because they thought they foresaw this result as inevitable that the Powers had reduced the Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty by half. Even so, it was a considerable prize, and Russian statesmen prepared to go through the formalities necessary to eventual possession.

### UNEXPECTEDLY BULGARIA REFUSES TO BECOME A RUSSIAN DEPENDENCY.

Bulgaria, however, deceived them all. The Bulgars were unquestionably grateful to Russia for their liberation; it remained a creed of the people even up to the outbreak of the Great War. Nevertheless the policy which was pursued in Bulgaria by the Russian Autocracy aroused in the Bulgars a painful sense of subordination. The Russian Prince who was left in Bulgaria to administer the provisional government seemed to assume that the country was already a Russian province, and the people the subjects of the Tsar. There was a Turkish flavor to his rule.

Eventually the national constitution was drafted and adopted by the first National Assembly, and Prince Alexander of Battenberg was elected reigning prince of the state. He was a nephew of the Russian Tsar, and a mere youth of twenty-two. It is said that he asked Bismarck's advice as to whether he should accept the throne, and that Bismarck remarked, cynically: "At any rate, the experience will always be a subject for a pleasant reminiscence."

So on July 9, 1879, Prince Alexander went through the ceremony of being enthroned as ruler of Bulgaria. A week or two later the Russian army of

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occupation ostensibly evacuated the country. There remained, however, a large staff of Russian military officers and civil officials. For four years nothing of note happened and the Russian Government had reason to believe that its plans were bearing fruit in Bulgaria. Suddenly the boy ruler, Alexander, dismissed all his Russian advisers and installed Bulgars in their places. Bulgaria had abruptly taken the control of its own affairs.

### RUSSIA UNWILLING TO SEE BULGARIA BECOME SELF-RELIANT.

The Russian Government apparently placed the blame on the personality of Prince Alexander himself, for one night, not long after, a determined attempt was made to abduct him from the palace in Sofia, which was only frustrated by the sergeant of the palace guard and the sentry at the gates, who refused to be awed by the two Russian generals who demanded admittance. In the carriage from which they had just alighted were found all the evidence of the plot: a proclamation announcing the expulsion of Prince Alexander from the country and the establishment of a provisional government. This incident was typical of many more of minor significance during the next two years. Again and again the Russian representatives in Bulgaria attempted to seize the reins, and again and again the Bulgarians rudely snatched them back from their hands.

Six years passed after the liberation, and not only had the anticipated disorders in Bulgaria not broken out, but the Bulgarians were slowly completing the organization of a stable government and a first class military force, all of which remained under their own control. Then an incident which proved conclusively that the

statesmen of Europe had radically changed their opinions of Bulgarian capacity for self government took place.

### THE ANOMALOUS PROVINCE OF RUMELIA IS ANNEXED TO BULGARIA.

In Eastern Rumelia the Bulgar population was deeply dissatisfied with



THE ASSASSINATED ARCHDUKE AND HIS FAMILY

The Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, out of sympathy with the court at Vienna and hated by the Magyar power at Budapest, found his chief interest in his family (shown in this group). His wife belonged to the old Czech nobility.

their condition under the Treaty of Berlin. They were neither in heaven nor hell; they were not really under Turkish rule, and they were not independent. On the morning of September 18, 1885, a committee elected by a secret revolutionary organization broke into the residence of Gavril Pasha, the Turkish Governor, as he was sipping his coffee, and placed him under arrest.



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A few hours later the Committee proclaimed Eastern Rumelia's union with free Bulgaria. The Turkish commander awaited orders from Constantinople, but the orders to suppress the uprising never came. By this time Disraeli was out of power in England, and Gladstone was Premier. On receiving the telegraphic despatches announcing the uprising in Rumelia, the British Government immediately wired instructions to its Ambassador in Constantinople, which were to the effect that if Turkey attempted to interfere with the Rumelians, a British fleet would make a demonstration on the Bosphorus. So the Sultan decided to relinquish a province from which he was not getting much profit.

### **R**USSIAN INTRIGUES ARE THWARTED BY THE ATTITUDE OF THE BULGARS.

Russia took quite a different attitude. The Russia which only six years before had so strenuously demanded a Greater Bulgaria, now protested with equal energy against the enlargement of the Bulgaria that had been created at the Berlin Conference. England and Russia had changed places in their attitude toward the Balkan Question. Apparently the rest of the Powers had followed England, for Russia's protests were in vain. The same diplomats who had reduced Bulgaria in size at Berlin were now quite content to let her acquire an additional piece of territory. They had learned that Bulgaria had no intention of becoming a Russian province, but that, on the contrary, Bulgaria was proving a check on Russian aggression in the Balkans. Greece and Serbia were furious, for Bulgaria was already too large for their comfort. Greece had nothing to say in the matter, but Serbia played a more unfortunate rôle.

It is said that Prince Alexander hesitated to accept the annexation which Eastern Rumelia had proclaimed, fearing the international complications which might follow. His Bulgarian advisers insisted, and two days later he was proclaimed Prince of North and South Bulgaria. Rumelia was officially merged with free Bulgaria.

### **A**USTRIA INFLUENCES SERBIA TO ATTACK BULGARIA WITHOUT WARNING.

Expecting trouble with the Turks, the Bulgarian Army had gone down on the Rumelian frontier, and then marched into Plovdiv, the provincial capital. Just as it seemed that the affair was to terminate bloodlessly came the news that Serbia had mobilized all her forces and was crossing the Bulgarian frontier toward Sofia. (November, 1885.) The freight cars which carried the Bulgarian soldiers up north again were black with men clinging to their roofs and sides, and inside the soldiers were packed like sardines. Meanwhile crowds were marching up and down the streets of Belgrade shouting: "Long Live King Milan, ruler of Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia!"

The Serbians were well across the Bulgarian frontier before they met the Bulgarians in force at Slivnitsa, where a three days' battle was fought. The Serbians were completely routed and driven back across their frontier, a disorganized mob. The Bulgarians advanced into Serbia, Prince Alexander leading them. The Russian officers, who still remained with the Bulgarian Army, had resigned the day before the battle. But before the Bulgarians had advanced very far after the retreating Serbians, a courier from the Austrian Minister in Belgrade rode into the Bulgarian headquarters and delivered this message: that if the Bulgarians advanced further they would have to fight Austrian troops. The Bulgarians retired within their own territories, and some months later a treaty of peace was signed with the Serbians, whereby Bulgaria gained not an acre of ground. While Russian intrigue had been foiled, on the other hand, Austria had shown that she realized that a powerful Bulgaria might check Austrian intrigues and aggressions as well.

### **T**HE KING OF BULGARIA IS KIDNAPPED BY RUSSIAN CONSPIRATORS.

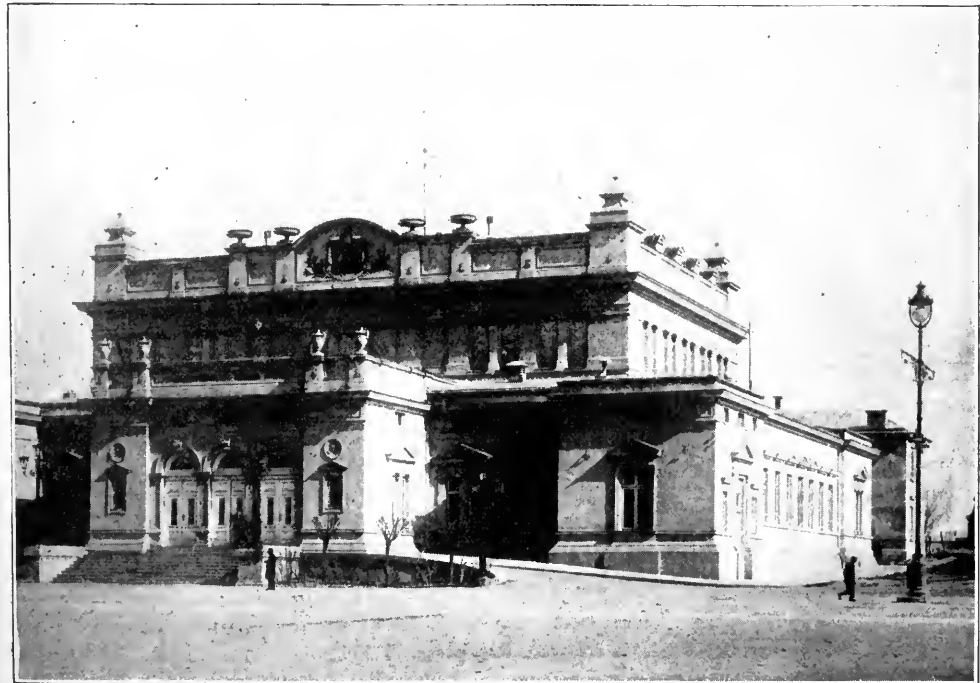
That Russia was now thoroughly roused became evident five months later, when a second, and this time a successful, attempt was made to kidnap





**THE ROYAL PALACE AT SOFIA, BULGARIA**

The palace of Bulgaria's sovereigns was built in 1880-1882 by Prince Alexander, and the public garden in front of it is known as Alexander Park. King Ferdinand, who declared the independence of Bulgaria in 1908 and assumed the title of Czar, greatly enlarged the building. Ferdinand guided the tortuous course of Bulgarian diplomacy until his country surrendered to the Allies in 1918. Prince Boris, his son, then became Czar. Times Photo



**THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE AT SOFIA, BULGARIA**

Since 1880, Sofia has been largely improved and rebuilt in modern European fashion. Its Parliament House is the meeting-place of the Sobranje, or National Assembly, which consists of a single Chamber and constitutes the legislative authority of the country. Its duration is four years. Laws passed by the Sobranje must have the assent of the King. Picture from Henry Ruschin

Prince Alexander. The Bulgarian Army and the principal Bulgarian officers had been drawn off to the Serbian frontier by a false alarm over a second Serbian attack. Among the conspirators was Clement, head of the Bulgarian Church. Alexander was carried to the Danube, put aboard a boat and taken to Russia. Simultaneously the conspirators proclaimed a new government.

Stambulov, who has since been called the "Bismarck of the Balkans," now came to the front. He was then Speaker of the Bulgarian Sobranje, or National Assembly. As such he issued a second proclamation, denouncing the conspirators and calling on the Bulgarian people to support him against them. Bulgaria's independence was in danger, he said. The people rallied to his call so completely that the conspirators fled, and Stambulov assumed a temporary dictatorship. He prosecuted the search for the missing Prince Alexander so energetically that the Russians released him and he returned to Bulgaria. On his arrival, however, he sent a message to the Russian Tsar: "Russia gave me my Crown; to her sovereign I return it." And so the good natured, harmless boy, whom the Russians had mistakenly believed to be responsible for Bulgaria's resistance against Russian intrigue, abdicated in earnest and stepped off the stage, never again to appear.

### THE PEASANT STAMBULOV BECOMES THE RULER OF BULGARIA.

Stambulov now showed himself to be the real ruler of Bulgaria. Had it not been for European politics, Bulgaria would then have established a republic, but all Europe could not be defied. A delegation was appointed and went up into Europe to find another prince to sit on the Bulgarian throne. Numbers of scions of royal houses were interviewed, but none showed any special ambition to become a Balkan ruler. Finally Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a young grandson of King Louis Philippe, through his mother, Princess Clementine, and the son of an Austrian

nobleman, was recommended to the Bulgarian delegation. After lengthy discussions, he accepted the invitation to become ruler of Bulgaria. On August 14, 1887, he was formally crowned, much to the anger of the Russian Government, to which from the beginning Ferdinand was no friend.

Ferdinand, ignorant of Bulgarian customs and speech, was for some time compelled to play a minor part in Balkan politics. Wisely he allowed Stambulov, the son of a peasant inn-keeper, to remain in power as Premier, and for seven years he guided Bulgaria through the shoals of European international politics. Even his bitterest enemies admitted his ability, his powerful personality, nor has anyone yet ventured to suggest the slightest doubt of his integrity. But, like many men of power, especially those of lowly origin, there was also something of the brute in him. He made short work of his political opponents, to his supporters he was none too genial, and thus he made many personal enemies. Yet for seven years he kept the Russian bear out of the Balkans, in much the same manner that a strong man would handle a bear of blood and flesh.

### FERDINAND, THE CRAFTY, ASSERTS HIMSELF WHEN THE TIME IS RIPE.

By the end of this period, however, the personality of Ferdinand began to assert itself. Evil as it may be, he has a powerful personality. No one man has had a more continuous influence in Balkan politics than he. And of that small group of men responsible for the great war, he stands second to none, not even William Hohenzollern. Utterly selfish, regardless of the true interests of the people he had been called upon to govern, Ferdinand thought first and foremost of his own interests.

Under Stambulov's guidance Bulgaria had made rapid strides, not only in military organization and administrative efficiency, but in the development of educational institutions and industry. Nevertheless, Ferdinand was jealous of his power, and in May, 1894, feeling himself no longer dependent on the peasant Premier, he dismissed

him from office and installed a more pliant creature in his place. Stambulov was never a popular hero, but the more intelligent classes, whatever they thought of him personally, had come to realize that his had been the hand which had raised Bulgaria to be the most advanced and most powerful of all the Balkan nations. Eventually Stambulov would rise to power again. Only one thing could prevent—death. At that time, at least, Ferdinand would have hesitated before such a method. At any rate, there seems no reason to believe that he had a hand in the murder of Stambulov, but the same cannot be said of Russia. One evening, in July, 1895, as Stambulov was returning home late from his club, three men sprang into his carriage and literally hacked him into shreds. Later his murderers, identified as ex-brigands from Macedonia, were identified, but they had escaped to Russia, and Ferdinand made little effort to secure their extradition.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE DEAD STAMBULOV REMAINS A FORCE.

Stambulov was dead, but the spirit of the man remained alive in the party which was, even up to the recent war, named for him. That party soon after came into power and proved to Russia conclusively that no one man in Bulgaria was responsible for Bulgaria's attitude toward Russia; that the people themselves were determined to lead their own national life, free from the influence of Russia's autocracy. Though Russian intrigues undoubtedly continued potent in the Balkans, never again, after Stambulov's assassination, did she attempt such desperate measures as those which had gained her the hatred of the Bulgarians. She turned to Serbia, and that country, standing in no fear of actual annexation on account of her geographical position, proved a willing ally.

### KING FERDINAND INTRIGUES WITH THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND AUSTRIA.

Henceforward Ferdinand himself stands forth as the guiding personality behind Bulgaria's foreign policy, though the same stubbornness which resisted Russia at times was shown

by his political opponents. Ferdinand, however, was more of a diplomat than Stambulov had been; there is none craftier in all Europe, and none more unscrupulous. It suited him to ally himself with the Russophobes, represented in the Stambulovist Party, for several reasons. First of all, Russia never had recognized him, always had opposed him. Secondly, he was an Austrian by birth and early association, and to Austria he turned for support—and found it. Realizing that they needed a powerful friend in the selfish scramble of international politics, the Bulgarians were quite willing to allow Ferdinand full rein in cultivating his pro-Austrian policy. Austria, on her part, was only too pleased to cultivate the friendship of Bulgaria, for already the Serbians were developing their Pan-Serbian propaganda in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia. Naturally it would be to Austria's interest to encourage the chief rival of Serbia in the Balkans.

### THE TROUBLESOME QUESTION OF MACEDONIA AGAIN ARISES TO VEX EUROPE.

It was at about this time, in the middle '90's, that the Balkan Problem began to shift its center—down into Macedonia. The Macedonians themselves were beginning to show an annoying interest in their own fate, and this at once raised the question of the ultimate disposal of Macedonia. Some Macedonian teachers, educated in the free schools of Bulgaria, where an increasing number of Macedonians came to study, had been agitating a primitive sort of Socialism among the peasants, and began to form local organizations in the villages. At first these secret societies seemed to have no other object than to discuss politics, but very quickly they changed their character. Growing in number and membership, they federated, and so evolved the Central Revolutionary Committee of Macedonia and Adrianople.

The Committee, by which name the whole organization became known, though its members eventually numbered over a million, became one of the most peculiar political institutions of

modern times. It was, in fact, nothing more or less than a secret, underground Soviet Government, established to maintain some sort of law and order under Turkish anarchy. In spite of its name it was not revolutionary. Its youthful leaders did not aspire to national independence, but they stood for an autonomous Macedonia (and Adrianople), in which all races and both sexes should have equal suffrage. On this political program they rested. Macedonia was an agricultural country, with not a dozen factories throughout its length and breadth, and there was no need to enunciate an economic policy.

### THE GREEK CHURCH AND STATE OPPOSED MACEDONIAN ASPIRATION.

The political ideals of the Macedonian Committee were heretical enough to the neighboring Balkan states. The Greek Church, with its intricate spy system, was the first to discover the Committee. It began immediately, with the assistance of the Greek Government, to organize bands in Greece, and these crossed the frontier and began terrorizing the Macedonian peasantry, to frighten them back into the fold, for the young Macedonians who joined the Committee simultaneously left the Patriarch's Church. The Committee responded by organizing bands of its own, which fought the Greek bands, and so general attention was attracted to the issue over which they fought.

Ferdinand was no less worried than the Greek Church over the appearance of the Committee. An autonomous Macedonia under Turkish suzerainty did not correspond to his imperialistic plans for a revived Greater Bulgaria, of which he should be Czar. His bands, which he sent across the frontier into Macedonia, did not at first resort to open warfare against the peasants; they merely attempted to "awaken the national spirit." But the day came when the Macedonian bands fought the Bulgar filibusters as fiercely as they fought the alien Greeks, though the two sides were of the same Slavic blood. Finally Serbia, whose contention it was that Macedonia was and should

be Serbian, joined the attack against the Committee, and the latter found itself hard pressed, fighting defensively against Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars, and Turks.

### THE ATTITUDE OF KING FERDINAND TOWARD THE MACEDONIANS

In the Bulgarian Government's Macedonian policy, guided absolutely by Ferdinand, as was the whole of Bulgaria's foreign policy, that ruler showed the craftiness which is his chief characteristic. The campaign of violence and terrorism which he allowed his hands to conduct across the frontier was kept secret as long as possible in Bulgaria, but as there were near a hundred thousand Macedonians in Bulgaria, many of whom had risen high in the professions, in business circles and even in government service, the Committee not only found the means by which to make the truth known in Bulgaria, but to rouse strong public opinion against Ferdinand's policy. That prince of diplomats then made other plans.

First of all, he corrupted a young Macedonian officer in his own Army, Boris Sarafov, and had him join the Committee as a native Macedonian. Sarafov's personality gained strong support for him in Macedonia, and then he began his intrigues, creating a party within the organization in favor of annexation to Bulgaria. He was able to create some dissension within the ranks of the Committee itself. Those who followed Balkan events in the newspapers during the first three or four years of the century will remember how frequently Boris Sarafov was featured in the American press as the "revolutionary leader of Macedonia" against the Turks. For Prince Ferdinand was also a clever press agent.

### THE INFLUENCE OF BORIS SARAFOV UPON THE MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE.

Hoping to create a crisis, of which he could take advantage, and believing that Sarafov had accomplished more than he really had, Ferdinand attempted to precipitate a popular revolution in Macedonia against Turkey in the summer of 1903. He sent one of his own generals, Tsontchev, across the

frontier, supported by several regiments of Bulgarian soldiers, all in the uniforms of Macedonian comitajees, and called on the peasantry to rally against the Turks. But the peasants did not rally. They remained passive, at the command of the Committee, while the Turks quickly drove Tsontchev's filibusters back across the frontier.

In the following year the Committee, being forced to an issue by Bulgarian intrigues, precipitated a popular uprising against the Turks in the Monastir district. This time the peasants responded, there was heavy fighting, and the insurgents at one time gained full possession of the important town of Krushevo. Finally numbers told, and the insurrection was suppressed, in the customary manner—with massacre and fire. Hardly a village in the vilayet or district of Monastir escaped destruction. Nor was the chief object of the Committee attained. It had hoped to bring about European intervention, but the Powers remained passive, except for instituting certain "reforms," chief of which was forcing Turkey to put her Macedonian gendarmerie under French, Italian, English and Russian officers.

### **PLOT AND COUNTERPLOT; FOLLOWED BY ASSASSINATIONS.**

Meanwhile Sarafov's intrigues continued, until finally he was assassinated in the streets of Sofia at the direct instigation of the Committee's chief leader in the field, Yani Sandanski. At the same time that Sarafov was slain, Sandanski sent a note to Prince Ferdinand, in which he told that monarch that if he continued his interference in Macedonian affairs, he would share the fate of his creature, Sarafov. The Committee was now at the height of its power. Serbian and Greek interference still remained confined to the forays of armed bands, and these the Committee's forces were well able to resist, for they had the backing of the whole population, as the Vlachs and a large proportion of the Turkish population stood solidly with the Slavs, who, naturally, formed a majority.

For some years the Committee's leaders had been in close touch with the foremost spirits of the Young Turkey Party, drawn together by their common aim, which was a constitutional Turkey, with local autonomy for the Christian vilayets. In 1908 the Young Turks surprised all Europe by precipitating a military mutiny in Monastir, which quickly spread to a general revolution, resulting in the proclamation of a constitution by the Sultan. In this successful movement all the progressive elements of Macedonia combined. The soldiers of Mahmud Shevket Pasha, military leader of the Young Turk Army, marched side by side with the comitajees under Sandanski. When the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, some weeks later attempted a counter-revolution, and the Young Turks marched on Constantinople to drive Abdul Hamid from his throne, at the head of the whole army marched a hundred Macedonian comitajees, Sandanski leading them. To him was given the honor of breaking in the gates of the capital.

### **POSSIBLE EFFECT OF TURKISH REFORMS ON THE SITUATION IN THE BALKANS.**

This turn of affairs was probably the keenest disappointment that had as yet been experienced by all the imperialistic interests involved; first of all, those of Austria and Russia, and second those of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. If Turkey began a genuine housecleaning, where, then, would be the pretext for outside interference and eventual partition of Turkish territory in Europe? If the Christian subjects of the Sultan avowed themselves contented with Turkish suzerainty, how could their Christian neighbors, Bulgaria, Serbia or Greece, proclaim themselves their champions?

The interests involved immediately began to consider new tactics. For the first time they realized they must co-operate, temporarily, at least. Young Turkey must be discredited. Unfortunately, they had a powerful ally in the ignorant, fanatical and reactionary masses of Turkey in Asia Minor. The Young Turks of 1908 were sincere, and they had the support

of the more progressive Turkish population of Turkey in Europe. But when the hosts of Islam on the other side of the Bosphorus spoke, the vote was against recognizing Christian gians as equals. But for this fact the whole course of later events might have been different.

### **BULGARIA DECLARES FOR INDEPENDENCE ABSOLUTE AND COMPLETE.**

The Powers, the big and the little, began to plot against Young Turkey. Hardly had the new regime been established when Austria formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which she had been governing for thirty years. At the same moment, to increase the irritation of the Turks, Ferdinand kicked over another theory by proclaiming Bulgaria free from Turkish suzerainty and himself Czar of the Bulgars. True, the practical situation had not been changed, but the new Young Turk Government was put into a very awkward position in relation with the fanatical elements within the Empire.

For the next four years the Young Turkey Party struggled to establish Turkey on a really firm basis, but their policy was unwise, and the reactionary elements gained the majority in Parliament. The war with Italy over Tripoli was another serious setback. Gradually the old influences began to reassert themselves in the suppression of the rights so recently accorded to the Christian population. Some of the Young Turkish leaders became reactionary. By this time the Macedonian Committee had disbanded its armed forces, but Sandanski retired from his co-operation with the Committee of Union and Progress in disgust, and finally took to the hills again, with a hundred of his picked men.

### **THE BALKAN LEAGUE APPEARS AS A NEW FACTOR.**

Meanwhile the Balkan states were making their preparations. This time they must combine and bury their rivalries. Afterward the spoils could be divided. There yet remained, however, the potential power of the Macedonian people themselves; the

Committee. It would not do to invade Turkish territory without a moral pretext. There could be only one pretext of that nature, and that was to rescue the Christian people of Turkey from Turkish tyranny. This needed the acquiescence of the Christian people mostly concerned. They were represented by the Committee. So the Balkan governments, through Bulgaria, approached Sandanski and made him a proposal.

While official documents recording this conference have not yet been published, Sandanski was apparently promised that if he would co-operate with the Balkan Allies in their invasion of Turkey, Macedonia would be created an independent state. The actual treaty drawn up by the Allies themselves would seem to indicate that they had no intention of keeping this promise, and that the spoils were to be divided. Mention was made of a "free Macedonia," but was immediately followed by the modification, "should this prove impossible," preceding a detailed statement of how the spoils should be divided. That Russia, rather than Austria, was behind this movement was indicated by the clause providing for Bulgarian assistance to Serbia in case of interference from Austria, while Russia was to be arbitrator in case of disagreements.

### **THE FIRST BALKAN WAR SURPRISES THE TURKS AND THE POWERS.**

On September 30, 1912, little Montenegro rather hastily precipitated the conflict, but the other Allies threw their armies into the invasion of Turkey with tremendous energy and with a military efficiency which astonished all of Europe, and even surprised the Balkan Allies. Sandanski, at the head of his irregulars, protected the right wing of the Bulgarian army in Thrace and quickly overran and conquered the Razlog district. By the following Spring the Turks had been driven down to the gates of Constantinople and were suing for peace.

Austria had undoubtedly been taken by surprise by the First Balkan War. To have interfered while the cam-



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paign was in progress was hardly possible; public opinion nowhere in Europe would have countenanced such interference in favor of Turkey, for the whole world looked upon the war as one for freedom for peoples long oppressed by an alien race. But when peace negotiations were begun, Austria had her opportunity. Behind her stood the German Empire. For by this time the Empire had already perfected her plans for a great Middle European empire.

### GREECE AND SERBIA LOSE THE GREATER PART OF THEIR GAINS.

First of all, Austria insisted on an independent Albania and was supported by Italy and the German Empire. This closed Serbia's longed-for opening to the Adriatic, and likewise Montenegro's hope for a seaport. Undoubtedly Ferdinand and Austria were intriguing together during the peace negotiations, which took place in London, for when Serbia resisted Austrian demands, Bulgaria did not back her up as she should have done. Thereupon Serbia contended that, having been compelled to relinquish her conquests over toward the Adriatic Coast, she must be compensated in Macedonia, the larger part of which was to fall to Bulgaria according to the agreement made before the war. Greece, too, was cheated of her ambitions in Albania by Austria's action, for she had counted on expansion in that direction.

The controversy thus raised might have been settled peacefully by the Balkan states, but for two obstacles. One of these was the desire of Austria and Germany to create violent dissension between the two Slavic states, Bulgaria and Serbia. A strong Balkan Confederation would block further expansion to the south and east. The second obstacle to peace was Sandanski and his Macedonian associates. What promises Austria made Ferdinand in case he should fight Serbia can only be surmised. Bulgaria had been heavily engaged fighting the Turks in Adrianople. While she had been held up here on the main battle ground, Serbia and Greece had quickly

overrun Macedonia. So that these two powers, though they had been less heavily engaged on the actual firing line, held most territory. And this territory was Macedonia.

### THE MACEDONIANS ARE VERY MUCH DIS-SATISFIED.

During this period of occupancy the Serbians and Greeks had both initiated a vigorous policy of "nationalization." Any manifestation on the part of the inhabitants in favor of national independence was energetically suppressed. Thousands of men were imprisoned, still more were simply shipped out of the country. Over a hundred thousand such refugees arrived in Bulgaria.

To have this situation made permanent was a bitter thought to Sandanski and his people. Rather would they chance another war, with annexation to Bulgaria as a result. Behind Sandanski stood the influential Macedonians in Bulgaria, many of whom held high rank in the Government and in the army commands. One of these was Ghenadiev, former Minister of Agriculture, later one of the leaders of the opposition to Ferdinand's pro-German policy, for which he suffered imprisonment during the period of the war.

### IN THE SECOND WAR BULGARIA LOSES WHAT SHE HAD GAINED.

It is said that Sandanski himself precipitated the actual fighting of the second Balkan War. He and his comitajes crossed the frontier and attacked the Serbian garrisons. Rumania joined Greece and Serbia against Bulgaria, beat her, and the victors dictated the terms at Bucharest. Practically all of Macedonia was divided among Greece and Serbia. And not only Ferdinand, but his people and the Macedonian people, were bitter. Later, this bitterness of feeling was to have a very deciding influence when Ferdinand played his game of intrigue in favor of Berlin. The Bulgarians were probably most bitter over the loss of Dobrudja to Rumania. Rumania had done none of the fighting, and the population of the Dobrudja was largely Bulgarian.



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Austria was undoubtedly disappointed at one result of the Second Balkan War: the enlargement of Serbia. Serbia, on the other hand, was intoxicated with the glory of her success, and dreamed of greater annexations to come. Both Serbia and Greece began a vigorous campaign in their respective slices of Macedonia. Whoever was known to have been in any way connected with the former Macedonian Committee was sent out of the country, and his lands and house were given over to colonists from Serbia or Greece. Most of these expatriated Macedonians found refuge in Bulgaria, where they intensified the deep hatred that had now sprung up between Bulgarians and the Serbs and Greeks.

### AUSTRIA CONTINUES HER INTRIGUES IN THE DISTURBED BALKAN AREA.

Perhaps some day some participant will tell of the Austrian intrigues which now began and ended only with the magnificent pretext: the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince and his wife at Sarajevo. If Austria did not secretly stimulate the activities of the Serbian society which worked for a general union of all Serbs, the Narodna Odbrana, at least it was in her interest that the Serbian propaganda should be brought to a head. Then she could beat the Serbs decisively, and annex their territories. The Narodna Odbrana was only one of several organizations, made up largely of military officers and given every kind of encouragement by the short-sighted Serbian authorities. They had been behind the filibustering forays down into Macedonia. Such methods could hardly work in Austria, however, so there they substituted written propaganda.

Intoxicated by the success of the Balkan Wars, the Serbian nationalists now turned their full attention toward the Serbs in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. And here they found more co-operation, for the peoples in these provinces were undoubtedly

Serbian in sentiment. Austria really aided the Serbian propaganda by the repressive measures she took against the Slavic elements of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rebellion was in the air.

In June, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his morganatic wife, decided to go down to Sarajevo in Bosnia to view the military maneuvers. It is a matter of record that the Serbian Minister in Vienna protested, expressing his fear that incidents endangering the peaceful relations of Austria and Serbia might take place. This warning remained unheeded, and on June 28 the royal couple arrived in the Bosnian city.

### THE SHOT WHICH FIRED THE WORLD AND BROUGHT UNTOLD WOE.

After leaving the railroad station, as they were passing up the streets toward the Town Hall, where the municipal officials were awaiting them, a bomb was hurled from a roof into the automobile occupied by the Archduke and his wife. The Crown Prince averted this attempt on his life by his presence of mind; he picked up the bomb with his hand and threw it to the sidewalk, where it exploded without killing anyone. Arriving at the Town Hall, he severely reprimanded the city officials for their lack of precautionary measures. On leaving the Town Hall, as he was about to enter his motor car, a youth rushed out of the crowd and fired a revolver point blank at the Archduke and his wife, riddling them with bullets. Both died shortly after.

Austria had her pretext. The whole world was in sympathy with the murdered couple and indignant against those who were responsible for their assassination. With pious phrases the Teuton diplomats began the preparation of the "notes" and the final ultimatum which, as none knew better than they, were to bring about the great World War.

ALBERT SONNICHSEN.



Inadequate Belgian Preparations for Defense

## CHAPTER V

# The Fateful Twelve Days

## FROM THE PRESENTATION OF THE ULTIMATUM TO SERBIA TO THE BEGINNING OF WAR

ON June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, and his morganatic wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, were assassinated at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The crime was committed by Gavrilo Princip—a youth of Serbian descent but a resident of Bosnia. It was generally believed in Austria-Hungary that the crime had been instigated by Pan-Serbian agitators in Belgrade and that it was the logical result of the persistent propaganda which had been carried on in Serbia for the separation of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

### THE SERBIANS HOPE AND WORK FOR A GREATER SERBIA.

The former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been placed under the administrative jurisdiction of Austria-Hungary by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. In 1908, taking advantage of the Young Turk revolution at Constantinople, the Austro-Hungarian authorities proclaimed the annexation of the two provinces to the Dual Monarchy. This action aroused bitter resentment in Serbia for the Serbs had long cherished the hope that these provinces, inhabited by people closely related to them, would eventually become a part of a Greater Serbia. Under pressure from

the Great Powers, Serbia was persuaded to agree to the incorporation of these provinces into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This formal action on the part of Serbia did not signify a cordial acceptance of the decision and unofficial agitation in Serbia for the acquisition of this territory continued.

After the Balkan wars in 1912-1913, which greatly increased the territorial possessions and national pride of the Serbs, the anti-Austrian propaganda became more pronounced. To the Austro-Hungarian authorities this Pan-Serbian propaganda appeared as a serious menace to the integrity of the Dual Monarchy. The Hapsburg dominions comprised a polyglot empire of a large number of racial elements. Austria-Hungary was, in fact, a dynasty, not a nation. Since the organization of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, the Hapsburg monarchs had aimed to hold together their heterogeneous dominions by giving control to two of the racial elements, the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary. The Slav subjects in both Austria and Hungary, and the Rumanians in Hungary, were subordinated, and were discontented and almost rebellious.

There was, however, a possible solution of the Austro-Hungarian problem which might have bound the various

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ances within the Empire into a vigorous nation, and some discussion had arisen concerning it. This would have necessitated the reorganization of the Empire on a federal basis, granting to the Slavs equal political rights with the Germans and Magyars.

### WAS THE ASSASSINATION UNWELCOME TO POLITICIANS OF THE EMPIRE?

In this connection the assassination of the Archduke is not without its sinister aspects. Franz Ferdinand had given evidence of his sympathy with the Slavs within the monarchy, and it was commonly believed that he favored some form of "trialism" or federalism for the Empire. Any such move, however, would meet with the bitter opposition of the German and Magyar junkers and it is probable that they did not regard with unmixed sorrow the removal of Franz Ferdinand from the succession to the throne. It has been charged, in fact, that the political enemies of the Archduke, although warned of the danger, did not take proper precautions to protect him on his visit to Sarajevo.

The European statesmen immediately recognized that the Sarajevo tragedy would precipitate another serious crisis in the delicate international situation, and for several days they waited in the keenest anxiety for some move from Vienna. It seemed certain that the Austro-Hungarian authorities would not allow this most favorable opportunity to pass for placing Austro-Serbian relations on a new basis and removing once and for all a serious menace to the territorial integrity of the Empire.

Nearly a month passed, however, after the assassination of the Archduke and no move had been made by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. It is true that the press in Austria and Germany clamored for the most vigorous action against Serbia, and a persistent effort was made to excite the passions of the people in the Teutonic Empires. The prolonged delay of Austria in taking official notice of the assassination gave some encouragement to the European diplomats that this crisis would be safely passed as the

previous ones had been. No evidence of the impending storm was given either at Vienna or Berlin. But there can be no doubt that decisions of the utmost importance for the future peace of Europe were reached during those first three weeks of July, 1914, by the diplomats and military leaders of the Teutonic powers.

### GERMAN APPROVAL OF AUSTRIAN ACTION GIVEN IN ADVANCE.

The German authorities later asserted that they were not aware of the precise nature of the action which Austria would take, but it is inconceivable that the diplomats of the Dual Monarchy would take action which would precipitate a European crisis without first being assured of the support of Germany, and later revelations show the falsity of this assertion. That Austria was assured of such support prior to the dispatch of the ultimatum to Serbia is clearly stated in the German official White Paper: "The Austro-Hungarian Government advised us of its view of the situation and asked our opinion in the matter. We were able to assure our Ally most heartily of our agreement with her view of the situation and to assure her that any action that she might consider it necessary to take in order to put an end to the movement in Serbia, directed against the existence of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would meet with our approval."

Later disclosures furnished additional evidence that the military and diplomatic leaders of the Teutonic Empires were working in entire harmony during these critical weeks. There is little doubt that they hoped to present Europe with another *fait accompli* as they had done in the Bosnian crisis of 1908. Despite German denials there would seem to be almost conclusive evidence that early in July a great state council was held at Potsdam, at which the diplomatic and military policy of the Teutonic Powers was determined upon.

### THE STORY OF THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE IN JULY, 1914.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war Baron Wagnheim, the German

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ambassador at Constantinople, confided to Mr. Morgenthau, the American ambassador, that such a conference had been held. He informed Mr. Morgenthau that he was present to report on conditions in Turkey, and that in addition to the Kaiser, who presided, there were present General von Moltke, the Chief of Staff, Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, the leaders of German finance, the directors of the railroads, and the captains of industry—"Each was asked if he were ready for war. All replied in the affirmative except the bankers, who insisted that they must have two weeks in which to sell foreign securities and arrange their loans."

On July 23 the long expected action by Austria was taken. An ultimatum was presented to Serbia of which Sir Edward Grey said that he "had never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character."

### THE ASTOUNDING CONTENTS OF THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM TO SERBIA.

The Austrian note first reminded Serbia of the declaration made by the Serbian government in 1909, after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, in which the Serbian authorities agreed to recognize the annexation and "to live in the future on good and neighborly terms with Austria-Hungary." This promise, the Austrian authorities charged, had not been fulfilled. They accused the Serbian government of conniving at subversive movements "in Serbia aimed at the territorial integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire;" of tolerating "unrestrained language on the part of the press" and "criminal machinations of various societies and associations directed against the Monarchy;" of allowing "an unwholesome propaganda in public instruction."

Having presented this indictment the Austrian note required that the Serbian government should publish in its Official Journal a condemnation of all propaganda against Austria-Hungary, that they should express regret that Serbian officials had been involved in such propaganda and punish all persons guilty of such activity in the future. This declaration was



### MOURNING IN VIENNA AFTER THE ASSASSINATION

When the news of the death of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his duchess reached Vienna, flags and streamers of mourning were displayed upon some of the public buildings and business houses, but the funeral was conducted without the state ceremony and honors that were due the Imperial heir.

to be read to the Serbian army as an order of the day. In addition, the ultimatum made ten specific demands of Serbia.

### THE TEN SPECIFIC DEMANDS ON SERBIA DESTROY HER INDEPENDENCE.

The demands required that the Serbian government should suppress certain societies in Serbia that were charged with instigating propaganda

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against Austria-Hungary, especially the Narodna Odbrana; that all persons in the military or civil service in Serbia who were guilty of encouraging such propaganda should be dismissed; that objectionable matter in text books used in Serbian schools should be eliminated; that Serbia should take action against two officials who were accused of complicity in the Sarajevo crime, and also take effective measures to prevent the smuggling of arms and ammunition from Serbia into Bosnia. Finally Serbia was required to accept the collaboration of Austrian officials in the judicial proceedings in Serbia against persons accused of being involved in the assassination of the Archduke, and also to allow Austrian officials to assist in the suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda in Serbia.

### THE BERLIN RULERS THINK GERMAN MILITARY PRESTIGE IN DANGER.

While it was freely admitted that Austria was fully justified in taking vigorous action to protect herself against a neighboring state whose government appeared to be unable or unwilling to suppress the propaganda against the Dual Monarchy, nevertheless the European statesmen were not prepared for any such far-reaching document as the Austrian Ultimatum proved to be. For Serbia to accept the Austrian demands without reservation would have meant the disappearance of Serbia as a sovereign state.

There would seem to be little doubt that the diplomats of the Teutonic powers seized upon the assassination of the Archduke as a peculiarly favorable opportunity for reasserting Teutonic prestige on the continent. The outcome of the Balkan wars had unquestionably been a bitter disappointment to Germany and Austria. German military prestige had suffered through the defeats of Turkey and Bulgaria, and German commercial interests in the Balkans were likely to suffer as a result of the strengthening of the Slavic states. From the German point of view this situation was intolerable and it was important that some action should be taken to restore Germanic influence in Central Europe.

### THE BRITISH AND RUSSIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD SERBIA.

For this purpose the Austro-Serbian crisis came at a most opportune time for the Teutonic powers. The brutality of the murder would tend to arouse sympathy for Austria throughout the civilized world, and to justify vigorous action on the part of Austria. As Sir Edward Grey stated: "No crime had ever aroused deeper or more general horror throughout Europe; none was ever less justified. Sympathy for Austria was universal. Both the government and the public opinion of Europe were ready to support her in any measures, however severe, which she might think necessary to take for the punishment of the murderer and his accomplices."

Russia, who regarded herself as the protector of the small Slavic states in the Balkans, was believed to be in no condition to take vigorous action in support of Serbia. The Japanese war had demonstrated the inefficiency of the Russian military organization. Something had been done to remedy the most obvious defects, but there remained much still to be done. The transportation system was notoriously inadequate for large military operations. The financial conditions within the Empire were not reassuring and the unstable industrial conditions were evidenced by the outbreak in July of a great strike in Petrograd. Under such circumstances there was ground for the belief in Germany and Austria that Russia would make no effective protest.

### FRANCE APPARENTLY IN STRAITS.

France, too, appeared to be far from ready to support Russia in any move which would precipitate a European crisis. Pacifist sentiment in France had been rapidly developing. The French military organization was declared by the War Minister to be inadequate and ineffective. Political conditions throughout the country were disquieting. The unsavory Caillaux case gave evidence of an unhealthy condition in the high places of French political life. In the elections of 1914 the Unified Socialists, who had vigor-



**PART OF THE FUNERAL CORTEGE AFTER THE ASSASSINATION**

In spite of the danger involved, the Duchess of Hohenberg, morganatic wife of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, accompanied him in 1914, to a celebration at Sarajevo in Bosnia. With their assassination, on June 28, the place and the occasion flamed into historic importance. The picture shows the funeral coach of the Duchess.



**AUSTRIAN AND SERBIAN MINISTERS BEFORE THE SKUPSHTINA AT BELGRADE**

In July, 1914, the strained attention of the diplomatic world was focused upon Vienna and Belgrade, during the negotiations that were to decide the destiny of nations. In the picture are Dr. Laza Pachtou, Serbian Minister for Foreign Affairs (left), and Baron Giesl von Gieslingen, Austro-Hungarian Minister to Serbia (centre), who delivered the ultimatum.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin



ously opposed measures intended to increase the military strength of France, obtained one hundred and one seats in the Chamber of Deputies, a gain of twenty-six seats. Little wonder that in the eyes of the thorough-going German militarist France was a decadent nation.

Finally Great Britain was regarded by Germany to be in a peculiarly unfavorable position to intervene in continental affairs. The Liberal-Labor coalition which controlled the British Parliament was strongly tinged with pacifism. Many of the leaders of the coalition strongly advocated a curtailment of expenditures for military purposes. Far more significant was the very serious situation in Ireland.

## THE PERENNIAL IRISH QUESTION ACUTE.

In May, 1914, the Irish Home Rule Bill passed Parliament for the third time and became law under the Parliament Act of 1911, despite its rejection by the House of Lords. In the county of Ulster there was bitter opposition to the Home Rule Bill and it was determined to resist the application of the bill to Ulster, if necessary, to the point of rebellion. Sir Edward Carson, a Conservative leader, organized the Ulster Volunteers and proclaimed his intention to resist the Home Rule Bill by force. A group of British army officers in Ireland declared that they would refuse to "coerce Ulster." In the south the Catholic Irish organized a military force called the Nationalist Volunteers. The danger of civil war appeared to be imminent. The Cabinet was in a quandary and the King summoned a conference of political leaders to discuss the serious situation. This conference was in session in July when the Austrian Ultimatum was sent.

Such were the internal conditions in the Entente countries in the summer of 1914. Perhaps never again could Germany and Austria find a more favorable combination of circumstances.

The publication of the Austrian note aroused the gravest concern in the various European capitals. On its face the note appeared to call for the punishment of persons guilty of a serious crime and the suppression of unfriendly acts on the part of one state toward a neighbor. The Austrian authorities insisted that this was all that was contemplated. But it was obvious that far more serious questions of national honor, dynastic interest and economic power were involved.



THE RACES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The map marks the principal race divisions of Austria-Hungary, Slavs of North and South, Germans of Austria, Magyars of Hungary, Rumanians of Transylvania, and Italians of the "Unredeemed" lands. Fate, in 1914, placed Sarajevo on the map.

## THE NOTE REALLY A CHALLENGE TO RUSSIA.

Ostensibly aimed at Serbia the note was a direct challenge to Russian prestige in the Balkans. If Serbia submitted to the Austrian demands she would become in fact, if not in name, a vassal state of the Dual Monarchy. If Russia failed to stand behind Serbia her own prestige in the Balkans would be seriously impaired. Back of these questions of dynastic interest and national honor was the important question of economic control of the Balkan region. In this Germany was vitally interested. For years the German financial and military leaders had looked forward to the creation of a great Germanic economic sphere of influence extending from Germany, through Austria-Hungary and the



Balkan States to Turkey and thence through Turkey to the Persian Gulf. Binding these territories together there was to be a railroad running from Berlin to Bagdad. In the realization of this plan the control of the Balkan states was of the first importance, for they occupied the gateway between Europe and Asia.

As has been stated above, the strengthening of the Balkan states, especially Serbia, as a result of the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913, seriously threatened the realization of German ambitions, and Germany therefore was prepared to support vigorously the efforts of Austria to restore Teutonic prestige in the Balkan territory.

### NOT POSSIBLE TO LOCALIZE THE WAR.

These considerations make it obvious that it was futile to consider, as the German and Austrian authorities repeatedly insisted, the dispute as merely a local quarrel between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. As soon as the terms of the Austrian ultimatum became known, the British, French and Russian statesmen urged Austria to extend the time allowed Serbia to reply. They pointed out that it was impossible for the diplomats of the Great Powers to undertake any useful steps in solving the difficulties that had arisen, in the brief 48 hours provided in the ultimatum. Austria refused, however, to make any modification in her demands. Failing in this effort, the French and British ministers addressed themselves to Serbia with the view to persuading Serbia to accept as fully as possible the Austrian demands. In these efforts they were largely successful.

The Serbian reply was, in fact, an almost complete acceptance of the Austrian proposals. Eight of the ten demands were agreed to without change. In regard to the demand that Austrian officials should collaborate with Serbian authorities in suppressing anti-Austrian propaganda, Serbia agreed to allow such collaboration "as agreed with the principles of international law." The proposal that Serbia accept the participation of Austrian officials in the judicial inquiry in Serbia against

persons charged with complicity in the Sarajevo crime was declined on the ground that such action would violate the Serbian constitution. In conclusion, Serbia agreed that if Austria found the reply unsatisfactory, to refer the entire dispute to the Hague Tribunal or to the decision of the Great Powers.

### AUSTRIA HOPED FOR A REFUSAL.

It was generally agreed in the Entente and neutral countries that the Serbian reply went very much farther toward an accommodation than had been expected, and that at least, it left the way open to further diplomatic negotiations. To these conciliatory proposals, however, the Austrian authorities turned a deaf ear. The Austro-Hungarian minister at Belgrade took only forty minutes to examine the Serbian reply and declared it to be wholly unsatisfactory. On July 25 he left for Vienna.

From that moment the situation became most critical. The treaty obligations among the Great Powers made it practically inevitable that any break between two of the Great Powers would eventually involve the whole of Europe. Russia had declared in no uncertain terms that she could not remain indifferent to the fate of Serbia. France was bound to support Russia and Germany was under similar obligations to support Austria-Hungary. Europe was to reap the bitter fruit of a half century of diplomatic intrigue which had divided the Great Powers into two armed camps.

Obviously it was of the utmost importance to delay the first hostile move by Austria against Serbia. The Austrian foreign minister declared that the Dual Monarchy "entertained no thought of the conquest of Serbia" but that they wished to be assured that the Serbian intrigues would be effectively checked. If this was all that was contemplated it seemed to be quite possible to reach a solution of the difficulty by peaceful means.

### SIR EDWARD GREY PROPOSES A CONFERENCE.

To this end Sir Edward Grey proposed that the question should be sub-

mitted for consideration to the representatives of the four least interested powers, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy. France and Italy readily accepted this suggestion but Germany declined on the ground that such a conference would amount to a court of arbitration. Throughout the period of the crisis the German Government maintained that the questions at issue involved only Austria and Serbia and that the efforts of the Great Powers should be devoted to a "local-



Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1905 to 1916, had worked for internationalism in Europe. In 1914 he tried to persuade Austria and Germany to arbitration rather than war.

ization" of the conflict. In view of the international situation indicated above such a position was quite untenable. This appears to have been fully realized by the German authorities for the German memorandum stated that "warlike moves on the part of Austria-Hungary against Serbia, would bring Russia into the question and might draw Germany into war in accordance with her duty as Austria's ally."

It was therefore with a full realization of the terrible results which would follow that Austria-Hungary, with the

tacit, if not expressed, approval of Germany, declared war on Serbia July 28.

In answer to the Austrian challenge which Russia felt was aimed primarily at her the Russian Government proclaimed partial mobilization of her army on the Austrian frontier. The determined attitude on the part of Russia had a sobering effect in Vienna. Negotiations were started in an effort to arrange a "formula" satisfactory to Russia and Austria, but without success. In a last desperate effort to preserve European peace Sir Edward Grey suggested to the German Ambassador that if Germany would propose any reasonable method of solving the difficulty, Great Britain would bring pressure to bear upon France and Russia to accept such a proposal, but that if no proposition was made by Germany and if France became involved, Great Britain would be drawn in. Nothing fruitful came from this suggestion.

### AUSTRIA FINALLY AGREES TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION.

Finally on July 31, the last day of European peace, the Austrian Government agreed to accept the mediation of the Great Powers and also to discuss the substance of the ultimatum to Serbia. This changed attitude on the part of Austria aroused once more the hope that even at this eleventh hour a European war might be avoided. Just at this juncture when there appeared a slight chance of preserving peace the whole situation was changed by Germany's peremptory demand that Russia should cease military preparations.

To understand the situation it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that Germany placed great dependence upon its greater speed in mobilization to give her an advantage in case of war and it was not likely that she would allow this advantage to escape her. Russia had the advantage of unlimited man power and if she had time to mobilize these forces before Germany it would place the latter at a great disadvantage. It is true that Russia assured Germany that her mobilization was directed only against Austria,

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but Germany insisted that under the cloak of partial mobilization the vast Russian military machine was being prepared. In the light of the later revelations at the trial of the Russian General Soukhomlinoff there would appear to be some truth in the German contention.

### THE GERMAN ULTIMATUM TO RUSSIA.

Germany realized that every day's delay weakened the advantage which she possessed through her perfected plans of mobilization, and on July 31st, she dispatched an ultimatum to Russia demanding an immediate demobilization of the Russian Army. As Russia returned no reply to this demand the German Ambassador at Petrograd notified the Russian Government, on August 1, that a state of war existed between Germany and Russia. At last had come the dreaded European conflagration, for it was inevitable that with two of the Great Powers involved, the treaty obligations of the other powers would sooner or later draw them into the conflict.

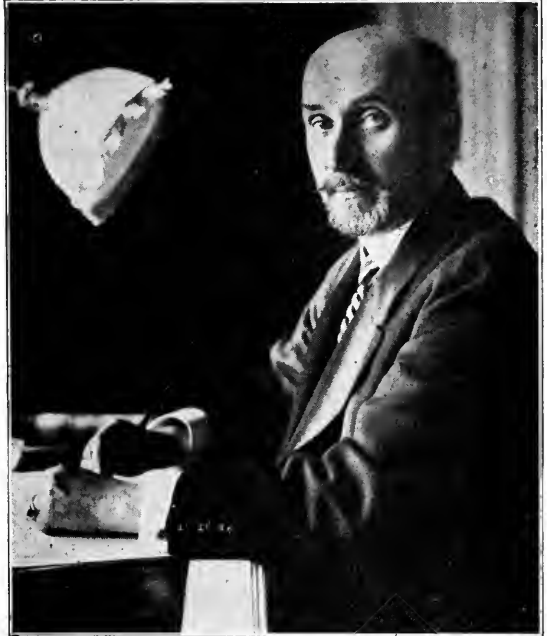
At the same time that Germany sent her ultimatum to Russia a communication was sent to France demanding what attitude France would take in case of war between Russia and Germany. To this demand France replied that she "would take such action as her interests required." Two days later on August 3, Germany declared war on France.

With the four great continental powers involved there remained the all important question of the attitude of Great Britain in the face of this world crisis. In order to get a clear understanding of the course of British diplomacy during that fatal week after the presentation of the Austrian Ultimatum it is essential to bear in mind certain facts and conditions.

### GREAT BRITAIN'S LONG ISOLATION.

First of all was the strong English tradition of British isolation from the politics of continental Europe. For years before the outbreak of the Great War British statesmen had pursued

the policy of maintaining the so-called "balance of power" among the states on the continent. They conceived of Great Britain as the balance wheel in the European international mechanism, ready to redress any serious disturbance of the equilibrium among the states on the continent but loath to be involved in the constant quarrels of continental politics. It is true that Great Britain



Count Sergius Sazonov, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, from 1910 to 1916, had opposed Austria's ambitions in Serbia. Working with Sir Edward Grey, he strove to avert war in 1914.

had joined the "Triple Entente" with France and Russia, but British obligations under this arrangement were very indefinite. It was an "understanding" not a formal treaty.

Moreover, the Liberal-Radical coalition which had controlled British politics for a decade was distinctly anti-militaristic and was inclined to discount the alarmist reports of a German menace which were circulated. In fact, the leaders of the Liberal party had been engaged for a number of years in an earnest effort to relieve the growing tension in the relations between Germany and Great Britain. Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador to Great Britain, in his famous Memorandum gives convincing evidence of

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this desire on the part of the British leaders. He testifies that Sir Edward Grey's policy did not aim to restrict the legitimate growth of German commerce and industry but that on the contrary, Great Britain was disposed to deal most liberally with Germany's aspirations for colonial expansion and economic development. Then, too, the British authorities made repeated attempts to reach an understanding with Germany which would put an end to the competitive building of naval armaments.

### THE BRITISH CABINET IS DIVIDED.

In these circumstances Sir Edward Grey's position was exceedingly difficult. Some of the members of the cabinet were definitely opposed to Britain's participation in the war. Certain influential Liberal newspapers insisted that British interests were not menaced and urged British neutrality. Public opinion throughout England was, to say the least, doubtful. When, therefore, the Serbian dispute first arose, the responsible leaders in England were inclined to hold aloof. Sir Edward Grey stated explicitly: "I do not consider that public opinion here would or ought to sanction our going to war over a Serbian quarrel."

The French and Russian statesmen, with a truer insight into the real significance of the dispute, urged Great Britain to declare her support of France and Russia. M. Sazonov, the Russian Foreign minister, said that 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. M. Poincaré, the French president, similarly, in a personal letter to the British King, stated: "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." This view Sir Edward Grey steadily rejected and up to the last day of European peace he refused to give any definite promise as

to the attitude which Great Britain would take. At the same time he made it clear to the German Ambassador at London that if France became involved British interests might be so affected as to force her participation in the war.

### GERMANY HOPES FOR BRITISH NEUTRALITY.

The German leaders made every effort to take advantage of this apparent indecision of the British cabinet. A bid was made for British neutrality by offering to respect the neutrality of



DR. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG

Dr. Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, whose reference to the Belgian neutrality treaty as "a scrap of paper" passed quickly from tongue to tongue around the world, was German Imperial Chancellor from 1909 to 1917.

Holland and the territorial integrity of Belgium and France. This offer was declined by Great Britain with the statement that France might be so far subordinated as a Great Power, even without the loss of territory, as to seriously affect British interests. Urged further by Germany to formulate the conditions upon which Great Britain would remain neutral, Sir Edward Grey declined with the statement that they must keep their hands free.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Thus Great Britain stood at the outbreak of hostilities, unwilling on the one hand to promise definitely to come to the aid of France and Russia or on the other hand to remain neutral. This noncommittal policy of the British authorities aroused much criticism in England. These critics maintained that had Great Britain made her position clear at the beginning of the crisis war would have been avoided.

### THE WISDOM OF GREY'S ATTITUDE DISPUTED.

In the light of later events, however, Sir Edward Grey's position would seem to be justified. In the first place if Germany was bent upon war, Great Britain's unqualified support of France and Russia would have embittered Germany and would have strengthened the hands of the war party. On the other hand if it is assumed that Germany was sincerely desirous of maintaining peace an uncompromising position on the part of Great Britain would have nullified such efforts.

The difficulties and perplexities of the British Government were resolved by the shortsighted action of Germany in violating the neutrality of Belgium. For centuries the little country of Belgium had been the cockpit of Europe. On its soil had been fought many famous battles. Spain, Austria, France and Holland had in turn possessed it. Its fine harbors and valuable commercial resources made it a rich prize. Great Britain had always maintained a vital interest in the fate of these provinces because of their close proximity to the British coast, and she had opposed their acquisition by any of the great continental powers. When, therefore, in 1830 Belgium established her independence of Holland, Great Britain proposed that Belgian independence should be recognized and her perpetual neutrality guaranteed by all of the Great Powers. In 1831 a treaty making such provisions was signed by Great Britain, France, Prussia and Russia and Austria. This treaty was replaced by a similar treaty signed in 1839 when Holland finally recognized the independence of Belgium. In 1870 at the outbreak of the

Franco-Prussian war, Great Britain negotiated treaties with both France and Prussia to assure further respect for the neutrality of Belgium.

### WHY GERMANY WISHED TO GO THROUGH BELGIUM.

With the outbreak of the Great War Belgium was once more threatened. Strategically this country occupied a most important position in a war which involved France and Germany. The eastern French frontier from the Swiss to the Belgian border was strongly fortified. A German invasion of France through this frontier would have been a long and difficult task, as the war later proved. If France could be attacked, however, on her northern border by crossing Belgium the chances of success were much greater.

Reports of large concentration of German forces on the Belgian frontier made it evident that Germany contemplated such a move. In view of this situation, Sir Edward Grey on July 31st, sent instructions to the British Ambassadors at Berlin and Paris to inquire whether Germany and France were prepared to respect the neutrality of Belgium. France replied that she was resolved to do so, so long as other powers did the same. Germany made no direct reply. The German Secretary of State indicated that to reply to the British note would disclose a part of the German plan of campaign. The world was not left long in doubt as to the German intentions.

### GERMANY'S PROPOSAL TO BELGIUM.

On August 2nd, the German Government presented a note to Belgium proposing "friendly neutrality." It was stated that Germany had received information that France proposed to march through Belgium and that Germany proposed to forestall this move. She declared that if Belgium would allow German troops to cross her territory, Belgian independence would be completely restored at the close of the war, and an indemnity paid for all damage done but that if she refused her fate would be left "to the decision of arms." To her everlasting honor Belgium refused to listen to the

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

German proposal and stated that she was resolved to maintain her rights "by every means in her power." At the same time she called upon Great Britain, France and Russia to fulfill their obligations under the treaty of 1839. In response to this appeal, Great Britain sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding that satisfactory assurances be given that Germany would respect the neutrality of Belgium. Failure to receive any reply to this demand resulted in Great Britain's declaring war on Germany, August 4th.

At first Germany justified her invasion of Belgium on the ground of military necessity. The German Chancellor stated that Germany was confronted with a great national crisis and that under the circumstances "necessity knows no law." When, however, the public indignation in all civilized countries became apparent, the German leaders endeavored to find some other warrant for their breach of international law. Certain documents were found in the Belgian archives when the Germans occupied Brussels which Germany claimed gave evidence of unneutral acts on the part of Belgium.

### THE DOCUMENTS NOT IMPORTANT.

The Belgium government had no difficulty in showing that these documents in no sense involved a breach of neutrality by Belgium and that, moreover, Germany had been aware of the nature of these documents long before their supposed "discovery" in Brussels.

Apart from questions of international morality, the invasion of Belgium was a serious diplomatic blunder, for it gave to the British Cabinet a moral issue upon which they could rely to unite British public opinion in support of Great Britain's participation in the war. That Great Britain would be drawn into the struggle sooner or later was inevitable. In the first place she was under obligations to France to defend the northern coast of France from attack by the German navy. On August 2nd, two

days before Great Britain entered the war, Sir Edward Grey notified the French Government that Great Britain would fulfill this obligation. Moreover, quite apart from this specific agreement Great Britain could not have stood aside and allowed France to be crushed. The preservation of France was of vital importance to Great Britain. If Germany established herself on the English Channel she would threaten British naval supremacy and the very existence of the British Empire.

### BELGIUM GIVES A MORAL ISSUE.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that British participation in the war was assured when France was attacked. The question of Belgian neutrality was important in that it gave Great Britain a strong moral basis for entering a struggle which her vital interests would inevitably have forced her to enter. Great Britain's decision to enter the war aroused feelings of bitter resentment in Germany. In the famous words of the German Chancellor—"just for a word—'neutrality'—a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper—Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her." But it is difficult to believe that the German authorities could have had any doubts as to the consequences of their action in violating Belgian neutrality. In fact later events would justify the belief that Germany deliberately challenged England with the intention of realizing her long-cherished dream of world domination.

Thus on August 4, 1914, the stage was set for the greatest and most terrible of all world tragedies. Probably none of the statesmen then guiding the policies of the Great Powers had any conception of the magnitude of the impending struggle or of the tremendous political and social changes through which Europe was to pass in the next four years.

NELSON P. MEAD.

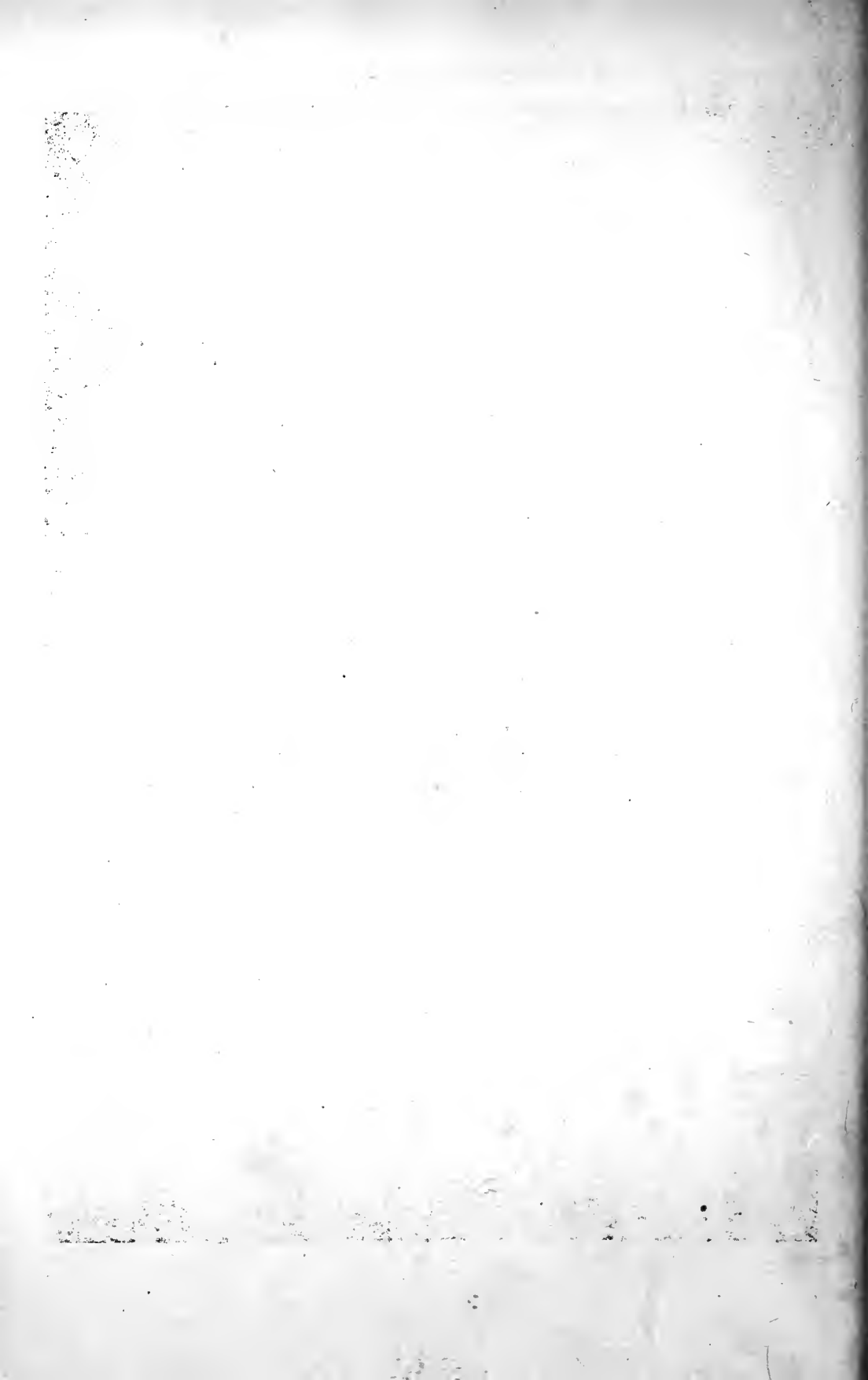


*By permission of Geo. F. Palmer & Sons, Ltd.*

*Photo by Ketchum Collins*

ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS







The Garde Civique on Duty in Belgium

## CHAPTER VI

# The Crime Against Belgium

## THE GERMANS VIOLATE THE NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM WHICH THEY HAD SWORN TO PROTECT

**R**ESTING upon the treaties which, in 1839 and 1870, guaranteed her neutrality, Belgium made little preparation for war. Her army in 1914 numbered only about 260,000 men, and of these one half were needed for the fortresses, so that only 130,000 together with some 90,000 almost untrained *Gardes Civiques* were available for war. The great fortress of Antwerp and the lesser ones of Liège and Namur had been modernized and strengthened by the great engineer Brialmont, but in a day before the great siege gun. With the failure of Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy to confine the trouble between Austria and Serbia to the Balkans, France, in accordance with the Dual Entente threw in her lot with Russia, and Germany supported Austria. Thus the theatre was ready and the scene placed for a great European conflict.

### THE GERMAN PLAN TO ATTACK FRANCE.

The German high command had long before made its plans in case of war with France and Russia. By using a great proportion of her strength in the west, France would be crushed by a quick envelopment of her armies. Then Germany could turn to the east in full strength and meet the sluggish Russian bear. This plan demanded, first of all, speed. Delay until the Russian armies

should be mobilized might be fatal to the smooth execution of the plan, which contemplated the passage of the Belgian plain and the employment of her network of railways to launch a drive which should first roll up and then destroy the armies of France.

Leaving out of consideration all questions of morality, and thinking only of the object to be gained, the German strategists were wise and far-seeing. An examination of a topographical map of France showed in advance what subsequent events proved. Eastern France is a series of plateaus sloping gently toward Paris, but presenting steep faces toward the German Empire. The few gateways nearest Germany were guarded by the great fortresses of Verdun, Toul, Epinal and Belfort. Guarding the passes behind these were other fortifications, and other positions where Nature made resistance easy to invasion from the East. While the General Staff had confidence in the power of the heavy artillery to reduce these fortifications, progress would necessarily be slow. As a matter of fact the invincibility of Verdun was to be shown in 1917.

### NO NATURAL DEFENSES TOWARD FRANCE.

On the other hand, northeastern France bordering on Belgium is a continuation of the low Belgian plain.

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There are no natural defenses to help hold back an invading army. Roads, many and good, make an invasion easier. To be sure the route from the German frontier to Paris by way of Belgium is 80 miles longer than the route from Metz to Paris (250 miles as against 170) but one was expected to be easy and the other was known to be difficult. From the standpoint of the German General Staff, there could be no hesitation in choosing the route through Belgium, since as said above speed was the very essence of the plan.

Such a course violated the neutrality of Belgium, which had been guaranteed by the European Powers in 1839, and which Prussia had again affirmed in 1870. By this treaty all the signatory powers agreed to refrain from invading Belgium so long as it waged no war beyond its own boundaries. Tiny Luxemburg was neutralized in 1867. In 1907 the Hague Convention, ratified by Germany, definitely forbade belligerents to move troops, supplies or munitions across the territory of a neutral power. This applied of course equally to Belgium, Luxemburg and Switzerland, and seemed to make possible their continued existence in peace and security.

### THE GERMAN THEORY OF THE STATE.

As we have seen, however, the dominant school of thought in Germany held the theory of the survival of the fittest, that is, the strongest, in its boldest and most uncompromising form. Morality in international questions was a meaningless term. Only self-interest could be considered. The test of right or wrong in considering the action of a state was whether or not it was beneficial. "The state can not commit a crime." The desire for world dominion had seized the ruling classes in Germany, and the state had long been preparing for the struggle. In the words of the Kaiser, "Belgian neutrality had to be violated by Germany on strategic grounds." Nothing else counted.

Following plans made long before, three of the eight German armies were mobilized on the border of Belgium. In

the preceding chapter the story of the German demand that Belgium should sacrifice her neutrality and allow the German armies to pass through is told at length. On August 2, 1914, the German note was presented and an answer was demanded before seven o'clock the next morning. To these demands the Belgian government replied within twelve hours that they were firmly resolved to repel, by all means in their power, every attack upon their rights. Three hours later that Monday night the Belgian king telegraphed to the King of England as follows: "Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of the friendship you have just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty's government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium."

The next day Parliament was summoned in special session, and in the national crisis all faction quarrels were forgotten, all parties united. As the queen entered, the deputies cheered enthusiastically to show that they looked upon her as a Belgian queen and nothing else, in spite of her Bavarian birth and upbringing. When the cheering had subsided, the king came in, walking quietly to the dais, plunged right into the heart of the situation. He called upon the deputies for the great need of union, and then put this question to the House "Je vous demande, Messieurs: Etes-vous décidés inébranlablement à maintenir intact le patrimoine sacré de nos ancêtres?" "Oui! Oui! Oui!" roared the chamber and from the Socialist members came cries of "At any cost, by death if need be!" The king continued, "J'ai foi dans nos destinées. Un pays qui se défend s'impose au respect de tous; ce pays ne périt pas. Dieu sera avec nous dans cette cause juste! Vive la Belgique indépendante!"

### THE GERMANS CROSS THE FRONTIER.

When the king departed, the houses remained in joint session to read the German note of August 4, stating "that

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in view of the refusal of the King to the well-intentioned proposals of the Emperor, the Imperial Government, greatly to its regret, was obliged to carry out by force of arms the measures indispensable to its security." That same morning German soldiers crossed the Belgian frontier at Visé, overcoming the resistance of a Belgian detachment holding the bridge. Their first objective was Liège within the circle of whose forts lay the railway junction of the

las after they had been fired, rising again to fire another shot. In 1892, when the works had been completed they were considered very strong but the remainder of the plan, trenches and redoubts for infantry, had never been constructed. The garrison numbered only a few hundred, for whom there was room in the barracks.

With the news of the coming of the Germans the Third Belgian Division had been hurried to Liège, and with



### GERMAN TROOPS MARCHING THROUGH BERLIN ON THE WAY TO BELGIUM

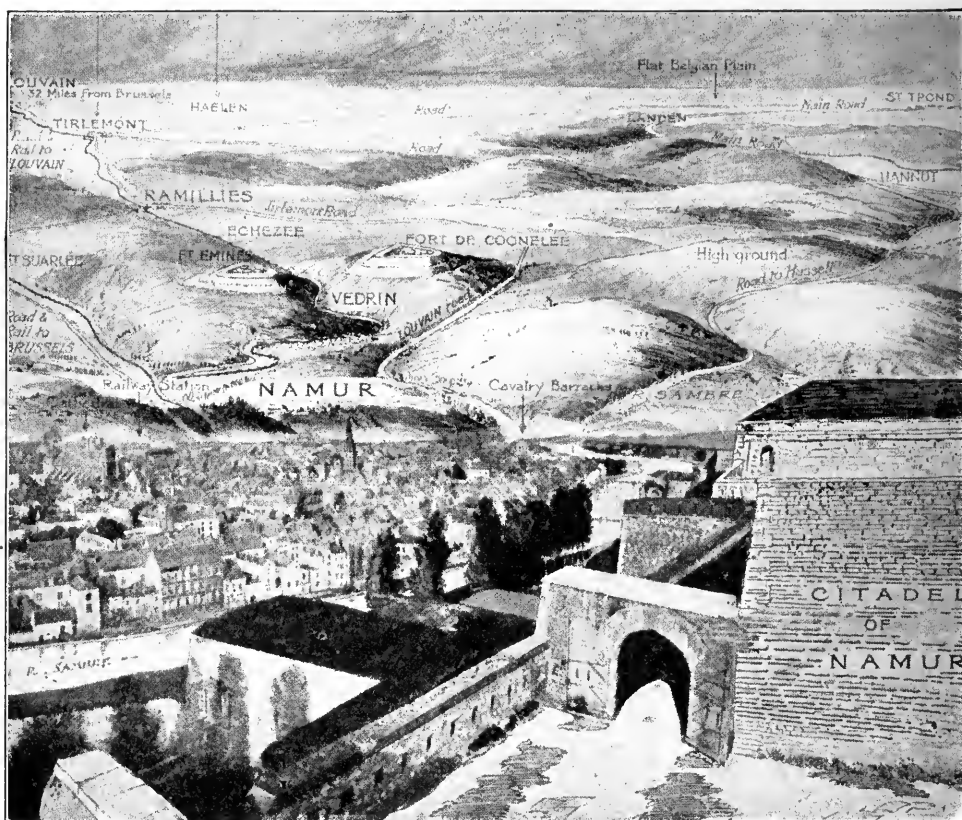
Full of confidence, the German soldiers left their capital on the way towards the Belgian frontier as though they were setting forth for manoeuvres. It is a testimony to the curious German habit of mind that when they returned defeated four years later, the same civilian population acclaimed them victorious.

Picture, Henry Ruschin

lines connecting Belgium and Northern France with Germany.

On the Meuse, near the German frontier lay two fortresses, Liège and Namur, which had been designed to command the railway lines crossing the frontier, and prevent an invasion from the east. The town of Liège was surrounded by twelve forts, six large and six smaller. There was no artillery larger than a 6-inch gun and an 8-inch mortar, and there were few of these. The guns were mounted in armored turrets which sank into concrete cupo-

some companies of the *Gardes Civiques* hastily threw up intrenchments in the spaces between the detached forts. They were poorly provided with the requisites for trench warfare, including ammunition, but those across the Meuse made a vigorous resistance to the German attack. The Germans underestimated their adversaries, and the Seventh and Tenth Corps, under General von Emmich, though partly supplied and not yet fully organized, were expected to take the city without difficulty.



PANORAMA OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN LIÈGE AND NAMUR

A bird's eye view of the land between the fortified town of Liège and Namur around which the severest fighting took place during the opening weeks of the war. When Visé had been sacked and burned and Liège taken, the Belgians hotly contested the advance of the enemy at Tongres, Hasselt, St. Trond, Landen, Haelen, Diest and

## THE ATTACK ON LIÈGE BEGINS ON THE SECOND DAY OF WAR

After an inadequate artillery bombardment an unsuccessful assault was made on the morning of August 5, though Fort Fléron was silenced by the artillery. Another assault followed that night, after a heavier bombardment, and the next day, August 6, the German infantry had forced their way between two of the eastern forts though the Belgians still held the village between the outer forts and the town. Three more of the forts were silenced but the Germans were too exhausted to follow up their advantage at first. On the morning of August 7 the town was entered but General Leman had ordered the Third Belgian Division to evacuate the place and join the Belgian Army behind the Gette, in order that they might not be involved in the general capitulation which he saw was becom-

ing inevitable. Unfortunately the bridges were not destroyed. General Leman determined to hold the remaining forts as long as possible so as to cause the Germans the greatest hindrance in seizing the railways passing through the city. On the 9th and 10th two more forts fell before the concentrated fire of heavy field howitzers. On the 11th the siege train arrived and began its work, smashing the steel and cement cupolas which protected the guns of the forts. Fort Longin held out until the 15th, when it was struck by a shell from a 42 centimetre howitzer, according to General von Ludendorff, but it is not believed that these had yet come up. There brave General Leman was captured after he had been rendered senseless by the explosion which destroyed the fort.

Meanwhile, in Brussels at first great optimism prevailed and the press



#### SHOWING THE VARIOUS DEFENSES ALONG THE RIVER

Tirlemont. After the occupation of Louvain and Brussels, the German forces executed a great turning movement towards Namur, whose ancient citadel looks down on the Meuse and Sambre some 600 feet below, and captured the town August 24, 1914.

headed its news sheets day after day with the line "*Les forts tiennent toujours.*" There came a change in the rumors, and the king and the queen left for Antwerp, while the defense of Brussels lay only in her companies of *Gardes Civiques* who had had no more training than that they had received on Sunday afternoon marches through the pleasant woods or a parade on some fête day.

#### THE ROAD THROUGH BELGIUM NOW OPEN.

The way through Belgium was now open. To be sure Antwerp on the north and Namur to the south still stood but there was a wide gap between through which the invaders might pass. Further the Germans realized that their heavy artillery could demolish any fortifications within range, and they knew that their numbers would enable them to drive back any forces

which should attempt to keep them at a distance. Namur must be taken, of course, for it separated the German line, but Antwerp was harmless and might easily be left until a more convenient season.

Meanwhile the first German Army under General von Kluck, had been mobilizing on the extreme right of the German line. According to plan he was to march through Belgium and get around to the rear of the French left. (The plan did not anticipate the arrival of the English forces.) The siege of Liège had delayed his advance long enough for the English forces to get into position on the French left, though it is not probable that the total delay was as much as the twelve days during which the last fort held out. Even had Liège fallen earlier, General von Kluck could not have moved at once, but the sacrifices at Liège did cause appreciable



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delay in carrying out the German plans, and it is not too much to say that the Belgian resistance saved France.

By the 17th of August General von Kluck reached the Gette, between which river and the Dyle the main Belgian army was lying (the Fourth Division only was stationed down at Namur to guard the crossings of the

of forts around Antwerp itself. Then von Kluck's army wheeled round upon Brussels, sending the Third and Ninth Reserve Corps to watch Antwerp. On the 19th the Second Corps passed through Aerschot and marched on to get round Brussels which it entered on the 20th, the Third Corps passed only through the south suburbs of the capital, and



THE PONT DES ARCHES AT LIÈGE, DESTROYED TO HOLD THE GERMANS BACK

The beautiful Pont des Arches at Liège was destroyed by the Belgian army in the vain attempt to hamper the crossing of the Meuse River. The German engineers soon built a pontoon bridge, however, and were hindered only a short time. This part of the city was not greatly damaged by the bombardment.

Picture, Boon, Amsterdam

Meuse immediately below the fortress). The Belgians had been successful in repulsing a German attempt to cross the Gette at Haelen on the 12th, so von Kluck brought against the small army three army corps, following these up closely with four additional reserve ones. At Haelen and Diest, August 18th, they forced their way across the river and by evening the entire line of the river was in von Kluck's hands. Then the Belgian commander seeing that he was in danger of being outflanked by a greatly superior enemy, withdrew behind the Dyle River on the 18th and 19th, and finally on August 20th, with his army, entered the circle

the Ninth marched west from the Gette upon Braine l'Alleud.

### GERMAN SOLDIERS ENTER BRUSSELS.

The 19th of August was a day of anxious anticipation within Brussels. With the news of German advance, plans for the defense of the city had at first been adopted by the Burgomaster M. Max. As he had at his disposal no regular troops, but only companies of the *Garde Civique*, it would have been a useless and futile sacrifice involving the loss of civilian property and life to attempt to hold the city. He was, therefore, dissuaded from resistance, and finally, wearing his scarf of office



rode out to Tervueren on Tuesday night to arrange with the German Staff the details of the German march through the capital. All shops were closed and proclamations issued to the *Bruxellois* warning them to make no demonstration. A silent, sullen crowd thronged the streets through which the great army rode. Eye witnesses of the scene testify to the fearsome equipment of the Germans, from the great siege trains down to the smallest details of uniforms. There was no shouting, no giving of orders, all this was done by signal or by whistle as staff officers or motorcycles rode up and down on the left of the boulevards. Sometimes the Germans broke into solemn hymns and kept time to their music; at others they marched past in grim silence and there was no sound but the eternal footfall of thousands of feet. So "the mighty grey grim horde, a thing of steel" thundered on, whilst all Brussels wondered. Part of the host swept on towards the south, a small fraction only remained in the city as an army of occupation. At first the general plan seems not to have included a stay in the Belgian capital but as resistance strengthened farther south a policy of occupation was substituted.

When the rest of the main Belgian army evacuated Brussels on the 19th, it fell back on Antwerp whose forts and strong natural defenses seemed to make it an ideal line of final resistance. The Germans had not intended to capture Antwerp at first, had merely meant to prevent it from being a menace on their rear; now when the battle line shifted it became necessary to eliminate this Belgian threat upon their right flank for the Belgians had not contented themselves with a mere defensive rôle but had made vigorous sorties upon the foe, the first time causing the Germans in revenge to burn and sack Louvain.

### MISTAKEN RELIANCE UPON NAMUR

The further account of General von Kluck's military operations belongs in the next chapter, as perhaps also does the account of the fall of the fortress of Namur, at the junction of the Sambre

and the Meuse. The fortifications of Namur, like those of Liège, were of the cupola type, and it was expected that they would be able to stand at least as long as the forts of Liège. The Fourth Belgian Division was sent to defend the forts and there were also some scattering Belgian units and a few French soldiers besides the garrison, perhaps 30,000 men in all. Inside the angle formed by the rivers was General de Lanrezac's Fifth French Army.

The Second German Army under General von Bülow and the Third under General von Hausen advanced to attack the salient. Accompanying General von Bülow was the heavy siege artillery, now reinforced by a battery of the heavy Austrian 42 centimetre howitzers. These opened fire on August 22, and pulverized the forts, while the field artillery destroyed the infantry intrenchments. The besieged did not have a chance. The next day (Aug. 23) the German infantry advanced, took the forts, and captured a large proportion of the defenders. Meanwhile, von Bülow on the Sambre and von Hausen on the Meuse were able to cross these streams, and the Fifth French Army was forced to fall back precipitately, with consequences which will be told in the next chapter.

As said above, when the German armies swept through Belgium into France, Antwerp and the main Belgian forces around it were almost ignored. The Ninth and the Third Reserve Corps were left to watch the Belgian army, until reinforcements should arrive from Germany. Not until after the retreat from the Marne was an attempt to take the city made, and the story really belongs to those operations told in Chapter VIII. It is enough to say here that operations began on September 17, and that the Germans occupied the city on October 9, capturing a considerable part of the Belgian army. About 10,000 blundered across the Dutch frontier and in accordance with international law were interned. A larger remnant escaped by marching westward hugging the coast, until connection was established with the English. This fragment for four years more held

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

a few miles of trenches, and helped to prevent the whole of Belgium from falling under German domination.

### **MORE SERIOUS CRIMES AGAINST BELGIUM.**

If the crime against Belgium had stopped at invasion and conquest, history would pronounce its verdict and pass on, but more must be told. The trail of the German armies across the Belgian plain is unhappily only too easy to trace, for it is a trail of wanton bloodshed, of rapine and pillage, of incendiarism and bestiality. Reports of German atrocities in Belgium were not at first believed; it seemed that such things could not be true. As new reports were made, however, careful investigations were made, and in reports published by Lord Bryce and the Belgian and French commissions, the main charges have been proved beyond a doubt.

Doubtless some of the early reports were exaggerated. For example, the practice of cutting off the hands of children was not general, if indeed any cases were really absolutely proved. On the other hand, countless acts of robbery, pillage, and wanton destruction of property occurred. There were as many instances of brutality and mutilation, some almost beyond belief. Thousands of innocent persons were put to death by the military authorities. There were other hundreds of cases of brutal murder by individual soldiers; women were violated either by German officers or with their consent. Leaving out of consideration all cases in which the evidence is not absolutely conclusive, the remainder makes a record which Germany can not explain away.

### **THE GERMAN EXCUSE FOR THE ATROCITIES.**

The excuse given by the Germans was generally that civilians had fired upon the soldiers, and wide currency was given to this statement in Germany. Another favorite explanation was the alleged cruelty of Belgian civilians, men and women, toward wounded German soldiers. Even in Germany, doubters were able to prove that not a single case of such mutilation by Belgians had been officially reported.

The whole German explanation lay in the word "reprisal." The lack of truth in this explanation is established, but even granting that German might was exercised only after provocation, two facts are evident. The punishment was altogether out of proportion to the provocation, and second, the innocent were punished contrary to the rules of war of all nations.

The war manuals of France, Great Britain, and the United States accept the provisions of the Hague Conventions that the inhabitants of a country who take up arms in defense, even though not in uniform, must be treated as prisoners of war, provided that they carry their arms openly, nor can a community be punished for acts of individuals unless the community as a whole was guilty, actively or passively. All of these manuals expressly forbid levying contributions upon a community unless it can be proved that the whole community is at fault. The German war code repudiates such restrictions as sickly sentimentality, and not only were Belgians taken in arms killed, but whole communities were held responsible, where such charges, true or false, were made. Immense fines were levied upon communities on accusations, unsupported by evidence. On the country as a whole a contribution of \$8,000,000 a month for the support of the German government of the occupied territories was levied in December, 1914. This contribution levied at a time when Belgian industry was prostrate and the inhabitants were suffering for want of food, was increased to \$10,000,000 monthly in November, 1916, and in May, 1917, to \$12,000,000. Meanwhile all Belgian stocks of raw material, and the machinery from the Belgian factories was being shipped to Germany. It is impossible to wander through a maze of twenty horrible tragedies each with its sickeningly familiar wholesale murder of noncombatants, women and children as well as men, organized pillage and scientific incendiarism. The stories of Louvain, Dinant, Aerschot, Visé, will illustrate what occurred in scores of small hamlets in Belgium.



#### THE RUINS OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

Louvain was one of the most important Catholic Universities of Europe. The library was a beautiful specimen of mediaeval architecture, and also contained many rare books and manuscripts in some cases the only copies in existence. All were lost when the building was destroyed by the invading German armies.

Picture, Boon, Amsterdam



#### UNFORTUNATE YPRES BETWEEN CONTENDING ARMIES

Ypres, like so many other towns in France and Belgium, was shelled so often and so long that hardly a house was left standing. For the information of the constant traffic along the roads it was necessary to print signboards giving the name of the town, lest the drivers should miss the way.

© Brown Bros.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### THE DESTRUCTION OF LOUVAIN.

When the Belgian army in its retreat was falling back on Antwerp it contested every step of the way as it went. A German army entered Louvain in force on August 15th, and seized hostages among the notables of the city—the burgomaster, rector of the university, provincial councilor, etc. An *affiche* was posted announcing that “in case a single arm be found, no matter in what house, or any act of hostility be committed, against our troops, our transports, our telegraph lines, our railways, or if any one harbors *francs-tireurs*, the culpable and the hostages who are arrested in each village will be shot without pity.” Troops were quartered in the city, but a few days passed quietly. On the 25th an order was issued commanding the inhabitants to be indoors at 8 o'clock and all that day heavy detachments of troops were arriving. That afternoon the Belgians made a sortie from Antwerp and after sharp fighting at Malines drove the Germans along the road to Louvain. Night was falling so that in the dusk, German reinforcements just leaving Louvain fired upon Germans retreating into the city. A panic ensued, there was the usual cry of “*Man hat geschossen!*” riderless horses and terror-stricken soldiers streamed into the town, and the awful tragedy began. A few minutes later eight shots were heard and immediately the soldiers began firing wildly at the façades of the closed houses. Then for three days German soldiers went through the streets, killing, burning, torturing. The famous Library of the University, one of the most beautiful specimens of mediæval architecture in existence, erected in 1317, held incomparable riches, over 230,000 volumes, many of them extremely rare, and this the Germans burned.

Beautiful Dinant upon the Meuse met a terrible fate. The Germans entered the city on the 5th of August, and on the 15th made repeated and unsuccessful attempts to cross the river. The temper of the troops became ominously ugly and on the 23rd

broke out in open violence. Numbers of men poured into the town, turned the inhabitants out of doors, set the dwellings on fire and herded people in a mass to the *Place d'Armes*. Here the men were separated from the women and children, and from time to time, groups of them were led out and shot. The terror lasted for a day and night, the fires raging fiercely, so that out of 1400 homes only 400 remained, and the beautiful old Church of Notre Dame, the College and the Hotel de Ville all lay in ruins. Four hundred and sixteen Dinantais were sent captive to Cassels, but, on the famous Rocher Bayard, overhanging the Meuse, a group of inhabitants was held as a screen for the German engineers constructing bridges across the river. As the French continued to fire at intervals the group of hapless inhabitants—nearly 90 in all—including 12 children under six, were shot down. At evening the survivors were forced to bury the dead.

### OTHER BELGIAN TOWNS SUFFER.

In Namur, by organized incendiarism the Hotel de Ville and nearly all the houses on the *Place d'Armes* were consumed by flames. In Andennes, a small town on the Meuse between Liège and Namur, a horrible massacre occurred. The Belgians and French troops hotly contesting the German advance, on the 19th of August, blew up Andennes Bridge and retired under shelter of Namur. That evening a large body of German troops entered Andennes without any resistance on the part of the allied armies or of the civilian population. The next afternoon shots came from the other side of the river, and in revenge a slaughter of the inhabitants of Andennes (who were in no way responsible) began. Machine guns were brought into play, the German troops—for the most part drunk—murdered and ravaged unchecked, intermittently all through the night, the grim scene lit up by the burning houses and farms. At six o'clock the following morning, the inhabitants were dragged from their houses, and driven into the square, whence some of the prisoners were taken



MAP SHOWING THE GERMAN ADVANCE IN THE WEST

The black and white line on this map indicates the southernmost limit of the German invasion of France in September, 1914, when the battle line was not more than 30 miles from Paris and the government moved thence to Bordeaux. The heavy black marking shows the position of the conflicting armies in August, 1915, which on the east was about the same as it was a year previously, save that in Alsace-Lorraine the German line had advanced to the crest of the Vosges. It will be seen that only a very small portion of Belgium remains unoccupied, the district on the Yser where by obstinate fighting and inundation of the land, the Belgians kept the foe at bay. The strong positions of Verdun and St. Mihiel cause abrupt salients in the line, the former held by France, yet proving so costly to the enemy in defense that he literally poured men and money against it in 1916, in a vain effort to reduce it. The latter, the salient of St. Mihiel held by the Germans, is the well-remembered scene of the gallant Meuse-Argonne fighting done by the Americans in 1918.

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to the banks of the Meuse, and there shot. About 400 people lost their lives in this massacre, some on the banks of the river and some in the cellars of the houses where they had taken refuge.

### THE STORY OF THE OUTRAGES AT AERSCHOT.

One more instance, Aerschot, and the story must pass on. Aerschot, just as Louvain, seems to be an example of vengeance taken by the Germans for the sorties of the Belgian troops from Antwerp. It was entered upon the 19th and from the moment of their arrival evidence goes to show that the Germans were seeking a quarrel with the inhabitants. A stray shot fired that evening—no one sure of its direction—gave the signal for the soldiers to begin to fire in various directions at people in the streets. Some German officers were standing at the window of the Burgomaster's house, and in the square below a large body of German troops, some of them drunk, let off their rifles. One of the officers fell, and immediately the pretext was given that the son of the Burgomaster had killed him. This boy was at the time taking shelter with his mother in the cellar, but the excuse served, and fires and murders started. Many civilians were marched to a field on the road to Louvain and kept there all night. On the following day a number of them were shot under orders of an officer, together with the Burgomaster, his brother and his son.

### THE REPORT OF THE BELGIAN COMMISSION.

It is always the same story, "The Germans enter a town, take hostages, the burgomaster, some councilors, one or two notables. They demand money, food, wine and forage. All goes well enough for a few days. The army moves on. There is a reverse and soldiers swarm back into the town crying '*Man hat geschossen!*' Then murder, pillage, fire, rape, massacre! This happened again and again." Well might the report of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry on the Violation of the Rules of the Rights of Nations and of the Laws and Customs of War summarize the report of their investigations in the following words:

1. That thousands of unoffending civilians, including women and children, were murdered by the Germans.

2. That women had been outraged.

3. That the custom of the German soldiers immediately on entering a town was to break into wineshops and the cellars of private houses and madden themselves with drink.

4. That German officers and soldiers looted on a gigantic and systematic scale, and, with the connivance of the German authorities, sent back a large part of the booty to Germany.

5. That the pillage had been accompanied by wanton destruction and by bestial and sacrilegious practices.

6. That cities, towns, villages, and isolated buildings, were destroyed.

7. That in the course of such destruction human beings were burnt alive.

8. That there was a uniform practice of taking hostages and thereby rendering great numbers of admittedly innocent people responsible for the alleged wrongdoings of others.

9. That large numbers of civilian men and women had been virtually enslaved by the Germans, being forced against their will to work for the enemies of their country, or had been carried off like cattle into Germany, where all trace of them had been lost.

10. That cities, towns, and villages had been fined and their inhabitants maltreated because of the success gained by the Belgian over the German soldiers.

11. That public monuments and works of art had been wantonly destroyed by the invaders.

12. And that generally the Regulations of the Hague Conference and the customs of civilized warfare had been ignored by the Germans, and that amongst other breaches of such regulations and customs, the Germans had adopted a new and inhuman practice of driving Belgian men, women, and children in front of them as a screen between them and the allied soldiers."

### WHAT AN AMERICAN OBSERVER SAW.

A trained American observer in Belgium, Irvin S. Cobb, calmly and





#### BELGIAN CAPTIVES TAKEN IN ANTWERP

The capture of Antwerp meant the capture of a considerable part of the Belgian army though one fragment escaped by marching along the coast, and several thousand got across the Dutch border. Before the war Antwerp was considered one of the strong fortresses of Europe, but it could not withstand the German siege artillery.



#### THE TRAIL OF THE HUNTED

This picture shows the precious possessions discarded by the Belgian refugees at the station in Antwerp, so great was their terror of being left behind. Many families had painfully transported their household goods along the dusty roads under a hot autumn sun. Much of what they left behind was necessary clothing, hard to replace.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin



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dispassionately sums up his verdict as follows:

"But I was an eyewitness to crimes which, measured by the standards of humanity and civilization, impressed me as worse than any individual excess,



Professor Fritz Rausenberger was the inventor of the German long-range gun which bombarded Paris from a distance of seventy-five miles, and also of the 42 centimetre mortar. Press Illustrating Service

any individual outrage, could ever have been or can ever be; because these crimes indubitably were instigated on a wholesale basis by order of officers of rank, and must have been carried out under their personal supervision, direction, and approval. Briefly, what I saw was this: I saw wide areas of Belgium and France in which not a penny's worth of wanton destruction had been permitted to occur, in which the ripe pears hung untouched upon the garden walls; and I saw other wide areas where scarcely one stone had been left to stand upon another; where the fields were ravaged; where the male villagers had been shot in squads; where the miserable survivors had been left to den in holes, like wild beasts.

"Taking the physical evidence offered before our own eyes, and

buttressing it with the statements made to us, not only by natives but by German soldiers and German officers, we could reach but one conclusion, which was that here, in such and such a place, those in command had said to the troops: 'Spare this town and these people.' And there they had said: 'Waste this town and shoot these people.' And here the troops had indiscriminately spared and there they had indiscriminately wasted, in exact accordance with the word of their superiors."

### WHY THE OUTRAGES CEASED.

This verdict is confirmed by a mass of other testimony which cannot be disregarded. The German actions in Belgium and France during the first months of the war were a part of the German policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, "Frightfulness," and were intended to strike terror deep into the hearts of the inhabitants. When the protests of the world arose and the German High Command realized that they were paying too high a price for the results obtained, most forms of these atrocities ceased as abruptly as they had begun.

If one needed unconscious corroborative testimony as to the truth of the German atrocities, it is surely to be found in the fact of the "refugees." History records in her pages instances of the flights of inhabitants: the Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Royalists after the English Civil War, but these were not examples of the flight of a large proportion of the nation. Never before has an army of occupation caused a population to rise up and "get them into Egypt." Attila and his Huns, indeed, slew the peoples they conquered, but contemporary barbarians, the Goths and Lombards, contrived to live with the Roman citizen of the fallen Empire and even absorb much from him of the "grandeur that was Rome." In the reputation of the conquerors of their country, the majority of the Belgian refugees found their motive for flight. In the days to come will the great tragedy of these homeless ones be pitiably told by some great

artist of the pen? When Israel went out of Egypt, she went unknowingly to face the wilderness and the great deep, but the darkness was behind her and the land of promise ahead. She had a leader, she had sure guides. The Belgian left his land of promise to face a future where all seemed dark and unknown. An English eyewitness has left us a vivid picture of the scenes on the outskirts of Antwerp on the road to Ghent:

## THE REFUGEES FROM ANTWERP.

"I saw women of fashion in fur coats and high-heeled shoes staggering along clinging to the rails of the caissons or to the ends of wagons. I saw white-haired men and women grasping the harness of the gun teams or the stirrup leathers of the troopers, who, themselves exhausted from many days of fighting, slept in their saddles as they rode. I saw springless farm-wagons literally heaped with wounded soldiers with piteous white faces; the bottoms of the wagons leaked and left a trail of blood behind them . . . Here were a group of Capuchin monks abandoning their monastery; there a little party of white-faced nuns shepherding a flock of children—many of them fatherless—who had been entrusted to their care. The confusion was beyond all imagination, the clamor deafening; the rattle of wheels, the throbbing of motors, the clatter of hoofs, the cracking of whips, the curses of the drivers, the groans of the wounded, the cries of women, the whimpering of children, threats, pleadings, oaths, screams, imprecations, and always the monotonous shuffle, shuffle of countless weary feet."

England and Holland offered national hospitality to these homeless ones. The story of those that crossed the Channel had better first be told for not only did the Belgians begin to arrive in England in large numbers first, but they continued there in largest numbers through a longer period of time. Though Holland, at the time of the fall of Antwerp, received the greatest number, 800,000-1,000,000, many of these stayed for a week or

two and then returned to their own land. Beginning late in August of 1914 and extending to the summer months of 1915, the refugees arrived in England. The first weeks in September witnessed a daily rate of 500; after the fall of Antwerp 11,000 in one day reached Folkestone; and when the Germans advanced on Ostend 26,000 left in one week. By the end of Novem-



GENERAL VON BISSING, GOVERNOR-GENERAL

General von Bissing was appointed Governor-General in Belgium, December 1914. From that day until his death, April 18, 1917, his rule was terrorism supported by "special Military Tribunals."

Picture from Henry Ruschin

ber 45,000 destitute refugees had come in. December saw 12,000, but after this the totals dwindled and fell in the summer of 1915 to 2000 a month. By the end of June, 265,000 in all had come and of these some 211,000 were in England to stay.

## BELGIAN REFUGEES IN ENGLAND

When the first public appeal for the Belgians appeared in the London "Times," August 24, the response was generous. Within a week hospitality for 100,000 was promised. A special War Refugees Committee was formed

who saw to the homeless people's first needs of rest, medical attention and clothing. Then suitable houses as far as possible, from among those offered either in families or as village-supported colonies, or government-supported model dwellings were allocated. Departments of education, of health, of transport, and of clothing were organized to meet these needs. The problem of employment—a very serious one—was attempted but never satisfactorily solved, for the uncertainty of the duration of the war, and the haste with which the incoming stream had arrived had not permitted a wise distribution of country-men to the country, and of industrial workers to the factories in the north and the midlands. In September, such was the magnitude of the problem that the British Government offered national hospitality, and thereafter though the original War Refugees Committee and private individuals continued in their work, the Government was at their back if need arose.

### **BELGIAN REFUGEES IN HOLLAND.**

In Holland, the problem of dealing with the refugees was somewhat different, as in this case the maximum immigration occurred immediately after the fall of Antwerp. The fate of the inhabitants of Dinant, of Louvain, Andennes and Aerschot was only too well known. The Dutch government was not taken unawares, indeed it had been making preparations to distribute the multitude of fugitives throughout the country, but the flood when it came was too great. The first and most urgent duty of Holland was to see to the interning of the 10,000 soldiers who had crossed her frontier. In addition to these, the southern part of the country was inundated with from 800,000 to 1,000,000 refugees. Fortunately, the season was mild and an enforced sojourn in the open air not harmful.

The food problem was the most serious, for Holland's wheat supply was restricted and import from overseas very difficult. Nevertheless, a noble effort was made, and the distribution of the fugitives throughout the country

proceeded with. As soon as possible, the voluntary return of the Belgians was facilitated by the Dutch government who put on special daily trains for the purpose. When it was found that an undesirable element elected to remain behind, these people were moved to Oldebroek or Veenhuizen where Belgian camps were set up. Other refuge places were created by the government, Nunsheet, a village south of Ede, and Uden. Nor were all of the wanderers in camps or in villages. Like the amphibious dwellers on Nile, Ganges and Yang-tse-kiang, many found refuge in the holds of ships. For others barracks were constructed, or public buildings set aside. By June, 1915, about 100,000 still remained in Holland, and for these church and school accommodations under a special commission of Belgians and Dutchmen were arranged.

### **THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM.**

Immediately after the occupation, thousands of German civilians descended upon Brussels. Troops of boy-scouts came in as messengers, hundreds of women and girls as clerks. Entire hotels were assigned for their housing, their salaries were enormous, and all paid out of the contributions and fines wrung from the Belgians. A government of occupation was by degrees evolved, exceedingly complicated and of a character that was half military and half civil. The supreme authority was that of the Governor-General who was appointed by the Emperor and responsible only to him. Up to December, 1914, General von der Goltz filled this function, and was then superseded by General von Bissing. All political authority was vested in this man and his position was that of a dictator—but a dictator subject to the whims and prejudices of the military. By decrees published by the Governor-General it was announced that the powers appertaining to the King of the Belgians would be exercised by a Military Governor-General, that the powers appertaining to Provincial Government in Belgium would be exercised by a Military Governor of

the Provinces, and lastly that the rôles of Commissioners of *arrondissements* would be filled by *Kreischefs*.

The territory under the Government of Occupation comprised the provinces of Limburg, Liège, Luxembourg, Namur, Hainaut, Brabant and Antwerp. Towards the sea in the provinces of east and west Flanders, was a military zone exclusively under military government. Each province in the government of occupation had a Military Governor with the rank of General and a president from the civil administration who replaced the Belgian governor. The Belgians' provincial delegates were assembled only in order to arrange for the collections of the continuous war contributions levied by the conquerors.

## THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT SUPREME.

Three administrations, a central military, a civil, and a political, controlled every aspect of the country and its life. The military organization under the sole direction of the chief of the General Staff who was the Military Governor of Brussels was supreme in all military matters, and also controlled the police. Such matters as lines of communication, troops of occupation, frontiers, spies, anti-aircraft defense, questions of supplies and so forth, lay under its jurisdiction. A German writer visiting the conquered territory writes as follows: "It is a matter of course that the military administration of Belgium as far as its needs are concerned, holds the country in an iron grip, guarding the conquered territory in every way."

In the civil administration, lesser officials in the departments of the Belgian government were permitted to stay at their posts under the German eye as long as they occupied themselves solely with internal affairs. This was an extremely beneficial thing as municipal government was thereby kept in touch with local problems. All official documents passed, of course, through the hands of a German referendary. Belgian judges administered the law and tried civil and criminal cases as long as only Belgians were implicated. When a German was con-

cerned, the case was immediately passed over to a military tribunal.

## DEPARTMENTS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

All manner of new departments were created by the Germans. A *Zentrale* for all food-stuffs was set up—the most famous instance of all being the *Kartoffelzentrale* which in intent cornered the potato supply. The Belgians solved this difficulty by bringing about an amazing disappearance of the tuber in question. The political department established by the conquerors was a kind of Foreign Office in direct relation with the Department of Foreign Affairs in Berlin. With this *Politische Abteilung* the few diplomats who remained in Brussels had their relations. Under its shadow was an economic department which controlled the question of imports and exports. A Bank *Abteilung* regulated all financial questions, the sequestration of property, the Bourse, savings bank and war contributors.

Such was the German machine. What was its spirit? From the German writer quoted above we read: "The longer the German administration lasts, the more there penetrates into broader and broader circles an understanding of its excellent intentions and of the strength and energy it is devoting to the good of the country." Perhaps the mocking laughter of the irrepressible Belgian interrupts the flow of the writer's words and touches even German complacency, for he adds: "But we dare not cherish expectations that the *rapprochement* will become genuinely deep and hearty, because, aside from the history and development, the inhabitants of Belgium, be they Walloons or Flemish, have been impressed with customs and ideas that lead them into entirely different ways from those which are natural and right to Germans. However things may turn out during the next year, the civil administration had done its best to make the sufferings of war endurable for the Belgians just back of the battle front, and to revive the rudely interrupted development of their national life, of their trade and industry, and to lead them into paths that are bound to

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induct them to new heights after the war!"

### HOW BELGIUM WAS SAVED FROM STARVATION.

The life of Belgium, almost more than in any other country, depended upon its industries. The soil is poor and though industriously worked could support hardly half Belgium's teeming population. The German army had requisitioned the greater part of the stocks of food they found in the country, and disclaimed responsibility for feeding the civilian population, on account of the virtual British blockade.

Food must therefore be found somewhere and distributed to the population. This was accomplished through the Commission for Relief in Belgium, and the Belgian *Comité National*.

The former society composed of Americans and Spaniards was neutral, the latter was made up entirely of Belgians. The Commission met in

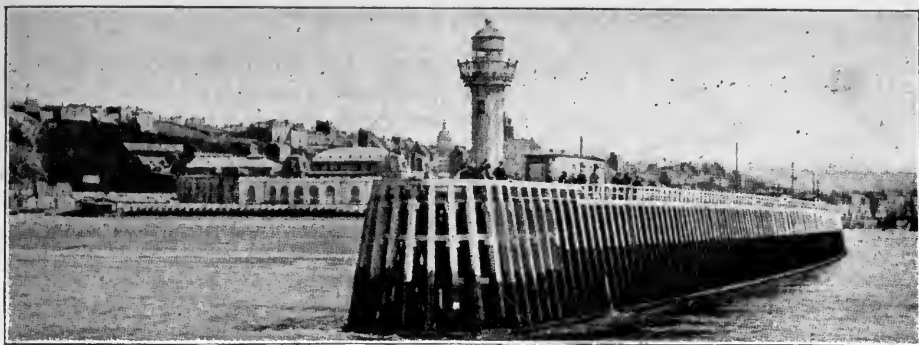
London for the first time, Oct. 22, and by November 2 the first cargo of food-stuffs passed over the Belgian frontier. Composed almost entirely of American business men without previous experience in relief work, the Commission faced the great questions of acquiring, transporting, distributing and paying for, enough food for a whole nation. The work of the Belgian society supplemented that of the Commission; they could not procure food, but having it, knew only too well where most of it was needed. Because of its strictly neutral character, the relief commission obtained immunity from attack at sea, trade through the enemy lines, privileges in railway and canal transport and dues. Nevertheless, its problems were enormous, and its possibilities untried. These organizations kept 7,000,000 people from starving. The story of what they achieved will be told in another chapter.



A PARADE OF THE INVADERS IN BELGIUM

The German practice of parading their troops in public places of Belgian cities was adopted to impress the populace with their force and discipline and to shorten resistance. Before they entered a city the troops were given orders to brush up and give the appearance of freshness.

Picture from Henry Ruschin



Boulogne, the Port Where the British Army Landed

## CHAPTER VII

# On to Paris: The German Cry

## THE ATTEMPT TO CRUSH FRANCE BY A SUDDEN DRIVE

THE German invasion of Belgium was merely a means to an end; and having brushed aside the Belgian resistance, the German armies turned to their major task, the invasion of France and the defeat of the French armies. The strategical plans of the German General Staff called for the accomplishment of this task in an audaciously short time—apparently in some six or seven weeks from the outbreak of war. Their aim was, by throwing practically the whole of their weight against France at the outset, to put France out of action before they had to turn to meet the slow and cumbersome attack of the Russian colossus.

### GERMANY'S ADVANTAGES IN ATTACK.

The device of meeting one's opponents separately, and defeating one before the other can attack, is as old as the art of warfare; but Germany's central position, her strategic railways running from east to west, even her superb military organization, all placed her in an exceptionally advantageous position for putting this strategy into effect. Just how near she came to realizing her program, it is difficult to say, for no one can penetrate the veil of what might have been; but the opinion may be hazarded that she came nearer to realizing it than most people, even at this date, imagine.

When the Belgian field army evacuated Brussels and retired on Antwerp, leaving the road to France open before the oncoming masses of *feld-grau*, the German armies lay in a vast menacing quarter-circle about the northern and eastern boundaries of France. On the right, in the central Belgian plain, lay the First German Army, under General von Kluck, a former inspector-general and one of the ablest tacticians in the Kaiser's forces. This Army was composed of no less than seven army corps, containing some of the best troops of the German Empire. The Second German Army, commanded by General von Bülow, and composed of five army corps, including the Imperial Guards, stood in the valley of the Meuse. To the immediate left of this force, in the forest-clad hills of the Belgian Ardennes was the Third German Army, composed of three army corps and a division of the cavalry of the Prussian Guard, under the command of General von Hausen, formerly the Saxon Minister of War. Facing the French frontier opposite Sedan was the Fourth German Army, comprising four corps, under Duke Albrecht of Wurtemberg, which had also come through the Ardennes; and facing the French frontier opposite Verdun was the Fifth German Army, comprising six corps, under the German Crown Prince, which had forced



its way through the neutral Duchy of Luxembourg. Along the eastern frontier of France lay two more German Armies. The northernmost of these, which was commanded by the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and numbered six corps occupied Lorraine and was based on Metz; the southernmost, commanded by General von Heeringen, and numbering two corps, occupied



**GENERAL JOSEPH JOFFRE**

General Joseph Jacques Césaire Joffre, whose decisive action at the Marne and services as Commander in Chief of France won him the ancient, distinguished title of Marshal, is a figure familiar and beloved.

Alsace and was based on Strassburg. The supreme command of all these seven armies was vested nominally in the Kaiser, but was actually in the hands of the Chief of the Great German General Staff, General von Moltke a nephew of the great von Moltke who commanded the German army in the war of 1870.

### **T**HE PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN IS SHOWN.

It will be obvious that this disposition of the German troops menaced rather the northern than the eastern boundaries of France. It was, in-

deed, the intention of von Moltke to launch his main blow on the right of his line. His plan of campaign is well, and authoritatively, explained by an anonymous officer of the German General Staff who published in Berlin in 1916 a little book on *The Battles of the Marne* which was later withdrawn from circulation. "The German General Staff," he says, "had resolved to hold itself on the defensive between the Swiss frontier and the Donon. Between this important summit of the Vosges and Verdun, it was disposed to pass from the defensive to the offensive only according to circumstances, for the troops which were stationed there had for their principal mission the holding of the enemy forces opposed to them. But with the great body of the troops at their disposal in the west, the General Staff sought to 'push' between Thionville and Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to penetrate into France by Luxembourg and Belgium, so as to try finally to extend the right wing more and more toward the sea."

By means of this brilliant turning movement on the right, it was hoped that—in the great arc of the circle which, by Brussels, Valenciennes, Compiègne, Meaux, passed to the east of Paris—it would be possible "to throw the French armies back beyond the Meuse, the Aisne, the Marne, and perhaps even beyond the Seine, in order to outflank them finally to the south of Fontainebleau and thus to roll up the whole of the French line of battle." And, adds this officer, "it should have been possible, so far as the human mind could foresee, to carry out this plan by the end of September, 1914."

### **F**RENCH PREPARATIONS FOR GERMAN ATTACK.

Just when the French High Command perceived the drift of the strategical plans of the German General Staff, it is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that General Joffre, the comparatively unknown engineer officer who had been placed in command of the French armies, read something of the mind of von Moltke at an early date, and that



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his first dispositions and his preliminary operations were designed mainly to upset von Moltke's plans — a result which they certainly did not succeed in achieving. On the other hand, it is clear that the details of von Moltke's plan were not revealed to Joffre until the very moment when the German attack was launched.

There were several reasons for this. The French intelligence service proved, at the beginning of the war, very defective; aeroplane reconnaissance did not yield, in the wooded districts of southern Belgium, the accurate results which had been expected; and the very efficiency of the German military organization enabled the Germans to do what had not been regarded as possible. For instance, both French and British military writers had assumed that the Germans would be able to bring through Belgium only seven, or at the most ten, army corps; as a matter of fact, they brought through no less than sixteen. But the question of when the French grasped the German plans is not really important. Until those plans actually unfolded themselves, no one could be certain as to their details; and the strategy imposed on Joffre by the circumstances of the case must have been in any event approximately the same.

### THE ADVANTAGE OF INTERIOR LINES.

One fact above all others determined the character of that strategy: the French had the advantage of interior lines. Behind their front lay an admirable network of railways; and Joffre, who belonged to the modern school of railway strategists, knew well how to use these. His best policy was obviously to hold what military writers call "the operative corner" in sufficient strength to break the first shock of the German offensive, and to hold in reserve "a mass of manœuvre" which could be concentrated at any given point or points as the battle unfolded itself. This, in fact, is what he did; and neither his attempt to utilize part of his army of manœuvre in creating diversions in Alsace, nor the failure of some parts of his line to

sustain the first shock of the German offensive, should be allowed to obscure this essential feature of his strategy.

### THE FRENCH ARMIES IN POSITION.

It is probable that the French mobilization did not proceed as smoothly or as quickly as the German. In particular, it was found that equipment was not on hand for some of the second-line troops called up; and these troops



General Helmuth Johannes Ludwig von Moltke (nephew of the great German field marshal), Chief of the Imperial General Staff when the war began, was superseded on October 25, 1914, by General von Falkenhayn.

could not be mobilized until this equipment was forthcoming. Consequently, Joffre did not have at his disposal quite as many troops as he had perhaps the right to expect. He was able, nevertheless, to present to the enemy a fairly strong front. On the right, in Alsace, facing von Heeringen, was the First French Army (four army corps) under General Dubail, together with some elements of the army of manœuvre under General Pau, a one-armed veteran of the war of 1870. Facing the Crown Prince of Bavaria in Lorraine stood the Second French Army

(four army corps and three reserve divisions) under General de Castelnau. The Third French Army (four army corps and three reserve divisions), under General Ruffey, stood guard in front of Verdun opposite the army of the German Crown Prince. Facing the Duke of Wurtemberg in the Ardennes lay the Fourth French Army (five army corps), commanded by General Langle de Cary, which had originally been held in reserve behind the centre of the line, but had been pushed up to threaten the flank of the German invasion of Belgium; and occupying the triangle made by the Sambre and the Meuse Rivers, facing the two armies of von Bülow and von Hausen, was the Fifth French Army (four army corps and three reserve divisions), under General de Lanrezac. In front of von Kluck's First Army stood only the British Expeditionary Force (two corps) under Field-Marshal Sir John French, together with some divisions of French reservists and territorials scattered over the country to the west.

## WHY THE BRITISH WERE PRESENT.

The presence of British troops on the line of battle was the result of informal arrangements made some years previously between the British and the French War Offices. It had been agreed that in the event of war between Great Britain and France on the one hand and Germany on the other, Great Britain would immediately dispatch to the continent an expeditionary force of several army corps; and plans for the mobilization of this force and its transportation across the Channel had been made under the Haldane administration of the War Office. The speed with which the force took up its position in Belgium on the left of the French line was something of a feat. Despite the fact that Great Britain did not declare war until several days after war was declared between France and Germany, and despite a further delay of a day or so caused by the inability of the Asquith government to make up its mind about the dispatch of the force, Sir John French had practically two army corps in line by August 20,



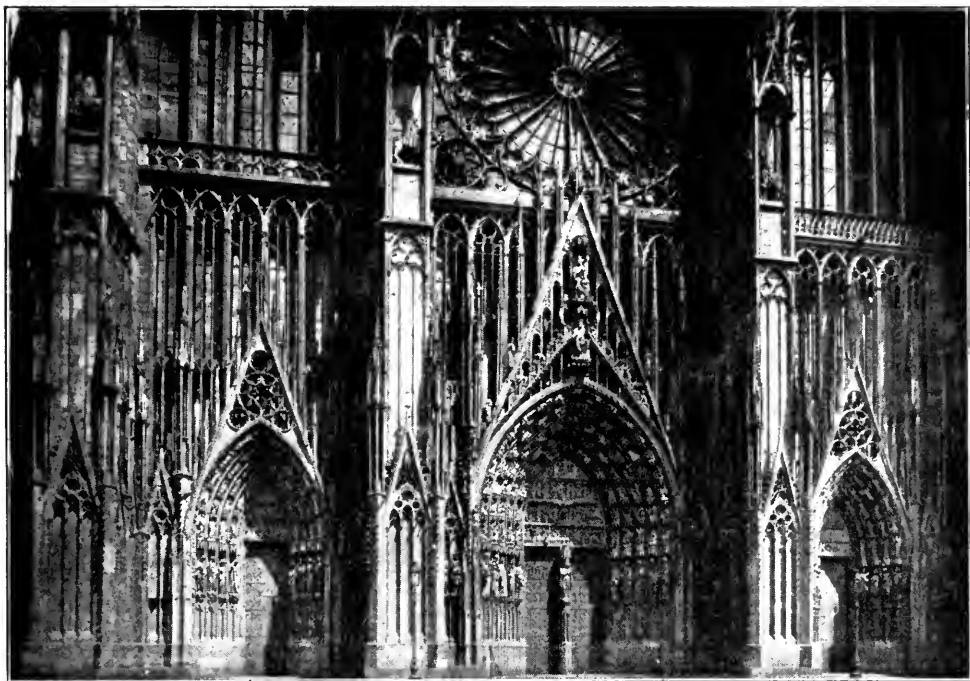
Field-Marshal Sir John French, distinguished in South Africa, then Chief of the Imperial Staff, 1912-1914, held command of the British expeditionary forces in France and Belgium early in the war.

two days before the Germans delivered their great blow against the left of the allied line.

## THE FIRST FIGHTING IN FRANCE.

While these vast armies—numbering, in the case of the Germans, somewhat more than a million and a quarter men and, in the case of the French and the British, somewhat less than a million and a quarter—were moving into position, some fighting of a preliminary nature took place. There were naturally repeated clashes between the French and German frontier guards; and in the first week of the war bodies of French cavalry made some raids into Alsace and Lorraine with the object of damaging the German railway communications. It was not, however, until the end of the first week that any important fighting took place.

The first real blow was delivered by the French in Upper Alsace. Here, in the gap between the Vosges and the Swiss border, the French Seventh



#### THE PORTALS AND THE ROSE WINDOW OF THE STRASSBURG CATHEDRAL

This cathedral is the product of four centuries of building, ending with the 15th century. The beautiful façade, part of which is seen here, has an elaborately carved screen, giving an effect of double tracery. The lofty tower, one of the highest structures in Europe, has been called "the very upsoaring spirit of Strassburg."



#### STRASSBURG WHITHER THE EYES OF FRANCE TURNED WITH HOPE

In 1871 Strassburg became the capital of Alsace-Lorraine, an imperial province under German rule. But in France and in the provinces French hearts kept alive the hope of a day of restoration. In an old sofa in Strassburg itself, guarded by three old ladies, lay a flag, a souvenir of Napoleon's General Kléber. The old silk banner was awaiting the hour when the tricolor of France should again float under the sky of Alsace-Lorraine.

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Corps advanced on August 7 from Belfort, and crossing the German frontier captured the towns of Mülhausen and Altkirch. The French troops were welcomed with manifestations of great joy by the Alsatian population; and the news of the invasion of Alsace was acclaimed throughout France as an augury of good omen. Unfortunately, French generalship was now for the first time to reveal defects which were to prove costly later on. The French general in charge of the operations failed to make adequate arrangements for coping with the inevitable counter-attack, and a well-conceived blow launched by the Germans on his left flank compelled him to evacuate Mülhausen on August 11 and retire on Belfort. He was promptly relieved of his command, and on August 14 the invasion of Alsace was begun anew, this time under the direction of General Pau.

### THE FRENCH INVADE ALSACE.

This second invasion was more successful. After a brilliant little victory at Dornach, where the Germans lost no less than twenty-four guns, Pau retook Mülhausen on August 19 and swept on toward the important town of Colmar. On August 20 it almost seemed that the bridges of the Rhine were actually within his reach. But by this time events were happening elsewhere which compelled the suspension of further operations. As the German plan of campaign in Lorraine and along the Franco-Belgian frontier developed, the army of Alsace was needed in the north. It was therefore broken up; only a small part of it was left to hold the region from Thann to the Vosges; and the invasion of Alsace remained a brilliant but unfinished episode, without much apparent influence on the later course of the war.

The motives which actuated Joffre in embarking on this Alsatian adventure have been much debated. It has been suggested that he was influenced rather by political than by strategic considerations. It is indeed probable that political considerations weighed with him: the reconquest of the "lost

provinces" would doubtless have heartened wonderfully the French people. But it would be a mistake to imagine that there were no solid strategic reasons for the invasion. The weakness of the German forces in Alsace was apparent from the outset, and offered to Joffre an opportunity for delivering a blow which might reasonably be expected to upset the German plans in the north.

It is an axiom of warfare that the best defensive is an offensive; and in using part of his army of manœuvre to strike a blow before the Germans were ready, Joffre stood to gain much and to lose little. In truth, however, the invasion of Alsace was dictated mainly by considerations of local strategy. It was Joffre's intention to launch his chief assault in Lorraine, in order if possible to outflank the German forces in Luxembourg and Belgium; and his occupation of Upper Alsace was designed mainly to protect the flank of this attack.

### JOFFRE NEXT STRIKES IN LORRAINE.

It had long been predicted that, in the event of war, the first great clash between the French and the German armies would take place along that part of the Lorraine frontier which lay opposite Nancy. This district formed a natural gateway between the French Verdun-Toul barrier and the German forts of Metz and Thionville on the north and the Vosges and the forts of Épinal on the south. It was here, in a fairly open country, that Joffre planned, once the French hold on Upper Alsace was secure, to deliver his first heavy blow.

The operations, on which much depended, since they struck at the most vulnerable spot in the German armor, were confided to General de Castelnau, one of the ablest and most distinguished generals in the French army. De Castelnau's concentration, which was based on Nancy, only eleven miles from the frontier, was completed on August 14; but already on August 13 his advance-guards were over the border, and had won some initial successes. During the week that followed, the

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advance swelled to something resembling a real invasion. By August 19 the French were across the Metz-Strassburg railway, and had occupied a line running from fifteen to twenty miles from the frontier. De Castelnau's left rested on some strong hill-positions near Delmé, his center ran through the village of Morhange, and his right rested on the lake district to the east of Dieuze; while, farther to the right, the army of Dubail occupied Saarburg. Here, however, the French came into contact with the main German forces. The Crown Prince of Bavaria brought down from Metz the whole of the German Sixth Army, five or six army corps in all, and von Heeringen brought up from Strassburg strong forces belonging to the German Seventh Army.

### THE BATTLE OF MORHANGE A DEFEAT.

In the battle that followed on August 20, the Germans, though apparently in superior numbers, played at first a defensive game. The country was one with which they were thoroughly familiar, and every foot of which they had accurately surveyed. They posted their field howitzers—of the full effect of which the French were now for the first time to become cognizant—in hidden positions inaccessible to the fire of the French '75's; and their infantry skilfully entrenched themselves on the wooded hillsides. The French infantry advanced to the attack with their accustomed dash and fire. But the French artillery had not succeeded in making much impression on the German artillery or on the machine-guns which lined the German trenches; and the advancing troops came under a veritable hurricane of fire. So appalling was it that the attack came to a full stop. "We were nailed to the ground," writes an officer of one of the French regiments. "My men bent to the earth, like a herd of animals in a storm."

### A NEW STAR BEGINS TO RISE.

The crisis of the battle came when the Fifteenth Corps, composed of impressionable southerners from Marseilles, who occupied the centre of the

line near Morhange, suddenly broke and fled. The Germans, having exacted a terrible toll of the fugitives, then passed to the attack. The situation was critical; and nothing saved the French from disaster but the cool and skillful generalship of de Castelnau. He withdrew his wings, which held firm, and he thrust into the breach in the line the Twentieth or Iron Corps, under General Foch, a distinguished writer on military strategy who now placed his foot on the first rung of the ladder which was to bring him to the position of generalissimo of all the Allied forces. Foch conducted a brilliant rearguard engagement; and de Castelnau was able to withdraw his army, comparatively intact, across the border.

The battle of Morhange, or (as the Germans call it) the battle of Metz, was a real defeat for the French. It wrecked their offensive, and it came near to being a first-class disaster. The Crown Prince of Bavaria, elated by his success, pressed on over the border, and made a vigorous attempt to capture Nancy. It is known that in the operations that ensued the Kaiser himself, with his personal body-guard, was present, ready to make a formal and triumphal entry into Nancy when it should have fallen. But the French, when they had reached the Grand Couronne, the circle of hills which surround Nancy, made an unexpected and very effective rally. The German attack was beaten off, and the French were able to recover a little of the ground they had lost. During the battle of the Marne, another German attack in this region was frustrated; and by the end of September the French were once more at the frontier. There, however, a deadlock occurred; and this deadlock lasted almost until the end of the war.

### THE BATTLE OF NEUFCHÂTEAU AND CHARLEROI.

The day following the battle of Morhange, the French centre passed to the offensive. The forces here consisted of the Third and Fourth Armies, under Generals Ruffey and Langle de Cary, which lay in front of Verdun

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and Sedan, facing the Fifth and Fourth German Armies under the German Crown Prince and the Duke of Wurttemberg, respectively. The fell incensed points of the mighty opposites met along the line Virton-Neufchâteau in the south-eastern corner of Belgium. Of the details of the fighting we know little, save that by August 22 the offensive had collapsed along the whole

The French artillery failed once more to silence the German field guns and howitzers; and when the infantry advanced to the attack with their Gallic enthusiasm, they were smothered with high explosive and shrapnel, swept with machine-gun fire, and blocked by wire entanglements. The German officers proved to be much better versed in the niceties of modern



THE GERMAN ADVANCE INTO FRANCE

This picture shows a regiment of General von Kluck's infantry halting for a brief rest by the wayside, in Belgium. The August sun has made all men in the ranks and some of the officers discard their great coats. In the rear are the field kitchens, supply wagons and Red Cross ambulances. Times Photo

front. The French official communiqué, with unusual candor, explained the causes of this collapse as follows: "There were in this affair individual and collective failures, imprudences committed under the fire of the enemy, divisions ill-engaged, rash deployments, and precipitate retreats, a premature waste of men, and, finally, the inadequacy of certain of our troops and their leaders, both as regards the use of infantry and artillery."

The truth seems to be that the battle of Neufchâteau (to give it "a local habitation and a name") was merely a repetition of the battle of Morhange.

warfare than the French, a fact which the French War Office admitted when they conceded to the enemy "the superiority of his subaltern cadres"; and under these circumstances the very *élan* of the French private soldier could not but prove a positive disadvantage.

### THE GERMANS BEGIN TO ATTACK.

Having foiled the French thrust, the Germans now advanced to the attack in their turn. They "masked" the small frontier fortress of Longwy, and forced the passage of the Semois and Othain Rivers, behind which the



French had retreated. But the French retreat in this sector was not like the rout of the Fifteenth Corps at Morhange. The troops of Ruffey and Langle de Cary inflicted heavy losses on the Germans as they moved forward, and they were able to make good their stand behind the line of the River Meuse, as the troops of de Castelnau had made good their stand in front of Nancy. Here they held their ground, levying heavy toll on the Germans who sought to cross the river, until the line of the Meuse was forced and turned farther north, and events on the left of the line compelled their further retirement.

It was on the left of the line, indeed, that the really decisive action was taking place. It will be remembered that the angle between the Sambre and the Meuse Rivers in Belgium was held by de Lanrezac's Fifth Army, and that facing this force were two German Armies, the Third under von Hausen and the Second under von Bülow. Just why de Lanrezac came to occupy this awkward salient is not certain; probably it was owing to the repeated requests of the Belgian government for succor, and especially the desire to bring aid to the Belgian fortress of Namur at the junction of the Sambre and the Meuse.

#### THE FIGHTING AROUND CHARLEROI.

Namur was one of the strongest of the Belgian fortresses; it was doubtless expected that it would hold out as long as, if not longer than, Liège; and its incorporation in the allied line of defense was perhaps considered desirable. As events turned out, however, the occupation of the Sambre-Meuse salient was an invitation to disaster. Namur fell almost at the sound of the German trumpets, and de Lanrezac found himself attacked on both sides of the salient by overwhelming forces. On August 22, the day following the battle of Neufchâteau, von Hausen's Third Army fell on him along the line of the Meuse, while von Bülow's Second Army had descended on the crossings of the Sambre below and in the neighborhood of Charleroi.

The fighting about Charleroi was of the most desperate character. The Germans forced the passage of the river, and the bloodiest street-fighting took place in Charleroi itself. Several times the town changed hands, but by night it remained in the hands of the Germans. De Lanrezac was doubtless still in a position to renew the battle the following day; but at this juncture word reached him that von Hausen, whose attack he does not seem to have expected, had succeeded in crossing the Meuse in the neighborhood of Dinant and was threatening his rear.

Under these circumstances, de Lanrezac had no choice but to order a precipitate retreat. He fell back, in considerable confusion and disorder, on the line between the French frontier fortresses of Givet and Maubeuge. Here he attempted to make a stand; but whether because of the disorganized condition of his army, or because of the danger which he conceived threatened his flanks, he felt obliged to resume his retreat, and it was not until he reached the valley of the Oise that his forces were able to oppose an effectual resistance to the German advance.

#### THE BRITISH ARMY IN DANGER.

The sudden and rapid withdrawal of de Lanrezac's Fifth Army placed the British Expeditionary Force on his left in a precarious and critical position. Sir John French had taken up a front of about twenty-five miles extending from Binche on the left to Condé on the right, with his centre resting on the ancient Belgian town of Mons. He had at his disposal two army corps, the First, under General Sir Douglas Haig, which was to the right of Mons, and the Second, under General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, which was along the Mons-Condé canal to the left of Mons; but the whole of the Second Corps was not yet in line, and it is probable that the British did not number at the outset more than 70,000 men.

The right of the British line linked up with de Lanrezac's forces on the



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Sambre; but the left of the line was in the air, except for some French reserve formations occupying Tournai, Valenciennes, and Lille, which exerted no appreciable influence on the operations that ensued. When de Lanrezac withdrew therefore on August 23 to the line Givet-Maubeuge, French's "contemptible little army," as the Kaiser was reported to have denominated it in an order to his generals, was left standing in splendid, if dangerous, isolation—unprotected on either flank—to meet the full hurricane of von Kluck's offensive.

So far as the defective French and British intelligence services had been able to discover, the British had facing them only one, or at most two, army corps. The British force was composed entirely of highly trained regulars; it was the only veteran army in the field; and its commander doubtless felt confident of dealing with the enemy in the gate. As we have seen, however, von Kluck had brought through Belgium no less than seven army corps, and of these he was now preparing to launch no less than five against the British. Four corps were to undertake the frontal attack; a vast horde of Uhlans were dispatched into north-western France to cut the British line of communication with the Channel ports; and a fifth army corps was sent forward from Brussels through Tournai to make a wide turning movement around the British left.

### VON KLUCK'S ATTEMPT TO FLANK THE BRITISH.

The speed with which this turning movement was made was phenomenal. A famous American war correspondent, who fell in with the advance, has left us a vivid picture of it: "We advanced with a rush that showed me I had surprised a surprise movement. . . . It was not so fast as the running step of the Italian *Bersaglieri*, but as fast as our 'double-quick.' . . . For two days the men in the ranks had been rushing forward at this unnatural gait and were moving like automatons. Many of them fell by the wayside, but they were not permitted to lie there. Instead of summoning the ambulance,

they were lifted to their feet and flung back into the ranks." The rate of progress would appear to have been about thirty miles a day.

The battle opened on the morning of August 23, just as the people of Mons were coming home from church. The British cavalry screen, which had been waging Homeric combats with Uhlans in the villages of southern Belgium, had been driven in, without, however, bringing with them any vital information either as to the strength of the German forces or as to the flanking movement on the left. One by one the German batteries swung into position and opened fire. German aeroplanes appeared overhead, dropping smoke-bombs to indicate the location of trenches and batteries. The British 18-pounders, quicker but lighter than the German artillery, roared back in reply. Then the infantry attack developed. It was the practice of the Germans at the beginning of the war to attack, not in open order, like the French and the British, but in a denser formation, usually in three double waves. They swarmed forward at Mons, as an English soldier said, "like a crowd coming up for Cup Day."

### THE BRITISH HOLD THE GERMANS.

The British infantry, who were perhaps the best-trained riflemen in Europe, waited until they could see the faces of the oncoming hordes; then they broke out with that rapid fire which they had learned on the ranges at Hythe and Aldershot. The result was devastating. "Our men believe," testified a German officer who was taken prisoner, "that each of you English carries with him a portable Maxim." Time and again the German masses, with dogged courage, rallied and returned to the attack. On the British right, where the pressure of von Bülow's army began to tell, they forced a slight retirement; and they compelled the British to evacuate the town of Mons, which had become untenable from shell-fire. But along the rest of the line their attack was nowhere driven home; and the day

ended with the honors of war, to all appearances, resting with the British.

As the fighting developed, however, the British staff began to scent trouble. For one thing, the strength and volume of the German artillery fire seemed to argue the presence in front of them of a much larger force than they had been led to expect. Then, at 5. P. M., there came what Sir John French has diplomatically described as "a most unexpected message" from French general headquarters. This was a telegram announcing that Namur had fallen, that the French Fifth Army had been in full retreat since the evening of the day before, that there were in front of the British, not two, but three corps (as a matter of fact, there were four), and that another corps was sweeping about their left flank, with a view to taking them in rear.

### THE MYSTERY OF THE DELAYED MESSAGE.

Why French headquarters were so tardy in notifying the British of the retreat of de Lanrezac, why de Lanrezac and French were not themselves in touch with each other, why neither the French nor the British intelligence services discovered until August 23 the size of von Kluck's forces or his flanking movement toward Tournai—these and other questions will some day require a great deal of explanation. But whatever the explanation, this telegram at last lifted the veil from the German plans. It was seen that von Kluck had succeeded in concentrating against the British an overwhelmingly superior force of over a quarter of a million men, that he was aiming at the envelopment of the entire left flank of the allied line, and that if the British were to escape being surrounded on both sides they would have to retire with the utmost expedition.

A retreat under pressure is perhaps the most difficult of all military operations to carry out successfully. It requires the nicest judgment as to the size of the rearguard which is to cover the retreat, the exact moment when this rearguard should break off the engagement, and the manner in which

one rearguard should be relieved by another. The slightest miscalculation in regard to any one of these points may give the enemy a chance to turn the retreat into a rout. In that case, the retreat becomes a defeat; but not every retreat is a defeat. A strategic retreat—that is, a retreat undertaken for strategic reasons—may be a means to victory. It is merely a



General Alexander von Kluck, who had been wounded in 1870 at Metz, was commander of the German First Army in the rush toward Paris and the retreat.

manœuvre whereby a commander may exchange an unfavorable for a favorable situation, may *reculer pour mieux sauter*. No better illustration of this type of retreat could be found than the retreat which the British army now began. They left behind them at Mons a position which had become utterly untenable; and after a week and a half of incessant marching and fighting, they exchanged it for a position, south of the Marne, which was highly favorable. They succeeded in fact, after having repeatedly cheated von Kluck of decisive victory, in leading him into a trap from which he had great difficulty in escaping.

## THE RETREAT FROM MONS.

Sir John French had already reconnoitred, in case he should be compelled to retire, a defensive position some ten miles to the south of Mons, running from the French fortress of Maubeuge westward through Bavai and Bry. By the morning of August 24 he had commenced his withdrawal to this



General Sir Thomas d'Oyly Snow, who, with the 4th Division of the Third Corps, vigorously resisted the enemy pursuit in the retreat of September 1914, especially in the battle near le Cateau.

line. Just why, when time was so valuable, he delayed so long his rearward movement, has never been adequately explained; but once the retirement began, it was carried out with remarkable success.

While Smith-Dorrien's Second Corps retired to a line halfway between Mons and Bavai, Haig's First Corps undertook an offensive movement in the direction of Binche, which had been abandoned the day before. The Germans, taken by surprise, and thinking doubtless that the British had been reinforced, stood back on the defensive; and at the psychological moment Haig withdrew his troops,

and made good his retreat to the line Maubeuge-Bavai. Then Smith-Dorrien, having covered the latter part of Haig's retirement, withdrew in his turn. There were several critical moments in the retreat, especially in the afternoon, when Smith-Dorrien was attacked on both flanks by overwhelmingly superior forces; but the British cavalry, which was here, there, and everywhere, intervened effectively in each case, and by the early evening the whole force was safely back on the new line.

## THE MAUBEUGE LINE FOUND UNTENABLE.

It had apparently been intended by the French General Staff that, if the situation warranted it, the British should make a stand on this line, which linked up with the chain of French fortresses on the left. But French immediately recognized that to stay where he was was to invite disaster. The French Fifth Army was still retiring to the east of Maubeuge; it was now known that the French territorial force in Tournai had been captured, that Lille had been abandoned to the Germans, and that the German army corps to the west was swinging around to the British rear in the direction of Cambrai. To make a stand would almost certainly result in the British army being hemmed into the fortress *rayon* of Maubeuge, where it would in all probability suffer the fate that had befallen Bazaine's army at Metz in 1870. It became therefore urgently necessary to continue the retreat; and hardly had the troops taken up their new positions when orders were issued that at dawn the following day, August 25, the force was to move back another day's march to the line Landrecies-Le Cateau-Cambrai.

August 25 was a day of almost tropical heat, and the British troops, toiling backward over the dusty roads, suffered severely from thirst and fatigue. But the movement was completed without any pronounced interference from the Germans, who were doubtless as weary as the British. At Le Cateau the British received a wel-

come reinforcement in the Fourth Division, the advance-guard of the Third Army Corps, which had come up by train from the base. This division was placed on the extreme left of the line toward Cambrai; and the whole force turned in to bivouac behind their outpost line, hoping for a quiet night.

### THE BRITISH GUARDS AT LANDRECIES.

Their hope was rudely shattered. Suddenly, between nine and ten o'clock, in the darkness of a clouded summer night, the British front in the neighborhood of Landrecies was beaten upon by a terrific assault. The brunt of the attack fell on the Guards, the crack troops of the British army, at Landrecies itself. Less highly trained troops might easily have lost cohesion in the confusion of the night attack; but the Guards rallied with splendid discipline, and completely repulsed the assault, inflicting on the enemy the heaviest losses. In the main street of Landrecies an entire German battalion was wiped out. Meanwhile, two reserve divisions of the French Fifth Army, with which the British were now in touch, came up and supported the British right—the first occasion on which the French had been able to lend to the British any support whatever. The German attack was checked all along the line, and gradually the battle died down.

The supreme trial to which the First Army Corps had thus been subjected, coming on top of the long marches of the preceding days, naturally left the troops exhausted; and it was found necessary to withdraw them from the fighting line. They were ordered to resume their march southward; and the task of covering their retreat was once more confided to Smith-Dorrien's Second Corps and Allenby's Cavalry Division, which were in line between Le Cateau and Cambrai. As soon as Haig was well away, Smith-Dorrien was to follow him.

This program, however, was more easily conceived than executed. As dawn broke on August 26, a German attack developed along Smith-Dor-

rien's front and left flank which exceeded in ferocity anything to which the British had yet been subjected. Not only had the Germans brought up opposite him a force which outnumbered his at least four to one, but the corps which had made the outmarch through Tournai was now assailing him from the west. Before long he was so deeply engaged that it was deemed impossible to break off the battle. There was nothing to do but to fight it out. An attempt was made to obtain support from General Sordet's French Cavalry Corps, which had covered the retreat of de Lanrezac's army from Charleroi; but Sordet's horses were so exhausted that they could not at first go forward, and Smith-Dorrien was left to work out his own salvation, with the assistance only of a brigade of French infantry near Cambrai.

### THE RETIREMENT FROM LE CATEAU.

This engagement was perhaps the most critical moment of the whole retreat. On one occasion the cavalry of the Prussian Guard rode right into the British firing line, and were only ejected after the most desperate hand-to-hand fighting. The Germans got around both of the British flanks, and some of their batteries began to enfilade the British positions. It became clear that if the British were to escape complete annihilation, a retirement must be attempted; and the order was given to withdraw about 3:30 P. M. Just about this time, as luck would have it, the German attack seems to have spent itself; and though Smith-Dorrien's rearguards lost heavily, the main body of his force actually succeeded in eluding the grasp of its pursuers, and making good its escape. That it should have done so, can only be regarded as a miracle; for the battle of Le Cateau was as hopeless an action as any commander ever undertook to fight.

All through the long August night, in pouring rain and murky darkness, the retreat continued. Under such circumstances, efficient staff work became next to impossible; units became

hopelessly mixed; parties lost their way and blundered into the hands of the Germans, or struck westward, only to emerge finally near the Channel ports. The Gordon Highlanders were surrounded in the darkness and annihilated as an organization. So great was the fatigue of the men that many of them had to discard their equipment, and even then were barely able to drag themselves along. An officer who rounded up two hundred and fifty stragglers in St. Quentin could not induce them to resume their march until, with quick wit, he bought a toy drum and a penny whistle and played them, laughing in their misery, down the road to Ham.

#### THE BRITISH DISORGANIZED BUT NOT DEMORALIZED.

To the Germans, as they followed after, the retreat must have borne every appearance of a rout; but, in truth, if the British were disorganized, they were not demoralized. "Beneath the dirt and grime and weariness," testifies an American volunteer, "I saw clear eyes and grim jaws even when the men could hardly walk." Staff officers stationed at cross-roads sorted out the tangled units; and by the time the Second Corps caught up with the First in the valley of the Oise, the force had recovered something of its cohesion. It was a force utterly weary and cruelly harassed, but still intact and still unbeaten.

After August 27 the imminent danger which for five terrible days had actually threatened the very existence of the British Expeditionary Force disappeared. On the right, the French Fifth Army, which had now passed to the command of General Franchet d'Espérey, was holding firm in the region of Guise, and was about to administer a heavy check to the troops of von Bülow; on the left, Sordet's cavalry had at last come into action, and French infantry divisions were beginning to appear, taking some of the pressure off the British flank.

On August 29 Sir John French was able to give his weary troops a day's rest. From the valley of the Oise the retreat was continued to the Marne,

and even beyond the Marne, but in this movement the British succeeded in avoiding any general engagement, so that a German general complained that they retired "in seven-league boots." Their retreat, moreover, was in conformity with the general strategical plan which the French commander-in-chief was evolving as a result of the failure of the first French offensive—a plan which required for its execution an iron patience and self-control.

#### THE STRATEGY OF GENERAL JOFFRE.

The situation as the last week of August drew to its close was, to outward appearances, far from encouraging for the Allies. The chain of French frontier fortresses in the north—Longwy, Montmédy, Mézières, Givet, Hirson, and Lille—had nearly all fallen, mostly before the first assault, though the little fort of Longwy had made a gallant resistance of over a week. There remained only Maubeuge, which was to fall on September 7, and Verdun, which was to defy then, and for the rest of the war, all the attempts of the flower of the German army to take it. The Third French Army, however, had been forced back on the circle of forts which surrounded Verdun, and the ancient and famous city was virtually beleaguered. The Fourth French Army, after vainly attempting to hold the line of the Meuse, had been compelled to fall back on Rethel. Here, after two days of bitter fighting on August 28 and 29, the French had been driven from the burning town and thrown back across the Aisne. Farther west, though the French Fifth Army had won a very pretty success at Guise, thus relieving the pressure on the retreating British, the Germans had captured on August 29 the town of La Fère; and the British were still in retreat, concerned apparently only in escaping from the clutches of their pursuers.

The authorities, both in France and in England, strove at first to conceal from the public the actual state of affairs. The official communiqués were laconic almost to the point of unin-

telligibility. When the Somme first appeared in the reports of the operations, many people thought it was a misprint for the Sambre. But gradually fugitives and stragglers reached the lines of communication, and the truth began to leak out.

### NEWS OF THE RETREAT LEAKS OUT.

On August 30 the correspondent of *The Times* in France sent to his paper a dispatch in which he described the British as "a broken army." The day on which this dispatch reached London is still known as "Black Sunday." In Paris, the droves of fugitives which flocked in from the north, with their ghastly tales of German atrocities—unhappily, only too well founded—created a most unpleasant impression; and when it was announced that the French government was moving forthwith to Bordeaux, the scenes in the French capital were well-nigh indescribable. An exodus took place which, but for good management, might easily have turned into a panic-stricken flight. To many Frenchmen the days of 1870 seemed doubtless to have returned.

In truth, however, the situation was not as black as it appeared. Although the logic of circumstances had compelled the French to evacuate once more Upper Alsace, the eastern barrier, buttressed by the fortresses of Belfort, Épinal, Nancy, Toul, and Verdun, still held firm; and de Castelnau's army, having checked the Germans opposite Nancy, had resumed its offensive, and was pushing its adversaries back to the border. To the west of Verdun, the French armies had been checked and thrown back, but they were still intact; and they were standing approximately on a line of heights parallel with the Aisne and the Oise which had long been regarded as France's secondary line of defense in the north.

### JOFFRE CHANGES HIS ORGANIZATION.

During the week which had elapsed, moreover, since the German plan had divulged itself, Joffre had had an ample opportunity to make use of his railways in altering the disposition of

his mass of manœuvre. He had created two new Armies, the Ninth, under General Foch, who was now promoted from the command of his famous "Iron Corps," and the Sixth, under General Manoury. The Ninth Army, which was composed partly of troops from the Lorraine front, including the "Iron Corps" itself, was



General Sir Douglas Haig, who in command of the First British Army Corps gained distinction early in the war, in December, 1915, succeeded Sir John French as Commander-in-Chief in France and Flanders.

being concentrated in rear of the centre of the French line; and the nucleus of the Sixth Army, composed of the victorious Seventh Corps from Alsace, several divisions of reserve troops which had been operating on the left flank of the British, and Sordet's cavalry, was already in action on the extreme left of the Allied line, menacing the right flank of von Kluck's advance. This Sixth French Army, after fighting some rearguard actions about Bapaume and Albert—towns which were to become later the storm-centres of a more titanic struggle—had taken up its position by August 30 between Amiens and Roye, where it was in touch with the British cavalry.

In doing so, it had attracted to itself a large part of von Kluck's attention, and had greatly relieved the pressure on the British.

## JOFFRE CONSIDERS GIVING BATTLE.

It might have seemed that the time had now arrived for Joffre to make a stand. His armies presented once more a fairly unbroken front from Verdun to Amiens; and the Fifth French Army had already struck back at the Germans with brilliant success in the neighborhood of Guise. On August 30 Joffre did indeed seriously contemplate ordering a resumption of the offensive all along his front; but in the end he decided against it. His reasons for doing so appear to have been twofold. In the first place, the reverse at Rethel had weakened his right centre; and though the situation here might have been restored by the intervention of Foch's Ninth Army, it nevertheless contained elements of danger. In the second place, Sir John French did not believe his troops capable of resuming the offensive with success until they had had an opportunity to rest and refit.

## BRITISH DIFFICULTIES AND DISPUTES.

Their losses had not indeed been excessive, for, strange to relate, they did not amount at this time to twenty per cent of the whole force; but the physical exhaustion of the men was extreme. The disruption of the British lines of communication, moreover, and the consequent transference of the British base from Boulogne to St. Nazaire in the west of France, had prevented the arrival of reinforcement drafts and had seriously disorganized the supply arrangements. French's reluctance to stand and fight greatly perturbed Lord Kitchener, the British Minister of War, and brought him posthaste over to Paris, where an unpleasant altercation took place between the two field-m Marshals; and grave political pressure was brought to bear on Joffre to persuade him to surrender no more French territory. But with that Olympian serenity which characterized his strategy, Joffre accepted

the situation, and on August 30 ordered the continuance of the retreat to the line of the Marne, east of Paris, with the line of the Seine, southeast of Paris, as the extreme limit beyond which the retreat was not to go.

In doing so, it is probable that he judged wisely. The critical character of the battle of the Marne a week later would seem to suggest that the Allies would have joined battle on August 30 on the line from Verdun to Amiens with very indifferent chances of success. Joffre had much to gain, and little to lose, except territory, by further retreat. He was all the time drawing the Germans farther and farther from their bases of supply and reinforcement; while the French were steadily approaching nearer and nearer to theirs.

Already the Russian invasion of East Prussia, the home of the German junkers, was gathering momentum, at a date much earlier than had been thought possible by the German General Staff; and Joffre felt that he could count with practical certainty on the almost immediate weakening of the German front in the west to reinforce the front in the east. As a matter of fact the Russian invasion prevented the reinforcement of the west rather than took troops from that front. The Marne position, moreover, afforded the allied line what it had hitherto lacked, a strong anchor or *point d'appui* for its left flank in the vast fortified camp of Paris; and it presented opportunities for entrapping part of the right wing of the German armies, of which, in fact, advantage was ultimately taken.

## THE DILEMMA OF VON KLUCK.

The decision of Joffre to retire on the Marne placed von Kluck in something of a dilemma. He had set out from Brussels with a fixed idea. His aim was to overwhelm the British and to outflank the whole of the Allied line. On two occasions, at Mons and at Le Cateau, he had had a superb opportunity to achieve this result; but on both occasions he had failed. When he had found the French Sixth



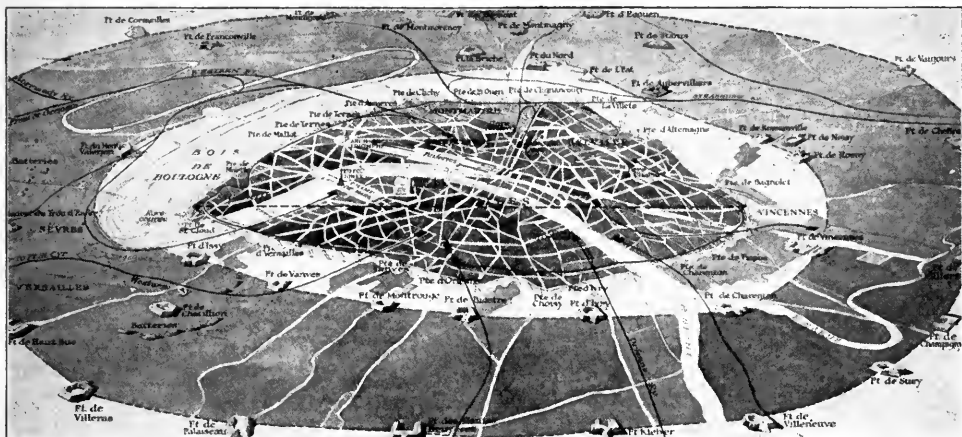
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Army moving up on the British left, he had promptly moved in a southwesterly direction against them, with the apparent object of continuing his out-flanking movement. On August 30 he was occupying a line from Amiens to St. Quentin, and was in touch only with the British left.

Von Kluck doubtless hoped that the Allies would give battle on this line, in which case he would have had a third chance to bring his enveloping

### DID THE GERMANS INTEND TO BESIEGE PARIS?

The private soldiers and even the junior officers were obsessed by the idea that they were bound "nach Paris"; but the staff had been brought up on the doctrine of Clausewitz, that the first object of military operations is the annihilation of the enemy's forces in the field, and that once that object is attained fortresses and capitals will fall like ripe fruit from the tree.



THE FORTS WHICH FORMED THE DEFENSES OF PARIS

This chart depicts the defenses of Paris, the city that the Germans planned to enter in September, 1914. The inmost line is formed by the old ramparts—21 miles long. The next circle includes the forts built in 1870. Outside of these lies another line of fortresses and batteries—40 in all—constructed in 1878. Through the northern gates of the city refugees flocked in during the first weeks of the war.

movement into play; but on August 31 Manoury began to retire on Paris, yielding Amiens to the enemy. Von Kluck was now presented with these alternatives: he could either follow Manoury, in which case he would very soon come up against the girdle of fortifications surrounding Paris, or he could, by means of a dangerous flank march in a southeasterly direction in front of Manoury and the Paris forts, recover contact with the German armies on his left, and join them in attacking the Allied positions on the Marne. He chose, or von Moltke chose for him, the latter alternative. To attack Paris with his siege artillery still far in the rear would have been a tedious business; and in any case the siege of Paris does not seem to have come within the scope of the original plans of the German General Staff, in spite of the general belief.

We know, as a matter of fact, that in the first group of maps issued to von Kluck's army, the map of the Paris area was not included, though maps of the Marne valley to the east of Paris were included. In undertaking the risky experiment of the flank march, von Kluck doubtless made a virtue of necessity; but he probably counted also on the Sixth French Army shutting itself up in the intrenched camp of Paris, and he certainly feared nothing from the British, whom he regarded as already out of the fighting.

The Allied armies fell back on the Marne in good order. The Third French Army, which had now passed from the command of Ruffey to that of Sarrail, swung back, pivoting on Verdun, until it faced in a northwesterly direction, with its left flank resting on the Ornain. Langle de Cary's Fourth Army and Franchet

d'Espérey's Fifth Army fell back below the Marne, destroying the bridges in their retreat; while Foch's new Ninth Army came up between them, with his centre resting on La Fère-Champenoise. The British army, which had retreated by easy stages from the Oise and the Aisne, crossed the Marne on September 3, and took up a position to the south of the river between La Ferté-sous-Jouarre and Lagny. Manoury's Sixth Army, now further reinforced by Joffre, who seemed to produce fresh troops from nowhere, stood guard in front of Paris.

### THE GERMANS FEEL THE CAMPAIGN WON.

The Germans, exulting in the belief that they had before them a beaten foe, who was incapable of making a stand, pressed on in pursuit. The right flank of the Crown Prince's army swung south, pinning in Sarraill to Verdun, and virtually surrounding the Verdun forts on three sides. Duke Albrecht of Wurtemberg's Fourth Army, swinging southeast, pressed in on the left flank of Sarraill and the right flank of Langle de Cary. Von Hausen's Third Army moved south through Châlons opposite Langle de Cary's left and Foch's right; and von Bülow's Second Army, in close touch with it, came south facing Foch's left and Franchet d'Espérey's right. Meanwhile, von Kluck was executing his daring flank march in front of Paris. Moving southeast by way of Senlis, he left the Fourth Reserve Corps along the Ourcq as a flank guard, and crossed the Marne on September 4. Disregarding the British on his right, he then moved toward Coulommiers, with the apparent object of attacking Franchet d'Espérey's Fifth Army.

### GERMAN ATROCITIES IN FRANCE.

In this advance, the German armies unfortunately once more sullied the German name by deeds of unspeakable barbarity. The German atrocities in Belgium are well known and as well attested as any fact in history. The German atrocities in France are not so well known, but they are no less well attested. No one can read the

report of the French commission appointed to investigate these atrocities without being convinced that practically all the crimes against humanity with which the Germans have been charged in France were actually committed; in many cases the commission had before it ocular evidence.

The most outstanding case was that of the beautiful old-world town of Senlis, twenty-five miles north of Paris. Senlis was defended by a French regiment, which gallantly resisted the advance of von Kluck's troops. When the Germans entered the town, on the pretext that civilians had taken part in the fighting, they burned it to the ground; and having arrested the white-haired mayor and others of the principal inhabitants, they forced them, after the mockery of a court-martial, to dig their own graves and then face a German firing-party. The fate of Senlis is a true pendant of the fate of Louvain.

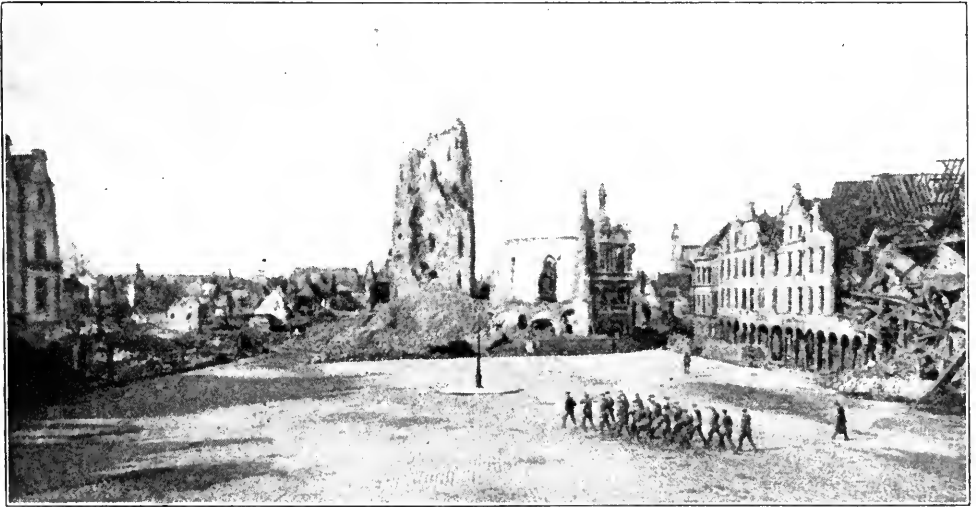
### THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES.

But what happened at Senlis happened also in many obscure villages in the valley of the Marne. Here old men were shot down in cold blood, babes were skewered with bayonets, children had their hands cut off, women were raped and disembowelled. The most perverted efforts of the imagination could hardly exhaust the category of German crimes. How far these crimes are to be laid at the door of the German military authorities, and how far they were due to the excesses of German private soldiers, flushed by the unaccustomed wines of northern France, is difficult to say. Certainly the German General Staff cannot escape the chief responsibility. Just as the Jacobins in France in 1791 made terror a political weapon, so the German General Staff in 1914 made terror (*Schrecklichkeit*) a military weapon. The *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*, a manual issued by the German General Staff before the war for the instruction of German officers, expressly lays it down "that certain severities are indispensable in war, nay, more, that the only true humanity very often



THE PETITE PLACE, ARRAS, BEFORE BOMBARDMENT

Arras, though in France, looked like a Flemish city. This square, the Petite Place, shows old buildings in Flemish style, with upper stories overhanging the footway and supported by columns that formed arcades. The belfry of the Hôtel de Ville, rising above the Renaissance façade with its seven different arcades and its ornate Gothic windows, housed a fine peal of bells, and was topped by a gilded ducal crown. Under buildings and squares were the usual large cellars, which, throughout the invaded region of northern France, were utilized during the war as fortified defenses. In ancient days, the capital of the Atrebates, a Gallic tribe; in the fifteenth century, the meeting place of a Peace Congress; in the eighteenth century, Arras became the birth-place of Robespierre.



THE PETITE PLACE, ARRAS, AFTER BOMBARDMENT

Before Shakespeare, Arras was a thriving city famous for its tapestries. "Arras" was even used as the name for a curtain of such tapestry. Until the first year of the World War the old flavor clung to the place (although no Arras tapestries were to be found there). On market-days the squares were gay with booths and carts and peasant folk. Then came bombardment and ruin,—the belfry crushed to a weather-worn crag; gaps torn between houses; the people, fled! In two years no vestige remained of the Hôtel de Ville.

lies in a ruthless application of them;" that "if the necessity of war demand, . . . every sequestration, every temporary or permanent deprivation, every use, every injury, and all destruction are permitted"; and that "international law is in no way opposed to the exploitation of the crimes of third parties (assassination, incendiarism, robbery, and the like) to the prejudice of the enemy."

## GERMAN DISAPPROVAL OF THE ATROCITIES.

Such doctrines, indeed, were merely in line with Bismarck's famous injunction to leave the enemy population "nothing but eyes to weep with," and Wilhelm II's advice to his troops to model their behavior on that of "the Huns under their king Attila." There must have been many German officers and men who did not approve of this policy, and who were ashamed of the excesses of their comrades. A captured Saxon officer who had been at Rethel was found to have written in his diary, "The place is a disgrace to our army." But those who reprobated the excesses were helpless in view of the avowed attitude of the German General Staff. The blond beast was in command.

Of the issue of the battle which was about to be joined, the Germans appear to have been supremely confident. They regarded the French armies, and especially the British army, as already decisively beaten; and they seem to have thought that all that was necessary was to administer to them the *coup de grace*. September 1 was the anniversary of Sedan, and the omens seemed propitious for a new and greater Sedan. Not only were the people of Germany, whom the victories of the end of August had naturally raised to a state of patriotic delirium, filled with these great expectations; but even the German High Command itself entertained them. Evidence of this is indisputable. A German officer who saw von Kluck on September 4, and who had a conversation with one of von Kluck's staff, wrote in his diary, which was captured and published by the French:

## AN EXTRACT FROM A GERMAN DIARY.

"The reports of spies who had seen the enemy in retreat are very satisfactory. They are a disorganized and discontented horde, and there is no chance of their being able to do us any harm. The General fears nothing from the direction of Paris. We will return to Paris after we have destroyed the remains of the Franco-British Army. The Fourth Reserve Corps will have the honor of the triumphal entry into the French capital."

Yet at the very moment when these lines were being written, Joffre was preparing the orders for his long-looked-for counter-offensive, and was laying the trap out of which the Germans were, a few days later, to come reeling backward, outgeneraled and outfought.

## THE MIRACLE OF THE MARNE IS PLANNED.

It was on September 3 that General Gallieni, the military governor of Paris, discovered by means of his aerial observers that von Kluck was marching in a diagonal direction through Senlis in front of Paris. He promptly communicated the fact to Joffre by telephone; and the two generals between them planned the operations which were to result in what the French call "the miracle of the Marne." It was arranged that the army of Manoury, now augmented to a formidable force, should be placed under Gallieni's orders, and that Gallieni should launch against von Kluck's rear flank along the Ourcq a powerful attack, while the Allied armies south of the Marne were to turn and advance along the whole front. Von Kluck would thus be caught between two fires, and would, it was expected, find great difficulty in extricating himself from the trap into which, in his overconfidence, he had fallen. In the actual execution of this plan, Joffre and Gallieni appear to have worked to some extent at cross purposes. On September 4 Joffre issued his orders for the battle, which began as follows:

"It is necessary to profit by the dangerous situation in which the First

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

German Army has placed itself, by concentrating against it the efforts of the Allied armies on the extreme left. During September 5 all arrangements will be made to begin the attack on the 6th."

Manoury was to drive the Germans over the Ourcq; the British were to advance in a northeasterly direction toward Coulommiers and Montmirail; the French Fifth Army was to move due north; and Foch's Ninth Army was to hold the weight of the enemy in the centre of the line, and to cover the advance of the Fifth Army. Unfortunately, Gallieni and Manoury decided to attack on September 5. On September 4 they both motored out to French's headquarters and requested the co-operation of the British in this attack. French, however, had already been requested by Joffre to retire through the forest of Crécy toward the valley of the Seine. The object of this manoeuvre is not certain; but it was probably undertaken in the hope that the Germans would move forward into the pocket thus created. It was perhaps an invitation from the spider to the fly to walk into his parlor. Apart altogether, therefore, from the fact that French no doubt preferred to act under instructions from Joffre, he found himself unable to accede to the request of Gallieni and Manoury, since he calculated that it would take him at least forty-eight hours to resume the offensive. Consequently, when

Manoury attacked on September 5, he attacked alone; and the opportunity for a simultaneous double attack upon von Kluck in his exposed position, was lost.

### RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE IN CO-OPERATION.

If only Manoury and French had been able to time their attacks so that they occurred together, the position of von Kluck would have been well-nigh desperate. Over the question where the responsibility for this failure to co-operate lay, much controversy has arisen. On the one hand, French is blamed for not having given to Manoury on September 5 the support which the latter had a right to expect; on the other hand, Gallieni and Manoury are blamed for beginning their offensive a day too soon. The time has perhaps not yet arrived when it is possible justly to assess the blame. We do not know how essential it was that Gallieni should launch his blow on September 5, and we do not know whether French could actually have made his weight felt on that day. In any case, the lack of co-operation, unfortunate as it was, was not of sufficient importance to alter the issue of the battle; for when the Allied armies south of the Marne advanced on the morning of September 6, it was to indubitable victory—a victory which was destined to be a turning point in the history of the world.

W. S. WALLACE.



#### THE KAISER AND THE CROWN PRINCE IN GERMAN HEADQUARTERS AT THE FRONT

During the first weeks of war, the Emperor moved, with his retinue, to headquarters in France. But the Royal Family became less and less conspicuous as they failed to win distinction. The Crown Prince, both because of his lack of ability as a commander and his notorious personal conduct, lost rapidly in public favor.



#### A GERMAN MACHINE-GUN DIVISION

German machine guns were everywhere—in hidden nests, or suddenly appearing from dug-outs, or carried far forward for surprise attacks. The guns in the picture are of the heavy type fired from tripods and requiring two men to move each of them. At the beginning of the war the Germans had many more machine guns than any other of the contending powers.

Pictures from Henry Ruschin





French Colonial Troops From Algiers—The Turcos

## CHAPTER VIII

# The Marne and the Race for the Sea

## TRENCH WARFARE IS ESTABLISHED AFTER THE GERMAN RETREAT

THE situation at the opening of the battle of the Marne strongly resembled that at the opening of the battle of Mons—with this difference that the tables were now turned and the role of the respective armies reversed. Just as von Kluck had threatened French with envelopment at Mons, so Manoury now threatened von Kluck in his turn with envelopment along the Ourcq; and just as von Moltke had been able, by means of his strategic railways and his excellent organization, to concentrate opposite the left flank of the allies in Belgium a force of the size of which neither Joffre nor French had until the last minute any conception, so Joffre was now able, by means of his railways and his army of manoeuvre, to concentrate opposite the right flank of the German line along the Ourcq a force much larger than either von Moltke or von Kluck appears to have suspected.

### THE CREATION OF THE SIXTH ARMY.

The creation of this force is a story in itself. From all points of the compass—from Alsace and Lorraine, from North Africa, from the South of France, from the region of Amiens—Joffre poured into Paris by the railways that radiate from it regiments, brigades, divisions, army corps; and out of these miscellaneous and heterogeneous ele-

ments he fashioned the Sixth Army into a force of formidable strength. These troops continued to arrive for the reinforcement of the Sixth Army all through the battle of the Ourcq; and on two critical occasions Gallieni, with splendid expedition, rushed them to the battle-front in fleets of motor-cars and motor-busses.

The reasons why the Germans failed to suspect this dangerous concentration of troops on their right flank until it was almost too late, appear to have been in the main two. In the first place, they were ignorant of the extent to which Joffre had drawn on the eastern front to reinforce his army of manoeuvre. The vigor with which de Castelnau in Lorraine, with his now comparatively weak forces, pressed them seems to have given them a totally false impression; and as late as September 4 the German official communiqué announced, doubtless much to the relief of French headquarters, that "the armies of the Crown Prince of Bavaria and of General von Heeringen have still in front of them strong enemy forces holding entrenched positions in French Lorraine."

### THE NEW GERMAN PLAN.

In the second place, the Germans were thinking at the moment mainly of attack, rather than of defense. Their



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great attempt to envelop the left flank of the allied line had, it is true, definitely failed; but they had promptly substituted for this plan another which seemed to offer no less decisive results. They now aimed, not at envelopment, but at an overwhelming frontal attack with the object of piercing the French line in the centre. The French line was like a taut rope holding back a crowd: if it were cut in the centre, the two halves of it would fly back toward either end, and the crowd would surge through. The left half would be pinned in on Paris, the right half would be herded toward Verdun, and the Germans would be able to dispose of the two halves at their leisure. The idea of a direct frontal attack was not, it is true, in harmony with the teaching of the modern school of German strategists, who believed that in the face of modern artillery, rifle, and machine-gun fire such an attack must entail losses out of all proportion to the success it was likely to achieve; but it must always be remembered that the Germans believed they were facing a beaten and demoralized enemy, and in such a case a frontal attack doubtless seemed to them permissible.

### THE PRELIMINARY ATTACK ON NANCY.

Before launching this general attack, however, the German staff planned a preliminary attack on the eastern part of the front. Here, where de Castelnau's weakened Second Army stood on guard in front of Nancy, the Crown Prince of Bavaria began to attack as early as September 3. This movement had originally been planned in connection with von Kluck's enveloping movement in the west: it had been intended as the left arm of the pincers. But it fitted in very well with the new plan of attack. If the Crown Prince of Bavaria succeeded in breaking through de Castelnau's front near Nancy, and von Hausen and von Bülow succeeded in piercing the French centre between Verdun and Paris, the French armies pivoting on Verdun would be taken in front and in rear, and the whole French battle-line would be hopelessly disrupted. Even if the German armies

failed to pierce the French centre, and the French won the battle of the Marne, the success of the attack on Nancy would seriously embarrass the French, and would effectually nullify the results of any victory they might win. The importance which the Germans attached to this preliminary offensive may be seen from the fact that the Kaiser himself was present at the battle, and is reported, at one stage of the fighting, to have been ready with his white-uniformed bodyguard to make a triumphal entry into Nancy.

### THE FRENCH INFANTRY STANDS FIRM.

The Germans first attacked at the northern extremity of the Grand Couronne de Nancy. They advanced south on both sides of the Moselle, took Pont-à-Mousson, entered the Forest of the Advance Guard, and attacked a battalion of French infantry on the plateau of Ste. Geneviève. Against all the rules of war, this heroic battalion stood its ground; and at the end of the day it had repulsed, with appalling enemy losses, the massed attacks which were repeatedly launched against it. Then, on September 6, came the main German attack opposite the southern end of the Grand Couronne, the Forest of Champenoux, and the River Meurthe. Heavily outnumbered, the French were pushed back through the Forest of Champenoux; and the Germans actually got a foothold on the Plateau d'Amance at the southern extremity of the Grand Couronne.

Thus far they got, and no farther. Both here, and along the Meurthe farther south, the attacking masses were checked and thrown back by the devastating fire which met them, directed from positions long prepared with a view to just such an eventuality as this. Even after the crisis was over, the Germans launched in vain spasmodic attacks against the French positions, probably with the object of pinning down the large forces which they falsely believed to be facing them. But gradually these attacks died down; by the time the battle of the Marne was over, the Crown Prince of Bavaria was



**A FRENCH TRAVELING KITCHEN GOING TO THE FRONT**

The advantage of using motor-lorries for the transport of supplies to armies in the field is obvious. With a rate of speed and a carrying capacity unapproached by any horse-vehicles, the big automobile camions (actual kitchens on wheels) took soup and other rations close up behind the front lines to furnish cheer and comfort for the poilu. Cooks, dish-washers and attendants often displayed as great heroism as the fighters. On the modern field of battle the soldier, weary, often faint, sometimes chilled and drenched, is not left, as a rule, to the cold and cheerless refreshment of hardtack and other emergency food, but has his stew and tea hot from the kettles of the traveling commissary division.



**GERMAN COMMISSARIAT WAGONS IN THE PLACE D'ANVERS, BRUSSELS**

Brussels, which since Napoleon's time had not been occupied by a foreign army, was entered on August 20, 1914, by a German army equipped with every modern contrivance. Moving kitchens with chimneys smoking, motor trucks exhibiting great activity, stacks of arms, and soldiers ostentatiously marching were displayed before the inhabitants to depress their spirits. It was an imposing panorama of system, equipment, war machinery and discipline, calculated to produce awe and dismay. Men, horses, guns, wagons and everything else were brushed and polished to parade perfection.

in retreat; and de Castelnau was once more pushing on toward the border.

## THE BATTLE OF THE OURCQ.

While de Castelnau was thus, with gallant resolution, defending the eastern barrier of France, the great battle in the west between Paris and Verdun was developing. It was on September 5 that the first gun in the long-awaited French counter-offensive was fired. On that day Manoury's Sixth Army hurled itself on the German Fourth Reserve Corps, which von Kluck had left as a flank guard in the valley of the Ourcq, and pushed it back toward the river. News of this attack reached von Kluck on the afternoon of September 5. Now thoroughly alarmed about the safety of his rear, and aware at last of the importance of the French troops on his flank, he promptly passed back two army corps, in quick succession, to the Ourcq. His remaining two army corps he left facing the left wing of Franchet d'Espérey's Fifth Army; and in the interval, facing the British, he placed only von Marwitz's cavalry corps.

Had the British, now three corps strong, been able, at this juncture, to attack von Marwitz in force, and drive him north over the Marne, von Kluck's position would have been most unenviable: his army would have been literally cut in twain. But the British were at this time still south of the forest of Crécy, and were not ready to attack. Consequently, von Kluck's manœuvre, risky as it was, very nearly succeeded in its object—which was to crush Manoury, while von Marwitz held up the British. Von Kluck was able on September 6 to oppose to Manoury forces approximately equal in numbers, and superior in cohesion and striking power, to the hastily gathered units of the French Sixth Army. Had it not been for the reinforcements which Manoury received during the battle, the last lot being composed of a miscellaneous collection of all the soldiers Galliéni could scrape together in Paris, the battle might have gone badly for the French. As it was, von Kluck not only held up Manoury's attack, but, in

fighting of almost unparalleled ferocity, he succeeded in pushing him back. On September 9, he finally succeeded in occupying Nanteuil-le-Haudouin, to the rear of Manoury's left flank. The outflanker was being outflanked.

## THE BRITISH ADVANCE AT LAST.

Meanwhile, however, the British had been creeping forward. They had advanced to the attack, in accordance with Joffre's orders, on the morning of September 6. Re-passing through the forest of Crécy, early on September 7, they occupied Coulommiers, which had been evacuated by the enemy the day before. Here, for no apparent reason they halted; and it was not until September 8 that they continued their advance northwards toward the Petit Morin. Along this river the German cavalry, reinforced by some battalions of the Guard Rifles, made a determined stand; but the passage of the river was forced, and the day ended with the British well across it, while the French on their right occupied Montmirail. At dawn on September 9 the British reached the Marne. Here to their great relief they found that most of the bridges were still intact; and by 9 a.m. the advanced troops of the Second Corps were four miles north of the river, well in the rear of von Kluck's left flank on the Ourcq. The First Corps, however, was held up by the threat of a flank attack, from the direction of Château-Thierry, from which the French had not yet evicted the Germans; and the Third Corps was held up by the destruction of the bridge, at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, and by the enemy's defense of the Marne at this point.

## THE GERMANS PLAY FOR DELAY.

The delay enabled the Germans to patch up some sort of defensive line along the Lizy-Château-Thierry road, and here they held back the British for the rest of the day. But this was merely a desperate delaying action to enable the main forces of von Kluck to get away. Though he was gaining against the French west of the Ourcq, the news that the British had crossed

the Marne and were in his rear, combined with the news, brought to him by his aviators, that still more reinforcements were pouring out from Paris by motor-car and motor-bus, had been too much for him; and before noon he had thrown up the sponge. Under cover of a last vicious attack by his right wing, he withdrew his centre and left, and commenced a precipitate retreat toward the north.

There is no doubt that the appearance of the British north of the Marne—they were the first of the allied troops to recross it—exercised a primary influence in deciding the result of the battle of the Ourcq. Von Kluck, deeply engaged on the Ourcq, had no troops with which to meet the British threat to his rear. At the same time, however, it must be regretted that Sir John French did not press his attack with more vigor. With little more than the three divisions of a German cavalry corps in front of him, it took him more than three days, from September 6 to September 9, to advance barely twenty miles. French military writers have hinted that General French did not give to Manoury the fullest support of which he was capable; and such seems to have been also the opinion of the Germans. "If, in these days," writes a German staff officer who appears to have been with von Kluck, "French or his subordinate commanders had only shown a little initiative, the situation of von Kluck must have become very critical; but the English did not seem able to accustom themselves so quickly to the change of circumstances."

### REASONS FOR THE BRITISH DELAY

Whether the tardiness of the British advance was due to the condition of the British troops or to the over-cautious generalship of Sir John French is difficult to determine. All the available evidence goes to show that the morale of the British rank-and-file was wonderful, in spite of what they had gone through. A British battery commander has testified that, when he gave his men the order to advance, "there was a cheer which must have startled the French government in Bordeaux." On

the other hand, the British were undoubtedly war-worn; they had lost much equipment; and the congestion of railways about Paris, due to the reinforcements pouring in for Manoury, had made the problem of refitting them almost insoluble. Perhaps, on the whole, Sir John French somewhat underestimated the recuperative powers of the men under his command.

Von Kluck's attempt to rout and crush Manoury, before the British could penetrate the cavalry screen in his centre, was a bold manoeuvre; but under the circumstances it was probably destined from the beginning to failure. Von Kluck had made the fatal error of underestimating his opponents; he had walked, with his eyes open, into a palpable trap; and his troops were no longer what they had been two weeks before. They had traveled incredible distances: even after leaving the British at Le Cateau, von Kluck's troops had moved around two sides of a right-angled triangle of which the British had traversed the hypotenuse. Their fatigue was profound; and they had kept themselves going, first, by the vision of a triumphal entry into Paris, and second, by a liberal recourse to the heady wines of northern France. The notebook of a captured German officer has given us a candid picture of the condition of von Kluck's army:

### A GERMAN VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

"Our men are done up. For four days they have been marching 24 miles a day. . . . The men stagger forward, their faces coated with dust, their uniforms in rags, looking like living scarecrows. They march with their eyes closed, singing in chorus so that they shall not fall asleep on the march. . . . Nothing but the delirium of victory sustains them, and in order that their bodies may be as intoxicated as their souls they drink to excess, but this drunkenness helps to keep them going. Today after an inspection the general was furious. He wished to stop this general drunkenness. We managed to dissuade him from giving severe orders. If there were too much severity, the army would not march."

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Not only were von Kluck's troops nearing the limit of human endurance, but his supply arrangements had begun to break down. Prisoners captured by the French and the British complained that they were hungry; and the German guns for the first time were starved for shells. Every nation in the war had its shell crisis; Germany, in spite of her elaborate preparations for war, appears to have had hers at the battles of the Ourcq and the Marne.

### THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE.

The retreat of von Kluck was the turning point in the general battle which had opened on September 6 along the whole battle-front; but meanwhile events were shaping themselves on the eastern part of the line which had it in their power to accentuate or annul the effect of the victory won by Manoury and French. The aim of the Germans here, as has been explained, was to disrupt the French centre. Consequently, when the French Fourth, Ninth, and Fifth Armies advanced on September 6 to the attack, they came into collision with strong enemy forces equally bent on attack. Before the shock of this encounter the French forces almost everywhere recoiled. Franchet d'Espérey was thrust back to the south of the Grand Morin; Foch was driven south of La Fère-Champenoise; Langle de Cary had much ado to hold his ground between the Camp de Mailly and Révigny; and Sarraill found himself hemmed in closer and closer to Verdun.

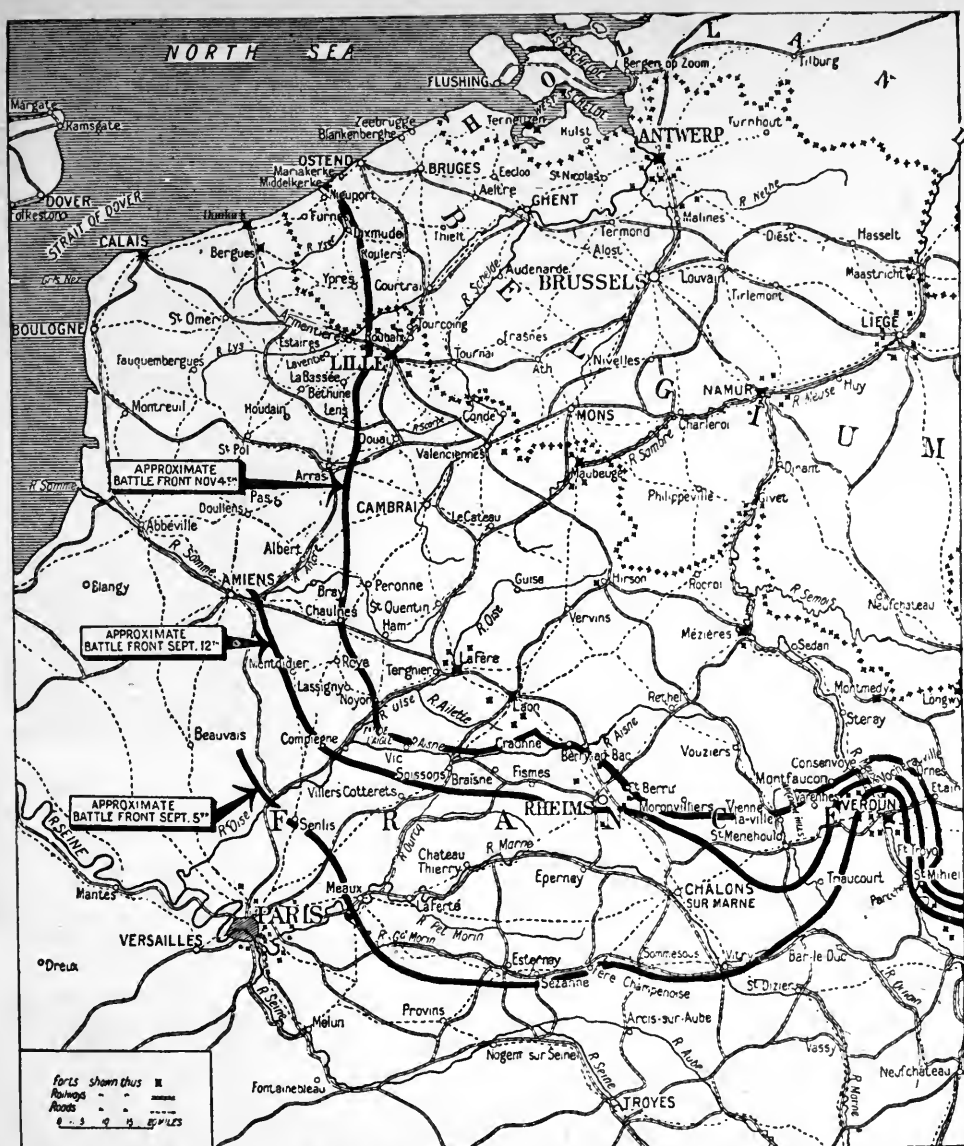
Throughout September 7 and 8 the Germans continued to achieve tactical successes all along the line; and at this stage of the fighting they took so many prisoners that they were able, after the battle of the Marne was over, to boast—whether with justice or not, is difficult to say—that they had captured more prisoners than the French. Joffre, fearful that the long line would somewhere break beneath the tremendous strain imposed on it, began once more to draw troops from the already weakened forces in Alsace and Lorraine, in order to reinforce the weak spots in the French line.

### THE GERMAN LINE IS DISLOCATED.

But gradually the battle of the Ourcq made its influence felt on the battle of the Marne. When von Kluck withdrew his two corps facing the British, leaving only a cavalry screen in their place, he naturally set up a tendency in the rest of the German line toward the vacuum which he had thus created. Both from the two corps which he had left facing Franchet d'Espérey, and from von Bülow's Second Army, he was compelled to draw troops to stop the gap in the centre of his line. These movements inevitably caused successive dislocations of the line further eastward. The whole line, in fact, was pulled westward, until, on September 9, at a critical moment in the battle, von Hausen, the commander of the Third German Army, was compelled to leave on his right flank, near the marshes of St. Gond, a dangerous gap. At the same time, the slow but steady advance of the British took much of the pressure off the French Fifth Army, and enabled Franchet d'Espérey to detach his right corps to the help of Foch, who had been and was still hard pressed by both von Bülow and von Hausen. While the Germans, therefore, were being drawn as by a magnet further and further from the crucial point in the centre of the line, the French were actually moving troops toward that point.

### GENERAL FOCH NOW STRIKES BACK.

It was fortunate for the allies that the point in the French line against which the Germans directed their main attempt to break through was that defended by one of the few military geniuses the world war produced, General Foch. Throughout three days of the fiercest and most incessant fighting—fighting which left in the little village of La Fère-Champenoise alone ten thousand soldiers' graves—Foch had keenly watched for his chance to strike back at the foe. Now, on September 9, his chance arrived; and he saw and seized it. To outward appearances, his position was well-nigh desperate. His right and his centre had been driven



EXTREME GERMAN ADVANCE, SEPTEMBER, 1914, AND SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF RETREAT

back so far that his army was facing more in an easterly direction than toward the north. His troops were worn out with fighting; and it seemed as though at any moment von Hausen might break through between his army and that of Langle de Cary, which was also being heavily pressed. But the loan of Franchet d'Espérey's Tenth Corps enabled him to meet the situation. Using it to buttress up his left flank, he withdrew from the line the Forty-second Division, one of the two

divisions of the "Iron Corps" which he had trained under his own eye at Nancy before the war. This division he passed north to the point where von Hausen, having parted company with von Bülow, and straining southward to force a rupture of Foch's right flank, had left a gap in the line between the marshes of St. Gond and La Fère-Champenoise.

In the late afternoon of September 9, doubtless at the very moment when von Hausen was congratulating himself that he was at last breaking through



the French line, Foch launched the Forty-second Division at this gap, at the same time ordering a general offensive. It was at this juncture that he sent his famous paradoxical telegram to Joffre: "My right is retreating; my centre is yielding; situation excellent; I am attacking." The result of his attack was overwhelming. The Forty-second Division went through the weak German defenses as a knife goes through paper. Units of the Prussian Guard near the marshes of the St. Gond were cut to pieces and lost all their artillery; and von Hausen's Saxons south of La Fère-Champenoise, finding themselves attacked in front and threatened in rear, broke, turned, and streamed northwards in confusion and disorder. All during the summer night, amid the rain and lightnings of a thunderstorm which broke over the battle-field, they were pursued by Foch's eager infantry; and only when they had put the Marne between themselves and their pursuers did the pursuit come for the time being to an end.

## THE EFFECT OF FOCH'S SUCCESS.

It has been maintained by some writers that Foch's victory at La Fère-Champenoise decided the battle of the Marne. Such, however, is not the case. Hours before the Forty-second Division made its glorious charge, von Kluck's left and centre were already in retreat; and von Kluck's retreat must inevitably have drawn with it the rest of the German armies west of Verdun. What Foch did was to turn what would have been otherwise a limited success into a real victory. The German armies, which, but for Foch's defeat of von Hausen, would doubtless have been able to retire fighting in good order, were compelled to beat a hurried and precipitate retreat—a retreat which in places strongly resembled a rout.

Unfortunately, the French and the British were not able to extract from their victory the maximum of benefit. Both horses and men were so exhausted by their long retreat and by the terrific strain of the four days' fighting along the Ourcq and the Marne that they were not capable of following up their



A TRENCH NEAR ARRAS

Early trenches contrasted strangely with the elaborate structures of the days when war conditions had become apparently permanent. This is a trench made by German Pioneers.

beaten foe as closely as if they had been fresh. The total number of prisoners and guns captured by the allies in the battle of the Marne does not appear to have been large. The French figures have never been announced, doubtless because they seemed insignificant in comparison with the huge captures announced by the Germans during the fighting in August; but the British took only about 2000 prisoners and 13 or 14 guns.

## THE VICTORY A REAL TRIUMPH.

These facts should not be allowed to obscure the substantial character of the allied triumph. At the battle of the Marne the German plans for a quick decision in the West were once and forever foiled; the German General Staff were forced back on the defensive, and were compelled to accept a long war, in which the superior resources of the allies could be gradually mobilized and brought into play. There were to be, before the war ended, many critical



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moments for the allies; but never again did the Germans have the chance which they had in those fateful days of September, 1914, to defeat their enemies separately, and so to win the war. In this sense, the battle of the Marne represents the turn of the tide, the supreme crisis of Armageddon.

### THE BATTLE OF THE AISNE.

The Germans halted and turned at bay on the high ground to the north of the Aisne and the Suippe, some thirty-five miles north of the Marne. Here, with wise foresight, they had already selected and prepared a line of defense, with a view to the possibility of just such a retreat as had occurred. This position, which had been used for defensive purposes by Blücher's Prussians when invading France just one hundred years before, was one of the strongest in Europe. It followed, not the line of the rivers, but the line of heights immediately north of the Aisne and the crest of the natural *glacis* which rises from the north bank of the Suippe, ending in the difficult and wooded country of the Argonne. Along this high ground the German sappers had already laid out and begun to construct elaborate entrenchments, of a type little known at that time, but only too well known since; and from these trenches the Germans had complete command of all the river crossings.

The French and the British, pressing on in pursuit, came in contact with the German outposts south of the Aisne on September 12, and everywhere drove them in. On September 13 they reached nearly everywhere the river line in front of the German positions. They found that practically all the bridges had been destroyed; but by boats, rafts, and pontoons, even in several cases by the sole remaining girder of a demolished bridge, they made their way across the river, amid a storm of shell-fire from the heights above. By the end of the day they had forced the passage of the river at nearly all points.

### UNCERTAINTY OF GERMAN INTENTIONS.

At this time the Allied commanders were still undecided as to whether the

Germans intended to stand at bay, or whether they intended merely to fight a delaying action, with a view to a further retirement. Possibly the comparative ease with which they had forced the river crossings inclined them to the latter opinion. Had they known the character of the German positions and the strength with which they were held, they might well have hesitated to press their frontal attack further. But, lacking this knowledge, they had no choice but to try the Germans out, to see what they would do.

Accordingly, on September 14, a general attack was launched against the main German positions along the whole of the allied line. This attack almost everywhere broke down. Langle de Cary and Foch hurled their forces up the slopes to the north of the Suippe, only to see them recoil before the almost impregnable German defences; Franchet d'Espérey assailed in vain the Craonne plateau; the British left and centre was hung up in front of the German positions along the Chemin des Dames; and Manoury attacking north of the Aisne between Soissons and Compiègne, found the *massif* between the valleys of the Aisne and the Oise a nut too hard to crack. Only at one point, on the British right, was success attained. Here, indeed, Haig's First Corps reached the Chemin des Dames, on the crest of the ridge, four miles north of the Aisne, and captured the sugar factory near Cerný, which the Germans had turned into a machine-gun fortalice. A small detachment even pushed some distance north of the Chemin des Dames, without encountering any organized resistance; and if the British had had any reserves readily available, it is conceivable that, by exploiting their success, they might have pierced the German positions.

### SITUATION OF THE ALLIED FORCES.

Reserves, however, were what the British most lacked; and, in any case, Sir John French did not know about the gap opposite his right flank in time to take advantage of it. The day ended with the British still retaining their foothold on the Chemin des Dames—a

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foothold which they retained during the rest of their stay on the Aisne front; but with the remainder of the allied forces enjoying a precarious tenure of the north bank of the river, overlooked by the Germans on the heights above them.

When the Germans halted their retreat, nothing had been farther from their minds than to fight a purely defensive action. They had regarded the battle of the Marne as merely an inci-

edge of the Aisne; Langle de Cary was forced back toward Ste. Mennehoult; and Foch found himself obliged to withdraw to the very environs of Rheims.

During the days that followed, the Germans subjected Rheims to that pulverizing bombardment which ruined the Cathedral of Rheims, the noblest example of French Gothic architecture in existence. Whether, as the Germans insisted, the French had used the tower



### AN ACT OF VANDALISM THAT AROUSED THE WORLD

When, in September, 1914, German shells and bombs crashed through the historic walls of Rheims Cathedral and set fire to its roof, the world protested. The Germans argued that the French had used the towers for observation posts; then, that the German guns were aiming at a battery near by. But the battery was proven to be a mile away; and Red Cross flags floated from the towers to protect the German wounded in the Cathedral.

dent—an action in which they had unfortunately blundered into an unfavorable situation, but from which they had withdrawn with comparative success. They now hoped to attack again under more favorable conditions, to demonstrate once more the ability of the German legions to defeat the effete troops of France and Great Britain, and to resume their slightly deferred march on Paris. On September 15 they advanced to the attack. In one or two sectors they achieved considerable success. Manoury was driven back to the very

of the cathedral for military purposes, such as observation and signaling, will perhaps never be known; but certain it is that the bombardment of the cathedral did the Germans no good and much harm. It did not facilitate their advance; but on the contrary it hardened the heart, not only of the French people but of the whole world, against the German menace to civilization.

### THE ST. MIHIEL SALIENT FORMED.

A week after the drive toward Rheims, the Germans followed with an

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attack on the right flank of the Verdun defenses, north of Pont-à-Mousson. Here they succeeded in driving a spearhead into the French line, and actually in gaining a bridgehead over the Meuse at St. Mihiel, thus creating that indentation which remained such a curious feature of the allied line in the west until it was obliterated by the First American Army in September, 1918. But here their success stopped. Though the front from St. Mihiel to Soissons continued active for several weeks, neither side was able to make much impression on the other; and gradually there supervened that condition of stalemate on this part of the line which was destined to last, despite desperate attempts on both sides to end it, almost until the end of the war.

As soon as it became apparent that neither side was able to advance, a natural result followed. Each side began to feel out toward the west, in an attempt to outflank the other; and thus there began that rapid, and at times feverish, race for the sea which ended only when the battle-front stretched in one unbroken line from the Swiss border to the Flanders coast.

### THE RACE FOR THE SEA.

In this race the French were the first to leave the starting-post. Already on September 15, when the Germans were counter-attacking, Manoury's left flank was stealing up the valley of the Oise toward Noyon. The following day Joffre, now fully aware that the German resistance on the Aisne was not merely a rearguard action, gave orders for the formation of two new French Armies, the Seventh and the Tenth, to operate on Manoury's left. The Seventh Army he entrusted to the command of de Castelnau, who handed over the defense of Lorraine to Dubail; and the Tenth Army he placed in charge of General Maud'huy, a new man, who had risen in three brief weeks from the command of a brigade to that of an army—a rapidity of promotion almost unparalleled even in the armies of Napoleon. De Castelnau was in position by September 20, extending the line in a northerly direction from

Manoury's left flank, near Lassigny, to the valley of the Somme, near Péronne. Ten days later Maud'huy carried the line further north to the neighborhood of Arras and Lens.

The Germans were not slow to meet this new threat to their right flank. Once bitten, they were twice shy. As soon as French troops came into line,



Field Marshal Josias von Heeringen, an experienced and stubborn fighter, was transferred from the 7th Army around Verdun and Metz to reinforce von Kluck and von Bülow in the Battle of the Aisne.

they were promptly met by German troops advancing to oppose them. Many observers were mystified at that time as to where these forces came from. They were obtained in the same way as Joffre had obtained the greater part of his Seventh and Tenth Armies, by robbing other parts of the line. Von Bülow, who handed over the defense of the Craonne plateau to von Heeringen, who came up from Alsace, was transferred from von Kluck's left to his right. The Crown Prince of Bavaria, leaving General von Strantz with weak forces to guard Lorraine, was also moved west, where he found, curiously enough, that part of his army again faced that of de Castelnau. Finally,

Duke Albrecht of Wurtemberg, handing over the Champagne front to von Einem, the successor of von Hausen, was moved over to the extreme German right.

#### THE GERMAN STAFF SEES THE SITUATION.

The German General Staff, in fact, had promptly recognized, from the moment when their offensive on the Aisne had ended in deadlock, that the storm-centre was bound to shift to the westward, and that it behooved them to transport thither with the utmost expedition the best troops at their disposal, leaving the defense of the strong entrenched positions between Soissons and the Swiss border in the main to comparatively weak forces of Landwehr and Landsturm. They were the more readily able to do this since the mobilization of these second-line troops was already well advanced—much further advanced than was the mobilization of the corresponding troops in the French army. These German second-line troops were expected to be able to hold, even if they could not advance.

In the face of this strong counter-movement on the part of the Germans, the French, who had thought to outflank the German right, soon found that they were hard put to it to keep their own left from being outflanked. The fighting, in which for the last time for many a long day cavalry and horse artillery played an important part, was a constant succession of battles and skirmishes—a sort of running fight to the north-west. To attempt to describe in detail the vicissitudes of the struggle would be tedious and unprofitable. The first encounters took place in the valley of the Oise near Noyon. Here Manoury's left wing was thrust back by von Kluck's flank guards until it rested on Lassigny. There followed a bitter fight between Roye and Ham, in which de Castelnau's troops achieved at first some success, and which raised the hopes of the allies that their flanking movement might after all prove effective, for Ham was within striking distance of von Kluck's main line of communication, the trunk railway line in the Oise valley.

#### LINES OF TRENCHES ARE EXTENDED.

In the end, however, de Castelnau was pushed back well behind Roye, Chaulnes, and Péronne by the superior numbers brought up against him. Later, as Maud'huy's Tenth Army came into action, a struggle of some magnitude developed near Bapaume. The Germans, who seem to regard this as one of the most important battles of the campaign, captured Bapaume, and pressing on assailed with desperate valor the Albert plateau. But Maud'huy, who showed that Joffre's confidence in him was well placed, stood his ground, and the end of the battle found him still master of the plateau. Gradually, along the whole front from Soissons to Arras, an equilibrium was established. Trenches were dug; the deadlock which prevailed on the Aisne crept northward; and both sides settled down into the positions which they were to occupy, with little change, until the great battle of the Somme in the autumn of 1916.

There still remained, however, to the north of Maud'huy, a wide gap between Lens and the sea which was as yet unstopped. Here for many weeks Uhlan patrols had roamed at large, meeting with almost no resistance; and already, during the first week of October, strong German cavalry forces were reported in the neighborhood of Lille. In order to fill this gap and, if possible, to link up with the Belgian army at Antwerp, Joffre decided to withdraw the British army from the Aisne and to transfer it bodily northwards. The move would greatly shorten and improve the British line of communications, which now ran athwart those of the French Sixth, Seventh, and Tenth Armies; the British had a peculiar interest in the defense of the Channel ports; and, in any case, veteran troops like the British would be much better employed in the critical fighting in the north than in the stagnant battle of the Aisne.

#### BRITISH FORCES SENT TO THE NORTH.

On October 3, therefore, the British began to hand over their trenches to the French, and to make their way to

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ward Flanders. By October 11, the Second Corps was swinging into line on the French left at La Bassée; the Third Corps was prolonging the line northward toward Messines; and the First Corps was moving up from the Aisne to the neighborhood of Ypres. But while the British migration was still in progress, events were already happening in western Belgium which were destined to alter radically the general situation on the northern front, and which were to bring the British face to face with a supreme trial of which they had no inkling—a trial beside which even the retreat from Mons can hardly stand in comparison.

When the Belgian field army evacuated Brussels on August 19, it retired on the fortified camp of Antwerp. Antwerp was not only one of the wealthiest commercial centres in Europe, but it was also a fortified place reputed to be of great strength. It was ringed around with two girdles of steel-and-concrete forts, the outer of which, some sixty miles in circumference, had been completed just before the outbreak of war. Its position, moreover, was naturally strong. It was protected on the south, east, and north-west by low-lying ground which could be readily flooded; its proximity to the Dutch border made its complete investment impossible; and the sea behind it afforded a means whereby it could obtain, if necessary, supplies and relief. It had been fortified indeed with a view to just such a contingency as had arisen: it was a sort of national citadel, within which the Belgian army might take refuge while assistance was coming.

### ANTWERP ALMOST IGNORED AT FIRST.

The Germans had been content at first merely to "mask" Antwerp. When von Kluck swung south toward France on August 20, he left only two army corps to shut the Belgians up in Antwerp and prevent their doing any harm. Antwerp itself was at this time of no conceivable use to the Germans; and if it had been, they had no troops to waste in side-shows. Every available man was needed to bring about the decisive defeat of the French; once this,

indeed, was accomplished, the reduction of Antwerp would have been a simple matter.

The Belgians, however, had declined to accept the rôle which the German General Staff had assigned to them. On at least two occasions they had sallied forth and fallen on the Germans with no uncertain effect, and at most awkward junctures. First, when the battle of Charleroi was beginning, they made a sortie toward Louvain, as a result of which this venerable university town was burned to the ground by the Germans, amid scenes of execrable barbarity; and second, while the battle of the Marne was in progress, they made a sortie which detained in Belgium troops which were sorely needed by the Germans in the south. The Belgian staff, moreover, had taken to heart the lessons of Liège and Namur. They realized that the most modern steel-and-concrete forts could no longer be regarded as proof against the fire of the German 28 and 42 centimeter guns and the Austrian Skodas; and they kept pushing their infantry out beyond the forts, in the hope of keeping the German siege howitzers out of range.

### THE GERMANS DECIDE TO TAKE ANTWERP.

Under these circumstances, the Germans would probably have decided to storm Antwerp in any case, as soon as they had the necessary troops, in order to clean out the hornets' nest. But there were now additional reasons why they should do this. In the first place, German public opinion was sorely in need of encouragement. After the events of August, the events of September had been somewhat of an anticlimax. In the second place, the shifting of the centre of gravity of the war from the Aisne toward Flanders—and this was the most important factor—made it urgently necessary for the Germans to eliminate the Belgian threat to their right flank. So long as the German battle-front was along the Aisne or the Marne, the Belgian threat to the German lines of communication was slight; but once the battle-front was removed to Flanders, the threat became immediate and direct.

The German decision to attack Antwerp seems to have been taken about the middle of September, just after the failure of the German counter-offensive on the Aisne. On September 17, von Beseler, who was in command of the army facing Antwerp, drove the Belgians back to the line of the Malines-Louvain railway. By September 25 he had forced them back to the railway line between Malines and Termonde. Here the Belgian field army made a desperate and gallant resistance, and the battle ebbed and flowed for several days; but by September 28 the Germans had advanced far enough to enable them to bring their great siege howitzers to bear on the southern forts of the outer ring of the Antwerp defenses. The bombardment of Antwerp had begun.

### THE BELGIAN GUNS ARE OUT-RANGED.

The German guns, from a distance of from seven to eight miles, pounded the steel cupolas and concrete works of Forts Waelhem and Wavre Ste. Catherine, neither of which mounted a gun having a range of over six miles. It was a repetition of the fate of Liège and Namur. By the early morning of September 29 Fort Wavre was silenced; its cupolas and concrete works were smashed as by an earthquake, its magazine was blown up, and its commander, when he insisted gallantly on returning to it with a fresh garrison, found that every gun was out of action. Waelhem, with one of its cupolas wrecked, continued its resistance during the day; but it was so battered that by October 1 it had only one gun firing. By October 1 Forts Koningshoeyck and Lierre to the north had also been silenced. During the following night the Belgian forces, abandoning the line of the ruined forts, fell back to a previously prepared line of entrenchments behind the Nethe, an affluent of the Scheldt.

The Belgian authorities recognized that, once the outer defenses had gone, the fate of Antwerp was sealed; and on October 3 they began to make arrangements for the evacuation of the city. But on October 4 there arrived in Ant-

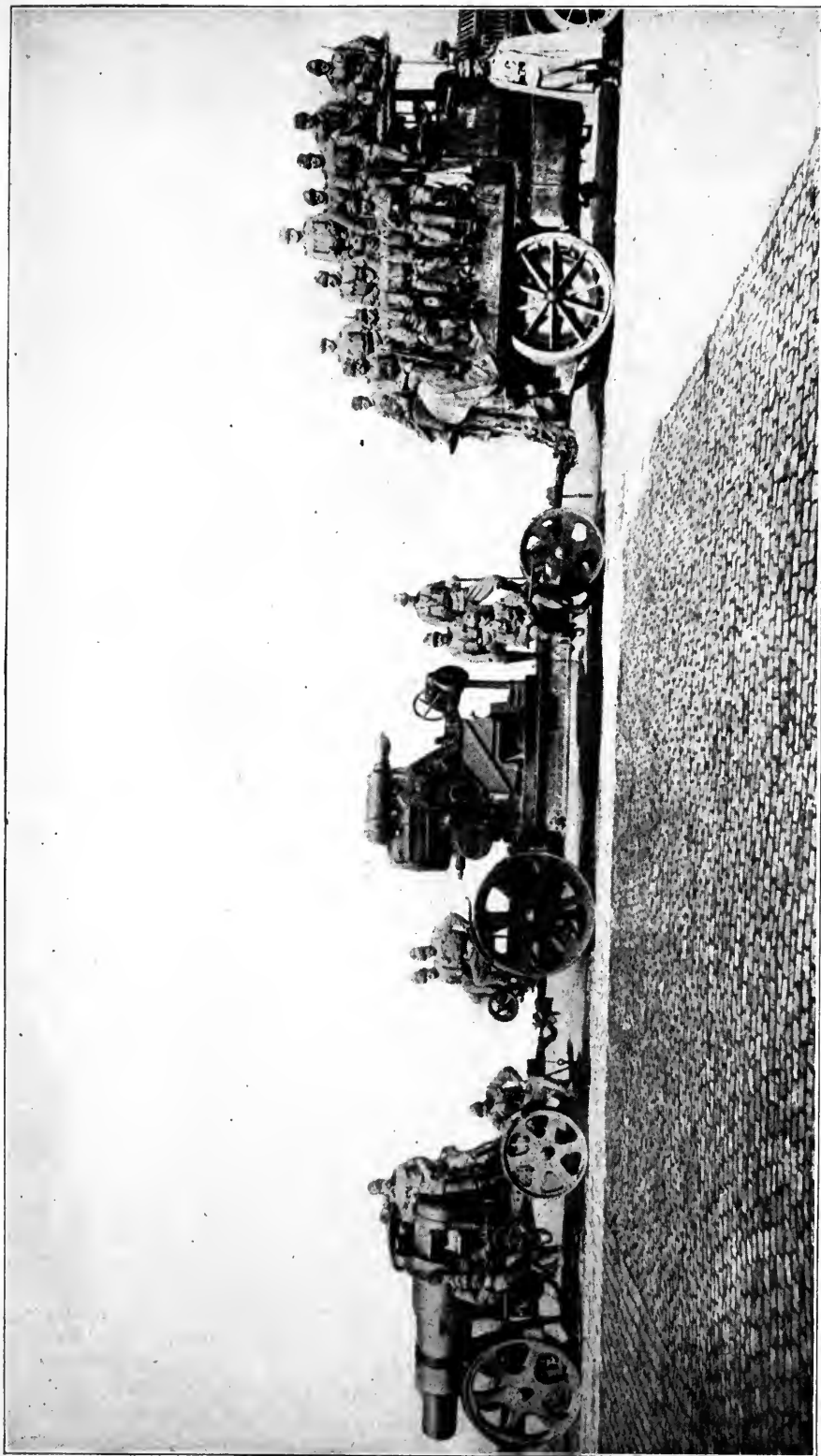
werp no less a personage than Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the British Admiralty. He was followed by a brigade of Royal Marines, regular troops with several naval guns, and by two brigades of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, newly organized troops with imperfect equipment and still in the drill-book stage of training.

### THE BELGIANS ARE PERSUADED TO RESIST.

Churchill persuaded the Belgian authorities that there was still a good chance of defending the city by holding the line of the Nethe; he advised them that the British War Office was landing troops on the Belgian coast at Ostend and Zeebrugge; and he held out the hope that the allies would in a short time be able to link up Antwerp with the allied line farther south. As the situation developed, Churchill's intervention proved unfortunate. On October 4-5 the Belgian army would have been able to withdraw virtually unmolested behind the Scheldt; whereas by waiting, as they did, until October 9, they and the British contingent suffered many casualties, lost thousands who were taken prisoners or interned in Holland, and invited untold damage to Antwerp and its environs. But because the event turned out badly, it does not follow that there were not solid reasons for Churchill's action.

The garrison of Antwerp, including the British reinforcements, cannot have been outnumbered by their assailants by more than two to one; and, with reasonable luck, they should have been able to hold the line of the Nethe. British troops about Ypres farther south were to face in a few days odds much more fearful without yielding. While Churchill was in Antwerp, Sir John French was already on the way north toward Ypres, and British cavalry and infantry were being dispatched from England to the Flanders coast. Nothing was known as yet of the new and hastily improvised armies which the Kaiser was shortly to hurl on the road to Calais; and there seemed a good chance that, if Antwerp could hold out, a line might be patched up from the Swiss border all the way north to Hol-





#### A GREAT AUSTRIAN HOWITZER WHICH HELPED TO DESTROY THE DEFENSES OF ANTWERP

A powerful motor pulls the howitzer, weighing many tons, from place to place when necessary. The howitzer itself is in the rear, while between is the carriage. This contains, besides the foundation from which the howitzer is fired, the recoil mechanism, which absorbs the shock when the howitzer is fired and prevents it from shattering itself and everything around. Notice the broad wheels intended to prevent the crushing of the pavements. Few bridges, however, were able to sustain the enormous weight.



land. Naturally, as head of the British Admiralty, Churchill had an especial interest in the defense of Antwerp and the Belgian coast, for Antwerp in the hands of the Germans would be, as Napoleon had said, "a pistol aimed at the heart of England."

## THE FIRST RESISTANCE IS SUCCESSFUL

At first it looked as though Churchill's judgment was to be justified. On October 3 the Germans attempted to cross the Nethe near Fort Waelhem. They built several pontoon bridges, but each one of these was blown to pieces by the Belgian artillery before it could be used; and the attack was repulsed with heavy losses. The next day, likewise, the Germans failed to effect anywhere a crossing of the river. On October 5 they succeeded in getting a foothold on the northern bank of the river near Fort Lierre; but the British marines, who held this part of the line, held them down to the river bank. That night the Germans launched a general attack. Once again all their pontoons were destroyed. But under cover of the darkness large bodies of German infantry swam or waded across the stream, and the morning found them strongly established on the northern bank.

This crossing gave the quietus to the defense. General de Guise, the Belgian commander, withdrew his troops to the inner circle of forts, and began immediately the evacuation of Antwerp. The Germans brought their guns across the river, and by nightfall two of the inner forts—built half a century before—were silenced. During the evening von Beseler sent messages into the city warning the Belgian commander that he intended to bombard it, and asking for a plan of the city with the hospitals, museums, and public buildings clearly marked, so that, so far as was possible, they might be spared. At midnight the bombardment began. It continued all during the day of October 8 and the following night, while a bitter rear guard action raged along the inner defenses. But by the morning of October 9 practically all of the Belgian

forces had retreated over the Scheldt; and shortly after midday the Germans entered the city.

## SCENES DURING THE EVACUATION.

The scenes which occurred during the evacuation of Antwerp would have defied the stylus of Dante. There were in the city, when the siege began, not less than half a million people, including not only the citizens themselves, but great numbers of refugees from the surrounding country. The exodus began on October 3, when the outer forts had fallen, but it reached its climax only on October 7, when the bombardment of the city was imminent. Vast crowds thronged the landing-stages and filled to the water-line every sort of craft available. Tramps, ferries, dredgers, trawlers, pleasure-yachts, launches, row-boats, and even rafts were pressed into use. Meanwhile, the roads north into Holland and south-west to Ghent were black with long dense columns of fugitives, using every kind of vehicle from high-powered motor-cars to wheelbarrows.

Behind these scenes there was a background of burning villages and crashing guns, followed during the night by the outbreak of conflagrations in Antwerp itself; and over all there spread slowly a vast black cloud—the smoke from the burning oil-tanks across the Scheldt—which obscured finally the sun by day and the stars by night. The fall of Antwerp was like a rehearsal of the Day of Judgment.

## MOST OF THE GARRISON ESCAPES.

The Antwerp garrison was withdrawn by way of the narrow neck of land between the Dutch border and the Scheldt toward Ghent. Several thousand were captured by the Germans, and several more thousand—including 2,000 British—blundered into Holland and were there interned; but the bulk of the garrison got safely away. Fortunately on October 7 the Belgian commander dispatched a strong force up the left bank of the Scheldt to hold the river crossings and to protect the flank of the retreat. This force made a gallant defense of the river line, and for two days

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

it held up the Germans near Zele, thus insuring the retreat of the main army. South of Ghent the retreat of the Belgians was covered by a brigade of French Marines under Admiral Ronarc'h, and by the British Seventh Division and Third Cavalry Brigade under General Rawlinson, which had disembarked at Ostend and Zeebrugge on

Switzerland. Antwerp had fallen, and the Belgian coast as far south as Nieuport had been laid bare—a fact which was to exert an important influence on naval warfare. But the Belgian field army was still intact, and was still fighting on Belgian soil; and the allies had won, by a narrow margin, the race for the sea.



**BREASTWORKS INSTEAD OF TRENCHES IN FLANDERS**

The soil of much of Flanders is so low and so water-soaked that trenches would have soon become ditches filled with water which could not be properly drained. Here we see hasty breastworks of earth thrown up as a substitute. German soldiers are firing upon advancing Allied troops through loop-holes in the earthen walls.

October 6-8; and slowly and in good order the whole force fell back on the line of the Yser canal. Here the Belgians, supported by French territorials and marines on their right, turned at bay, while Rawlinson linked up with the British army now coming into line north of La Bassée. A glance at the map on page 137 will make the relative positions of the armies clear.

There were at first wide and dangerous gaps in the British line; but by October 19, when Haig's First Corps came into position near Ypres, the last of these gaps had been stopped, and the allied line presented a fairly solid and continuous line from the North Sea to

## **BOTH ALLIES AND GERMANS CHANGE POLICY.**

In order to understand the operations that followed the fall of Antwerp, it is necessary to grasp the frequent changes during this period in both Allied and German policy. When the French began to creep up around the German right on the Aisne, their object was to outflank the enemy and to strike at his line of communications in northern France. This continued to be their object until the end of September. But when Antwerp was attacked, and while it was still hoped that it would be able to resist the attack, the Allies modified their aim to this extent, that they now

strove to extend their line northward until they came into touch with the Belgians. It was with this object in view that Rawlinson's force was landed on the coast of Belgium and that in October a new French army was formed to operate in the extreme north—an army of which the French marines who were with Rawlinson were the nucleus.

This plan, of course, did not preclude an attack on the German line of communications in northern France; it was still hoped that Sir John French would be able to push forward from La Bassée and Armentières in the general direction of Maubeuge. But once Antwerp had fallen, and the forces investing it had been released, the allies were forced to devote their energies to patching up what was essentially a defensive line to the sea.

### **G**ERMANS DETERMINE TO TAKE CALAIS.

The Germans, on the other hand, had set out with the object of outflanking their outflankers, of beating the French at their own game. This was the aim of their vicious attacks between Roye and Ham and on the Albert plateau. But when the allied line had reached the sea, they were compelled in the nature of the case to give over this strategy. There was nothing for it now but a direct smashing frontal attack toward Calais. It was currently believed at the time, even in the German army, that this attack was aimed primarily at Great Britain, against which country the Germans had worked themselves up into a white heat of hatred. The threat to Great Britain which the capture of Calais would have entailed, may well have been a secondary consideration, but their chief objective was still the defeat of the French armies. Of the attainment of this objective the drive toward Calais seemed still to offer at least a chance. It would almost inevitably result in the rolling up of the long northern arm of the allied armies in France; it would then give the Germans an opportunity to fight a new great battle in the region of Amiens, at which they might be able to reverse the decision of the Marne, roll

up the main French armies, and so gain that quick decision in the west which had been the central feature of their strategy, but which since the beginning of September had been receding further and further into the distance.

### **T**HE GERMANS FORM A NEW ARMY.

Having decided on this plan of campaign, the Germans set to work to make preparations for it with characteristic thoroughness. They cleared their flank by the capture of Antwerp, and at the same time they released von Beseler's troops for service farther south; they denuded the eastern part of their line of every man who could be spared; and they proceeded to form in Germany itself a whole new army, composed of *Landsturm*, *Einjährige*, and volunteers—men past middle age and boys still in their 'teens. On one day, October 1, we know that four army corps of these troops left Germany for the Flanders front.

When the British began to move on Maud'huy's left near La Bassée, they had no idea of this vast concentration of troops which was being prepared against them. Just as Sir John French had been ignorant of the size of the army which von Kluck had brought against him at Mons, so now he remained ignorant of the fact that the Germans were planning once more to overwhelm him. He knew, of course, of von Beseler's force at Antwerp; but he thought that this was a detached and isolated force many miles to the north, which could have no immediate influence on the events on his front.

### **B**OTH FRENCH AND FOCH ARE DECEIVED.

Both he and Foch, who had been placed by Joffre in charge of all operations north of the Aisne, were under the impression that the British would find comparatively weak forces opposing them, and that they would be able to move forward without much difficulty. Lille was still occupied by a force of French territorials; and the first task of the Second British Corps, which came into action on October 2, was to link up Lille with Maud'huy's left. This task they never came within many miles of

accomplishing. On October 12 they ran up against a strong German resistance north of Festubert and Givenchy; and on October 13 Lille fell, for the second time since the beginning of the war. The corps struggled forward until by October 17 they had captured Aubers, but this represented the high-water mark of their advance, and on October 18 the German counter-attacks began.

Meanwhile, the Third Corps, having detained at St. Omer on the night of October 11, was moving forward to the north, with Conneau's French Cavalry Corps on the right flank and Allenby's British Cavalry Corps on the left. The Third Corps had at first better success than the Second. It drove some mixed German infantry and cavalry from in front of Bailleul; on October 16 it occupied Armentières; and by the following day it was well over the Lys. But here its success stopped. Allenby's cavalry seized the Messines ridge to the north of Armentières; but it found the Lys beyond so strongly held that it, too, was here brought to a stand.

#### **FRENCH ATTEMPTS THE IMPOSSIBLE.**

Something of the situation confronting him had now begun to dawn on French; but he had not given up the idea that he might still outflank the Germans. The First Army Corps was due to arrive from the Aisne on October 19; and with a view to paving the way for a new attack on their part, French ordered Rawlinson's force, which, after covering the Belgian retreat, had fallen back to the east of Ypres, to advance on Menin. Rawlinson's task was an impossibility. The vanguard of the new formations from Germany was now beginning to appear on the Ypres front; and although the Seventh Division made a valiant advance to within three miles of Menin, they were compelled, both by the forces facing them and by strong German columns moving south from Roulers on their left flank, to retire to Gheluvelt. Here, protected on their left flank by the Third Cavalry Brigade and four French cavalry divisions, they awaited the arrival of the First Corps.

The First Corps, which passed through Ypres on October 20, arrived in the nick of time. Their instructions were to move forward on Bruges and Ghent; but they encountered superior German forces only a few miles north of Ypres, and were there pinned down. Thus the Ypres salient—destined to be held by the allies at the cost of tragic losses during the remainder of the war—came into being. The position was now clear. The Belgians, supported on each flank and in rear by the Eighth French Army, held the line of the Yser; the British—in a painfully attenuated line—stood on guard in front of Ypres, and extended south to La Bassée; beyond them stood the army of Maud'huy. Against this frail breakwater, the German tidal wave was now to break, and break in vain.

#### **THE NEW GERMAN COMMANDER ATTACKS.**

In the battle that followed—commonly known as the First Battle of Ypres, though its extent ranged all the way from Nieuport on the north to Arras on the south—it is not easy to disentangle the threads of German tactics. Von Falkenhayn, the Prussian Minister of War, who had now succeeded von Moltke as Chief of the General Staff, attacked in four distinct sectors—along the Yser canal, around the Ypres salient, north of La Bassée, and opposite Arras. It is probable that some of these attacks were designed merely to hold down the allied troops facing them; but they were all pressed with such vigor that it is difficult to say which was originally intended to be the main attack.

In the end von Falkenhayn seems to have thrown his chief weight into the onslaught on Ypres, whence the battle takes its name; but this may have been merely because the situation, as it developed, offered better results there than elsewhere. Had he dissipated his energies less widely, there might well have been a very different tale to tell. He doubtless thought that his numerical superiority entitled him to attack on a wide front; and certainly, as the British were to find out later, to attack on too narrow a front was to court dis-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

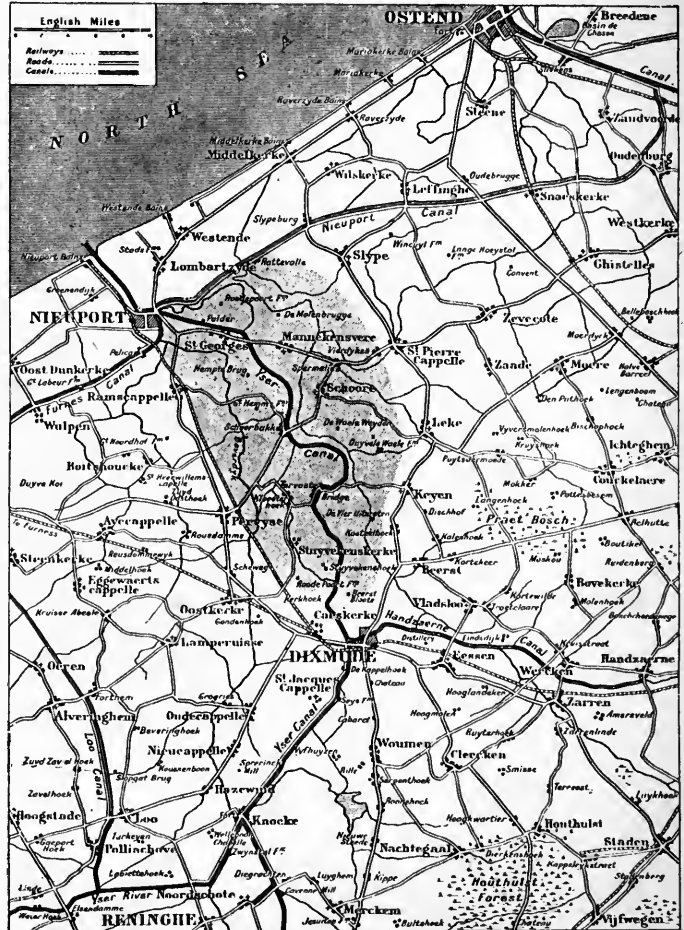
aster. But it would seem that von Falkenhayn attacked too hard at too many points, and so missed the chance to break through which a greater concentration against one of these points might have given him.

### THE BELGIAN ARMY PUSHED BACK.

The Germans struck first along the coast. Here stood von Beseler's victorious army from Antwerp, facing the left wing and centre of the Belgian army, with some French supports. The Belgians were greatly outnumbered, and were utterly exhausted by their efforts of the previous two months. On October 17, after a two days' preliminary bombardment, von Beseler attacked them south of Nieuport and drove them over the Yser; they counter-attacked during the night, and regained the right bank of the canal; but the following day they were attacked in greater force than ever, and the situation began to look black. If the Belgian left were driven in, the whole Allied line would be turned, and incalculable results might follow.

At this critical moment help came to the sorely pressed Belgians from an unexpected quarter. Off Nieuport there suddenly appeared three strange-looking warships. These were British monitors, shallow-draught vessels with high crow's nests, which had been built before the war to order of the Brazilian government for the patrolling of the Amazon River. Their shallow draught enabled them to enter the shoal waters off the Flanders coast, where they were

safe from the attacks of German submarines; and their six-inch guns enabled them to enfilade the German lines on shore without coming within range of the German field pieces. Their fire effectually smothered von Beseler's attack. They were joined later by other warships, oldish vessels which the British and French Admiralties were not loth to risk in this novel bat-



The Belgian Army's positions were from Nieuport to just north of Ypres. On the map the inundated area is indicated by shading. Nieuport and Dixmude, with Ypres and Furnes, have received the French War Cross for heroism.

tle; and eventually the Germans had, for the time being, virtually to evacuate the coastal area, and transfer their attack farther inland.

### THE BELGIANS FLOOD THE COUNTRY SIDE.

Here, on the left of von Beseler, stood Duke Albrecht of Wurtemberg,

who had now brought up from the Argonne the pick of his army. On October 23 the Wurtembergers delivered a furious assault on the line of the Yser from St. Georges to Dixmude. At Dixmude Admiral Ronarc'h's French marines repulsed no less than fourteen separate attacks in twenty-four hours. But north of Dixmude the Germans succeeded the following day in forcing the line of the canal. The Belgians, contesting every foot of ground amid the network of dykes, with which the country is intersected, were compelled to fall back until by October 28 they were well back to the railway embankment in rear of the Yser. The situation was now again critical; but the Belgians were not yet at the end of their resources. By damming the lower reaches of the Yser, and by flooding the fields, they called to their aid the fourth element, the ancient and traditional weapon of the people of the Low Countries.

Still, however, the Germans struggled on. On October 30, they reached the railway line and captured Ramscapelle, only to be thrown out by a combined French and Belgian counter-attack. Then the Belgians opened the sluices of the upper canals. The shallow floods in which the Germans stood rose as if by magic. Men, horses, and guns were drowned on all sides; and the survivors escaped only with difficulty to the high ground to the east of the Yser. The Germans continued their assaults on Dixmude, now a heap of ruins, and on November 10 they captured it, together with a number of the gallant French marines who had so stubbornly defended it. But by this time the capture of the town meant little. The Belgians were now safe behind their flooded countryside; and everywhere the German fury was beginning to exhaust itself.

### **THE SERIOUS DRIVE TOWARD ARRAS.**

While the Belgians were thus holding the coast roads on the left of the long battle-front, the British and French were desperately engaged in holding the gates near La Bassée and Arras on the right. The gravest men-

ace was perhaps the attack on Arras. If the attack here had succeeded, Foch's northern forces would have been cut in two. Up to October 20, von Bülow's Prussians, who had been brought up to this part of the line, had aimed at driving in Maud'huy's left wing in front of Lens; but on this date they suddenly transferred their main attack to Maud'huy's centre near Arras. Maud'huy's line ran in a crescent shape to the north and east of Arras; and during October this line had been pressed back until the German guns were playing on the beautiful old Hotel de Ville in the heart of the city.

On October 24, von Bülow staged a grand assault. The Prussian Guard Corps, advancing with their famous parade-step, and their officers holding their swords at the carry, hurled themselves, together with other Prussian and Brandenburg troops, on the French. But the latter, many of them middle-aged territorials, stood firm beneath the shock. For two days there was fighting of the bitterest description. The German guns continued to bombard Arras; and it was at this time that the city was reduced to that shell with which later British and Canadian soldiers were to become so familiar. But no German soldier entered Arras except as a prisoner. By October 26 the attack had spent itself; and Maud'huy, receiving reinforcements from Foch, was able to retaliate. Little by little he forced the Germans back from the gates of the city; and by the beginning of November the danger to Arras was over.

### **THE FIRST GREAT STRUGGLE FOR NEUVE CHAPELLE.**

The attack on the British right wing north of La Bassée appears to have been merely a holding attack, but it was made in great strength. Smith-Dorrien's Second Corps, between October 22-24, was forced back from the advanced position which it had taken up on October 19, to the line Festubert-Laventie. On October 27-28 there was a bitter struggle for the possession of the village of Neuve Chapelle—a prelude to the greater battle about the



village the following spring. By this time the Second Corps, which had been fighting incessantly for a fortnight, was nearing the limit of its powers of endurance. Fortunately, however, relief was at hand. The Indian Army Corps, under General Willcocks, composed of native and British troops in the proportion of three to one, had now arrived from India by way of Marseilles; and at the end of October they took over the trenches from Smith-Dorrien's weary men.

The Indian soldiers were not destined to prove an unqualified success on the western front: they found it very hard to sit still under heavy shell-fire, and the cold damp winter of northern France undermined their constitutions. But, in their right place, they were among the finest soldiers in the world; and they effectually stopped the German advance. "The devil knows," one German soldier wrote home to Frankfurt, after his first encounter with them, "those brown rascals are not to be underrated."

#### **THE FIRST BATTLE OF YPRES.**

But it was in front of Ypres that the supreme struggle took place. Here, from October 20, when Haig's First Corps was held up north of the town by the oncoming German hordes, to November 11, when the Prussian Guard reeled beaten out of Nonnebusch, the battle raged almost without intermission. For three terrific weeks the German thunderbolts smote on the thin British line. That line bent, cracked, swayed, and yielded; but it never broke. The first blow fell on the northern face of the salient, where one of the new corps from Germany—composed largely of *Einjährige*, corresponding roughly to the British and American Officers' Training Corps—attacked on October 22 Haig's left. These dauntless youths, under the eyes of the Kaiser, advanced singing patriotic songs, and actually pierced the British line, overwhelming one of the finest regiments in the British army, the Cameron Highlanders; but the next day a British counter-attack restored the position, and when, on October 24,

the French Ninth Corps, veterans of La Fère-Champenoise, came up on the left, Haig was able to swing forward and sideways.

Meanwhile, the main German attack had shifted to the eastern face of the salient, where Rawlinson's Seventh Division had been holding up the German advance until Haig's arrival. The troops of this division, drawn from garrison service abroad, represented perhaps the highest state of training and efficiency in the British army. Though they were holding an extended front against many times their number of assailants, and though the Germans got repeatedly around, through, and behind them, they refused to budge; whenever the enemy broke through them, they merely pocketed the intruders and cornered them. Farther south, however, the British cavalry, at the southern re-entrant of the salient, were being hard pressed. By October 27 they were back at Klein Zillebeke, not three miles from Ypres; and it became necessary to withdraw the heroic Seventh Division from their exposed position.

#### **THE BRITISH LINE BENDS BUT RECOVERS.**

On October 28 there was a lull; but at dawn the following day the German attack was renewed with redoubled vigor. The day ended with honors easy. Haig's Corps was driven from its trenches near Gheluvelt by no less than three German corps; but a magnificent counter-attack drove the Germans out again. The next day the British cavalry, attacked by two German corps, were again driven back, fighting desperately; and only the intervention of some French reinforcements saved the situation. The crisis came on October 31. On this day the pressure on the southern end of the salient was so great that even the cooks and orderlies were pushed into the line; the Seventh Division was bent on the Klein Zillebeke ridge; and the First Division, on the right of Haig's Corps, was driven back from Gheluvelt toward Hooze. It looked as though at any moment the British line might collapse like a house of cards.





#### NATURE DEALS OUT SUFFERING WITH EQUAL HAND TO PRISONERS AND CAPTORS

Winter came suddenly in Flanders in November, 1914. Heavy snows fell and froze hard upon the ground. Conditions of life on the firing-line were changed, but not for the better. In the place of living in deep mud and water the men in the open trenches found themselves exposed to frightful cold, especially at night. Sometimes they were so stiff and helpless that they had to be lifted out when relieved. Sometimes cases of frost bite had to be taken to hospital. German prisoners and British captors suffered together.

But British generalship, though playing for high stakes, was not yet bankrupt. The First Division, instead of conforming to the movement of the Second on its right, merely bent back its flank, enfiladed the German advance, and, at the psychological moment, launched a counter-attack. The honors in this attack went to an English county battalion, the 2nd Worcesters, who, in one glorious charge, retook Gheluvelt with the bayonet, restored the line, and saved the day, though their losses were heavy.

By this time reinforcements were arriving. Smith-Dorrien's Corps had been brought up from the south, together with a territorial battalion, the London Scottish, who represented the vanguard of Great Britain's new armies; the French Sixteenth Corps arrived to take over part of the line from the British cavalry; and the supreme moment was past. The Germans still attacked persistently however. On November 1 they captured the Messines ridge. Five days later, they drove in the French near Klein Zillebeke, and the situation was retrieved only by a brilliant charge of the British Household Cavalry on foot.

On November 11 they made a last culminating effort. They brought up the Prussian Guard from Arras and launched them against the British First Corps at Gheluvelt; and they launched the new formations from Germany in yet another attack on the northern face of the salient, where General Dubois's Zouaves and General de Mitry's cavalry were now posted. But the Prussian Guard, although they came forward with great steadiness, were driven back in disorder; and the French took a terrible toll of the half-trained infantry before them. After this, the Germans attacked spasmod-

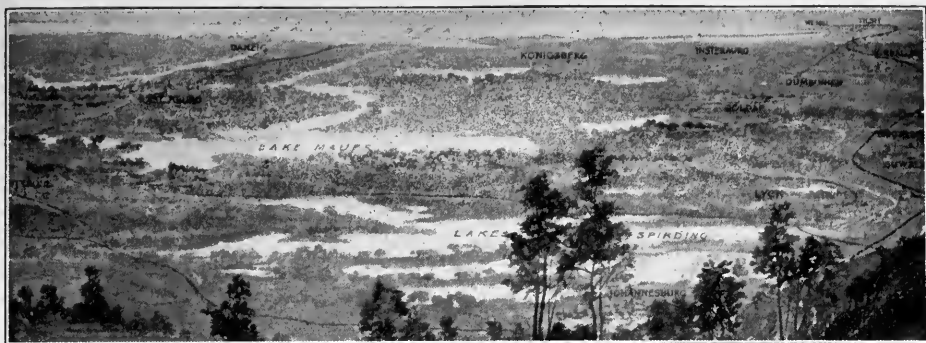
ically here and there, and they continued to shell Ypres until its famous Cloth Hall was a heap of ruins; but by November 17 the bitter Flanders winter had set in, and the First Battle of Ypres died away in wind and snow.

#### THE BRITISH DEFENSE OF YPRES NOTABLE.

The Spartans at Thermopylae perished and lost. The British at Ypres in 1914 very nearly perished, but they won. Without detracting in any way from the splendid defense of the Belgians on the Yser or the French in front of Arras, and without denying the gallant and opportune assistance which the French gave the British at many stages during the battle, it may still be said that the British stand before Ypres is one of the deathless pages in military history.

The British held at the beginning of the battle a front of over thirty miles with a force numbering barely a rifle per yard; whereas the Germans attacking them had a force at least three times as large, and in places their superiority was no less than five or six to one. Their attack was delivered with all the desperate energy of a drowning man clutching at the last straw; and in places it almost obliterated the defense. The British Seventh Division came out of action not 2,000 strong; the British cavalry, fighting on foot, lost more than half their effectives; and the losses of the rest of the army were in proportion. Divisions were reduced to brigades, brigades to battalions, and battalions to weak platoons. It is an axiom of the text-books that a force which has lost one-third of its effectives may be regarded as out of action. The British army chose to ignore this axiom; and in so doing, they perhaps saved Europe.

W. S. WALLACE.



A View of the Region of the Masurian Lakes

## CHAPTER IX

# The Russian Steam Roller Halted

## RUSSIAN SACRIFICES PROBABLY SAVE THE ALLIES ON THE WESTERN FRONT

IT was on the Eastern Front that the gigantic proportions of the war manifested themselves in the operations of the contending armies. Here the belligerents met along a line nearly a thousand miles in length. Here too massed infantry attacks and strategic skill were to decide the issues of battles, rather than the intricate science of modern trench warfare and heavy artillery, which were such prominent features of the fighting on the Western Front. Whichever side would win on this front must overwhelm its opponent with numbers, for the more or less level nature of the terrain from the Baltic down to the foothills of the Carpathians would give neither any decided natural advantage, save for the numerous broad rivers which traverse this vast territory.

### THE APPARENT ADVANTAGES OF RUSSIA IN THE STRUGGLE.

In numbers the advantage seemed assuredly with Russia, with population of 182,000,000 as compared to Germany's 65,000,000 and Austria-Hungary's 50,000,000, not considering Germany's problem in Belgium and France. But this superiority was heavily counter-balanced by so many deficiencies that the German General Staff had good apparent reason to suppose that Russia would not become a serious menace before sufficient time had

elapsed to conquer France and hold England effectively in check.

Russia had begun mobilizing her vast armies before any of the other belligerents; at any rate, Germany made that the pretext for precipitating the great conflict. But Russia was more handicapped than any of the other nations because of the vastness of her territory. Such railroads as she did possess were sufficient to bring only a small proportion of her troops to the points of mobilization; the majority must march for days and days over rough country roads. This affected the collection of military supplies as well as the mobilization of the soldiers themselves. It was this disability, to a greater degree, of course, which had lost Russia the war against Japan.

### THE LACK OF RAILROADS ONE OF RUSSIA'S GREAT HANDICAPS.

This inferiority of railroad facilities was especially significant over toward the Austrian and German frontiers. Both Austria and Germany were covered with a network of railroad lines, laid principally for military purposes. On the Russian side of the frontier there were a number of railroads running from the interior of the country toward the frontier, but these were not joined together laterally, so that when it became necessary to move large forces up or down the front, the Rus-

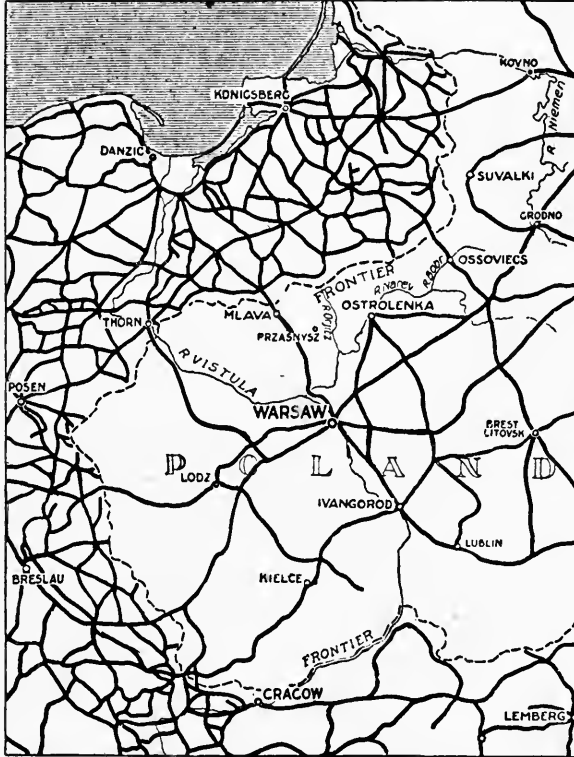
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

sians were much delayed by having to send their men far back into the interior to distant junctions, and back again on the other lines running east and west. The Germans had lateral connecting lines close up to the frontier, and could shift their forces north or south with great rapidity. This perfection of railroad organization made

turn her attention to the Eastern Front, save for the comparatively small army which she believed would be sufficient to conquer Serbia. When hostilities did begin Austria had fully a million men mobilized in Galicia, ready to assume the offensive in Russian territory. The Austrian right flank rested over against the Carpathians, which served as a natural protection to the plains of Hungary. But it was very important that Galicia should be held, for here were the oil wells from which the armies of the Central Empires drew their supplies of petrol. It was in this section that Russia must expect the first attack.

### **P**OLAND FORMS A GREAT SALIENT, DIFFICULT TO DEFEND.

A glance at a pre-war map will show that in the center Russia's frontier swung westward in a huge semicircle, as though at some time she had taken a substantial bite out of western Europe. This enclosed her portion of the former kingdom of Poland, which had been divided among Russia, Austria and Germany. The attitude of the Polish people was probably a question of some doubt to all three of the belligerents when the war began, for all three had ruled their subject Polish populations against their will. Austria, perhaps, had been the most liberal. In Russian Poland, however, there had



**GERMAN RAILWAYS ON POLISH BORDER**

Compare the strategic railways on Germany's eastern boundary, whereby she could concentrate her armies on the Polish front, with the few in Poland.

Germany confident that she would be able to defeat the French and British and still have time to meet the Russians before they should be fully mobilized. Therefore, during the first days of August, Germany was content to have only a defensive force of comparatively small proportions in East Prussia.

On the other hand, Austria was still free to devote her whole strength to meeting whatever forces the Russians could mobilize until Germany could

been insurrections as late as 1905, and so doubtful was Russia of the loyalty of the Poles that she decided to withdraw from at least the western portion of Russian Poland, for the time being. At any rate, her position here formed a salient which was threatened on the right flank by the Germans in East Prussia and by the Austrians in Galicia. All three governments bid for the support of the Poles by liberal offers. Russia promised to re-establish the Polish kingdom, should the war be won



**GENERAL RENNENKAMPF**

General Rennenkampf, one of the few soldiers who had added to his reputation during the Japanese War and the hero of the Russian raid into East Prussia, August, 1914.

Picture Henry Ruschin

show itself far superior as a fighting organization to the Russian Army which had floundered through the mud of Manchuria back in 1904, when drunkenness, corruption and incompetency had been a characteristic of Russian officers in general. No vestige of this former weakness was now apparent to Allied observers. Much of this superior efficiency was ascribed to the influence of General Sukhomlinov, later to stand trial not only for corruption, but as a traitor in the pay of Germany. It is probable, therefore, that her allies were blind to the fact that Russia had not yet rid herself of the canker at her core which was finally to bring her to such a disastrous end.

By the beginning of the second week of August the first Russian forces were ready to undertake operations against the enemy. These were arranged as follows: facing East Prussia was the Army of the Niemen, four corps strong; the Army of Poland, consisting of fif-

by the Allies. German promises, to a similar effect, were published in pamphlets and showered down on Russian Poland by aeroplanes shortly after hostilities began, but with their usual tactlessness the Germans dropped bombs on Warsaw several days later, killing numerous noncombatants, and this did much to neutralize the effect of the pamphlets. At any rate, the Poles in Russian territory showed themselves unexpectedly loyal, and Russia once more pushed her forces forward in Poland, to hold Warsaw against German attacks.

## THE RUSSIAN ARMY BETTER ORGANIZED THAN EVER BEFORE.

Seen now, in perspective, it is plain that the Russians mobilized more quickly than had been anticipated by the enemy. The Russian commander-in-chief was the Grand Duke Nicholas, uncle of the Czar, whose competency as a military strategist shines by comparison with most Russian leaders. Certainly the Russian Army was to



**GENERAL PAUL VON HINDENBURG**

General von Hindenburg known at first derisively as "the old man of the lakes," was later acclaimed as "the saviour of Germany" for driving the Russians from East Prussia.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

teen corps, occupied a wide front from the Narew to the Bug Valley; and the Galician Army, faced the country in between Lemberg and the River Sereth.

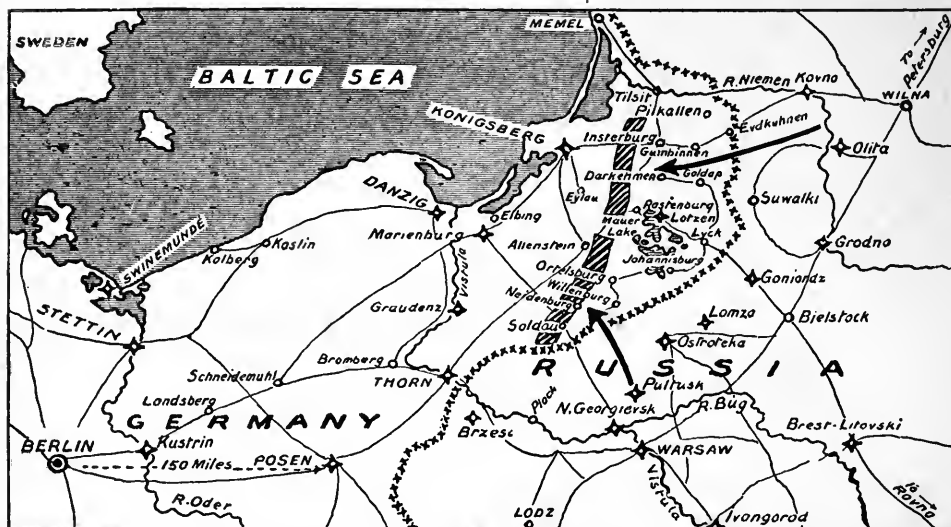
### SUCCESS OF RUSSIAN OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH.

The Army of the Niemen, the first to be mobilized, was under the command of the old Manchurian veteran, General Rennenkampf, who had about 250,000 men. In command of the Germans facing him in East Prussia was

kampf entered Insterburg on August 24. There was fighting the next day at Goldap, but von François, realizing that the odds were too great, retired from Insterburg toward Königsberg.

### EAST PRUSSIA AT THE MERCY OF THE INVADER.

Meanwhile, a part of the Russian forces in Poland, the Army of the Narew, under General Samsonov, was advancing to join the invaders of East Prussia. This army was of about the



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE ADVANCE OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY IN EAST PRUSSIA

The thick shaded line indicates the positions occupied by the hosts of the Tsar August 25, 1914. The northern arrow indicates the advance of the Russian Army of the Niemen under Rennenkampf, the southern arrow the progress of the Army of the Narew under General Samsonov. Two victories, Gumbinnen and Frankenu, virtually put out of action the first field army of East Prussia. All that was left of it was shut up inside the Königsberg lines, and this fortress was in danger of capture.

von François, the descendant of a French Huguenot refugee. His mission was only to hold back whatever Russian advance might be attempted in this region; nothing serious, as the Germans thought.

All through the first and second weeks of August there had been outpost skirmishes between these two forces, generally in favor of the Russians, and on August 16 Rennenkampf made a general advance. On August 20, he attacked at Gumbinnen near Insterburg, and though the Germans met the initial infantry attacks successfully, the oncoming numbers of Russians finally overwhelmed them, and Rennen-

same size as that of Rennenkampf, and advanced through the Masurian Lakes region. After delaying action at Soldan, Neidenburg and Allenstein, Samsonov was opposed by the German Twentieth Corps, at Frankenu, on August 23. On this day and the next was fought the decisive battle of that campaign, resulting in an overwhelming victory for the Russians. The Germans broke before the Russian bayonet charges and fled in disorder, toward Königsberg, and the greater part of East Prussia was now at the mercy of the Russian armies.

East Prussia was more than an ordinary province. Here Prussia had





**TROOP OF COSSACKS AT REST NEAR KÖNIGSBERG**

The Russian offensive at the beginning of the war was characterized by the use of cavalry in enormous bands. The terror of their name was felt all along the line from Königsberg to Budapest. Before the revolution the Cossacks held their land by military service tenure and were liable to duty for life. Service began at the age of nineteen and lasted for 24 years in three distinct periods. Continual conflict with the Mongols had hardened the race.



**KÖNIGSBERG FROM THE KNOETTEL BRIDGE**

Königsberg, the capital of the Province of East Prussia, was a fortress of the first rank. The approach by water having been found inadequate for heavy ships the Königsberg Ship Canal, from the city to Pillau, on the Bay of Danzig, was opened. The city is dear to the heart of the Prussian who dreaded its capture.

Picture from Henry Ruschin



begun to take form. The old Dukes of Prussia had ruled from Königsberg, and East Prussia was the stronghold of the "Junkers," the typical Prussians, who had furnished so many leaders to the army, the government, and the diplomatic service. Refugees, fleeing before the dreaded Cossacks, crowded the roads and many of them reached Berlin, bringing home to the rulers of the Empire some of the same dread which they had inflicted on others. That East Prussia should be trodden under the foot of the invader seemed an intolerable blow to Prussian pride. They must be driven back.

### GENERAL VON HINDENBURG CALLED OUT OF RETIREMENT.

The Staff had underestimated the Russians and had left too few men in the East. But not only men were needed to stem the Russian advance; a man was needed as well. And Germany had such a man, in retirement. That leader was Paul von Hindenburg, sixty-seven years old, a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, who had devoted his later years to a close study of the East Prussian terrain, from a military point of view. On foot or on horse he had traveled through the marshy lake region and he knew it as not even the peasant folk who lived there knew it. He knew where the ground was firm enough to support artillery, by what ways troops might march in safety, and where were only treacherous bogs. It was largely through his influence that the country had not been drained and rendered fit for agriculture. It was even said that his retirement was due to the fact that he had once badly worsted the Emperor himself in a war game the board of which represented the Masurian Lakes region.

Just after Samsonov's decisive victory, von François was displaced and von Hindenburg was in command of the German Eastern Army, with not more than 200,000 men at his immediate disposal. Behind him he had an admirable system of strategic railroads and reserves of artillery. He had against him two armies each as large as or larger than his own.

### THE RUSSIAN LEADERS PLAY INTO THE GERMAN HANDS.

Elated with their victories, the Russians had continued their advance, regardless of the dangerous character of the country. *Rennenkampf* was over toward Königsberg, which fortress he prepared to besiege. Samsonov had pushed on to the triangle formed by Allenstein, Soldau and Frankenu toward the lower Vistula. Though his army numbered up toward a quarter of a million, he was compelled to split it into a number of columns on account of the marshy nature of the terrain.

On August 26, and apparently to his surprise, his advance guards were suddenly driven in at Soldau, and Hindenburg had control of the railroads. This sudden stroke, only three days after von Hindenburg took command, cut Samsonov off from his main line both of supply and retreat. The next day Samsonov attempted to retake Soldau, but because of bad roads could not bring large numbers against the strong German forces, whose lines held firm against his attempts to push them in. His position was extremely dangerous. His opponent was astride the railroad from Allenstein to Soldau, and intercepted the only road in the rear by which he could have retreated back toward Poland. Furthermore, von Hindenburg's center was largely protected by lakes and swamp.

### THE OLD MAN OF THE LAKES STRIKES HARD.

Samsonov might still have saved himself had he made a strong effort to retire, but instead he determined to give the enemy battle. All during the first day he kept the Germans on the defensive, and it seemed for a while that he might even break through. However, von Hindenburg's knowledge of the country enabled him to know where the lakes and marshes afforded adequate defense. He could there move his forces at will to strike, and this he did by large use of motor transport. He knew the roads; his opponent did not. On the following day von Hindenburg suddenly swung his forces over to his left, drove the Russians out of Allenstein and crum-



STREET SCENE IN GRAJEVO, POLAND

This picture shows a typical street scene in Grajevo, a town on the borders of Russian Poland at the outlet of the Masurian Lake Region. Situated on the railway from Bielstok to Königsberg, Grajevo witnessed both the advance of the Russian soldiers to their invasion of East Prussia, and their hurried retreat, dogged by the Germans.



TYPES OF RUSSIAN AND POLISH STREET VENDORS

To have one's photograph taken must evidently be a great break in the monotonous life of the poverty-stricken peasant of the Polish and Russian small town. This group is mainly composed of boys or women for the reason that the war has taken all men of fighting age. Upon the young boys and old men and women who remained developed all the responsibility of providing for the family in those hard times.

Pictures from Henry Ruschin

pled their right wing up against their center. Ignorant of the country, Samsonov did not realize that his enemy was artfully rolling him into a pocket, as a skillful pool-player manipulates a cue. Presently the Russians found themselves entangled in a maze of bogs, quagmires, lakes and morasses, with the enemy on three sides.

For the next three days (August 29-31) the Russians continued fighting desperately, gradually realizing that they had been trapped. The Germans paid dearly in lives, but of Samsonov's magnificent army of over 200,000, only a small part succeeded in escaping back to Russian territory. Blundering blindly about in the dark, whole regiments, whole batteries of artillery, precipitated themselves into the quagmires and sank out of sight completely. Finally, on the last day of the month, Samsonov himself and two of his corps commanders were killed. Over 90,000 unwounded Russians laid down their arms and were marched into Germany as prisoners. At least 30,000 more were killed or drowned. The Russian Army of the Narew practically had ceased to exist; had been wiped out. Von Hindenburg had justified his theory regarding the military value of the Masurian swamps.

## GERMAN JOY OVER THE BATTLE OF TANNENBERG.

The news of the glorious victory which the Germans called the battle of Tannenberg reached Berlin on the anniversary of Sedan, and all Germany rang with praise of Hindenburg. Five hundred years before the Poles defeated the Germans at Tannenberg. This battle, though at some distance from the town, seemed to wipe out the old shame. On the same day also came the report that von Kluck was already before the gates of Paris. Germany went frantic with enthusiasm. And the old and obscure retired officer who had plodded through the marshes of East Prussia to study roadways and foot-paths, was made Field Marshal and given command of all the Teutonic armies on the Eastern front.

Having eliminated Samsonov's army from the field, von Hindenburg now

turned his attention toward Rennenkampf, who, on hearing of the disaster at Tannenberg, began retreating toward the Russian frontier and the Niemen. Von Hindenburg raced after him, hoping to intercept him before he should reach the cover of the river. At Gumbinnen the Russian rearguard made a stand against the German advance temporarily, then retired. On September 15, German soil was clear of invaders, and German soldiers had advanced into the wild forests of Augustovo, between the frontier and the Niemen. Here the Russians made another stand, and the fighting which ensued was advertised in Germany as the victorious Battle of Augustovo, but viewed in retrospect it becomes apparent that this was a mere rearguard action to retard the German advance while the main body of the Russians crossed the Niemen and entrenched themselves along its further bank. However, at least 30,000 prisoners were lost, and many guns were abandoned.

## THE GERMANS NOW LOSE PART OF THEIR GAINS.

As a matter of fact, von Hindenburg was now giving way to the same weakness which had caused Samsonov's disaster; overconfidence. Actual conduct of operations was left to General von Morgen, as he supposed that Rennenkampf's army had been shattered. He had not waited to bring up his heavy guns, and presently he found himself in trouble. Pursuit was begun on September 7. His army consisted of the same four corps with which he had destroyed Samsonov, and some reinforcements from Germany. On September 21, the banks of the Niemen were reached only to find that the Russians had crossed safely and awaited the attack. Reinforcements and replacements made the Russian army at least twice as large as the German, and General Ruzsky had arrived to share in the defense.

Next day the Germans began throwing pontoon bridges across the river, which is here wide and deep. Meanwhile their artillery raked the Russian positions along the opposite banks.

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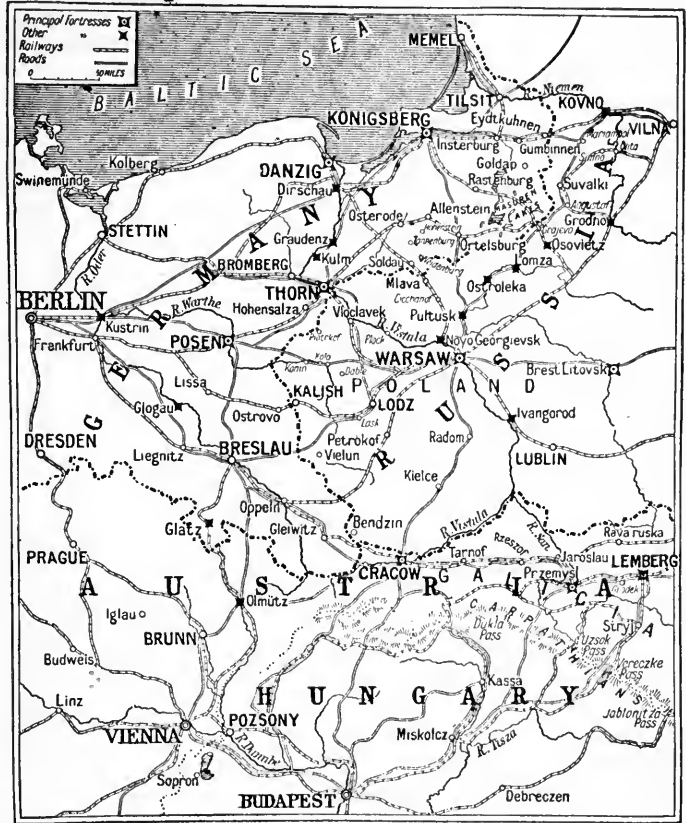
The Russian guns skillfully restrained their return fire, giving the effect of being put out of action, but no sooner were the bridges completed and the Germans beginning to march across, than the Russian artillery and machine guns again burst forth and cleared the bridges.

### THE RUSSIAN PURSUIT IS AGAIN CHECKED AT THE LAKES.

Again von Morgen played a barrage fire on the Russian lines, and again the Russians deceptively toned down their return fire. All day Friday, the 26th, the Germans bombarded, and not a Russian gun replied. So on the morning of the 27th Hindenburg began his bridge building task again, with the same result; in the afternoon the result was the same. Another attempt near Grodno likewise failed. Then, suddenly, it dawned on Hindenburg's mind that he was wasting his time. On the following day, the 28th, he began a quick retreat back toward the frontier. Undoubtedly the news that the Russians were driving the Austrians before them in Galicia influenced this decision. Rennenkampf quickly re-crossed the Niemen and followed the retreating Germans closely, harrassing them through the dark forests of Augustovo, where they suffered heavy losses. But von Hindenburg, with his expert knowledge of the country, managed to get the bulk of his army back through the lake region, where he hastened to turn his command over to von Schubert, while he devoted his attention to directing the German reinforce-

ment of the beaten Austrians further south. The German army dug elaborate trenches defended by barbed wire, and were content to hold the Russians back, which they did with difficulty.

THE EASTERN AREA OF THE GREAT WAR



The first phase of war on the eastern front included the Russian occupation of Galicia and raid into East Prussia; the German counter-victory amid the Masurian Lakes at Tannenberg, and their advance upon Warsaw; the Russian drive back to Cracow and the second attempt to capture Warsaw.

### THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE AUSTRIANS IN GALICIA.

During all this period, since the middle of August, the Russians had been conducting a campaign in Galicia which was to have a deep influence on the Western Front, in that the Germans were compelled to retain large forces in the East to prevent a Russian invasion of Austria, at a moment when the French and English seemed all but crushed.

As already stated, Austria had nearly a million men in the field opposing the

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Russians in this region. About a fourth of these were in reserve near the Carpathians, among the foothills. The rest were divided into two active armies; the first, in the north, under Dankl, with its base at Przemyśl, the second, under von Auffenberg, resting its base on Lemberg.

Dankl's plan was to advance into Russian territory, toward Lublin. The

### THE AUSTRIAN FORCES FIRST TAKE THE OFFENSIVE.

On August 10, Dankl crossed the frontier and began a rapid advance into Russian territory. The Bug Army offered only enough resistance to deceive the Austrians into the belief that it was being defeated. On August 14 the Second Army, under Ruzsky, made a rapid advance and succeeded in push-



A TYPICAL RUTHENIAN CHURCH TRANSFORMED INTO A WORKSHOP

The Germans showed little respect for the sanctity of churches: here they are seen using one as a workshop. The Ruthenians (a form of the word Russians) mostly belong to the Uniate Church, acknowledging the Pope, but retaining their Slavonic liturgy and most of the outward forms of the Greek Church. Their intellectual center is Lemberg where, before the war, some lectures in the university were given in their language, and they were agitating for it to have equal rights with Polish.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

army under von Auffenberg, to the south-east, was to protect Dankl from a possible attack from the south. Against these forces the Russians had arrayed three armies: The First Russian Army, at first a comparatively small force under Ivanov, on the Bug; the Second Army, about 350,000 strong, under Ruzsky, moving toward Sokal from the Lutsk and Dubno fortresses; and a Third Army, about 300,000 strong, under Brusilov, advancing from the south toward the Sereth. The plan of campaign was very simple.

ing itself in between the two Austrian armies. This movement was facilitated by the fact that Dankl had turned slightly to the westward. A week of desperate fighting followed. There were many casualties on both sides.

Meanwhile Brusilov had also advanced and by August 26, he was in touch with Ruzsky, and on August 31, the Austrian line was broken. On September 1, the two Russian armies fell upon the Austrians under von Auffenberg, Brusilov on his left flank, Ruzsky on his right flank. To save himself, the

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Austrian general retired to a line of volcanic hills a few miles east of the city of Lemberg to reform his shaken army.

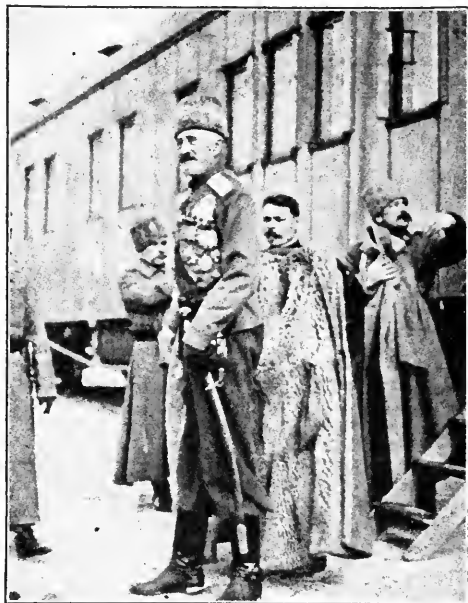
At first the Austrians successfully resisted the clouds of Cossack cavalry which Brusilov hurled at their lines, but when the infantry came up with gleaming bayonets, they broke and fled. On September 3, von Auffenberg evacuated Lemberg and retreated. The Russians entered the city the same day and captured 70,000 prisoners, besides large stores of military supplies. The lowest estimate of the total Austrian losses in these operations is 130,000. There is no evidence that the conquerors committed any excesses in the captured city. Behind Lemberg lines reaching from Grodek northward beyond Rowa-Ruska had been prepared, but the Russians were quick to follow up their advantage. The Austrians resisted desperately, but Brusilov broke the line at Grodek, and after some of the most bitter fighting of the whole war, Rowa-Ruska was taken, and the Austrian retreat became a rout. The retreat of the Austrians now uncovered the road to the Carpathians, and Brusilov sent a force southward to occupy the passes, advancing with his main body toward Przemysl, behind which the remnant of von Auffenberg's army took refuge.

### THE AUSTRIANS ARE HARD PRESSED IN THE NORTH.

Now let us turn to the Austrian army in the North under Dankl. Before this time he had realized his danger and called for reinforcements from the reserve army, which, under Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, had attempted an invasion of Poland along the left bank of the Vistula. This movement was now nipped in the bud because of the need of supporting Dankl. It was this situation, too, which compelled the Austrian General Staff to draw on the reserves behind the army then attempting a second invasion of Serbia, with the result that the Serbians were thereby helped at a critical moment.

Because of these reinforcements, and because of German troops which were also being rushed down to him, Dankl now had a very strong force. On Sep-

tember 2, he made a determined attack against the Russians and came within eleven miles of Lublin, but the Russians were stronger than Dankl had anticipated, for during all this period they had been continuously reinforced by the mobilization. The Russians took the offensive on September 4, and on September 10, the Austrian lines caved in and broke. Everywhere the



THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS

As supreme Commander of all the Russian Armies and later as Commander-in-Chief in the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Nicholas proved himself a great general, but the Provisional Government superseded him.

Austrians were beaten. Whole regiments of Austrian Slavs surrendered and marched willingly into the Russian lines, and this no doubt was one of the reasons of the Austrian defeat by an army no larger than its own. In considerable disorder Dankl's soldiers fled, some southward, toward Przemysl, others westward, toward Cracow. By September 15, the whole of Eastern Galicia, including the oil fields, was occupied by the Czar's armies and Przemysl and Cracow were threatened. The total Austrian losses are estimated at 500,000 men, besides vast quantities of supplies. It was this situation which had suddenly caused Hindenburg, on

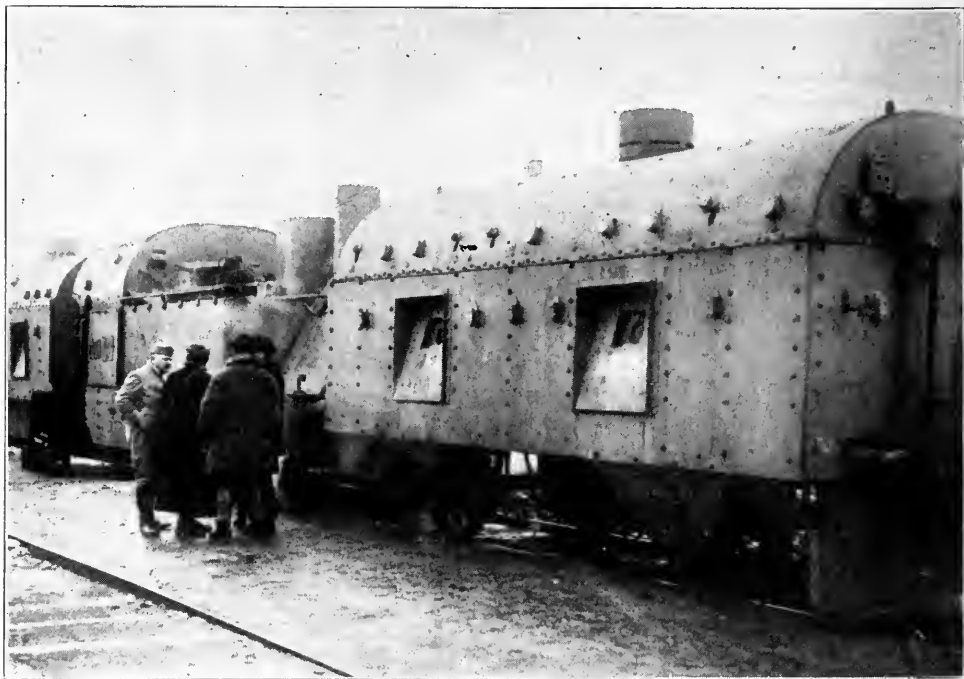


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the Niemen in the north, to abandon his offensive against the Russians in that region and turn his attention to Galicia. For when the news of the disastrous defeat of the Austrians reached Berlin, the German General Staff immediately gathered together eighteen corps, to be sent south to retrieve the Austrian defeat.

Ruzsky was placed in command of the Russian center, which was now heavily reinforced. Brusilov was to direct his attention to the Carpathian passes. Dimitriev was to continue the drive after the beaten Austrians, and capture the main fortresses of central Galicia.

The two chief strongholds were on



AN AUSTRIAN ARMORED TRAIN IN USE ON THE EASTERN FRONT

Each railway artillery project calls for ammunition cars, fire-control cars, spare-parts cars, supply cars and the like, a complete unit being a heavy train in itself. The matter of traction power for these gun and armament trains near the front was a problem. It was out of the question to use steam-engines near the enemy's lines so a gas, electric or gasoline locomotive of high horse-power was adopted to pull artillery trains at the front.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

### THE RUSSIAN PROGRAMME IS CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

Highly elated with their success, the Russians now determined to enlarge their defensive program against Austria. Two objectives of vast importance lay before them; the seizure of the Carpathian passes, thus opening up a doorway into Hungary, even to Vienna itself, and the capture of the city of Cracow.

General Ivanov was now put in command of the Galician armies, with Brusilov and Radko Dimitriev, the Bulgarian, as his chief lieutenants.

the River San, at Jaroslav and Przemyśl, both of them important junctions of a network of railroads. In spite of its fortifications, Jaroslav was captured by Ruzsky after only three days of fighting on September 23. But Przemyśl proved not so easy. It held out for many months after the whole province had been overrun by the Russians.

### GERMAN HELP SAVES THE AUSTRIANS FROM COMPLETE DISASTER.

The German relief of the defeated Austrians came very quickly, however. Already German officers had arrived



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down in Cracow to rally the discouraged Austrians. By the first week of October the Russian advance in Galicia was stopped by the appearance of a large German army advancing from Thorn, on the frontier of Russian Poland. This was von Hindenburg with his main force, though he was now in general command of all the Teutonic armies on the Eastern Front, including Austrians as well as Germans.

Under the stimulus of his command the whole Teutonic front now stiffened up and began to advance against the Russians, through Poland and Galicia. The main German army marched into Poland in two columns, one north of the Pilitsa River, the other south of it, while a third army based on Breslau followed. Meanwhile the Austrians, under Dankl, extended their left wing down to the Carpathians. Aside from assisting the Austrians, Hindenburg meant now to take the capital of Russian Poland, Warsaw, whose loss would have had a very demoralizing effect throughout the whole Russian Empire.

The Russian leaders had not expected this attack through Poland, and Warsaw was weakly defended. The German advance was swift and the Russians withdrew to await the German attack behind the Vistula, until reinforcements should arrive. One German column to the north was so near Warsaw on October 10, that its guns could be heard in the city. On October 20, Russian reinforcements arrived, not a day too soon, and the German troops were driven back from the outskirts of Warsaw. The troops to the south of Warsaw were also defeated after bitter fighting, and retreated out of Russian Poland. It is said that the King of Saxony and many other princes and dukes were with the army, and it was the theory at the time that the Germans expected to proclaim him King of Poland, a throne held by two of his family in the past. The plan, if it was a plan, was necessarily deferred.

### **PRZEMYSL IS RELIEVED WHEN ABOUT TO SURRENDER.**

Having disposed of the Germans, the Russians now turned their attention to the Austrians in Galicia. Here the

Austrians had been meeting with considerable success. The Russians under Ivanov had been driven back, Jaroslav had been recaptured and the siege of Przemyśl had been relieved, just as the garrison was on the verge of surrender from starvation. But within a few days the tide turned again; the Russians came back, heavily reinforced from the north, retook Jaroslav and again laid siege to Przemyśl, though not before the garrison had been pretty thoroughly revictualled.

Not content with driving the German forces out of Poland, the Russians advanced, preceded by their numerous Cossack cavalry as a screen. On November 10, this vanguard crossed the frontier into German Posen and cut the Posen-Cracow railroad line. Nowhere did either the Germans or the Austrians show serious resistance. So the Russian Commander-in-chief, Grand Duke Nicholas, determined to make his great effort to take Cracow.

But Hindenburg was not a commander to be demoralized by an initial defeat, and, after all, he had only been thrown back. His main forces were still intact. Furthermore, he made demands on Berlin for reinforcements, which were drawn from the Western Front, and these were quickly sent him by means of the strategic railroads behind him. Furthermore, he now had under him two of Germany's foremost generals—Mackensen and von Ludendorff. He began reorganizing his forces at Thorn and Breslau. He determined to concentrate his chief effort on his campaign against Warsaw. Here the Russians had only about 200,000 men, as the main forces had been sent to the south. It was down in this section that the Teutons registered some minor successes, before the main movement against Warsaw was begun.

### **THE SECOND DRIVE ON WARSAW IS BEGUN.**

Dimitriev's cavalry was already skirmishing in the suburbs of Cracow, by the end of the first week in December, when two separate Austro-German forces struck against the Russian rear simultaneously. One of these came from Hungary and broke through the

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

mountains, taking Dukla Pass from the Russians. The other, advancing eastward in the extreme south, among the Carpathian foothills, struck Ivanov's left flank. Though not seriously defeated, the Russians were compelled to fall back, for fear that large enemy forces might strike their lines of communication from the Carpathian passes. By December 20, however, large reinforcements arrived and the Russians advanced again. With great energy the Russian left was thrown up into the mountains again, and by Christmas Day Dukla was once more in Russian hands.

Meanwhile von Hindenburg, with a reorganized army of perhaps half a million men, had begun his second big offensive against Warsaw. On November 10, Mackensen began operations by deploying his army along a fifty mile front, reaching from the Warta to the Vistula, making use of both rivers as lines of communication. Within three days the Russians were driven back to Kutno. For two or three days the battle raged along a line thirty miles in length.

### **THE RUSSIANS ARE FORCED BACK INTO A PERILOUS POSITION.**

The Russians were faced by a superior force and were presently forced back to the Bzura, an excellent natural defensive line, with some fords, but no bridges. For two weeks no progress was made. Then the Russian right wing fell back, passing the city of Lowicz, then around Lodz thus forming an awkward salient. West of Lowicz the country is extremely marshy, through which an army cannot move except by artificial pathways. The Germans made every effort to beat the Russians to Piotek, at which point a causeway crosses the marshes.

The Russians were at first successful in defeating this attempt, but on November 19, they were overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the enemy, and they broke. The Germans came pouring over the causeway, hurling the Russians to either side of them, splitting them into two separate bodies; one on the south, near Lodz, the other to the east of Brezin, on the Vis-

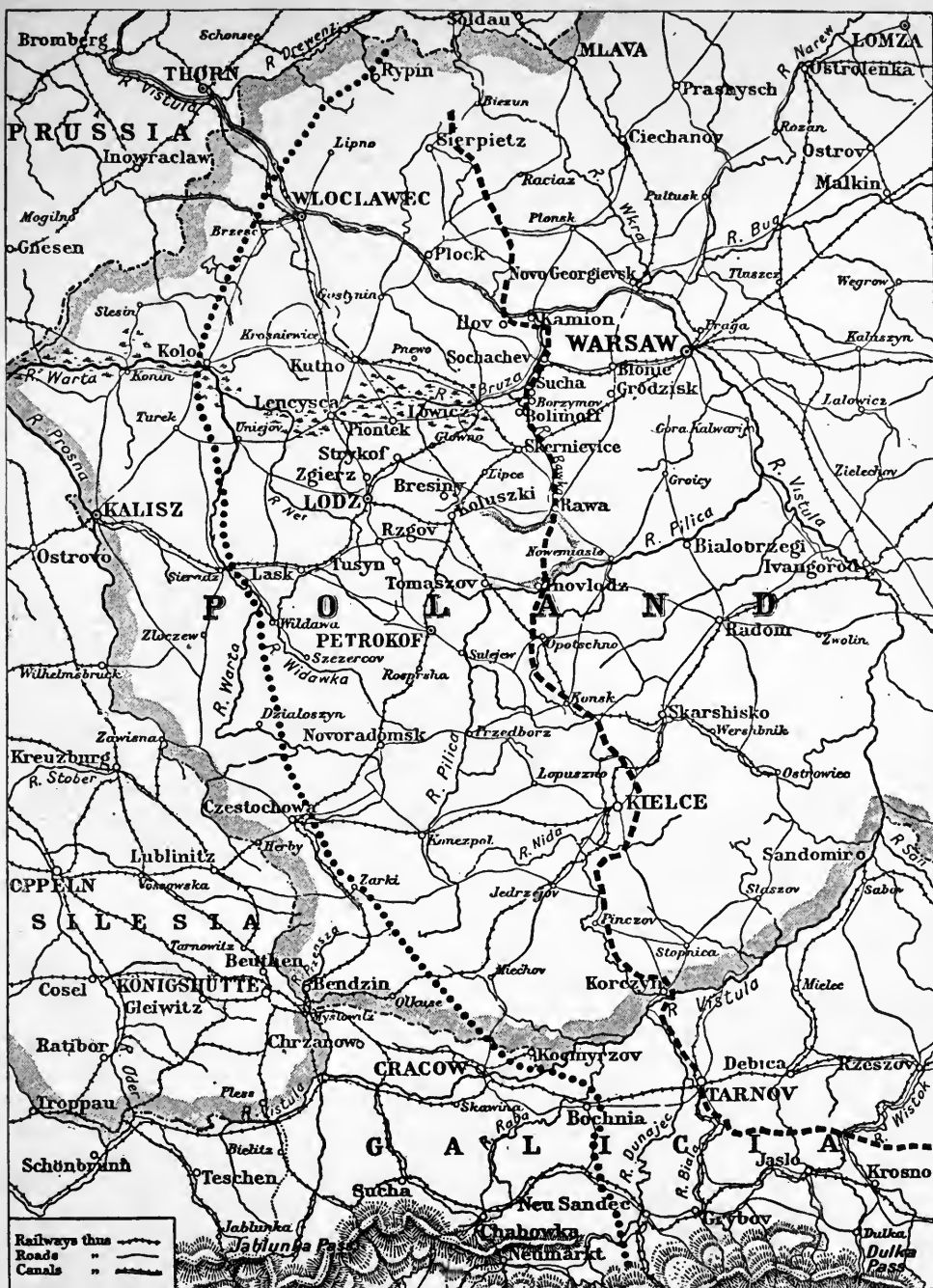
tula. The Russians about Lodz were in an especially perilous situation, being almost surrounded. But just as they were facing the critical moment, several Siberian regiments arrived from Warsaw and the tables were turned on the enemy; about 90,000 Germans found themselves surrounded by Russians. Ruzsky made a strong effort to close in on them, but the failure of one of his generals to block a certain roadway gave the Germans their opportunity, and they made their escape after several days hard fighting.

### **THE RUSSIANS GIVE UP LODZ TO STRAIGHTEN THEIR LINE.**

For the time being it seemed as though the advantage lay with the Russians, but the Germans were being continually reinforced, and Hindenburg determined on a fresh assault. The German left wing was now far in front of Lodz, one of the most important of the Polish cities, with a population of half a million. Feeling his inability to maintain this salient, the Russian general in this section decided to withdraw, and on December 6, the Germans entered the city without opposition. In Germany this was announced as a great victory, but as a matter of fact its fall was purely political in its significance. For now the Russians were able to straighten out their line.

The Germans aimed their next blow directly at the greater city, Warsaw. This new movement was directed at the Russian right wing, which was then north of the Bzura River and east of Lowicz. The German forces in East Prussia were also directed to advance and attempt to cut the main railroad line connecting the Polish capital with Petrograd. But this attempt ended in failure, as the Russian force at this point was strong enough to drive the Germans back across the frontier.

The Russian right wing, however, now slowly swung back, not because of the German pressure, but because of the condition of the roads, which were being flooded by the thawing of the ice and snow, which was naturally unexpected at that time of the year. The country was waterlogged, and the Russian Commander-in-chief was quite wil-



#### EASTERN THEATRE OF WAR IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1914

The dotted line shows the position of the Russian armies after their pursuit of the first German invading force, and indicates how closely the Grand Duke Nicholas pushed his offensive against Cracow until Von Hindenburg in turn threatened Warsaw. The broken line shows the later Russian position on the river system of defenses after Hindenburg's second lunge at Warsaw; the retirement to this line from the Warta was brilliantly executed. In the offensive against Warsaw the severest fighting took place on the line of the Bzura and the Rawa. The Bzura flows through a level plain dotted over with great patches of fir-woods, in which stand the Polish country houses. The river is easily forded in its lower courses for it is only 50 yards wide and has no adjacent marshes. The Russians dug their trenches close to the stream, the Germans about a hundred yards from the western bank behind a small encampment. Between December 19 and 25, the Germans made night attacks through the ice-cold water, but beyond capturing an advanced Russian trench sometimes, they accomplished nothing and by Christmas Eve the second attack on Warsaw died down. Winter had the land in its grim hold.

ling to allow the Germans to occupy it for the time being.

### **WARSAW NOT TO BE TAKEN IN THIS CAMPAIGN.**

This gradual retirement lasted from the end of the first week of December until Christmas. And while a number of important towns, so far as mere size was concerned, were thus given over to the enemy, at the end of the retreat

supposed they would be, may be matter for speculation. Who can say what Germany's Western armies might not have accomplished, had they had the support of Hindenburg's battalions in the East? The fact was, however, that the Russians compelled the Central Empires to maintain forces on the Eastern front far exceeding their own in number, during a period in which the



**RUSSIAN PRISONERS CAPTURED AMONG THE MASURIAN LAKES**

the Russians had secured themselves in a position from which they were able to hurl back the German attacks again and again. The Germans had proclaimed that the New Year would find them in Warsaw, but at the beginning of the year the city was in no immediate danger of occupation by the Germans.

### **RUSSIA'S SACRIFICES SAVE THE ALLIES IN THE WEST.**

Germany had been mistaken in supposing that there would be time to solve the problem of the Russian menace after the French and the British had been defeated. What she might have been able to accomplish in France, had the Russians been as slow as it was

fate of France hung in the balance.

The Russian leaders had shown unexpected ability and the troops unexpected mobility. Wherever needed, men seemed to "grow out of the ground," and they showed wonderful fortitude. Though the Germans, by way of excusing themselves for the Belgian atrocities, have circulated harrowing tales of the conduct of the invading Russians, there seems to be little foundation for these stories. Doubtless there were individual outrages, but they were comparatively few, and there is no evidence of deliberate intent to produce submission by "frightfulness."

ALBERT SONNICHSEN



View of Belgrade, the Capital of Serbia

## CHAPTER X

# Austria Fails to Conquer Serbia

## AUSTRIA THRICE HURLED BACK ACROSS THE FRONTIER

THE early morning mists were still hovering over the low banks of the River Danube. Less than twenty-four hours before, on July 28th, Austria had declared war against Serbia. A shell came screeching through the light vapors and burst over the battlements of the old citadel in the city on the rising ground, awakening the inhabitants of Serbia's capital to the fact that hostilities had begun.

### SERBIA'S WONDERFUL RESISTANCE.

The bursting shell did no damage, but it was the first of the war. The quiet preparations which Serbia had been carrying on for the past week were now quickened into feverish activity. Better communications caused the whole world to centre its attention, some days later, on the brilliant defense of Liège by the Belgians, but no phase or campaign of the whole war can excel, in heroism or in picturesqueness, the fighting which took place between the Serbians and Austro-Hungarians during the first five months after hostilities began. Here long range artillery played a less prominent part and men still fought hand to hand with primitive passion. And here, too, the Teutons suffered what was probably the most ignoble defeat of all the campaigns of the war.

A few words on the chief topographical features of this theatre of the war are necessary, for these played an

important part in deciding the issues of battles. A survey of a pre-war map will show that Austrian territory projected far below the northernmost frontier of Serbia in the west, constituting the provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia populated by blood brethren of the Serbs. Thus Serbia was exposed on two sides; on her northern and on her western frontiers. On the north was the Danube, broad and deep below Belgrade, but dotted by a string of low islands along its middle.

### THE NATURE OF THE BATTLE GROUND

The northern boundary, west of Belgrade, however, was formed by a much shallower river, the Save, emptying into the Danube just above Belgrade, and here it was that the greater danger lay from a massed invasion, for numerous fords and many islands splitting the river in two afforded too many crossings to be guarded in force. The western boundary is formed by the Drina, which empties into the Save, and is still narrower and more easily forded, and is also split by many low, wooded islands. It was on the Drina, between Loznitza and Leschnitza, that the Austrians made their first attack. From this point up to Shabatz on the Save lie the bloody fields of the Austro-Serbian battles.

Nearly all of this region is extremely mountainous and heavily wooded,

affording excellent cover for the movements of armies. On the other hand, communications are bad, for outside of a few well-graded roads maintained by the government, supplies must be carried over mountain trails on the backs of horses or even men. Nevertheless, the approach through this territory was chosen by the Austrians, for although the main road down to Constantinople, or Saloniki, lay through the Morava Valley, more directly reached by way of Belgrade, such an advance would have necessitated a crossing of the Danube. The fortifications at Belgrade were strong enough to forbid such an attempt except at the cost of such losses as the Austrians felt they could not afford.

## COMPOSITION OF THE AUSTRIAN FORCES.

Of the Austro-Hungarian forces which attempted to break down the Serbian door between the Central Powers and their Turkish allies little is known even now, five years later, but that they far outnumbered the Serbians was obvious from the battles themselves and from the losses they sustained on Serbian soil. Partially offsetting the advantage of numbers, however, was the fact that the Austrians were composed of men who had never heard a shot fired to kill and must first overcome that initial terror of bloodshed which even the primitive savage experiences in his first encounter with an enemy. Furthermore, they were not patriotic for a large portion were undoubtedly Slavs, with no love for Austria, and, above all, they were fighting on foreign soil.

The Serbians were practically all veterans of two recently fought wars, in which the fighting had been fierce and heavy. From those two wars, the first with Turkey, the second with Bulgaria, they had emerged victorious. Finally, they were now fighting on native soil, defending their very firesides and their families from foreign invasion.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE SERBIAN ARMIES.

At the outbreak of hostilities the first line army of the Serbians num-

bered about 125,000 men. The Second Ban, or Reserve, brought this number up to about 180,000. The Third Ban men numbered about 50,000, but the majority of these could only be used in actual fighting as a last resource, as they were men well past middle age, unable to stand hard marching. Included in this total number were five divisional cavalry regiments, a regiment of mountain artillery, made up of six batteries, six howitzer batteries, and two battalions of fortress artillery. Then there was a separate cavalry division, composed of two brigades, each of two regiments, with a war strength of 80 officers and 3,200 men. Attached to this division were two horse artillery batteries, of eight guns each. All told, there were about 330 guns and 5,200 sabres. Altogether, the whole Serbian Army probably numbered about 200,000 really effective men, armed with Mannlicher or Mauser rifles. The Third Reserves were armed with a very inferior Berdan rifle, a single loader. No part of the Serbian armies was particularly well equipped, for the wastage and losses of material during the two Balkan wars had not yet been made good.

## PUTNIK, THE SERBIAN COMMANDER.

At the head of Serbian operations was the Chief of Staff, Field Marshal Putnik, a veteran of all the Balkan wars since 1876. His whole experience had been gained at home. With him was associated Colonel Pavlovitch, more versed in the theoretical aspect of warfare, for he had studied in Berlin. Under the chief command of Putnik he had directed the Serbian field operations against the Turks and the Bulgarians, and in this struggle against Austrian invasion he was to play a similar rôle.

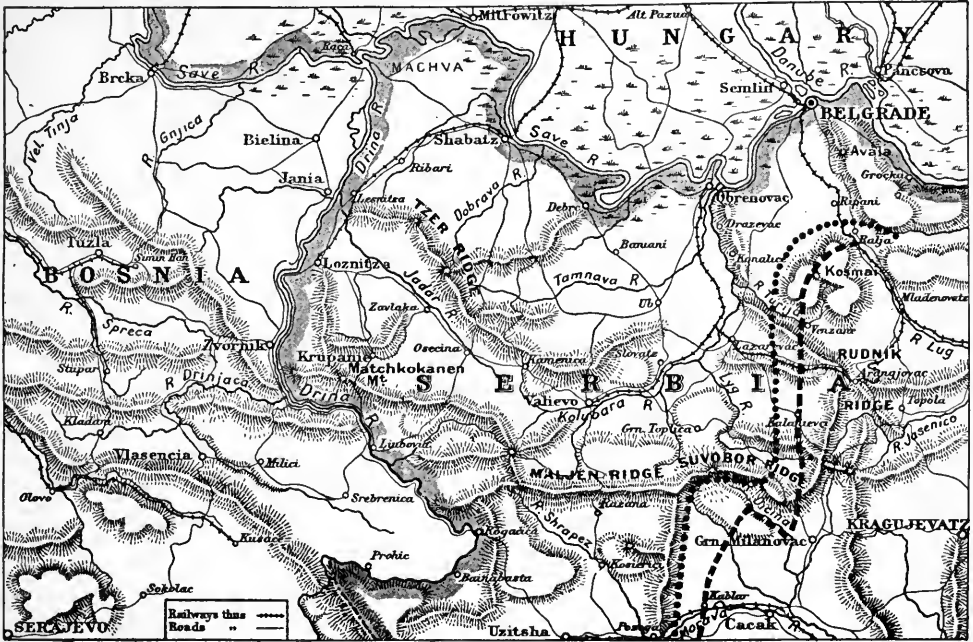
During the last days of July and the first week of August the people of Serbia waited anxiously, not knowing where the Austrian attack would begin. Between July 29 and August 11, the Austrians pretended to make eighteen attempts to cross the frontier, doubtless with the idea of keeping the Serbian Army scattered. The great bulk of the



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Serbian Army was concentrated within the interior, ready to rush to whatever point along the 350 miles of frontier at which the enemy should present himself in force. On August 6 some Bosnian peasants crossed the Drina and reported that they had seen large bodies of troops moving along the mountain roads in Syrmia, and in northeastern Bosnia. Two days later two enemy aeroplanes came sweeping

artillery fire burst forth from the shore beyond the island and rained shells down on the Serbian forces. The latter replied with their old field pieces, of which they had two batteries, firing at the approaching barges. But the Austrian fire became heavier and heavier, and when one-tenth of their number lay dead, the Serbians began retreating across the cornfields and up the slopes to the hills behind Loz-



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE FIRST AUSTRIAN ATTACKS ON SERBIA

The Austrians attacked on the line of the Drina, a shallow river with many fords and islands, and advanced on both slopes of the Tzer Ridge hoping to concentrate at Valjevo, first. The map shows also the fighting on the Suvobor mountains and around Belgrade, where the Austrians were likewise repulsed.

above the Save from the west and circled about over Shabatz and Valjevo. And finally came the news, on August 12, that masses of enemy troops were visible behind an island in the Drina, near Loznitz, and that they were rapidly building pontoon bridges.

### THE FIRST CROSSING OF THE DRINA.

Two battalions of the Serbian Third Reserve men were stationed here. Hardly had they sent their message over the wire to headquarters when a swarm of barges black with soldiers shot around each end of the island in mid-stream and made for the Serbian shore. Simultaneously a storm of

nitza. By the next day the Austrians had built a bridgehead at Loznitz, thrown a pontoon bridge entirely across the river, and their forces swarmed over; a whole army corps and two divisions more.

Meanwhile, at almost the same time, a similar attack was made over the Save, at Shabatz, where the country is level, being a lower corner of the great plain which is Southern Hungary. And here, too, the outpost of Third Reserve men was compelled to fall back, giving way before the invaders, who occupied and fortified the town. Smaller enemy forces effected crossings at Zvornik and Liubovia, and



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

bridges were thrown across at Amajlia and Branjevo. Thus the front of the attack covered a distance of over a hundred miles.

### VALIEVO, THE OBJECTIVE POINT.

Six enemy columns had advanced, all heading toward Valievo, which was the terminus of a single track railroad branching off from the main line between Belgrade and Constantinople, the natural objective of the enemy advance. The main body of the Austrians, however, was that which had crossed at Loznitza and which now began advancing toward Valievo along the Jadar River.

On each side of the Jadar rises a steep chain of hills, into which the Serbian outpost at Loznitza had retired on being driven back from the river. Unfortunately for themselves the Austrians neglected to gain these heights, the possession of which was necessary to any force that would make its way up the valley. It was not till two days later, on the morning of the 14th, that they finished their bridgehead about Loznitza and began their advance up the slopes toward the hill tops, from which the handful of Serbians had been continuously firing their antiquated fieldpieces during the past forty-eight hours.

### THE SERBIAN VETERANS ATTACK.

The Serbians were, most of them, men of past middle age, but there were still many among them who had seen heavy fighting against the Turks in the First Balkan War, and still fiercer fighting against the Bulgarians at Bregalnitz. As the first line of Austrians neared their positions at the top, they rose to the counter attack and swept down on the enemy. The Austrians were thrown back in a panic; it was their first contact with actual warfare. Later in the day they made a second attack, and again they were repelled. By evening they had still not taken the important positions for which they were striving.

But the Serbians had suffered heavily, too, and that night they retreated along the ridges for ten miles. Here

they came in contact with the vanguard of the main Serbian Army, hurrying to their support, and immediately the Serbians began entrenching themselves, at Jarebitze, on a line ten miles long across the valley of the Jadar River, a tiny stream not named on many old maps.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MOUNTAIN TOPS.

It was on the ridge of the Tzer Mountains, that the Serbians gained their initial advantage, largely through the unaccountable delay of the Austrian commander and the determined resistance of the Third Ban men. This range of hills, north of the Jadar, separated the two main Austrian columns; the one which was attempting to advance up the Jadar Valley, and the one which had established a base in Shabatz, just north of the Tzer Mountains. By possessing themselves of this ridge the two main Austrian columns would be able to effect a junction, and so advance to Valievo with a strong front.

The second day of the invasion, August 15, the Austrians devoted to preparations and made no attempt to resume their attack. Thus the Serbians gained time, not only to intrench themselves, but to augment their strength from the continually arriving reserves. Meantime, too, the Serbian commander was able to deploy his forces southward, toward the Austrians who were advancing from that direction toward Krupani, and to direct his cavalry against the Austrians in Shabatz.

### A RECKLESS YOUNG SERBIAN OFFICER.

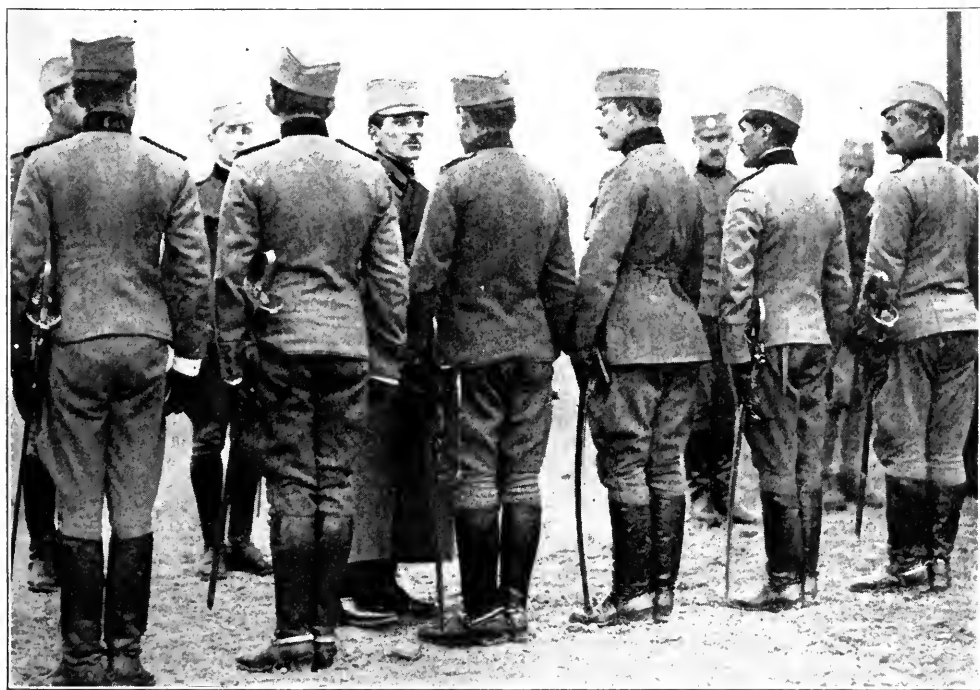
On the morning of August 16 the Austrians resumed their advance up the slopes of the Tzer Mountains, this time in overwhelming force. A young Serbian artillery officer, Major Djukitch, asked permission to advance beyond the Serbian position, along the ridge toward the advancing enemy, and attempt to hold them back. He had at his disposal only one cannon, but permission was granted and, with a handful of volunteers, he planted himself in the path of the approaching



#### SERBIAN TROOPS EN ROUTE FOR THE FRONTIER

The last days of July and first of August were anxious ones for the Serbian General Staff, who had no knowledge of the point where the enemy would attack in force. The soldiers in this picture are many of them middle-aged veterans of at least two great Balkan wars.

Picture from Underwood & Underwood



#### PRINCE ALEXANDER ADDRESSING OFFICERS OF THE ARMY

Prince Alexander is King Peter's second son and became heir-apparent when his brother Prince George renounced his right of succession in 1909, and Prince Regent on his father's retirement, shortly before the outbreak of war. During the fighting the Prince shared the hardships of the men.

©Underwood & Underwood

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Austrians, and opened fire with his gun. In half an hour his shells had thoroughly demoralized the vanguard of the advancing Austrians and thrown them back in disorder. So encouraging was this result that a larger force was sent to support the young officer.

This incident had the important effect of delaying the Austrian advance several hours. By noon, however, they had resumed the attack with such determination that a single cannon could not longer check them. Slowly the Austrians pressed upward and onward, subjecting the Serbians to a heavy rifle and machine gun fire. By evening the Serbian position was one of extreme danger, but reserves were constantly arriving, and they held on desperately. Just as the hot summer sun was dropping below the western ridges an officer on horseback rode up to the Serbian lines and shouted that reinforcements were arriving.

### THE BAYONET, THE SERBIAN WEAPON.

With an exultant cheer the Serbians behind the breastworks on the Tzer ridges sprang to their feet and swept down on the Austrians half a mile below. It was the sort of fighting the Balkan Slavs know best; hand to hand, with the bayonet. The Magyar peasants holding the Austrian positions had not yet acquired the stomach for this sort of conflict, and at the first impact of the onslaught they turned and ran. One or two regiments held their ground, and were in consequence almost wiped out. Before dark the Serbians had cleared the Tzer ridges of the enemy and had driven a wedge in between the two main columns of the opposing forces; those in Shabatz, and those attempting to reach Valievo along the Jadar Valley and from farther south.

In spite of this initial defeat, however, the Austrians continued to maintain their lines on each side of the Tzer Mountains. Over toward Shabatz, on the Serbian right, the Serbian cavalry was operating against the Austrians, as the ground was favorable for such movements. The horsemen were heav-

ily outnumbered by the enemy, but fortunately the Serbian heavy artillery up on the Tzer ridges could afford them a great measure of protection, when the Austrians advanced too far out of Shabatz. The Tzer Mountains dominated the whole scene of action, save for a small section in the extreme south, where the Serbians at first suffered severely from the Austrian infantry attacks.

### THE AUSTRIANS FLEE IN PANIC TOWARD THE DRINA.

For four days the battle raged fiercely up and down the line, swaying back and forth, as reinforcements arrived to the aid, first of one side, then of the other. But by the morning of August 20th the split in the Austrian lines told on their strategy. As the sun rose on that fifth day of the conflict, the Serbian cavalry on the plain before Shabatz, after a brief artillery preparation, charged on the Austrians outside the town and drove them in a panic toward the Drina.

A few hours later the Austrians over in the Jadar Valley were likewise fleeing before the Serbians toward the frontier, and the Serbian artillery was inflicting heavy losses on them. Toward evening the last of them had retreated across the Drina, and Serbian territory south of the Tzer ridges was cleared of the last of the enemy.

The Austrians in Shabatz, however, though badly beaten, retained their foothold in Shabatz itself and along the river bank in that neighborhood. On the morning of August 21 the whole Serbian forces turned their attention to this last remnant of the invaders. The Austrians held on tenaciously; all that day they held the Serbians back. On the following day, the 22nd, the Serbians delivered a general assault, the bloodiest engagement of the week's fighting, but were still unable to drive the Austrians across the river. It was not till the morning of the 24th, when the Serbians had brought their heaviest artillery up, that they attempted a second attack. And then it was found that the enemy had retreated during the night. The last of the invaders had been driven from Serbian soil.



#### AUSTRIAN SUPPLY TRAIN ON THE SERBIAN BORDER

Three weeks after the beginning of the fighting, the Serbians were able to claim that these same Austrian invaders had been chased out of their country. Furthermore, they had launched a counter-attack in Bosnia, which, however, preceded but slowly for it was too weak in artillery to make war against the fortresses.

Picture from Henry Ruschin



#### HUNGARIAN SOLDIERS MARCHING THROUGH A SERBIAN VILLAGE

One of the difficult problems confronting the Austrians grew out of the heterogeneous group of races included in the army. They had to be disposed on frontiers where they would not be forced to fight race-brothers. For instance, the Slavs, who constituted 47 per cent of the army, could not be used against their Serbian neighbors. Between Magyar and Slav, on the other hand, there were hatred and rivalry.

So ended the first invasion of Serbia, the "straf" expedition so loudly heralded by the Vienna press, so sorely strafed itself.

### THE SERBIANS FAIL TO PURSUE.

Field Marshal Putnik has been criticized for his failure to pursue the beaten Austrians in their own territory. The Austrian losses had been heavy; at least 6,000 had fallen, and 4,000 remained in Serbia as prisoners, together with fifty cannon, thirty machine guns and much war material. On the other hand, the Serbian losses had also been heavy; about 3,000 killed and 15,000 wounded. There was also a shortage of rifles, the men had been making forced marches—one regiment as much as fifty miles in twenty-four hours—and the Austrians had stripped the rivers of boats.

For twelve days the exhausted Serbians rested within their frontiers, recuperating and bringing up fresh supplies of ammunition, the supply of which had been nearly exhausted at the front. On September 5 General Putnik determined to follow up his victory on Austrian soil, and that night the Serbian Second Army crossed the Save, between Shabatz and Belgrade, and marched toward the Frushkagora Mountains, about twenty miles north of Shabatz. Possession of these heights would aid in the subjugation of Bosnia. The Austrian forces in this region were known to number only twelve regiments, and for seven days this expedition drove the enemy before it. But just as the Serbians were about to attain their objective, on September 12, the command to retreat was suddenly given, and the First Army retired across the Save. And for a very good reason, for further south, along the Drina, the Austrians had suddenly begun swarming over into Serbia again.

### THE SECOND INVASION OF SERBIA.

This second invasion began on September 7. General Potiorek, the Austrian commander-in-chief, now had at his disposal 300,000 men, with a reserve of another 150,000 men. Fortunately the bulk of the Serbian Army

had remained massed in this region, ready to invade Bosnia toward Sarajevo, should the expedition in the north prove successful. The Austrians now made a frontal, mass attack, hoping to win by sheer weight of numbers. North of Loznitza the Austrians were severely defeated during the first day of the battle, being driven back across the river before dark, save for a small, triangular patch above Shabatz, near the river which they were able to retain and fortify.

South of Loznitza the Serbians were not so fortunate. Here, on the morning of September 8, the Austrians began a general advance, beginning at Liubovia. For a while the Serbians held the enemy back, but later in the day they were compelled to retire up into the hills. For three days the battle continued, and the Serbian left wing in the south was driven steadily back. At the end of that period the Austrian right had swung in as far as Petska. But at this critical moment the forces which had been recalled from the invasion of Austrian soil in the north began to arrive. The Austrians were then checked. But never had they fought so stubbornly. The Serbians delivered one bayonet charge after another; their favorite form of fighting. For hours the conflict was hand to hand. Men dropped their guns and grappled and smashed in 'each others' skulls with stones. Finally the Austrians broke and were driven back toward the Drina.

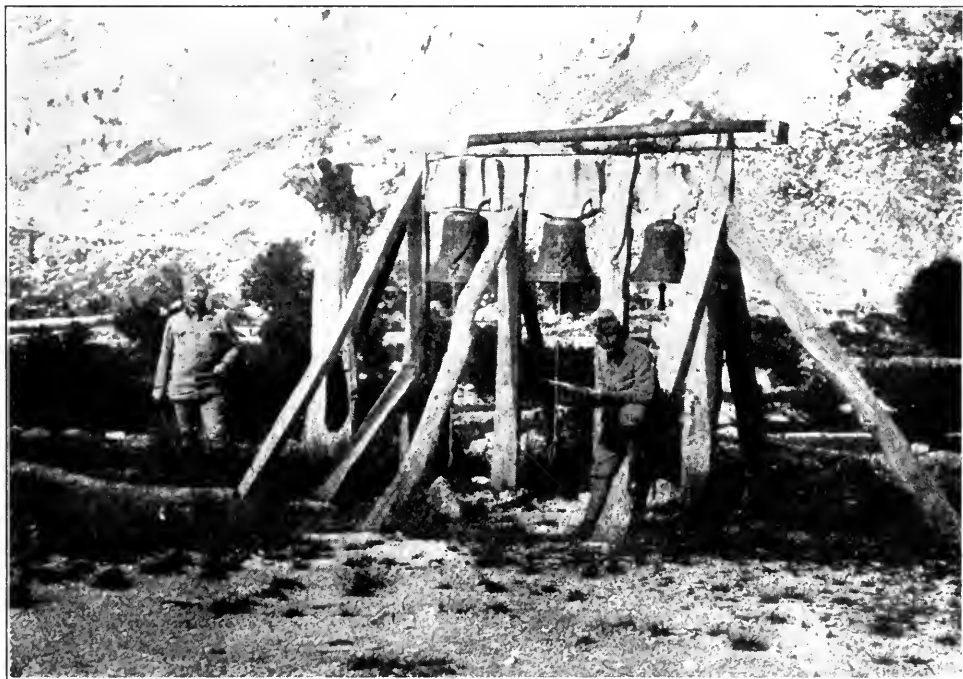
### THE STRUGGLE FOR CAT ROCK.

Further north, however, the Austrians still retained possession of Cat Rock, an eminence which dominated the country around Gutchevo. Eight times the Serbians had charged this height, without success. And here the Austrians remained, intrenched. Up in the north-west the Austrians had a foothold around Kuriachista and also held an intrenched triangle of Serbian territory, between the Drina and the Save. But for nearly two months they made no further attempts to advance, and the situation settled down to one somewhat similar to that in France,



#### TRANSPORTING CAPTURED SERBIAN GUNS AND AMMUNITION

The final defeat of Serbia was largely due to lack of artillery. When any of the precious guns were taken, the loss was serious, as they could not be replaced. These guns captured by the Austrians are being removed by the ox-team, the usual method of transport of the country.



#### BELL STATION AMONG THE MONTENEGRIN MOUNTAINS

Deep-sounding bells, that give the alarm amid the echoing passes of the Black Mountains, are used by this little nation which has successfully maintained its independence of the Turks. In 1878 Turkey and other Signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin formally recognized the freedom of Montenegro.

Pictures from Henry Ruschin



with both lines facing each other in trenches, sometimes separated only by a few yards of "no man's land." The losses on both sides had been enormous considering the forces engaged.

This time the Austrian defeat was due to the absence of the reserves on which General Potiorek had counted. The General Staff had received alarming news from the Russian front in Galicia, the 150,000 men in Bosnia had been sent hurrying to the Carpathian passes, and at the critical moment the Austrian commander had found himself deprived of this resource. So, for the second time, the Serbians drove the invaders back, but not entirely off their territory.

But the Austrian General Staff, though it realized that it had seriously underestimated the Serbian strength, was still determined to make another effort to retrieve its humiliating defeat. This time it drew on all available resources throughout the Empire, up to the Italian front, and gradually assembled an army against the Serbians of such proportions that another failure seemed unthinkable.

### **S**ERBIA INVADED A THIRD TIME.

The third Austrian invasion of Serbia began less dramatically than did the first two. No sudden attempt to advance was made, but as the Austrian forces were augmented a gradually increasing pressure was brought to bear. Early in November the Serbian General Staff realized that it must shorten its lines, for the men in the trenches were badly worn down by nerve strain, the reserves being too small to enable them to rest. Fortunately this contingency had been foreseen from the beginning, and a line of trenches had been thrown up along the Kolubara and Lyg rivers, stretching from Obrenovatz, on the Save River, southward. The high banks of the Kolubara and the extremely rough nature of the terrain further south rendered this line especially favorable for defensive purposes.

Early in November the Serbians began a gradual withdrawal, first from the level plain above Shabatz, then

from the Drina eastward, the Austrians following exultingly on their heels. A little later, on November 11, the Serbians again retired, this time evacuating Valievo, the terminus of the branch railway. The Vienna dispatches had it that the Austrian troops were pursuing a disorganized rabble, but disillusionment was soon to come. And now the Serbians made no attempt to hold the Austrians back until they reached their prepared positions along the Kolubara-Lyg Line. Here, certainly, one defender was worth two invaders.

### **T**HE SERBIANS RETREAT FIGHTING.

Over the more mountainous country the Austrians followed the retreating Serbians more carefully. Obviously the Austrian General Staff realized that many difficulties lay ahead. Almost every town in Bosnia had been depleted of its garrison, and a whole army corps had been brought down from the Italian front, consisting of men used to mountain operations. All in all, there were about 250 battalions of infantry, in addition to cavalry, artillery and engineer corps.

On the morning of November 15 the advancing Austrians reached the Serbian line, and the first attack was delivered, south of Lazarevatz, which was about the centre of the Serbian line. For five days the invading swarms sent one wave of attacking infantry after another against this part of the Serbian front. During this period the Serbians took more prisoners than they had captured during the first two invasions, so persistent were the attacks. Simultaneously a really serious effort was being made to take Belgrade, but that phase of the invasion will be considered later, as a separate operation not directly connected with the fighting in the interior.

At the end of the fifth day, on November 20, the Austrians seemed to have decided that they had found the weak point in the Serbian line, and with overwhelming forces they attacked at that one point, at Milovatz. Unable to withstand the terrific assault, the Serbians fell back, with heavy loss.

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The assault continued during all the next day, and again the Serbians were compelled to retire. Up and down the whole front the fighting became intense, but elsewhere the Serbians managed to hold their ground. Fortunately for the Serbians the Austrians now showed their characteristic inability to follow up a success promptly, and the beaten Serbian centre had

as it had been. The critical moment had arrived. Not only was the issue of the battle in the balance, but the fate of Serbia.

Without shortening his line again, the Serbian commander felt that he would be beaten. So on the night of November 29 the Serbians along the Kolubara, up to Belgrade, fell back and retired across the railway line



**HAVOC WROUGHT BY A HIGH EXPLOSIVE SHELL**

This picture shows the ruin made by a shell in the throne room of the royal palace of Serbia, at Belgrade. The throne stood on the left and was torn to splinters. The palace was built on the site of the Turkish konak, and is often called by that name.

N. Y. Times

time to recover its breath. Not till three days later, on November 24, did the enemy come on again with full force.

### THE SERBIAN LINE TOO LONG.

Again the Serbian centre fell back. In the north, toward Belgrade, the Austrians were less successful, but in the south they made rapid advances, pushing back the Serbian left, which was in continual danger of being flanked. Furthermore, the bending in of the Serbian centre had compelled a lengthening of the line, and the Serbians were too few to hold the line

from Belgrade to Nish, at Varoonitza, thus abandoning Belgrade and north-western Serbia for the time being. Thus shortening his front, the Serbian commander had enough troops to strengthen his centre and other weak points along the line.

Press dispatches from Vienna now announced a great victory over the Serbians and General Potiorek was ceremoniously decorated by the Emperor. Undoubtedly the Austrian General Staff sincerely believed that Serbian resistance had been definitely broken, and rather leisurely the Austrian field commander proceeded to

swing his left wing around the Serbians in the north and south, down the Morava Valley. Had he succeeded in accomplishing this, not only the Serbian Army, but Nish, the temporary capital, and the arsenal at Kragujevatz would have been encircled and all Serbia would have been in Austrian hands.

### THE DESPERATE ATTACK ON SUVOBOR.

But again Serbian strength was underestimated. On December 2 the Serbians suddenly delivered a counter-attack along the whole line, all the more effective because it was unexpected. Like a thunderbolt the Serbian First Army, in the center, which had suffered so severely before, but which was now under a new commander, General Mishitch, threw itself against the Austrian center along the Suvobor Mountains. At first the Austrians stood the strain successfully, then attempted an orderly retirement. But the assaulting Serbians swept on with their bayonets in waves, and before the sun set that evening the Austrian soldiers were fleeing in frenzied terror down the mountain slopes toward Valievo. The Serbian First Army alone captured over 1,500 men, while so hasty was the Austrian retreat that the mountain roads were strewn with guns, ammunition wagons, rifles and vast amounts of other field equipment. In these losses of material alone went the last hope of the Austrians, for practically two army corps were thrown out of the conflict.

### THE BEATEN AUSTRIANS SEEK SAFETY.

For three days more the fighting continued, but its issue had been decided on that first day, December 2. Up in the north the Austrians attempted a counter-attack, only to be driven back, and then the whole Austrian line was in retreat, which gradually resolved itself into a general foot-race for the rivers along the frontier. At Valievo the Austrians made one determined effort to hold the Serbians back, for they were reluctant to give up this strategic point, but the Serbians encircled the town, threat-

ened the Austrian flank and the latter finally turned and fled, leaving behind all the artillery with which they had intended defending this point. A wedge had been driven between the three Austrian corps in the south and the two in the north. By December 8 the Serbians were down to the banks of the Save and Drina again, shouting their defiance to the last, straggling remnants of the fleeing enemy.

There remains only to tell the story of Belgrade; how the Serbian capital fell into the hands of the enemy and what befell the city during the short period they were permitted to hold it.

From the time that the first shell of the war had burst over the old Turkish citadel on the morning of July 29, there had been a continuous bombardment of the city from the Austrian fortress at Semlin, across the Save. Every effort was made to destroy the public building and utilities. Later the Austrian monitors steaming up and down the river joined in with the shore guns and wrought terrific destruction in that portion of the city down near the river front. Over 700 buildings were struck by projectiles of one sort or another. In the beginning of November two 14-centimeter guns, sent by the French Government by way of Saloniki, attended by two French gunners, arrived in Belgrade, and thereafter the river was cleared of monitors until the city was entered by the Austrians.

### BELGRADE EVACUATED BY THE GARRISON.

Such was still the situation on November 29, when, as previously mentioned, the Serbian line, with the right wing resting against Belgrade, was shortened and the whole north-western region of the country was abandoned. Naturally, the garrison of Belgrade evacuated the city and retired with the main line. The Austrian left wing, composed of two army corps, immediately took advantage of this situation and entered Belgrade.

When the Serbian Army made its strong counter-attack, on December

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

2, it will be remembered, the Austrians in the north offered the strongest resistance, but finally gave way. The Austrians in Belgrade, however, though isolated, continued to hold the city. It was not until December 10, after the main body of the Austrians had been driven across the Save and the Drina,

crescent which the Serbians formed about the capital began to contract. Foot by foot the invaders were being squeezed back into the city. By the morning of December 14 the Serbians had reached the outermost defenses of the city itself. Here it was that the Austrians must make their last stand—



GRDZLETZA, A TYPICAL SERBIAN VILLAGE

The population of Serbia is almost entirely agricultural, and nearly all the land is held by small owners so that there are few large farms. Villages are far-scattered and squalid, and cities of small importance since manufactures are primitive. Communication is difficult because of the mountain masses extending from north to south.

Courtesy Red Cross Magazine

that General Putnik was able to turn his attention to the task of recovering Belgrade.

The commander of the Austrians holding Belgrade threw his forces well out into the country outside the city, his lines extending over toward the Kolubara. And, to his credit be it said, his troops made a brilliant fight; the best fight the Austrians had yet made. During the greater part of the day, December 11, when the battle for Belgrade began, the Austrians held their own. But toward evening the

or retire across the river. At least a certain amount of Austrian prestige would be retained, if only the Serbian capital could be held.

### THE BAYONET AGAIN DECIDES THE DAY.

All day the Austrians held back the attacking Serbs. The fighting was especially heavy before the central height of the defenses, Torlak Hill, where two regiments of Magyars made a magnificent stand and were, in consequence, completely annihilated. Just before sundown the Serbians, fixing

their bayonets, charged the defenses and leaped into the Austrian trenches. Again and again the Austrians ejected them, hurled them down the slopes, but again and again the Serbians returned charging. By dark the fight was still going on, but the Austrians lacked the experience which is so necessary to night fighting, and before midnight the Serbians were in possession of the outer ring of fortifications guarding the city. All that night, until dawn, they toiled, dragging their big guns into position, on heights commanding not only the city, but that portion of the river where the Austrians had built their pontoon bridges, and over which they must retire if they did not surrender.

### THE RETREAT BECOMES A ROUT.

The sun was not yet up, when a huge shell hurtled over the city and dropped beside one of the pontoons, sending a fountain of water shooting upward, which fell as spray on the mass of blue grey uniforms. Screams of terror arose from the struggling mob. A minute passed, and another shell screeched through the air, then dropped squarely into the middle of the bridge, smashing it to pieces. Hundreds of the struggling soldiers dropped or were thrown into the turbid, rushing waters below. Again came a Serbian shell, and struck home. A pontoon of the second bridge was struck, and began sinking. The intervals between the shells lessened. Dozens dropped into the river, harmlessly, but finally one struck the remaining bridge walk, and the Austrian retreat was cut off, while yet some ten thousand Austrians remained on the Serbian shore, unaware that they were now prisoners of war.

The return of the Serbians into their city was indeed a triumphal entry. Riding at the head of the troops, the King and the Crown Prince went to the cathedral to celebrate a mass of thanksgiving. Meanwhile the Magyars still remaining in the city offered a stout resistance to the triumphant Serbians, the fighting sweeping up and down the streets of the city, until finally the volleys broke up into desultory

shooting, then died down into stray shots here and there, and finally ceased. And so ended the third Austrian invasion of Serbia, more ignominiously than had the first and the second.

Of the 300,000 Austrians who had entered Serbia, over 100,000 remained behind. During the fourteen days preceding the disaster, the Serbians had captured over 40,000 prisoners and more war material than their own army possessed. The Austrian killed and wounded were fully 60,000. The Serbian losses in killed and wounded had likewise been heavy, but worse was yet to come. The sanitary organization of both armies was primitive, and the dread typhus took heavy toll of those whom bullets had missed.

### ATROCITIES IN SERBIA, AS WELL AS IN BELGIUM.

Comparatively little was said at the time of the atrocities committed by the invading armies in Serbia, probably because they were overshadowed by those in Belgium. Unimpeachable testimony shows, however, that the behavior of the Austrian armies in Serbia differed little from that of their German allies in Belgium. The orders of the High Command authorized the taking of hostages, and their execution in case of disorder, the execution of all men in civilian dress found with arms, or suspected of having arms. Houses were pillaged and burned, often with their inhabitants, and many women, children and old men were murdered.

Austria's humiliation was complete—and final. Alone she could not conquer this little nation of Balkan fighters, and she realized it. For now Germany was called on for aid, and early in the following month preparations were made to gather together an army of Austrians and Germans along the banks of the Danube, half a million strong. German skill and superior fighting ability would probably have decided the fate of Serbia then, but meanwhile Russian pressure on the Eastern front became so insistent that the fourth invasion had to be abandoned for the time being, and for nearly a year afterward Serbia was left unmolested by the Central Empires.



South African Troops Moving off in Pursuit of Christiaan De Wet

## CHAPTER XI

# The War Spreads Over the World

## GREAT BRITAIN'S OVERSEA EMPIRE HEARTILY JOINS THE WAR

"THE British Empire," wrote General von Bernhardi in his *Germany and the Next War*, "is divided from the military point of view into two divisions: into the United Kingdom itself with the colonies governed by the English cabinet, and the self-governing colonies. These latter have at their disposal a militia, which is sometimes only in process of formation. They can be completely ignored so far as concerns any European theatre of war." Not only, however, did he believe that Great Britain's overseas empire would be of no military advantage to her in case of a European war, but he held great hopes that it might be a positive handicap. "The centrifugal tendencies of her [Great Britain's] loosely compacted world-empire," he wrote in the same book, "might be set in movement, and the colonies might consult their own interests, should England have her hands tied by a great war."

### THE STATUS OF THE DOMINIONS.

There is no doubt that these views were widely current in Germany before the war, even in the highest and best informed circles. Despite the elaborate German espionage system, or perhaps because of it, the Germans believed that they had nothing to fear, and much to hope for, from the far-

flung overseas possessions of Great Britain. It is easy to see the grounds on which this belief was based. The great self-governing Dominions of the Empire—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland—had already traveled far along the road toward complete political autonomy; and, to a superficial eye, they must have presented the appearance of ripe fruit ready to drop from the tree. They controlled their own military forces, and, where they had them, their own navies; they made their own commercial treaties, and they raised tariff barriers even against Great Britain and against one another; nothing seemed to bind them to the Mother Country but a nominal allegiance to a common sovereign who had ceased to be much more than a symbol.

### THE ACTION OF THE DOMINIONS IN THE CRISIS.

Even if any of the Dominions desired to come to the Mother Country's aid, it was not thought possible for them to do so. None of them had any permanent military forces to speak of; their only standby was an inefficient militia, on which British inspecting officers had repeatedly passed the severest strictures, and which in any case was not liable for service abroad. As for India and the numerous other dependencies which were controlled



from Westminster, these seemed likely to prove, in case of war, a positive source of weakness. Both in India and in Egypt there had been widespread agitations for Home Rule; and, to casual observers, it doubtless seemed that these countries were held down only by the British troops that garrisoned them. If, as eventually occurred, the Sultan of Turkey were found among Great Britain's adversaries, it might be expected that the large Mohammedan populations of both these countries would shake off British rule. Nor, indeed, was it here only that rebellion might be looked for. In case of a European war, it was reasonable to expect that the Boers in South Africa might strive to regain their independence, and that the French-Canadians in Canada might hold up Canadian aid to Great Britain.

Never were expectations more signally disappointed. At the very outset of war, the self-governing Dominions leapt to the aid of the Mother Country with an eager alacrity. The silken thread of sentiment which bound the Empire together proved stronger than iron bonds of compulsion. The Germans, in their obtuse way, had thought that the development of colonial autonomy in the British Empire was a symptom of disintegration; whereas, in point of fact, it was a guarantee and safeguard of solidarity. Immediately on the declaration of war those Dominions which had naval forces placed them at the disposal of the British Admiralty; and all the Dominions prepared to take part in the war on the land. South Africa, because of the proximity of German West Africa and the presence of disaffection within her own borders, was at first compelled to wage war at home, though at a later stage of the struggle South African troops were found fighting in France; but the other Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland—immediately offered to dispatch expeditionary forces to the European theatre of war.

Before the year was ended, the advance-guard of these forces had reached the western front. Nor did these troops

prove to be the negligible quantity the Germans were pleased to think them. The Canadians at the Second Battle of Ypres and the "Anzacs" (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) at the Dardanelles made for themselves a reputation second to none. Before the war ended the Canadians had at the front four divisions and the Australians and New Zealanders five divisions of what were generally recognized to be among the very best troops on either side.

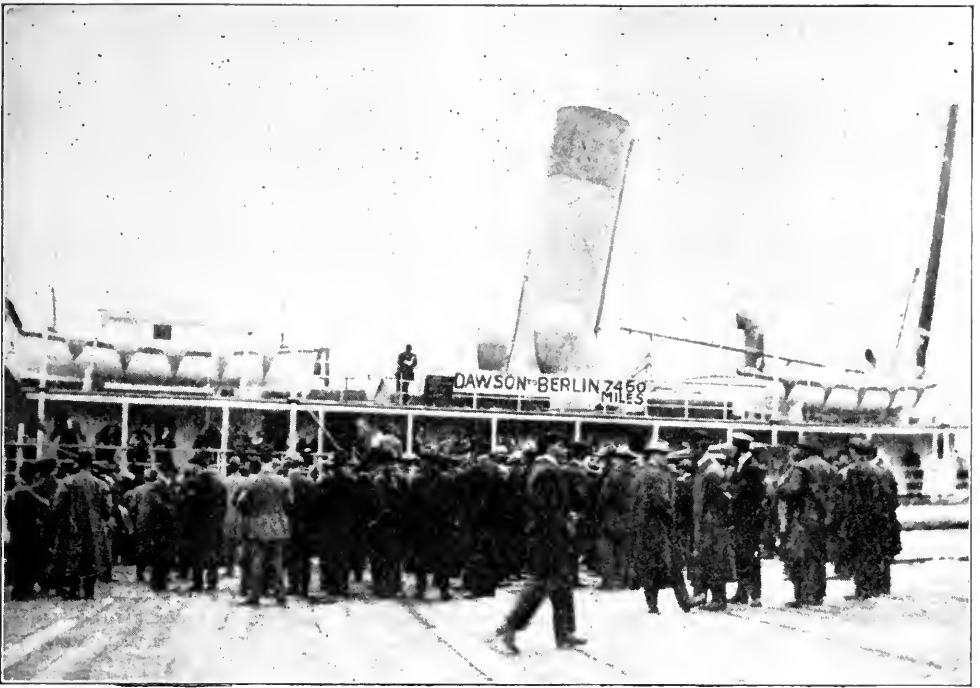
From India and the other dependencies of the Empire came a similar response. Two months after the outbreak of war, an Indian Army Corps was on French soil; and the manner in which the native princes of the Indian Empire rallied to the support of their Emperor was surprising even to the British, and a sufficient answer to the philippics of those critics—among them some American politicians—who had decried British rule in India.

#### THE SULTAN'S HOLY WAR A FAILURE.

Even after the Sultan of Turkey, the head of the Mohammedan world, had declared a holy war on Great Britain, the Indian troops, mostly Mohammedan in faith, continued faithful to the Allied cause; and they were largely instrumental, through the brilliant campaigns which, with a mere sprinkling of white troops, they waged in Palestine and Mesopotamia, in bringing about finally the downfall of the Turkish Empire. In South Africa and in Canada the nationalist parties among the Boers and the French-Canadians caused, indeed, some trouble; but this was nowhere serious, and the war was not far advanced before many Boers and many French-Canadians had laid down their lives for the Empire against which they or their fathers had fought. The Great War brought many surprises, but, to most observers, none perhaps more striking than the solidarity of Great Britain's "ramshackle empire."

#### THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE DOMINIONS.

It should always be remembered that the participation in the war of the



#### ALL CANADA RESPONDED TO THE CALL OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY

The Kaiser did not make war too soon for the Klondikers; in September the steamboats on the headwaters of the Yukon running from White Horse to Dawson would have been frozen in, and winter travel performed by stage would have been too slow for the crowds of eager volunteers hastening towards Berlin.



#### CANADIANS EN ROUTE FROM PLYMOUTH TO THEIR TRAINING CAMP

After a delirious welcome by the inhabitants of Plymouth, the First Canadian Contingent set out in all manner of vehicles for their training camp on Salisbury Plain. This, their first acquaintance with the motor-bus, was the beginning of a long association with them as they were used constantly in France between base and front.

© Canada, 1919

self-governing Dominions of the British Empire and of the native princes of the Indian Empire was not necessarily a matter of course. It is true that, technically, when Great Britain was at war, they also were at war; but the extent of their participation in the war was a matter which rested with themselves alone. They might, with perfect legality, have taken the view that, so long as they were not attacked, they would not lift a finger to help the Mother Country. They had had no share in the control of British foreign policy, no hand in the declaration of war. But they did have control of their own military and naval forces; and they could withhold these from the struggle, if so it seemed good to them.

Such, however, was not their temper. They realized, with instant insight, that the German menace threatened not only Great Britain but also the most remote unit in the British Empire; that their soldiers would be fighting in France the battles of Canada and Australia and India as well as those of England and France. They therefore set themselves to prosecute their share in the war with all the energy of which they were capable, an energy which was limited only by the stubborn facts of time, distance, and materials. But in order to describe their war effort, it will be convenient to deal with each of the Dominions and with India in turn.

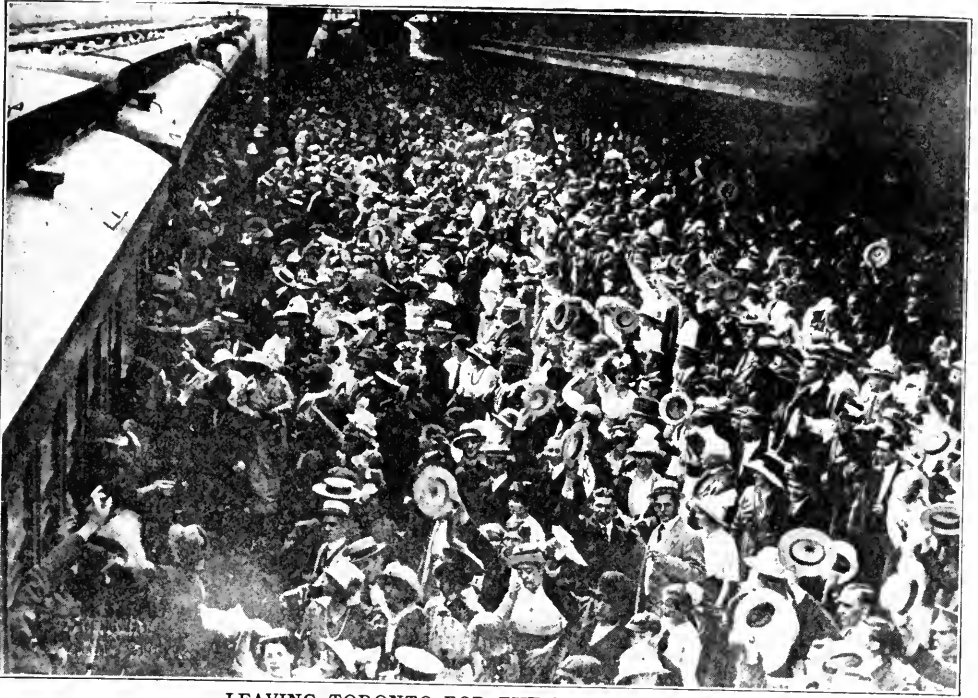
At the beginning of 1914 Canada—the eldest among the self-governing Dominions—had a navy composed of two small vessels of an antiquated type, and an army consisting of about 3,000 permanent force troops and about 60,000 militia. The militia had fallen into a state of undeniable inefficiency. The urban units had only a few days' training in camp during the summer and a few evenings' drill during the winter; while the rural units had nothing but the summer camp, which they regarded more in the light of a picnic than of a school for soldiering. The spirit of the Canadian people—brought up beside a three-thousand mile boundary line defended by neither forts nor warships—had grown deeply pacific; few Canadians thought that there was

any danger of their country becoming implicated in war; and the unpreparedness of Canada was merely a reflection of this prevailing temper. The truth is that seldom has a country gone into a great war so unready, so badly prepared, as Canada in 1914; and seldom has a country so unready girded itself for action so quickly and effectively.

The declaration of war found Canada, pacific in spirit though she was, remarkably united as to the course which she should pursue. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the veteran leader of the Liberal opposition, promptly proclaimed "a truce to party strife," and expressed the opinion that Canada should render to the Mother Country "assistance to the fullest extent of her power." The Conservative government of Sir Robert Borden, backed by all but a few French-Canadian Nationalists, placed Canada's two warships at the disposal of the British Admiralty, and offered to dispatch immediately an expeditionary force of whatever size the British War Office suggested. The offer was accepted, and an expeditionary force of one division was agreed on as a beginning. The formation of this force (approximating, with the necessary reserves, the number of 22,000 men) was pushed forward with astonishing energy by Sir Sam Hughes, the volcanic but unconventional Canadian minister of militia.

### **THE GREAT CAMP AT VALCARTIER.**

The concentration centre chosen was Valcartier, a beautiful valley north of the city of Quebec. In two hectic weeks this valley, which had been taken over by the Canadian government some years before, but which had never been placed in shape for the reception of a large body of troops, was transformed into one of the finest military camps in the world, with three miles of rifle ranges, water supply, electric light service, administrative stores and offices, and even a "movie" theatre. Then the volunteer troops began to pour in. Some of them were in khaki some in "civies," and some in the red and black uniforms of the militia.



#### LEAVING TORONTO FOR THE TRAINING CAMP

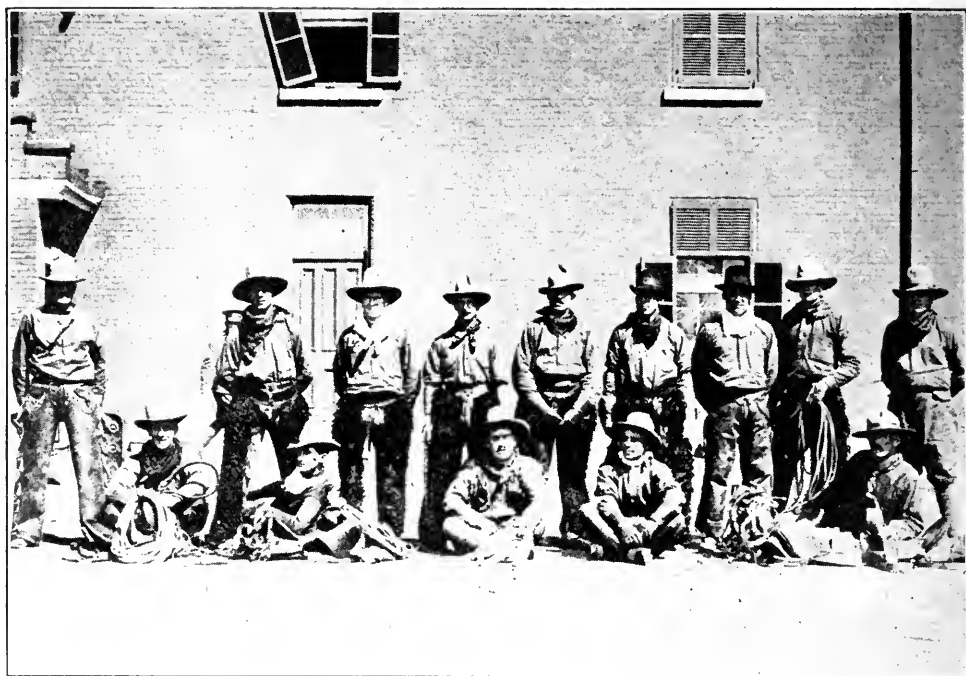
This picture, taken late in the summer of 1914, shows the departure of the Queen's Own Regiment from Toronto, to Valcartier. So quick was enlistment and subsequent departure for camp that the military authorities had not time to furnish sufficient regimentals, and many of the men are in "civies."



#### TORONTONIANS HONORING A GALLANT REGIMENT

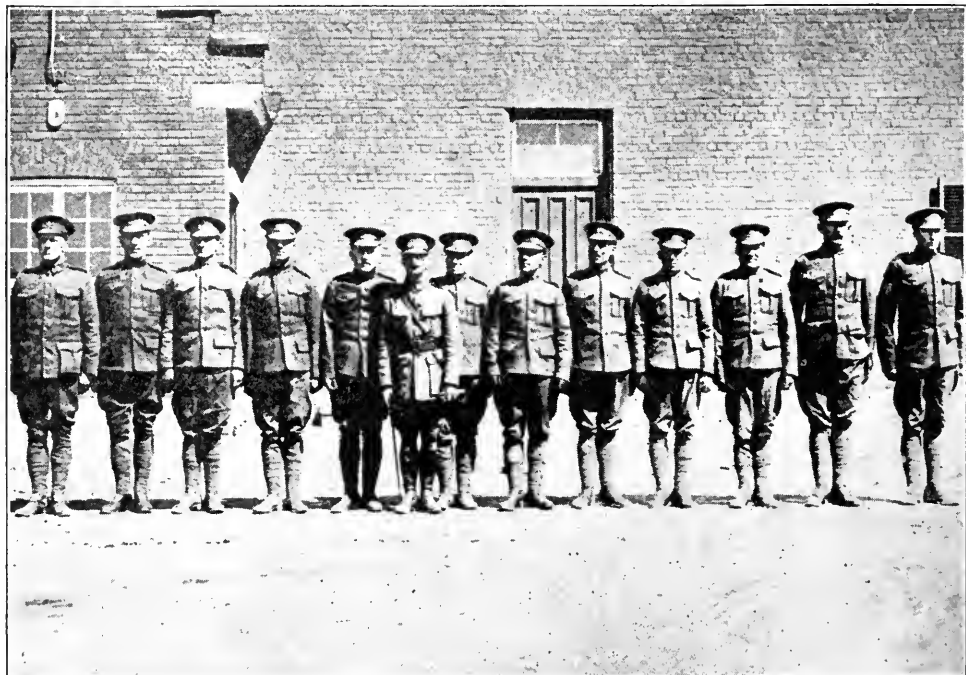
This picture shows the 48th Highlanders marching through Queen's Park, Toronto, September, 1914. They belong to a regiment of fine traditions, and played a distinguished part in the fighting. Sir Arthur Currie in a recapitulatory despatch said, "The Canadian Corps in the last two years of strenuous fighting never lost a gun, never failed to take an objective, and never has been driven from an inch of ground once consolidated."

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#### A GROUP OF CANADIAN COWBOYS BEFORE ENLISTING

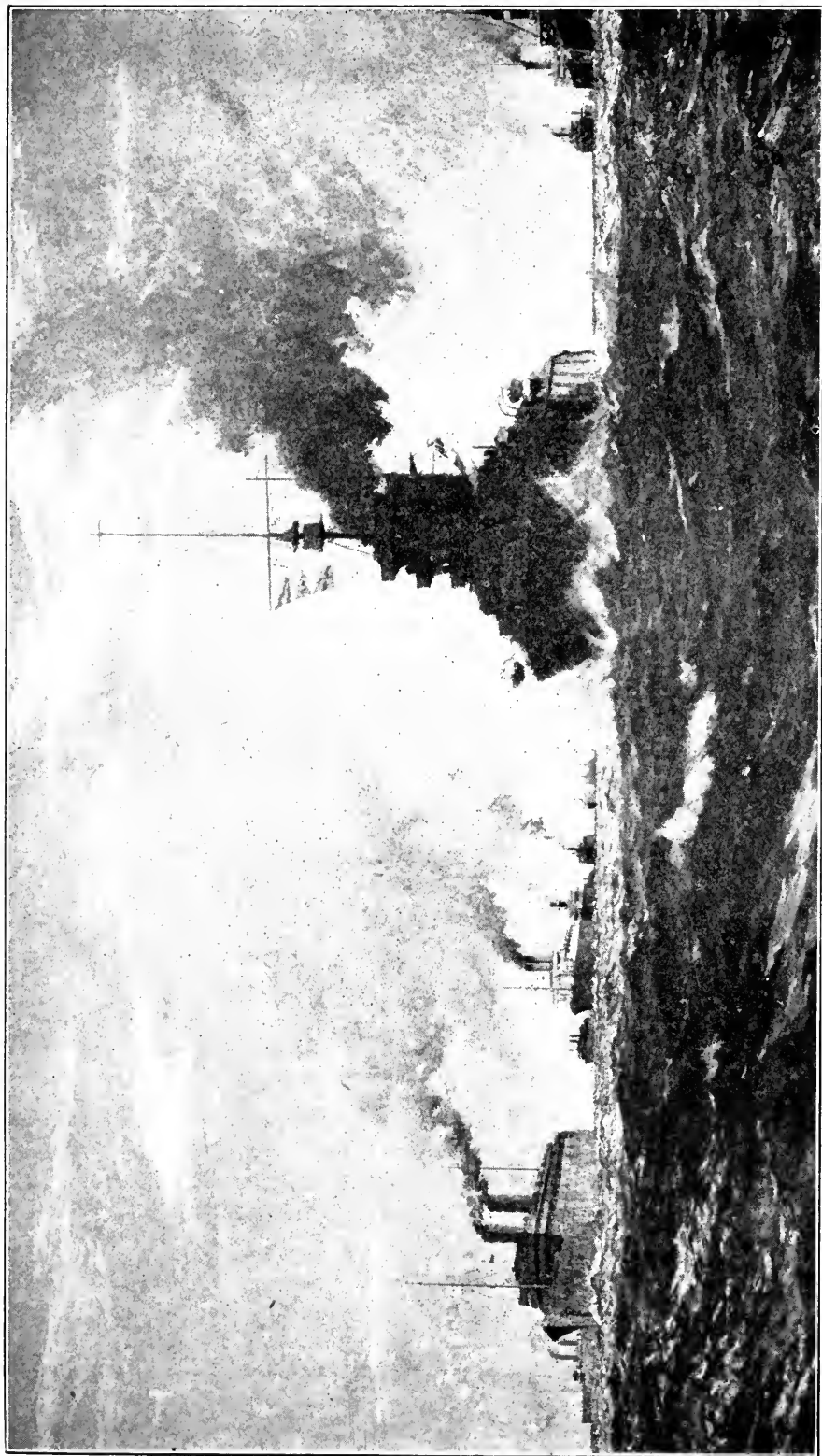
These are some of the daring rough-riders from the neighborhood of Calgary who went overseas in the early fall of 1914. After a winter amidst the mud and rain of Salisbury Plain, these men crossed to France early in 1915 and played a gallant part in the Second Battle of Ypres.



#### THE SAME CANADIAN COWBOYS AFTER TRAINING

These are the same volunteers after some months' military training at Valcartier and on Salisbury Plain. Several of them were killed in the Flanders battles. During the war Canadian troops captured forty-five thousand prisoners, eight hundred and fifty guns, and four thousand two hundred machine guns; they retook one hundred and thirty towns and villages, and liberated three hundred and ten thousand French and Belgian civilians. Their casualties amounted to 218,433.





#### CANADA'S ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE HUN

The great fleet which carried the First Canadian Division across to England assembled in Gaspé Basin, on the coast of Quebec. October 3, 1914, the transports steamed out of the bay in three lines ahead, led by his Majesty's ships, Charybdis, Diana and Eclipse, with the Glory and Suffolk on the flanks and the Talbot in the rear. During the voyage the Talbot fell out of line and her place was taken by the battle cruiser Queen Mary which was sunk later in the battle of Jutland, May, 1916. The crossing was made without mishap, and the fleet entered Plymouth Sound on the evening of October 14. This picture, "Canada's Answer," was painted by Lt. Commander Norman Wilkinson, R.N.V.R.

© Canadian War Records



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Their numbers transcended all expectations. In spite of rigid medical tests, and a definite allotment of quotas to the various militia units, every train came in filled to overflowing. The Fort Garry Horse of Winnipeg chartered two trains, and came down to Valcartier in a body without authority; and no one had the heart to send them back.



**THE HAPPY CANADIANS ON SALISBURY PLAIN**

This cartoon representing a Canadian soldier on Salisbury Plain is hardly exaggerated. During the winter of 1914-15, the mud was indescribable, and it was difficult to keep cheerful.

When the concentration was complete, it was found that there were not 22,000 but 35,000 men in camp. So keen was the competition for a place in the contingent that the government decided finally to send practically the whole force overseas; and on October 3, the First Canadian Contingent, numbering 33,000 men, set sail in an armada of thirty ships, accompanied by a convoy of British cruisers, for England. It was the largest military force which up to that time had ever crossed the Atlantic.

### **T**HE CANADIANS ON SALISBURY PLAIN.

After a delirious welcome at Plymouth—where the staid people of the

south of England forgot their traditional phlegm and went into transports of enthusiasm over what was the first tangible evidence they had seen of the unanimity of the British Empire—the Canadians went into camp on Salisbury Plain. This plain is in the summer an ideal camping-ground; but it so happened that the winter of 1914-1915

was one of the wettest on record, even in England, and under the constant rains Salisbury Plain became half-morass, half-lake. The plight of the Canadians became tragic. The hospitals filled to overflowing; training became impossible; and there occurred what seemed to be a serious lapse of discipline. Absence without leave became epidemic; in some units the greater part of the regimental roll was at times made up of the names of those who were in hospital, or who had taken French leave. Ugly rumors arose about the behavior of the Canadians, and there were not wanting pessimistic critics who seemed to agree with the Germans that the militia of the overseas Dominions of the British

Empire were not likely to be of use in a European war. But, in truth, the breakdown in discipline, if such it must be called, was only temporary and superficial; for when these same troops went to France in February, 1915, after a winter which might well have broken the spirit of more highly trained troops, they displayed on the stricken field of the second Battle of Ypres a discipline as steady and unyielding as that of any troops on either side in the Great War.

The first Canadian contingent was merely a preliminary instalment. Hardly had it been dispatched overseas, when a second contingent was authorized, and then a third. During the first year of the war there was no diffi-



#### FRENCH CANADIANS ON THE PARADE GROUND AT QUEBEC

This is the 22nd Battalion composed of French Canadians, drilling at Quebec. Though the number enlisting from Quebec was not so large as from other provinces, some of the Quebec Battalions gave a good account of themselves. Many of the Quebec volunteers spoke no language except French.



#### CANADIANS ON BOARD A TROOPSHIP

Out of a population of eight million men, women and children, that included more than half a million German and Austrian immigrants, Canada supplied at least one million soldiers, sailors, munition makers and general war-workers. At the same time she brought more land into cultivation and produced more than ever before.

© in Canada

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

culty in obtaining recruits; many units were raised in a day; and the problem of the government was to find the equipment rather than the men. But by the end of 1915, the sources of recruitment began to run less freely. The Canadian government, believing that the country was not yet ready for compulsory military service, adopted al-

Robert Borden had become convinced that if the Canadian forces in the field, which now numbered four divisions and a cavalry brigade, beside many special units on the lines of communication, were to be kept at full strength, recourse must be had to compulsory military service. This was especially desirable, since under the voluntary



CANADIAN SOLDIERS IN TRAINING AT WITLEY

Here the Canadians are training to "go over the top". They learned their lesson so thoroughly that in the winter of 1915 they started trench-raiding at night. Bored by the inactivity of trench duty at night they crept out stealthily and cut the enemy's wire, climbed over his parapet, and knocked the sentry on the head. Sometimes instead of killing the Germans, they took them prisoners and carried them gagged and bound into their lines.

most every conceivable device in order to persuade men to enlist. Sir Robert Borden, the prime minister, set before the country as the goal of its efforts at first 250,000 and then 500,000 men; and by posters, by public meetings, and by the authorization of all sorts of fancy units appealing to local and individual feeling—county battalions, bantam battalions, Irish, Scotch, French-Canadian units, and so forth—an attempt was made to reach this figure by voluntary enlistment alone. The attempt failed—by something under 50,000 men. By the beginning of 1917 Sir

system some parts of the country, notably the French-Canadian province of Quebec, had not done their full share.

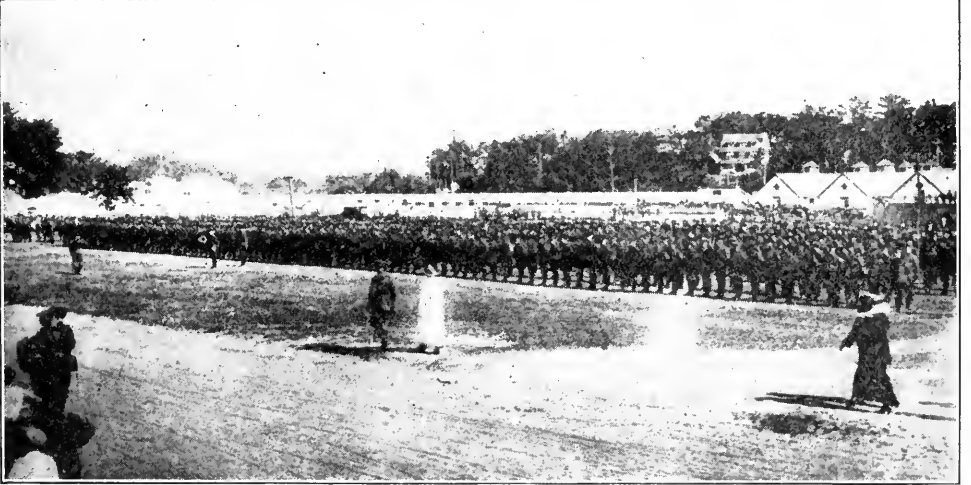
### CONSCRIPTION IS FINALLY ADOPTED.

The Borden government therefore introduced into the Canadian parliament in the spring of 1917 a Military Service Act which enabled the Militia Department to call up, in a fixed order, certain classes. The Act was strongly opposed by the French-Canadians, who made in some places resistance to its operation, and by a wing of the Liberal party under Sir Wilfrid Laurier; but



#### CHURCH PARADE OF A CANADIAN REGIMENT

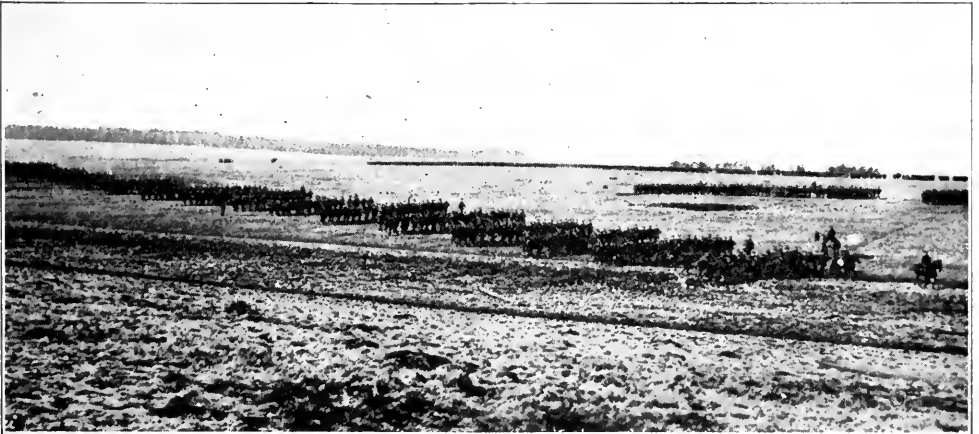
This is a church parade of the Tenth Battalion from Calgary. Recruiting sergeants met an eager response to their appeal for enlistments in this city, the centre of a large stock-raising and mining section.



#### INSPECTION OF TROOPS BY PRINCESS PATRICIA

The First Canadian Contingent included the Princess Patricia's Light Infantry, which was largely composed of veteran soldiers. Four hundred and fifty men in the ranks had the right to wear war medals. Its commander was Colonel Farquhar, D.S.O., Military Secretary to the Duke of Connaught.

Pictures © in Canada



#### CANADIANS ON SALISBURY PLAIN AWAITING THE KING

it passed by large majorities in both Houses, and it brought about a coalition of the Conservatives and the conscriptionist Liberals which considerably strengthened the government. The Act was imperfectly administered, especially in Quebec; but it served the purpose of keeping Canada's forces well supplied with reinforcements, and it brought the total of Canadian enlistments well over the half-million mark. It was perhaps a pity that, having embarked on the absurd, but heroic policy of voluntary enlistments, Canada could not have carried it through to the end; but the failure of a few parts of the country to rise to a sense of their responsibilities made conscription inevitable, if Canada was to keep up the record she had begun.

Beside the war effort of such countries as France, Great Britain, and Italy, the effort of Canada, even in relation to her population, may appear small. But in her case, and in the case of all the other outlying parts of the British Empire, it must be remembered that the contribution of man-power was conditioned throughout by questions of transport and supply. It should be remembered also that Canada's effort was hampered by her large French-speaking, and her considerable foreign-born population, ill-instructed in the ideals of British citizenship. If these facts are kept in mind, the part which Canada played in the Great War will be seen in its true light, as an effort beyond the dreams, not only of the Germans, but even of the most enthusiastic believers in the virility of the British Empire.

#### AUSTRALIA IS BETTER PREPARED.

The Commonwealth of Australia was somewhat better prepared for war in 1914 than the Dominion of Canada. It had a small but effective navy of one battle-cruiser, the *Australia* (19,000 tons), three cruisers, the *Melbourne*, the *Sydney*, and the *Encounter*, three destroyers, and two submarines—the beginnings of a large and ambitious program entered upon a few years before. In 1910, moreover, it had adopted the principle of compulsory

military training; and a scheme drawn up by Lord Kitchener had been put into effect. This scheme had run for only half the time considered necessary to yield satisfactory results; and the citizen force it had created was intended solely for home defense. The militiamen could not be sent abroad "unless they voluntarily agreed to go." Nor could the force be described as well trained. General Sir Ian Hamilton, in a report issued on the eve of the war, expressed the opinion that "they would need to be in a majority of at least two to one to fight a pitched battle with picked regular troops from overseas." But the scheme, such as it was, at least gave Australia a larger reservoir than Canada possessed from which to draw partially trained troops of military age for a volunteer expeditionary force.

Australian action anticipated even the declaration of war. On August 3, 1914, when the issue between Great Britain and Germany was still trembling in the balance, the Australian government cabled to the British Colonial Secretary, offering to place the Australian navy at the disposal of the British Admiralty, and to dispatch to Europe an expeditionary force of 20,000 men. The offer was accepted with gratitude. On August 10, the Australian warships were formally handed over to British control; and during the first months of the war they played a glorious part in sweeping the Pacific clean of German raiders. The fight between the *Sydney* and the *Emden* was one of the epic episodes of the first year of the war. At the same time, an appeal was issued for volunteers to fill the ranks of the expeditionary army.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN EXPEDITION IS SOON READY.

The first Australian Imperial Force, numbering slightly over 20,000 men, was immediately recruited, and concentrated at Melbourne. Here, on October 17, it embarked on board a fleet of twenty-three large passenger ships, and was convoyed by British, Australian, French, and Japanese warships to Egypt, where it disembarked on December 3. After a period of

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training in Egypt, it was dispatched to the Dardanelles to take part in that gallant, but unsuccessful, adventure. The story of its landing in Suvla Bay and its all-but-successful attempt to storm the heights of the Gallipoli peninsula is told elsewhere in these pages; but it is interesting to note that at the Dardanelles the Australians fought under the same British General that

declaring at once that the country must "see the thing through, whatever the difficulty and whatever the cost." Mr. Andrew Fisher, the leader of the strong Labor opposition, was equally explicit. "In so far as this war affects the Mother Country and ourselves," he declared, "there are no parties. Whatever the government decides it is necessary to do to protect, help, and



**AUSTRALIANS GOING TOWARD THE FRONT IN MOTOR LORRIES**

In April, 1916, the first bands of Australians, who had already seen arduous fighting in Egypt and Gallipoli, began to arrive at Marseilles. Their ambition had always been to fight against the Germans and by the side of the Canadians, South Africans and other overseas troops. They were received by the French citizens with a cordiality which gave an ineffaceable impression of the strong bond by which the Allies were united. Am. Press Assn.

had made the rather adverse report on the Australian militia a few short months before. In the face of the Anzac exploits at the Dardanelles, Sir Ian Hamilton must often have regretted his rather gloomy predictions as to the fighting efficiency of the Australian soldier.

In her whole-hearted participation in the war, Australia was unanimous. Mr. J. H. Cook, the prime minister when war broke out, set the pace by

support the Mother Country, and to protect the interests of Australia, I and the whole Labor party will be behind it." The feeling of the country was perhaps best expressed, however, by a prominent member of the Senate, who avowed that all Australia possessed was at the disposal of the Mother Country "to the last ear of corn and the last drop of blood." In the beginning of September, the Cook government was defeated at the general elec-



tions, and a strong Labor Administration was formed by Mr. Fisher, with Mr. W. M. Hughes, a vigorous personality who was to play a prominent part in the later stages of the war, as Attorney-General; but this change of government was not destined to effect any change in the policy of the country. If anything, indeed, the Labor ministry was more energetic in its prosecution of the war than the insecure administration which had preceded it.

#### FIVE DIVISIONS IN ALL ARE SENT.

On November 21, 1914, the new prime minister stated in parliament that his intention was to "maintain a force of trained men to be sent to the European battlefields in contingent after contingent." He was as good as his word. Despite the heavy casualties of the Australians at Gallipoli and later on at the Somme, reinforcements poured overseas from the Antipodes until the "Anzac" Corps reached the magnificent total of five divisions, apart altogether from a considerable force of mounted troops employed in Egypt. As the war wore on, the strain of keeping this force up to full strength by voluntary enlistment began to tell; and in 1916 the Australian government decided to submit in a referendum to the people the question as to whether Australia should resort to some form of conscription.

The verdict of the electors, however, was against conscription; and as a consequence the Australian forces suffered somewhat during the latter part of the war from depleted reserves. But this did not affect their splendid fighting qualities; as the war reached its final phases, they came to be recognized, along with the Canadians, as among the very best storm-troops on the Western front. Their discipline, judged by continental standards, was perhaps irregular; but in action they betrayed a dangerous discipline all their own, and in the assault they were veritable berserkers. It is the glory of Australia that in her army every man was a crusader of his own free will, who had come across half the world to strike a blow for freedom; and that with this

host of volunteers she played her part in the great war to the end.

#### NEW ZEALAND'S LARGE CONTRIBUTION.

The war effort of New Zealand was to some extent identified with that of Australia. Their troops wore a similar distinctive uniform; and both at Gallipoli and in France they formed part of the same army corps. Consequently the splendid contribution of New Zealand has not perhaps always received proper recognition. That contribution, indeed, outshone in many respects the contribution of any of the other Dominions. New Zealand is a small country. It is composed of only two islands in the Pacific, with a population of little more than a million inhabitants. Yet at the very outset the New Zealanders set the pace for the rest of the Empire. They alone were able to contribute a dreadnought, the *New Zealand*, to the North Sea fleet; and the expeditionary force which they offered the British government numbered 8,000 men—an infantry brigade, a mounted rifle brigade, and a field artillery brigade. In proportion to population, this force was at least double the size of that offered by either Canada or Australia. In addition to this, they sent, during the first month of the war, a small expeditionary force to German-Samoa; and on August 29, this force occupied Apia, the German capital, in the name of the King of Great Britain.

Here, as in Australia, all parties were united in their attitude toward the war. Mr. W. F. Massey, the prime minister, and Sir Joseph Ward, the leader of the opposition, vied with each other, in urging in the most unreserved manner, New Zealand's duty to the Mother Country and to civilization. Within three weeks of the outbreak of war, New Zealand's Citizen Force—modeled on the same basis as that of Australia—had contributed the full quota of 8,000 men for the European expeditionary force and 1,500 for the Samoan Expedition; and by the middle of October the troops for Europe were already on board the transports in Wellington Harbor, ready for the convoy of Allied battle-ships which was to escort them to

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Egypt. Not the least remarkable feature of New Zealand's effort was the extraordinary financial burden which these expeditionary forces laid on her small population. All the countries who entered the war had to face enormous financial responsibilities; but in the very first half-year of the war New Zealand did not hesitate to incur an expenditure of \$50,000,000 or about \$50 per capita of the population.

classes which Canada never thought of calling up; and when the war ended, her contribution in man-power ran into figures which, in comparison with her population, placed her more on a par with the belligerent countries of Europe than with her sister Dominions. Certainly, none of the outlying parts of the British Empire contributed more of their best and reddest blood to the common cause.



CAMP OF THE VICTORIAN CONTINGENT JUST BEFORE EMBARKATION

The first Australian contingent consisted of 20,338 men, trained in equal proportion according to population. Arrangements were made to send monthly reinforcements of between 2,000 and 3,000 each to make up for casualties and wastage, and no sooner was the first contingent ready than a second contingent of over 10,000 was prepared.

### COMPULSORY SERVICE IS ADOPTED IN NEW ZEALAND.

As early as November 4, 1914, the New Zealand minister of defense announced that a further series of contingents would be organized and sent forward at stated intervals. By reason of these reinforcements, New Zealand was able eventually to place an entire division in the line on the Western front. This naturally entailed a heavy strain on her voluntary system; and in 1917 she was compelled, like Canada, to adopt a form of compulsory military service. But she called up

### THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Union of South Africa, the newest of the self-governing Dominions, was that from which the Germans hoped the most in the way of disaffection and obstruction. Only a brief period of years had passed since the South African War, in which Great Britain had forced the subjection of the Boer republics; and it was confidently expected by the Germans that the Boers would rise *en masse* in the event of a great European war, and shake off the British yoke. This doubt-

less seemed to them the more likely since the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, and the concomitant grant of responsible government, had thrown political power into the hands of the Boers themselves. The Prime Minister of the Union in 1914, the late General Louis Botha, was a former Boer general; and the same was true of the minister of defense, General J. C. Smuts, and the commandant-general of the Union forces, General C. F. Beyers.

Even before the outbreak of war,

resented the extreme left in the House, while the Conservatives under Sir T. W. Smartt represented the extreme right; and on the cross-benches there was a group of Labor members under Mr. Cresswell. All these parties, with the exception of the Nationalists under General Herzog, adopted an attitude of uncompromising loyalty. General Herzog on the floor of the House and General Beyers in a public letter both advocated a policy of "neutrality" toward the Germans; but they were hopelessly defeated in parliament, and



NEW ZEALAND GUN TEAM IN EGYPT

After an uneventful voyage, save for the incident of the Emden's destruction, the Australians and New Zealanders landed in Egypt along the Suez Canal, and camped, many of them right at the foot of the Pyramids.

German agents had been at work among the Boers, creating trouble and disaffection. On the declaration of war, German forces in German West Africa immediately crossed the frontier, in order to lend support to a Boer rebellion. A rebellion did occur, and it was not lacking in elements of danger, mainly owing to its unexpectedness; but the great majority of the people of South Africa, including a majority of the Boers themselves, united to stamp it out, and by the end of the year the rebels had shot their bolt.

There were in the South African parliament several parties. General Botha was supported by the moderate element among both the Boers and the British, who were anxious to make the best of the Union; a section of the Boers under General Herzog, who desired the restoration of Boer independence, rep-

resented the stinging rebuke which General Smuts administered to General Beyers well expressed the view of the loyal element among the Boers.

**GENERAL SMUTS AND GENERAL BEYERS.**

"You forget to mention," he wrote, "that since the South African War the British people gave South Africa her entire freedom under a Constitution which makes it possible for us to realize our national ideals along our own lines, and which, for instance, allows you to write with impunity a letter for which you would without doubt be liable in the German Empire to the extreme penalty." There had been many shakings of the head in Great Britain when the British government in 1910 had granted the Boers self-government; but never had the vital principles of liberalism which underlie

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the modern British Empire received a more striking justification than in the attitude which the larger part of the Boer people adopted in 1914. The Boer rebellion of that year, the story of which will be told elsewhere, was not put down by British troops, but largely by Boer volunteers led by Boer generals.

South Africa's internal troubles, and the danger of invasion from German West Africa, made it impossible at first for the Union to send troops to the European theatre of war. Even volunteer troops raised by private persons for service in Europe had at first to be used for local operations. But General Botha, who himself assumed command of the forces, immediately released for service elsewhere all Imperial troops stationed in South Africa, and undertook to maintain British supremacy in South Africa with the Union forces alone. Later, when the rebellion was a thing of the past, and the menace from German West Africa had been scotched, South Africa was able to send to the western front a brigade of infantry, who, together with two Highland brigades, formed one of the crack divisions in the British Army. It was a remarkable circumstance, and must have given food for thought to the Germans, that, as the war drew to a close, South African troops should have been found fighting in France, and a Boer general, General Smuts, should have been found a member of the British War Cabinet.

### THE SMALLEST OF THE DOMINIONS.

Newfoundland, the smallest of the self-governing Dominions, though the oldest of the British colonies, was not able to rival the other Dominions in her war effort. With a population of only 240,000, and with annual revenues totalling only about \$4,000,000, she had neither the man-power nor the wealth to enable her to make a spectacular contribution to the war. But her mite was given as gladly as that of the widow in the parable. Four days after the outbreak of war, the Governor of Newfoundland cabled to the Colonial Secretary the offer of his government

to contribute to the Naval Reserve a force of one thousand men and to raise also a Newfoundland Regiment for service with the British Expeditionary Force. The offer was accepted; and before the end of the year, the Newfoundland Regiment was recruited, transported across the Atlantic with the First Canadian Contingent, and in training at Salisbury Plain, while no less than five drafts of several hundred naval reservists each had been sent to England, and assigned to duty with the British navy.

### THE NEWFOUNDLAND SAILORS IN THE BRITISH NAVY.

These men came of a stock which has for centuries produced a race of sailors, and though they lost their identity in the British Navy, the Newfoundlanders showed time and again in the honors list the stuff of which they were made. The exploits of the Newfoundland Regiment were on a level with those of its fellow-countrymen in the senior service; and at Delville Wood on the Somme it gained a reputation of which many older regiments might well have been envious. The war effort of Newfoundland was necessarily slight in quantity; but what it lost in quantity, it made up in quality.

### COMPLICATED CONDITIONS IN INDIA.

If the way in which the Dominions rallied to the support of the Mother Country was surprising, the way in which India rose to the situation was amazing. This vast country, which had in 1914 a population of well over 300,000,000, of whom barely 500,000 were whites, and which was "held down" (to use the expression employed by some detractors of British rule in India) by a British army of about 50,000 men, had been giving before the war some concern to British statesmen. There was little difficulty in connection with the native states, which comprised the greater part of the whole, and which were ruled by semi-independent native princes, with British residents attached to them in an advisory capacity; but in some of the provinces which were directly under

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British rule, such as Bengal and the Punjab, there had sprung up a nationalist movement which demanded self-government for the Indians, and which had given rise to some disorders.

Although British rule in India was on the whole just and efficient, and although the varied racial and relig-

years before; and there is reason for believing that a shipload of Hindu immigrants which was refused admittance to Canada in May, 1914, was financed by German money. Taken all, in all, the situation in India when war broke out was not without its ominous features.



INDIAN CAVALRY CROSSING THE DESERT

India was a substantial help to the Empire in time of need. She sent troops to aid in those critical days when the Germans were striving to reach Calais. She also sent troops to Egypt, Gallipoli, East Africa, Mesopotamia, Persia and China. Indian princes used their wealth in the Imperial cause.

ious divisions in India prevented unorganized unrest from becoming dangerous, there always lurked in British minds the fear of another Indian Mutiny. The situation was complicated also by the fact that a number of the British Dominions, notably Canada, had refused admittance to Hindu immigrants; and this apparent slur on fellow-members in the British Empire, this denial to the Hindus of citizenship in the Empire, caused much disaffection among some elements in India. Of this situation, full advantage was taken by the Germans. It has been established that seditious literature circulated in India at the outbreak of war was printed in Berlin four

### A SURPRISING OUTBURST OF LOYALTY.

Yet, when the call came, all disaffection vanished as if by magic. What the British under-secretary of state for India described as "a wave of instinctive and emotional loyalty" swept over the country. Nationalist agitators, Indian princes, and government officials vied with each other in the enthusiasm with which they threw themselves into the prosecution of the war. "We may have our differences with the government," said the leading Nationalist newspaper in Bengal, "but in the presence of a common enemy, Germany or any other, we sink our differences, and offer all that we

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**SIR PERTAB SINGH**

Sir Pertab Singh, veteran chief of the fighting Rajputs and Regent of Jodhpur "refused to be denied his right to fight for the King-Emperor" and went to France.

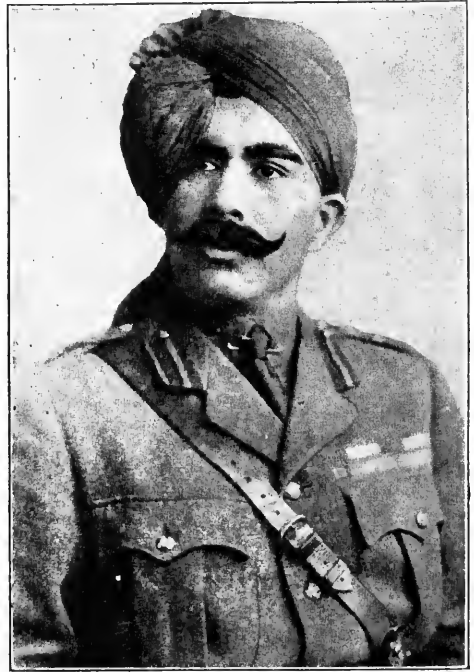
possess in the defense of the great Empire with which the future prosperity and advancement of our people are bound up." "We are above all," declared a former president of the Indian Nationalist congress, "British citizens of the great British Empire, and that is at present our greatest pride."

The attitude of the Indian princes was even more noteworthy. With one accord they offered their services and the resources of their states to the King-Emperor. The Maharaja of Bikaner, who afterwards fought in France, telegraphed to the Viceroy of India that he and his troops were ready to go at once "wherever our services might be usefully employed, in interest of the safety, honor, and welfare of our Sovereign." The ruler of the ancient state of Rewa bluntly asked: "What orders are there from His Majesty for me or my troops?" The veteran Sir Pertab Singh, the Regent of Jodhpur, insisted, in spite of his seventy years, in being accepted for active service, and with him went his sixteen-year-old nephew, the Maharaja, as well as many another prince and

noble of India. The Indian Empire proved itself a much more virile thing than it had ever been in the days of the Moguls of Delhi.

### COMPOSITION OF INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION.

The extent of India's contribution to the war was at first limited, of course, by questions of transport. So far as man-power was concerned, the resources of India were limitless; as the Maharaja of Idar said, "If the Emperor wished an army as large as the Czar's, India could furnish it." But within a month of the declaration of war two infantry divisions and a brigade of cavalry, together with the corresponding amount of artillery, were on their way to the western front, where they were the first of the British overseas forces to arrive. These troops were not wholly native; for with every two native battalions, a British battalion was brigaded, and the commissioned officers were mainly British. Shortly afterwards, other expeditions were dis-



**H. H. MAHARAJA OF BIKANER**

H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, a Rajput chief, had done valuable fighting for the Empire in China and Somaliland. In 1914 the Maharaja's Camel Corps went to Egypt.



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patched, one to the valley of the Tigris, and the other to German East Africa.

Before the end of the year the Indian government had dispatched from the shores of India well over 100,000 troops to theatres of war far distant—an achievement which may well be regarded, in view of the unexpected character of the crisis and the difficulties of transportation, as bordering on the miraculous. In the later stages of the war, the volume of India's contribution

difficult factor into the situation so far as India was concerned, since a large part of the population of India, and that too the most warlike, was Mohammedan. But if it was expected that the action of the Sultan of Turkey would detach the Mohammedans of India from the British cause, the expectation was bitterly disappointed. The Aga Khan, the head of the Mohammedans of India, and president of the All-India Moslem League, not only de-



LANDING OF 1ST CANADIAN DIVISION AT ST. NAZAIRE

The First Canadian Division left Valcartier in October and after additional training in England, landed at St. Nazaire, February 11, 1915. This western port was chosen to avoid German submarines lying in wait for the Canadians. The steamship in the background is the *Novian*. In the left foreground is the famous band of the Royal Canadian Highlanders which marched up and down playing the troops ashore.

© Canadian War Records

increased, of course, greatly. Not only the operations in German East Africa, but those also in Mesopotamia and Palestine, were carried out largely by Indian troops. There was in Mesopotamia a most unfortunate breakdown, which threw a shadow for a time over the war effort of the Indian government; but this was, after all, merely an episode, and the memory of it was effaced later by the splendid success of the British campaigns both in the Euphrates valley and in Palestine.

### THE MOHAMMEDAN PRINCES OF INDIA.

The entrance of Turkey into the war on the side of Germany introduced a

nounced the action of Turkey and adhered to the British cause, but he volunteered to serve as a private in the ranks of the Indian Expeditionary Force. The Nizam of Hyderabad, one of the most powerful of the Moslem princes, adjured his subjects "to swerve not a hair's breadth from their allegiance to the British crown"; and practically all the other Mohammedan rulers adopted a similar attitude. The British government undertook to preserve from molestation the Holy Places of Arabia and Mesopotamia; it was pointed out that, since Turkey had fallen under German and Austrian influence these places were in danger of

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falling into German and Austrian hands; and the Mohammedans of India threw themselves into the war with perhaps greater vigor than ever, impelled no longer merely by patriotic, but also by religious, zeal. The Sultan of Turkey's "Holy War" proved indeed a self-inflicted boomerang.

But Moslem India responded merely with renewed and intensified effort. No better illustration could be found of the failure of the Germans to understand the psychology of other peoples. They mistook the superficial phenomena for the fundamental, in the case of both India and the British overseas



ALGONQUIN INDIANS WITH THE CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES

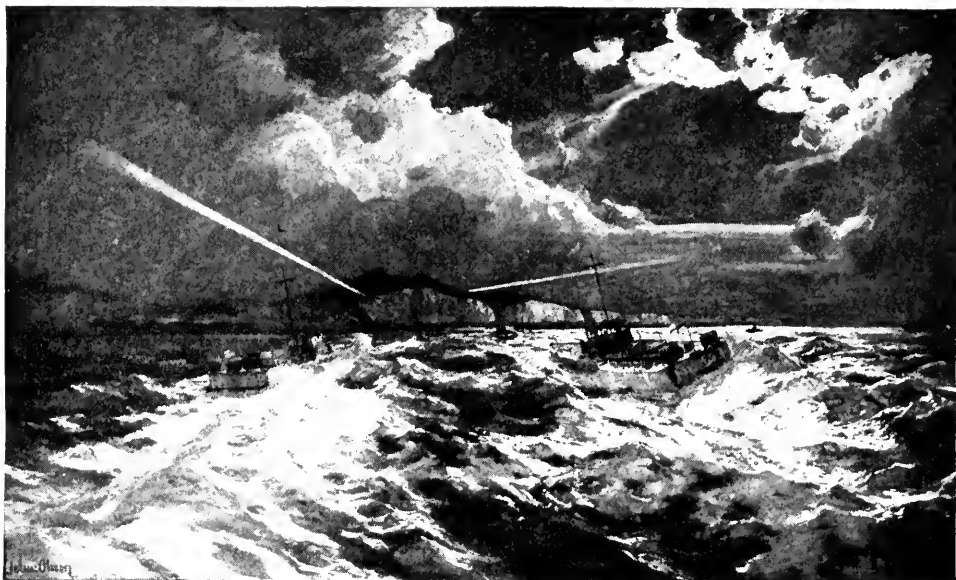
This stock has produced notable characters in the past, conflict with the whites and the Iroquois doubtless serving to stimulate native genius. Among their famous men are such names as Powhatan, Tecumseh, and Francis Assickinack. In some cases the Indian came from distant reserves and spoke very little English. His lot in hospital was likely to be a lonely one unless some visiting missionary chanced in.

### GERMAN FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND OTHER PEOPLES.

In nothing perhaps did the calculations of the Germans go farther astray than in regard to India. They expected India to burst into the flame of revolt, once Great Britain was involved in a European war. India did nothing of the kind, but rather threw herself into the struggle with unexpected enthusiasm. When Turkey entered the war, the Germans counted at least on the neutrality of Moslem India.

Dominions. They saw only the troubled surface of the waters, but did not plumb the quiet depths beneath. They were apparently constitutionally incapable of realizing that the British Empire was something more than a haphazard conglomeration of heterogeneous elements, but that it was indeed a living organism, informed with vital forces. And that incapacity to understand their adversaries cost them dearly in the war.

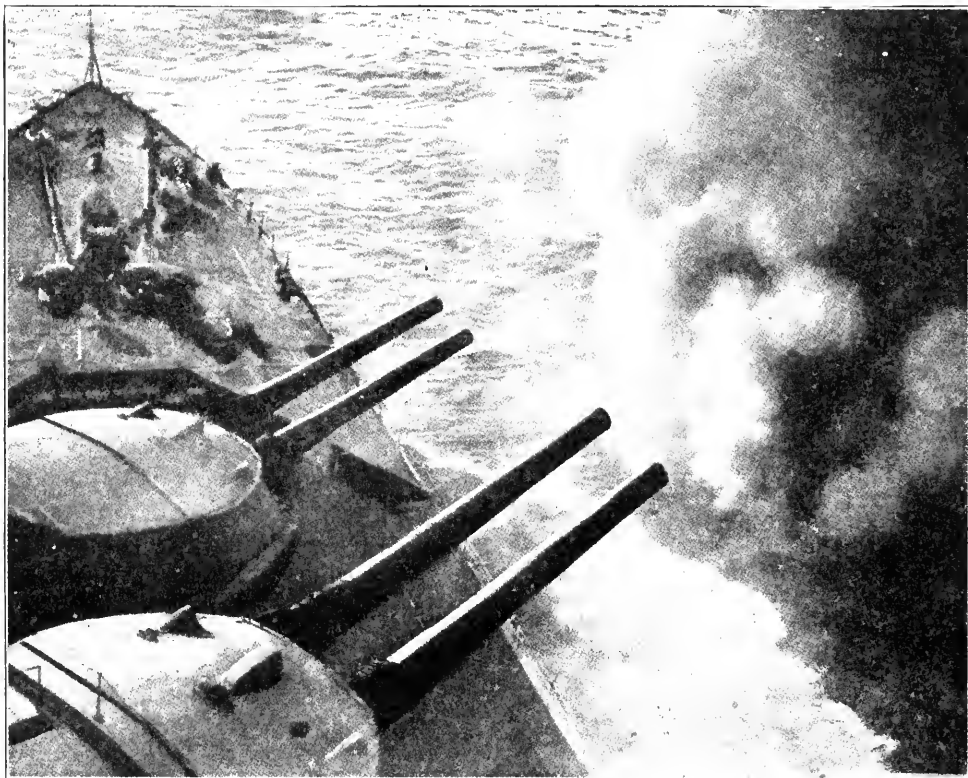
W. S. WALLACE.



#### THE CANADIAN MOTOR PATROL OFF DOVER

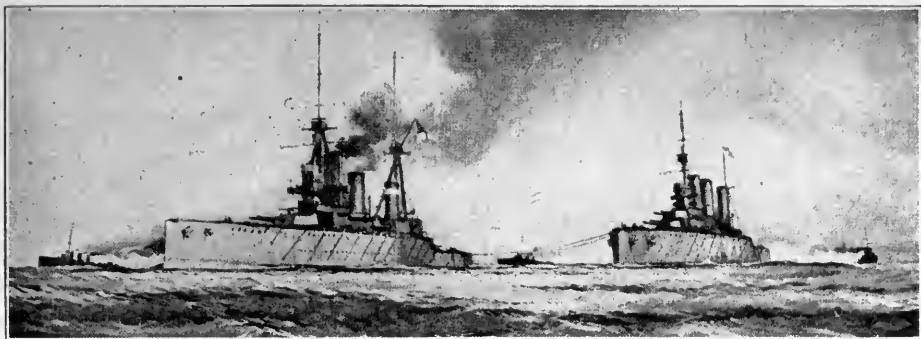
The Canadian Motor Launch boats rendered good service in many ways during the war. Here we see them on a moonlight night patrolling off Dover Cliff in the English Channel. Dover Castle is on the top of the cliff. The picture, painted by Lieutenant Julius Olsson, R.N.V.R., is a part of the Canadian War Records, which include paintings of artistic as well as historical value.

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#### THE GUNS OF THE QUEEN ELIZABETH AT THE DARDANELLES

Above are shown some of the smallest boats in use against menace of the submarine. Here are shown four of the Queen Elizabeth's eight fifteen-inch guns at the moment of firing in the Dardanelles. The Queen Elizabeth was the most powerful British ship considering both gun power and armament.



The Indomitable Towing the Lion

## CHAPTER XII

# The War on the Water

## THE ALLIED FLEETS HOLD THE MASTERY OF THE SEAS

NAVAL warfare since the time of Nelson has suffered a complete change, yet since the great admiral's day only one great war, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, had tested the principles of modern naval tactics and weapons. To take the place of actual war, in order to make progress through experience, annual manœuvres were adopted by the navies of the Powers. Such an annual mobilization of the British Fleet was taking place as usual in July 1914, and because "the days were evil," Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, with rare good judgment, countermanded the order for the fleet's demobilization. This state of preparedness was a great asset to the Allies when war began, for it reduced to a minimum the chance of an attack upon Britain, and further, it almost eliminated the danger of German cruisers escaping from naval ports to the high seas and carrying on a long war against British and Allied commerce.

### CONDITIONS DETERMINE THE BRITISH NAVAL POLICY.

Britain was the paramount sea-power and her naval superiority from the outset imposed upon her Grand Fleet the policy of watching and containing the German High Seas Fleet in its ports and naval bases. The German naval plan, due to inferior strength and also to the threat of Russia in the Baltic, condemned her larger ships to

watchful inaction within her coast fastnesses, for the most part, together with a policy of aggression by her smaller craft, submarines, mine sowers, destroyers, and the like. These by torpedo, drift mine and surprise attack were to prey upon the blockaders until by their ceaseless effort the disparity between the two fleets should disappear. Then the German Grand Fleet could engage at even odds with its rival. The chances of naval warfare are great, and mistakes very costly; a disaster or a blunder on the part of a British Admiral might do Germany's work for her. With exceeding care only could the stalker clad in dull grey go abroad into the North Sea, borrowing all possible disguise of frequent fog and blanketing mist, and threading with care the shoals and the shallows in which mine and death-carrying torpedo lurked.

### WHAT THIS POLICY ACCOMPLISHED FROM THE BEGINNING.

Such a policy as this, unostentatious, indeed effacing, had great results. Germany became almost at once an isolated nation as far as her sea communication was concerned, for within a few days her merchant marine was swept from the seas, her great liners were interned in neutral harbors and the great trade created after the Franco-Prussian War, was paralyzed in an hour—and so remained. Further, such German squadrons and cruisers as were at sea were

systematically wiped out within five months of the outbreak of hostilities.

Meanwhile the troops of Great Britain and the tide of colonial support were landed in Europe—in the first three years of the war, 3,000,000 men were carried across the Channel without the loss of a single transport. Strategically, the British Fleet dominated the western campaign: if it had not existed or if it had been overwhelmed the seaboard of France would have been at the mercy of the enemy, troops might have been landed anywhere, and Great Britain would have been besieged. Economically, the supremacy of the British Fleet aided in the transformation of the United States into the workshop, arsenal and granary of the Allies. Finally, it led Germany to the submarine policy which changed powerful neutrals into active enemies whose advent to the Allied cause finally brought about the ruin of the Central Powers.

This was the achievement of the British seapower, aided considerably in the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas by the French and Russian Navies. Upon the western battle front the main issues of the land campaign were decided; in the North Sea for the most part occurred the most vital incidents in the naval warfare. The British Grand Fleet established its base far up in the stormy waters off the north of Scotland, from its security emerging at intervals upon such errands as sweeping, chasing and decoy work. Its lighter craft assured the passage of the English Channel and patrolled the enemy coasts.

### **THE BATTLE OF THE BIGHT OF HELIGOLAND.**

Almost the first "round" to occur between the rival fleets in the North Sea came at the end of August. From the outbreak of the war British submarines had been actively employed in scouting the waters around the strongly fortified island of Heligoland on which 11-inch guns defended the "wet triangle" behind which lay the chief German naval ports. This island had been ceded to Germany by Lord Salisbury in 1890 and served as a use-

ful shelter for enemy warships, submarine destroyers and Zeppelins. The Bight itself is a channel about 18 miles in width through which lies the course for vessels sailing north from the Elbe. Following this submarine reconnaissance, the Admiralty ordered a rendezvous for August 28 which was evidently more than a purely sweeping movement. Rather it had the purpose of reconnaissance with the object of attacking the enemy's light cruisers and destroyers, if they should come out from under the guns of the forts. Accordingly, the Eighth Submarine Flotilla together with two destroyers searched the area through which the battle cruisers were to advance for enemy submarines and mines, and then proceeded towards Heligoland.

Three of the submarines, the E6, E7, E8, exposed themselves with the object of inducing the enemy to pursue them toward the west. The bait seems to have been taken. As the submarines approached the enemy's ships, the visibility decreased and this fact, together with a calm sea, prevented the submarines from closing within torpedo range. At 8 A.M. dim shapes in the mist were perceived to be six German destroyers, and the British ships fled to the west followed by the enemy. When these approached the British cruisers and destroyers, a series of separate encounters began in thick weather over a wide expanse of water.

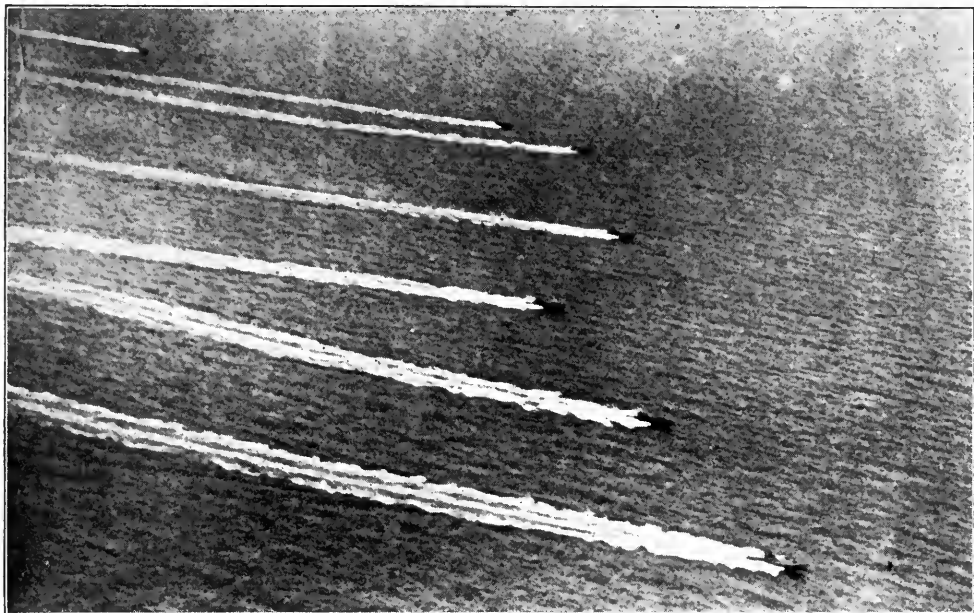
### **SIR DAVID BEATTY AND THE BATTLE CRUISER SQUADRON.**

Farther out to seaward the British Battle Cruiser Squadron manœvered at high speed to avoid the enemy submarines working like so many sharks in the seas around them, and finally thrust itself into the struggle between the cruisers and destroyers. Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty's reasons for this action are given in his statement to the Admiralty: "As the reports indicated the presence of many enemy ships—one a large cruiser—I considered that his (Commodore Goodenough's) force might not be strong enough to deal with the situation sufficiently rapidly, so at 11:30 A.M. the Battle Cruisers turned to E.S.E.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

and worked up to full speed. It was evident that to be of any value the support must be overwhelming and carried out at the highest speed possible." In other words, the gallant admiral was clearly persuaded that one ought not to throw away trumps! Thus at 12:30 P.M. coming into the action he sighted and chased a cruiser of the Kolberg class, at 12:56 P.M. sighted and engaged a two-funneled

was attacked by a flotilla of English destroyers coming from the north. Hardly had the first shot been fired, when more hostile destroyers, also submarines, arrived and surrounded the German craft." The writer goes on to describe the destruction of the V-187 and pays a tribute to the British effort to rescue survivors: "The enemy deserves the greatest credit for their splendid rescue work. The English



### FRINGES OF THE FLEET

These fast motor-boats off Dover traveling at top speed and photographed from the air appeared for the first time in 1915. They were among the varied craft which made up the Dover Patrol. Because of their short range of vision over the water they were often convoyed by aeroplanes which signaled the presence of enemy ships.

cruiser so that she disappeared into the mist, burning furiously and in a sinking condition. By 1:40 P.M. the Battle Cruisers were approaching a mine-field and so turned to the northward covering the retirement of the destroyers and cruisers. Late that night they reached the northern base with a total casualty list of 69 men. The Germans lost three light cruisers, two destroyers, and over 1,000 men.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* account of the action thus describes how the trap closed: "The smaller craft fought heroically to the bitter end against overwhelming odds. Quite unexpectedly the V-187 (a torpedo boat, the Germans never used the word destroyer)

sailors, unmindful of their own safety, went about it in heroic fashion." They that go down to the sea in ships and ply their business in great waters are at close grips with Eternity all the days of their lives, and each dawn breaks upon a little epic. The encounters and valiant struggles of doomed ships are in Homeric strain.

### GERMAN TORPEDOES DESTROY THREE BRITISH BATTLESHIPS.

The gray curtain fell again as the British Grand Fleet retired to its northern hold. Dramatically and violently it lifted for a moment when the three cruisers, the Cressy, Aboukir and Hogue were torpedoed in late September on patrol duty off the coast



of Holland. Profiting by the sad experience the Admiralty issued orders that in similar cases attendant ships must not stand by for rescue purposes; and in the future, took care to shift the patrol line more frequently.

Meanwhile far off in southern waters a different drama was being enacted. British trade routes around the Horn were menaced by the presence in the Pacific of a German squadron. Admiral von Spee, in command of the German fleet off China disappeared after the fall of Tsing-Tau into ocean silence.



**SIR CHRISTOPHER CRADOCK**

Rear-Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock was lost in the *Good Hope* in the battle off Coronel. Left unevenly matched with antiquated vessels, he went down with his ships.

Once at sea he detached from his squadron the *Emden* which set about raiding work in the Indian Ocean, and the *Karlsruhe* to act as a privateer in the South Atlantic and with his more powerful vessels, the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* each carrying eight 8.2-inch and six 6-inch guns, hurried himself to the Pacific. For a while he found provision and coaling bases on the coasts of Ecuador and Colombia and among the Galapagos Islands, and because the duties of neutrals were ill-understood was allowed the use of wireless stations and thereby collected valuable information. Finally in November he accomplished a concentration of five vessels, two armored cruisers, the *Scharnhorst*, and *Gneisenau*, and three additional light cruisers, the *Dresden*, *Leipzig* and *Nürnberg*, off Valparaiso.

## SEARCH FOR THE GERMAN SQUADRON OFF SOUTH AMERICA.

His presence was known and the duty of protecting the traders fully recognized by the British Admiralty, but the times were anxious ones in home waters, many of the new ships were not yet in commission and the balance of strength too nicely adjudged to risk the sending of many vessels on such a long errand. In August a small British squadron set sail commanded by Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock, an officer who had seen service in the Sudan and the relief of Peking and had distinguished himself in saving life at the wreck of the *Delhi*. He had with him the *Good Hope*, an armored cruiser of 14,100 tons, armed with two 9.2 and sixteen 6-inch guns; the *Monmouth*, an armored cruiser of 9,800 tons with fourteen 6-inch guns and with a maximum speed of 23.9 knots; the *Glasgow*, a light cruiser of 4,800 tons with two 6-inch guns and with a speed of 25 knots, and the *Otranto* which was simply a liner converted upon the outbreak of war into an auxiliary cruiser.

Cradock began by sweeping the North Atlantic. August 14, he reached Halifax and after moving his flag to the *Good Hope* sailed to the Bermudas and through the West Indies to the coasts of Venezuela and Brazil. Thence he cruised round the Horn and visited the Falklands. The third week in October saw him in the Pacific moving up the Chilean coast on the look-out for von Spee. He knew and his officers knew that the Germans were stronger. The *Canopus*, the only battleship of his squadron, had fallen behind for repairs but hourly Cradock expected reinforcements. A letter written by the surgeon aboard the *Good Hope* says: "We think the Admiralty have forgotten this trade route squadron 10,000 miles from London town. Five German cruisers against us. What is the betting on the field? Pray to your Penates we may prevent them concentrating." But they had concentrated and the fate of the little squadron hung low in the scales. Cradock sailed to Coronel and on to Valparaiso, and then back again to

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

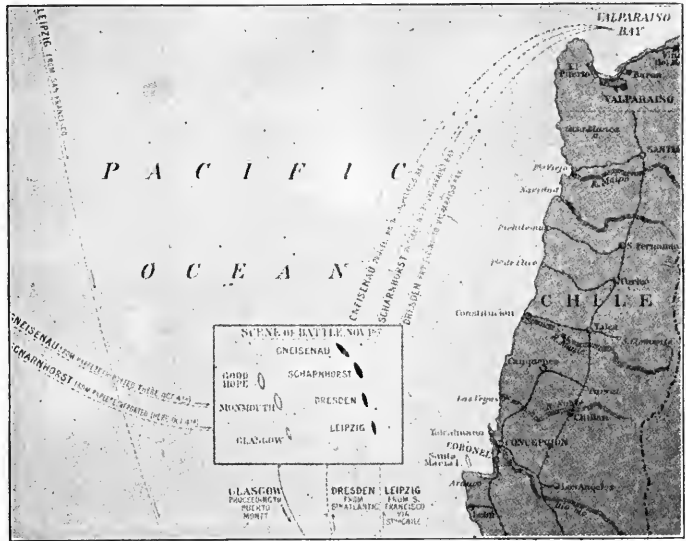
Coronel to send off cables. The Glasgow at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of November 1 first sighted the enemy off Coronel. Two big armored cruisers were leading and the lighter cruisers came on behind. At once the Glasgow sent a message to the Good Hope, but it seems to have been jammed by the enemy. When at 5 o'clock the flagship came up the Monmouth had already joined the Glasgow and Otranto.

### THE UNEQUAL BATTLE OFF CORONEL.

The engagement that follows was fought under unequal conditions: the German Admiral chose the mountainous coast course and this as soon as the sun went down gave him cover of inshore twilight. The British, on the other hand, stood out to sea silhouetted against the glowing sky. Both squadrons in parallel course steered south. A strong wind was blowing and a heavy head-sea handicapped the British gunners whose 6-inch guns on the lower deck were of little service in the spray. Moreover, unable to "spot" their hits in the bad light the British had perforce to fire at the flashes of the German guns. On the other hand the good German shooting (the Gneisenau had several times won the Kaiser's prize for gunnery) found an excellent target in the British ships. The broadsides of the Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau, too, poured 3,300 pounds of metal against the 760 of the Good Hope. Out-gunned, out-classed, what could the upshot be? It was a quick decision which came that November night.

At 6 o'clock the Good Hope which led the British, and the Scharnhorst in the van of the Germans were 12 miles apart: half an hour later there was only 8 miles between them and by 7 the Scharnhorst opened fire at 7 miles.

When she got the range, shell after shell hit the Good Hope and the Monmouth. Shortly before 8 there was a great explosion on the Good Hope which soon disappeared. The Monmouth was afire and turned away seaward in her distress. So far the Glasgow had been hit only by stray shots but, shorn of their prey now, the German cruisers concentrated upon her at a short range of two and a half miles.



### THE FIGHT OFF CORONEL

After leaving Tsing-Tau, Admiral von Spee succeeded in concentrating a considerable force in the South Atlantic, which was sighted by Cradock's squadron off Coronel. The Germans, taking the inshore course, got the range first and only the Glasgow escaped.

Only her coal seems to have saved her, for she was lightly armored and struck by five shells at the water line. She could not fight them so she fled and by 9 o'clock was out of range, though she still perceived flashes of gun-fire and searchlights afar off. She steered N.W.W. then gradually worked round south desirous of warning the Canopus. The next day she found her and the two ships proceeded together to the Straits of Magellan. No rescue work seems to have been attempted, and 1,600 officers and men lie with brave Cradock beneath the deep waters of the Pacific. Von Spee had drawn the first blood, and the result of the encounter was a serious disaster for Britain, which the German press was quick to profit by.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

**THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY IS ROUSED TO FURTHER EXERTION.**

It seems to have roused the British Admiralty very effectively. Lord Fisher had succeeded Prince Louis of Battenberg in office as First Lord of the Admiralty, and within twenty-four hours Vice-Admiral Sir F. C. Doveton Sturdee left British waters with a strong squadron and disappeared somewhere into the Atlantic. He had with him the swift battle cruisers, *Invincible* and *Inflexible*, each carrying eight 12-inch guns, the armored cruisers *Kent*, *Cornwall*, each with fourteen 6-inch guns, and *Carnarvon*, with four 7.5-inch and six 6-inch guns, the light cruiser *Bristol* and the armed liner *Macedonia*, and he picked up the *Canopus* and the *Glasgow* somewhere in the South Atlantic.

The expedition was kept secret, but its arrival off the Falkland Isles December 7 must have been a great relief to the inhabitants who were fearing an attack by von Spee's force. The latter intended seizing the Islands' wireless station, but it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain himself in the waters around the Horn, as the Japanese fleet was reported hot upon his scent, and he appears to have decided to cross the Atlantic and to attack the Union Force recently landed in Luderitz Bay, South Africa. November 15 accordingly he left the island of Juan Fernandez and navigated the Horn. Sturdee's secret was safe, and von Spee believed the *Canopus* and *Glasgow* were somewhere within his reach. If accounts be true he seems to have picked up a wireless to the *Canopus* telling her to proceed to Port Stanley in the Falklands, as the new guns had arrived and she would be safe. The German Admiral (as Sturdee had hoped) treated the message as a piece of bluff and determined to go to Port Stanley where he thought to find the *Canopus* an easy prey. To the delight of the British sailors, therefore, the approach of a German squadron was announced early on the 8th of December, the morning after they arrived. "A four funnel and two funnel man-of-war in sight from Sapper Hill, steering northwards" signaled the station.

**THE FLEETS COME TOGETHER OFF THE FALKLANDS.**

The English ships had spent the previous day in coaling, and had just finished. Orders were given to raise steam for full speed; the battle cruisers used oil fuel and thus made an effective screen. At 8:20 the signal station reported another column of smoke in sight to the southward and the *Kent* passed down the harbor and took up a station at the entrance. At 8:50 a fourth column of smoke was seen, and half an hour later the two leading ships of the enemy (*Gneisenau* and *Nürnberg*) with guns trained on the wireless station came within range of the *Canopus* who from within the inner harbor opened fire at them across the narrow spit of land. When von Spee came abreast of the harbor and saw the strength of the British squadron he at once altered his course and turned out to sea at high speed. It was his turn to flee. Immediately Sturdee weighed anchor and followed, and at 10:20 the signal for a general chase was made. Morning replaced the evening gloom of Coronel, the visibility was at its maximum, over a calm sea the sun shone bright in a clear sky, and only a light breeze blew from the north west. The hunt was up and the hounds stretched themselves for the chase!

The *Bristol* had been left behind in harbor and sent a wireless shortly before noon that three enemy transports were off the islands. Sturdee directed her to take the *Macedonia* and follow and destroy them. At the start von Spee was leading by 12 miles, but Sturdee was gaining. On the British ships there was no haste and all hands were piped to dinner as usual and given time for a smoke before the call of the bugle rang out and "Action Stations" was called. Barely five minutes and all was ready; portholes and doors had been closed, woodwork thrown overboard and inflammable gear stowed; the men were at their stations, the officers in foretop and conning tower. In the depths engineers, men at munitions hoists, telephone and telegraph operators waited the word. At 12:47 the signal "Open fire and engage the enemy" was made.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### THE BATTLE REALLY THREE SEPARATE ACTIONS.

The Inflexible and Invincible at once opened upon the Leipzig, one of von Spee's light cruisers. She found the deliberate fire at a range of 15,000 yards too threatening and together with the other light cruisers, the Nürnberg and the Dresden fled to the southwest. The Kent, Glasgow and Cornwall followed and the action thus developed into three separate encounters, the main action between the armored cruisers, the action between the light cruisers, and the action with the enemy's transports.

To take the main action first, the battle of the armored cruisers, the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau against the Inflexible, the Invincible, and the Carnarvon. Firing as they ran, the Germans sped on till shortly before 3 o'clock when they turned upon their pursuers and a terrific artillery duel began. Smoke spoiled the vision of the British gunners. Therefore, using their extra speed they got to the other side of the enemy and pounded the Scharnhorst. She caught fire, smoke and steam belched forth, and a large hole in her side revealed a dull red glow of flame within. At 4 o'clock she listed heavily, lay over on her beam ends and at 4:17 disappeared beneath the waters. Cradock was avenged!

### ONLY ONE LIGHT GERMAN CRUISER ESCAPED.

The Gneisenau remained, and she continued a determined but ineffectual effort to fight the two battle cruisers. Soon after five it became evident that she was doomed though she continued to fire for another half hour, until her ammunition was exhausted. At 6 o'clock the German ship keeled over very suddenly, showing the men gathered on her decks, and then settled. Prisoners reported that before the end 600 men had been killed and wounded, and when the ship sank over 200 jumped into the water; though every effort was made to save them the shock of the cold water drowned many within sight of the boats and ships.

Meanwhile, the pursuit of the light cruisers continued and as thick mist

came down upon the water each duel assumed the aspect of a separate battle. The Kent was the slowest of the British boats but her engineers and stokers by amazing efforts got 25 knots out of her and she engaged the Nürnberg and after a two hour combat sank her at 7:27. Perhaps the news that the main battle was nearly over had put fresh heart into the men,



ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ

Admiral von Tirpitz, known in Berlin as "Tirpitz the Eternal" because he ruled the Kaiser's navy for eighteen years, was responsible for the submarine warfare.

for the Glasgow and Cornwall sank the Leipzig at 9 o'clock. One incident only mars the victory; battered but unconquered the Dresden fled away into the mist and as the wet night closed in and the battle died down she made good her escape. She had a brief liberty only, however, for three months later she was caught by the Kent and Glasgow off Juan Fernandez and sunk in five minutes. There remains only the action with the enemy's transports to note. The signal had said three transports, but only two were found, and both were sunk by the Macedonia and Bristol after the removal of the crews.

**THE VALUE OF BRITISH SUCCESS IN THIS BATTLE.**

Coronel was avenged; British disaster in the Pacific more than retrieved by brilliant victory in the South Atlantic, and von Spee and Cradock lie beneath the same waters in the final concord of those who have made the supreme sacrifice. The results of Sturdee's victory were not slight. If von Spee had remained master of the Pacific, with the Falkland Islands as another Heligoland and as a submarine base, British trade would have been exterminated in those waters; General Botha and his fleet of transports, proceeding to the conquest of German South-West Africa, would have been attacked, and the British Squadron at the Cape of Good Hope in all probability would have shared the fate of Cradock's. Further, the Allies' great need in the first year of war, munitions, could not have been supplied for the nitrate of British munition factories was all drawn from Chili.

No other German squadron remained at large in any sea. The commerce raiders, the Emden, Karlsruhe, Prince Eitel Friedrich, Dresden and Königsberg, had yet a brief day to run. The Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse had been destroyed off the Cape Verde Islands in August and the Cap Trafalgar off the east coast of South America in September. Of the others, the Dresden, we know, fell an easy prey to the Glasgow and Kent in March 1915; the Karlsruhe was wrecked in the West Indies in the wild autumn gales of 1916; the Prince Eitel Friedrich after a brief course in the North Atlantic was interned in Newport News, Virginia; the Königsberg was knocked out by the monitors Severn and Mersey in the Rufgi River on the East African Coast.

**THE CRUISE OF THE EMDEN THE MOST INTERESTING OF ALL.**

The Emden's career though short was brilliant, and even chivalrous, for her commander, Captain von Müller, made war with reckless courage but with strict regard for fair play. Soon after the outbreak of war, Admiral von Spee detached the Emden from the German China Squadron with orders to

prey on the merchant shipping of the Indian Ocean. She had fitted up for a long cruise before leaving Tsing-Tau, and was able to supply deficiencies from some of her captures. At first the merchant ships were an easy prey, "We did not need to hurry at all; the ships seemed to come by themselves to us. When one came near enough, the Emden made it a friendly signal which tempted it on to join the other boats. And by the time this one was prepared for sinking, another mast top would appear." Such is the description given by Lieutenant Mücke in these early days. But the notoriety of the raider became so great that at the end of ten days every merchantman in those waters was beneath the waves or in port. At this juncture one of the crew who knew Madras well suggested the firing of the city's great oil tanks, and accordingly Müller steamed in one night with all lights out. When he was within two miles of shore, he fired a few shells into the great tanks. "The fire of the burning oil-tanks lighted us for ninety miles on our way" is his comment as they sailed away.

Another ten or twelve ships and a period for refitting and then the Emden's greatest achievement of all, the attack on Penang Harbor. The palate of the raiders had become epicurean; merchantmen were after all a tame diet, warships and these in numbers would refresh her jaded crew. The *New York Times* correspondent in Penang writes thus of her visit: "The German cruiser Emden called here yesterday (October 28) and departed, leaving death and destruction behind her. . . . This has been made more or less of a naval base by the English Government. Large stores of Admiralty coal have been collected and all vessels have been commanded to stop here for orders before crossing the Bay of Bengal. . . . It was early on Wednesday morning that the Emden, with a dummy fourth funnel and flying the British ensign, in some inexplicable fashion sneaked past the French torpedo boat Mosquet, which was on patrol duty outside, and entered the outer harbor of Penang. Across the channel leading

to the inner harbor lay the Russian cruiser *Temtchug*. Inside were the French torpedo boats, *Donde* and *Pistolet* and the torpedo boat destroyer *D'Iberville*."

### THE EMDEN RECKLESSLY VENTURES INTO PENANG HARBOR.

Two torpedoes disposed of the Russian cruiser, three broadsides the *Mosquet*. Every moment was of value to the *Emden's* captain now for the harbor was bristling with guns. Nevertheless, he stopped to pick up thirty-three survivors from the *Mosquet* before steaming on his way. On his way out he met the tramp *Glen* which instead of capturing he sent into Penang with the message "I tried not to hit the town. If I did so, I am very sorry indeed." This was on the 28th of October. Twelve days later the *Emden* landed a force commanded by Lieutenant *Mücke* on *Direction Island*, one of the *Keeling-Cocos* group, to destroy the wireless station which under the *Eastern Telegraph Company* relayed messages between Europe and Australia. The cable operator at the station writes, "At 6 o'clock on Monday morning a four-funneled cruiser arrived at full speed at the entrance to the lagoon. Our suspicions were aroused for she was flying no flag and her fourth funnel was obviously a dummy, made of painted canvas. Therefore we were not altogether surprised at the turn of events." The events proved to be the destroying of the wireless station by Lieutenant *Mücke* and forty sailors.

Just as the task was finished, a siren from the *Emden* blew a signal to the landing party to return to the ship. "They at once dashed for the boats but the *Emden* got under way at once and the boats were left behind. Looking to the eastward we could see the reason for this sudden departure, for a warship, which we afterward learned was the Australian cruiser *Sydney*, was coming up at full speed in pursuit. The *Emden* did not wait to discuss matters, but, firing her first shot at a range of about 3,700 yards, steamed north as hard as she could go." A despatch from Captain John C. T.

*Glossop* of the *Sydney* carries on the story. "At 6:30 A.M. a wireless message from *Cocos* (sent just before the Germans landed) was heard reporting that a foreign warship was off the entrance. I was ordered to raise steam for full speed at 7 A.M. and proceed thither. I worked up to 20 knots and at 9:15 A.M. sighted land ahead and almost immediately the smoke of a ship, which proved to be *H.I.G.M.S. Emden* coming out towards me at a great rate. At 9:40 A.M. fire was opened, she firing the first shot."

### THE THRILLING END OF THE LUCKY EMDEN.

The chase and fight lasted for two hours when the raider ran ashore on *North Keeling Island*. She was safe for the night and the *Sydney* left her to attend to an attendant captured British collier, and to investigate the cables and wireless at *Direction Island*. When at last the warship got into touch with the station she learned that the *Emden* landing party had seized a 70-ton schooner (the *Ayesha*) and left the previous night. There was nothing to do but rescue the survivors from the *Emden*. "Conditions in the *Emden* were indescribable" he adds.

The story of the *Ayesha* hardly belongs to a chapter on naval warfare, but *Mücke's* adventures must be briefly told. To mislead the British he steered in a westerly direction until dark as if he were heading for Africa, but at nightfall changing his course made for *Padang*, a Dutch settlement in *Sumatra*. There he claimed a warship's right of twenty-four hours' stay and refreshment, although he was not warmly received by the harbor master, a Belgian, who allowed the *Ayesha* only provisions and water, sails and tackle. When the little schooner again put to sea she was headed for one of those long predestined "sea-trysting" places whither the German commerce raiders repaired for reprovisioning and refitting. For three weeks she lay low and finally on December 14 the *Choising* a 1,700-ton China Coaster of the North German Lloyd hove into sight. The crew of the *Ayesha* lined up upon the decks of their little craft, acclaimed her coming, for



they were in great extremities and their clothes had literally fallen off them. With mixed emotion the transfer to the new ship was made, for the Ayesha that had rescued them from a tedious marooning on Direction Island must perforce be sunk.

## HOW THE CREW OF THE AYESHA ATTEMPTED TO REACH HOME.

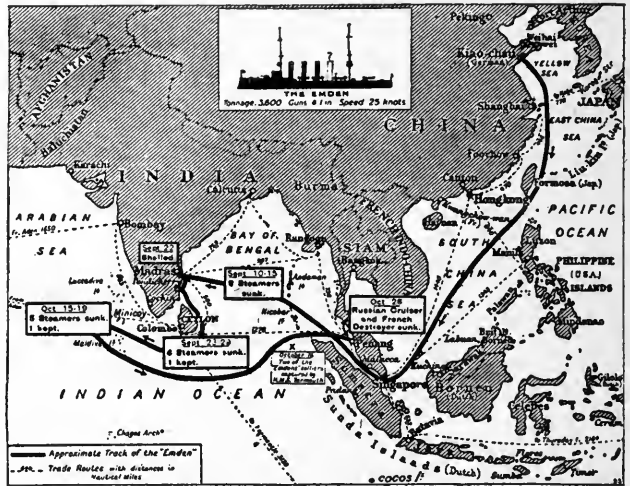
Mücke assumed temporary command of the Choising and steered west across the Indian Ocean though he was much exercised in his mind how to avoid falling into British hands.

In all this story of adventure one is struck by the readiness with which Mücke deals with emergencies as they arise, by the promptness of the decisions taken, and by the *flair* displayed for grasping the essential trifle which may turn the balance in a seemingly lost cause. In one of the Choising's few books the young officer found a statement that the Pilgrim's Railway, which he knew of as running only from Damascus to Medina, now extended to Hodeidah upon the Red Sea. He determined at once to run through the British blockade in the Straits of Perim, effect a quiet landing near the old city and so make good his escape north to Damascus and Turkish allies. Accordingly at night time after clearing the straits, he and his men put into shore and after being accosted by a group of inquisitive Arabs, reached Hodeidah itself, where they were warmly received by the Turkish garrison.

There was no truth in the statement that the Pilgrim railway had been extended below Medina, but the Turks believed that Mücke would have no difficulty in traversing the distance by caravan. He favored the interior route himself as offering fewer hazards than the coast where the British blockaders were everywhere, and also for the reason that it would be more healthful for his men of whom several were suffering

from fever. The record of the next two months is insufficient and unsatisfying. In his diary and in his lectures Mücke dismisses this period as being passed among the highlands of Sana "in lengthy inquiries and discussions that finally resulted in our foregoing the journey by land through Arabia for religious reasons." But the time had not been altogether lost for the sick men had recuperated amid the Yemen uplands.

In March the adventurers returned



## THE EMDEN'S CRUISE IN EASTERN WATERS

This map shows the route of the commerce raider Emden, dispatched to prey on Allied merchant-shipping in the Indian Ocean. She was finally captured by H.M.A.S. Sydney off the Keeling-Cocos Group, November 7.

to Hodeidah, faced with the only alternative of attempting to steal through the coast blockaders. The Turkish Government gave them two *Tsambocks* (native Arab craft of about twenty-five tons, fifteen metres long and four metres beam), and they set sail in the shallow coastal water full of sharks and coral reefs, steering north. By ceaseless watch for three days they had threaded the perilous channels, when the larger craft struck upon an island which the lighter one had safely scraped over. All the crew including Mücke and four convalescent typhoid patients were flung into the water. Darkness came on and the rescue was a tedious process accomplished only by two canoes and the guidance of the stars, as both wind and waves were high. Next day

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

through Arab divers they recovered most of their guns, but the salt water had spoiled their accuracy and later they frequently failed to go off when needed. For ten days the dangerous cruise kept on and then Mücke, learning that three English ships were searching for him, betook himself to land and caravanning once again.

jars and ten petroleum cans. There were about 300 of the Arabs as against 50 Germans armed with twenty-nine guns. For three days and three nights under the blazing sun or cold night air of the hyena-haunted desert, the unequal fight raged. Ever in the background lay the sinister thought of the shortening water supply. "We had



EMDEN'S CREW GETS OVATION IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The return of the crew of the Emden through Asia Minor was a triumphal progress. Finally, they reached Scutari on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, shipped on a destroyer across its swift current and, disembarking on the Constantinople shore, tramped in procession with Turkish cavalry and boy scouts down a flower-decked boulevard to where the German Admiral Souchon stood waiting to receive them.

### THE LONG AND DIFFICULT JOURNEY FINALLY ENDS.

The peril of Bedouins and scarcity of water now replaced the menace of British ships and coral reefs, and one night the looked-for attack came. Mücke's men were tired for they had been in the saddle eighteen hours but with all haste they built a sort of wagon barricade, a circular camp of camel saddles and rice and coffee sacks filled with sand. They had no shovels and had to dig with bayonets, plates and hands. Within the circle they dug trenches, made the camels lie down and in the centre of all placed the sick men and their precious water supply, two

only a little ammunition left, and very little water," says Mücke, "now it really looked as if we should soon be dispatched. The mood of the men was pretty dismal. Suddenly, at about 10 o'clock in the morning there hopped up in the north two riders on camels, waving white cloths. Soon afterwards there appeared, coming from the same direction, far back, a long row of camel troops, about a hundred, they drew rapidly near towards us in a picturesque train. They were the messengers and troops of the Emir of Mecca."

So under safe protection the little company reached Jeddah, and proceeded without mischance by sailing

boat to Elwesh, thence in a five-day caravan journey to El Ula where they found the railway at last. All the way through Asia Minor they made triumphal progress amid Oriental applause. Finally at the first station of the railroad on the European side, Mücke stepped up in military order to the German Admiral Souchon awaiting him and lowering his sword said simply, "Beg to report most obediently, Herr Admiral, landing corps of the Emden, 44 men, 4 officers, 1 surgeon."

## SHIPS AID IN OPERATIONS IN BELGIUM.

These are the stirring events in the outer seas of the autumn of 1914: to return to naval warfare in and around the waters of the North Sea. In order to make clear the action of a flotilla off the coast of Belgium between October 17 and November 9, we must first briefly recall the military position on the western front at this date. The German advance upon Paris had been stayed at the Marne, rolled back at the Aisne, Antwerp and Ostend had fallen, and the race for the sea was on. A great concentration of German arms had been made from every corner of the Empire for a fierce thrust. The extreme left of the Allied line was held by the retreating Belgians, reinforced by French and British divisions. The first blow fell along the sea-coast south of Ostend where the remnant of the Belgian forces led by King Albert lay behind the Yser at Nieuport. For days the Belgians maintained an unequal combat. At the critical moment a British fleet took station beyond the dunes and with heavy artillery beat down the German advance after terrible slaughter.

Rear-Admiral Hood was in charge of these British ships which included three monitors, built on order from Brazil for river work on the Amazon, but taken over by the British Admiralty. They were armed with 6-inch guns and could approach close to the shore. Aircraft signaled the positions of the German troops and artillery which, indeed, often in that flat country could be seen from the masthead. The ships moved in diagonal courses

to avoid the German guns, and at high speed because of submarines. They were supplied with nets against the electrically-driven boats of the enemy. At times they approached the shore so closely that the sailors even fired with rifles at the foe. Five French torpedo-boat destroyers also acted under Vice-Admiral Hood's command. At the end of the latter's report to the Admiralty, in which he describes the action, he says, "It gradually became apparent that the rush of the enemy along the coast had been checked, that the operations were developing into a trench warfare, and that the work of the flotilla had, for the moment, ceased. The arrival of Allied reinforcements and the inundation of the country surrounding Nieuport rendered the further presence of the ships unnecessary."

## THE GERMANS ATTACK UNDEFENDED SEASIDE RESORTS.

Early in November a hostile reconnaissance was carried out against Yarmouth. The authorities did not take warning and on December 16, the raid was repeated in force. In the interval spies had been active and efficient, for the enemy knew not only the British naval disposition and his way through mine-fields, but also the topography of the English coasts. The raiders drove away three small vessels and bombarded the Hartlepoons, Scarborough and Whitby and in all these places inflicted severe casualties upon the civilian population. All of these were seaside resorts, almost without defenses. Then the German ships rendezvoused somewhere in the North Sea and started home, escaping very narrowly in the fog.

The British Grand Fleet had, on receipt of wireless, at once sent out two battle cruiser squadrons and half a dozen battleships, and though these watched the gap between the ends of two mine-fields where it seemed the Germans would emerge, and the Second Battle Squadron actually twice sighted the enemy's ships, they yet failed to catch them, owing in the main to the fog. In his report Admiral Sir John Jellicoe writes: "The escape of the enemy's force was most disappointing

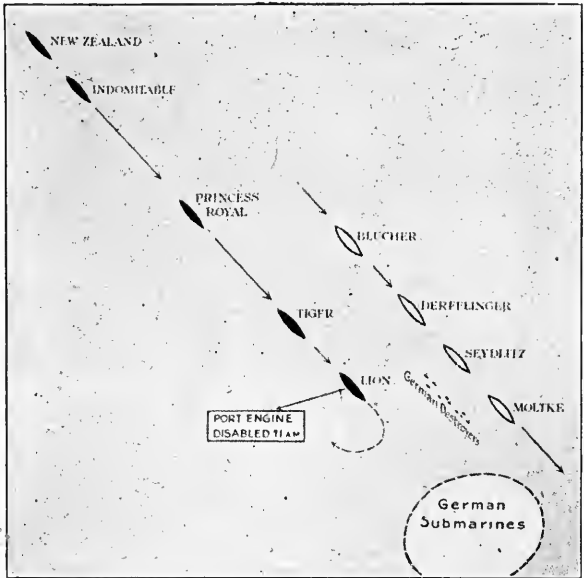
seeing that our own squadrons were in a very favorable position for intercepting the raiders. Low visibility was the main reason for their escape, but the absence from the Battle Squadrons (through the bad weather in the Pentland Firth) of its attached cruisers and of a sufficient force of destroyers was a contributory cause, as well as the fact of our light cruisers having, by mischance, lost touch with the enemy at 11:50." The same day the Admiralty pointed out that such raids "must not be allowed to modify the general naval policy which is being pursued." The purpose of the raid then failed: the hoped-for panic that would reduce English recruiting had exactly the opposite effect, while Sir John Jellicoe stoutly refused to move the base of the Grand Fleet nearer the English coast and thus undertake coast protection.

## THE GERMAN CRUISER SQUADRON SALLIES FROM WILHELMSHAVEN.

With the New Year came a fresh attempt. On January 24, Rear-Admiral Hipper left Wilhelmshaven with a strong force of three battle cruisers and the armored cruiser *Blücher*, six light cruisers and a number of destroyers. Whatever his purpose, whether it was to raid anew the English coast or decoy the British on to fresh mine-fields, we do not know, but before he went he enlarged the mine-fields north of Heligoland and there concentrated a submarine flotilla, Zeppelins and seaplanes, with orders to come out under certain contingencies.

Was it a coincidence that the previous evening the British Battle Cruiser Squadron under Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty had left for a sweep in the North Sea or had a hint of German designs reached the Admiralty? In any case, the British squadron completely outclassed the German in numbers, pace and weight of fire. Early on the morning of the 24th the Battle Cruiser Squadron reported enemy ves-

sels in sight. It was a clear day, and when two such reports came in the battle fleet increased to 19 knots speed and steered to support the cruisers. At 7:25 the flash of guns was observed as the *Aurora*, Captain Wilmot Nicholson, opened fire, off Dogger Bank. Admiral Hipper appears then to have altered his course to the southeast, with a wind blowing lightly from the northeast and extreme visibility prevailing.



## BATTLE OFF THE DOGGER BANK, JANUARY 1915

Parallel position of the British Fleet adopted to avoid dropping mines. Lack of speed proved the *Blücher's* undoing; she was torpedoed at noon. The crippling of the *Lion* saved the enemy, for Moore broke off pursuit during Beatty's absence.

## THE RUNNING FIGHT OFF THE DOGGER BANK.

In his report of the action, Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty says: "Owing to the prompt reports received we had attained our positions on the quarter of the enemy, and so altered our course to S.E. parallel (to avoid dropped mines) to them, and settled down to a long stern chase, gradually increasing our speed until we reached 28.5 knots." The *Lion* led, followed by the *Tiger* and the *Princess Royal*. Then came the *Indomitable* and the *New Zealand*,—these last two had only a speed of 25 knots an hour but in this emergency they worked it up to 30. By 9 o'clock

we had decreased the enemy's lead from 14 to 11 miles and at this range the Lion made her first hit on the Blücher, the fourth and slowest ship in the German line. The British ships began to draw level and by 9:45 A.M. the Blücher was already showing signs of having suffered severely, the leading ship and No. 3 were also on fire. The enemy's destroyers emitted vast columns of smoke to screen the battle-cruisers and under cover of this the latter altered their course to the northward, to increase their distance from the British line. Then the destroyers

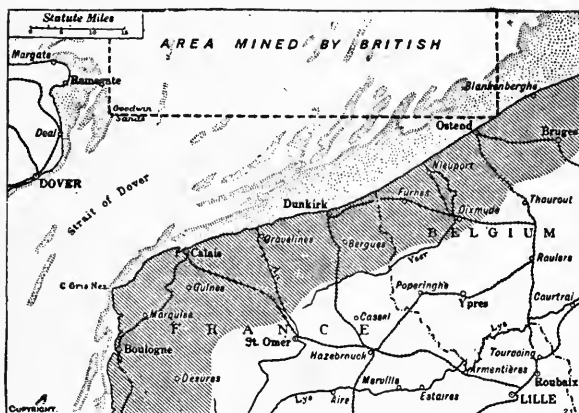
## A SURVIVOR OF THE BLÜCHER TELLS THE STORY.

From an account given by one of the Blücher's survivors we can only remotely picture the inferno which prevailed upon and below her decks. . . "the shells came thick and fast with a horrible droning hum. At once they did terrible execution. The electric plant was soon destroyed, and the ship plunged in darkness that could be felt. Down below decks there was horror and confusion, mingled with gasping shouts and moans as the shells plunged through the decks. . . They bored

the way even to the stokehold—the coal in the bunkers was set afire—in the engine room a shell licked up the oil and sprayed it around in flames of blue and green, scarring its victims and blazing where it fell. The men huddled together in dark compartments but the shells sought them out, and there death had a rich harvest." (Later a new battle cruiser was named Blücher and this fact has given rise to some confusion).

Submarines had been sighted, one indeed just under the port bow of the Lion, the British flagship. This time by a quick turn she escaped danger only to be struck by a shell about 9

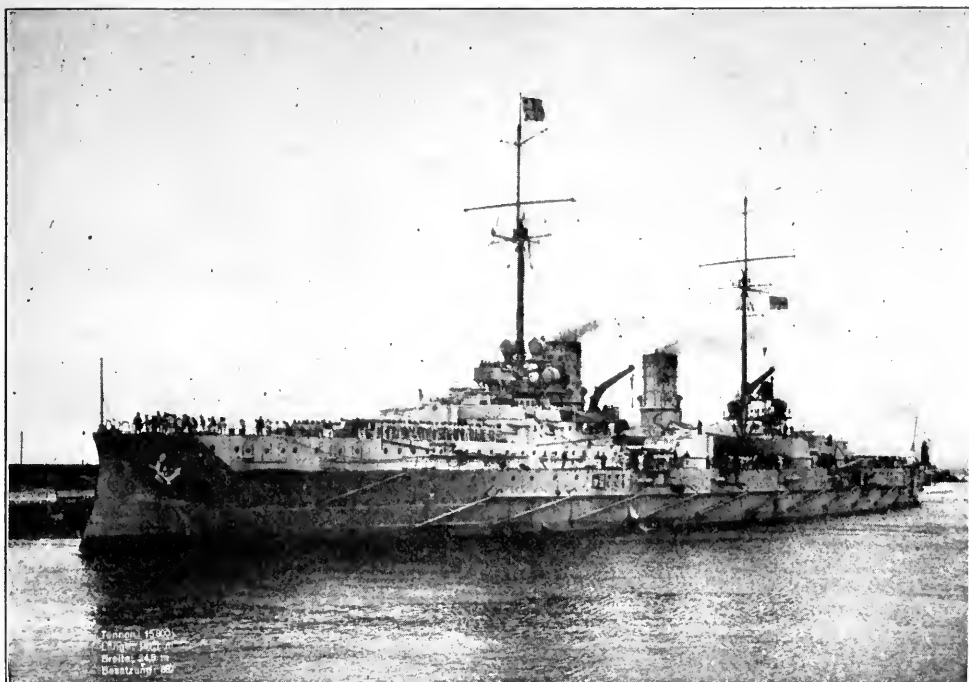
minutes later which caused her to drop out of line. Beatty shifted his flag to the Attack and proceeded at utmost speed to rejoin his squadron. When he met them at noon after an absence of half an hour they were retiring N.W.W. The task of pursuing the battle cruisers had passed to Beatty's next senior officer, Rear-Admiral A. G. H. W. Moore, who for some unaccountable reason broke off the fight 70 miles from Heligoland, and at least 40 miles from the new mine-field laid by Admiral Hipper. In his report upon the engagement Admiral Jellicoe merely says, "The hit which disabled the Lion was a bit of luck for the enemy." It seems to have been, for the British fleet was within an ace of destroying the whole German force of battle cruisers! That it escaped with slight losses, a casualty



WHERE THE MONITORS WERE USED

As shallow water prevented access to the Belgian coast by vessels of heavy draught, monitors were used, their fire directed by balloons. Ruling on the land indicates the zone within range of the biggest British guns outside the shallow area.

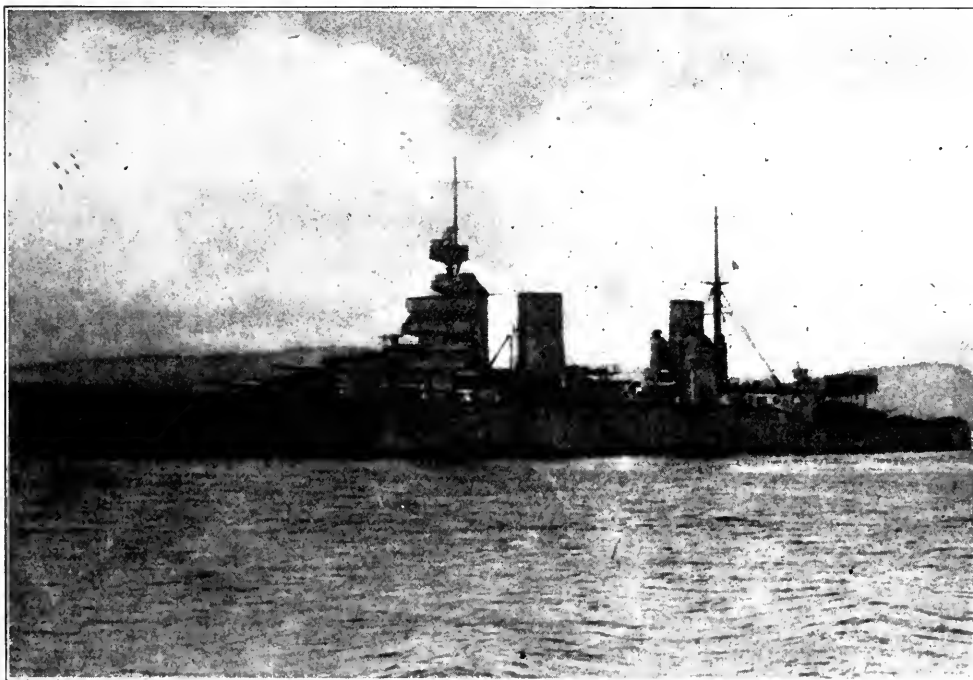
made as though they would attack but the Lion and Tiger, opening fire upon them caused them to resume their original course. By 11 o'clock the Blücher hauled off the line, steering north with a heavy list, afire, and in a defeated condition. The Vice-Admiral consequently ordered the Indomitable to attack the enemy breaking to northward. Shortly before noon the Meteor got a torpedo home in her and she began to sink. The men were ready to go down with the ship but at the shouts of the crew of the Arethusa, jumped into the water. The crew attempted to rescue as many as they could. Unfortunately, the work was interrupted by a German Zeppelin and a seaplane dropping bombs upon the rescue parties, apparently under the conviction that the Blücher was a British boat.



#### GERMAN ARMORED CRUISER BLÜCHER, SUNK IN THE NORTH SEA

The Blücher, a great fifteen-thousand-ton ship, was too slow and fell out of line to be torpedoed by the Arethusa. When it was seen that she was doomed, the bell that rang the men to church parade each Sunday was tolled, those who were able assembled on deck, helping as well as they could their wounded comrades. Permission was given to leave the ship.

Picture from Henry Ruschin



#### BRITISH BATTLE CRUISER LION

H. M. S. Lion, flagship of Vice-Admiral Beatty, belongs to the battle cruiser class. She has a displacement of 26,350 tons, a speed of 28.5 knots, and is armed with eight 13.5-inch, sixteen 4-inch, four 3 pounders and five machine-guns, and two torpedo tubes. During the North Sea action, January 24, 1915, the Lion was disabled by a hit from a torpedo and was towed into port by the Indomitable.



list of 29 and damage that was soon repaired in the flagship, seems poor comfort in face of this great disappointment. The enemy as a result of this action lost the Blücher, and the Derrflinger and Seydlitz were seriously damaged, thus causing a large number of casualties among the crew. From German prisoners later it was learned that this list was at least 400. Germany's design, whatever it may have been, had failed, however, and shortly afterwards Admiral von Ingenohl was replaced in office by Admiral von Pohl.

## A SUBMARINE BLOCKADE OF THE BRITISH ISLES IS DECLARED.

Towards the end of January, 1915, the German Government announced its intention of taking over all grain and it thus became difficult to distinguish between imports intended for the civilian population and those for the army. The British Government thereupon called all grain contraband. As a counter stroke, in an order dated February 10th and effective on the 18th, Germany announced a submarine blockade of the British Isles, and this campaign with the grave consequences to its instigator and the details of its progress will be found in another place in this volume.

Upon the outbreak of the war the agreement between France and Britain had been that Great Britain should charge herself with the entire range of the northern waters and also lend assistance in the southern. Consequently, the French Battle Fleet was at the outbreak of war in the Mediterranean, supported by the British Mediterranean Fleet. France at the same time was also giving assistance in the northern seas where she had a squadron of armored cruisers and a considerable number of small craft, destroyers and submarines. It will be remembered, too, that the transportation of the French African forces, 12,000 troops of the first line, had to be effected early in the war.

## THE STORY OF THE GOEBEN AND THE BRESLAU.

The German battle cruiser Goeben and the cruiser Breslau were in the Mediterranean early in August and on

the 6th it was announced that they had been driven into Messina by British cruisers after an exciting chase, and on August 8, came the report that they had left Messina, through the carelessness or the stupidity of the British commander. Later they reached the Dardanelles, in spite of a plucky attempt made by the light cruiser Gloucester to prevent their escape. This was a misfortune greater than it seemed, for the ships gave Enver Pasha, Minister of War, the additional weight needed to throw in Turkey's lot with Germany and declare a Jihad or Holy War. As a consequence, the senior British Admiral in the Mediterranean was recalled, and the second in command court-martialed. Turkey did not openly commit herself for three months, but German officers were introduced into her navy (in spite of protests against the breach of neutrality the crews of the Goeben and Breslau had been allowed to stay upon their ships), and mining of the seas and coastal fortifications proceeded apace. When the Ottoman Empire entered the war in November their presence upon the Black Sea and in the rear of the Balkans was a serious menace to Russia, who in January sought help from the Allies. As a consequence the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign followed. French and British warships co-ordinated in the attack upon the Narrows and an account of their operations will be found under the chapter entitled "The Gallipoli Expedition."

## ONE BY ONE THE GERMAN COLONIES FALL TO THE ENTENTE.

"Aided in the Pacific by Japan and by her own Australasian subjects, in Africa by the Boer and British colonists alike, supported by French and Belgian troops in Central Africa, drawing upon East Indian and black troops, Britain slowly but surely dealt with the German overseas colonies." Thanks to the Allied control of the seas all the colonies of Germany were entirely cut off from the Fatherland and soon helpless before their foe. In the Pacific, operations were at once undertaken because of the urgent need of destroying the wireless stations by which Germany

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

kept the units of von Spee's China squadron informed as to enemy movements. Accordingly an expedition left Wellington, New Zealand, August 15. In latitude 35.0 S. and longitude 178.30 E. the two troop-ships rendezvoused with three British cruisers, Psyche, Pyranus and Philomel. The object of their journey was to seize colonies, not to destroy ships, and so they carefully avoided the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau then at large among the Pacific Islands, and steamed north night after night in complete darkness save for shaded lights at bow and stern.

### THE GERMAN WIRELESS STATIONS ARE DESTROYED.

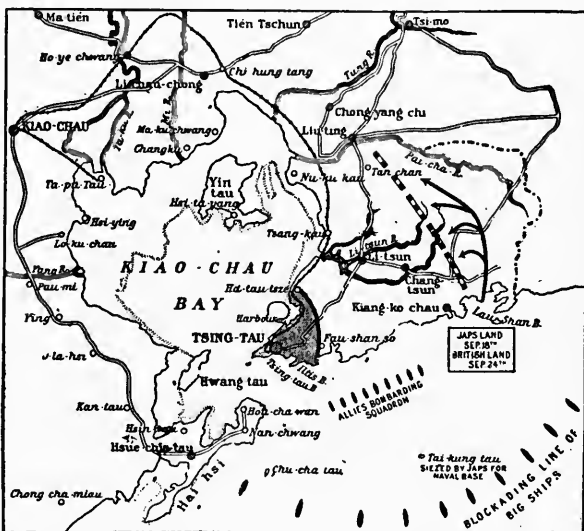
Off New Caledonia August 20 they were joined by the French cruiser Montcalm, and by the battle cruiser Australia and the light cruiser Melbourne of the Australian fleet. From the Fiji Islands the squadron passed on to German Samoa. Apia on beautiful Upolu, the home of Robert Louis Stevenson, was the headquarters of the German Government, and accordingly the contingent steamed in and demanded the surrender of the city. The Germans, who had been expecting their own fleet, were taken by surprise and had no alternative but surrender. Thereupon parties landed from the squadron, seized the government buildings and wireless station, and hauled down the German flag which had flown over the island for fourteen years. Next morning the British flag was hoisted in its place and out in the open sea the tricolor and ensign flew on the warships of France and England. The Germans submitted with good grace, and received courteous treatment; the governor of the island was sent to New Zealand for detention but was entertained as an honored guest.

Then the Australian squadron proceeded to destroy all the chief German wireless stations in the Pacific. On September 11 a party under Commander J. A. Beresford surprised the signal station at Herbertshöhe, New

Pomerania: a fortnight later Wilhelms-haven in German New Guinea was occupied without resistance. Two stations, one on Yap Island, the other on Pleasant Island of the Caroline group, were captured in October.

### THE JAPANESE PART IN THE EARLY OPERATIONS IN THE EAST.

Japan was anxious for the removal of the threat of German commercial rivalry in the East, and Germany's absence would see the last obstacle



### THE FORTRESS OF TSING-TAU

Tsing-Tau was assaulted by sea and land. After the adjacent waters were cleared of mine-fields, British and Japanese ships approached and shelled the city. Land forces advanced and October 31 began to bombard the fortress which surrendered, November 7.

removed to her ambitions in China. Kiau-Chau had been granted to Germany by China and its presence as a strongly fortified base menaced Japanese policy in China. Its restoration to China then was necessary in the eyes of Japanese statesmen and upon that ground Japan entered the war. August 23 she declared war against Germany after an ultimatum which had demanded the departure of German ships from Chinese waters. A contingent was landed early in September near Tsing-Tau, fifteen hundred British troops joined the Japanese, Allied warships covered the transportation of the troops and opened the bombardment of Tsing-Tau. Thenceforth the engagement is military in character rather than naval: the Japanese pushed

their trenches close up against the city and by November 7 the brave garrison of less than 4,000 surrendered to the heavy odds against them. Coincident with the fall of Kiau-Chau in the Far East, came the barring of the road to the sea, upon the western front before Nieuport and Dixmude. The Germans, truly, had much to reflect upon in their trenches that rainy autumn and winter of 1914.

Continuing their activities the Japanese navy next attacked and captured Bonham Island in the Marshall group where the Germans had a wireless station, and this was the last of their Pacific possessions. The threat of Japanese proximity finally drove von Spee early in December to leave the Pacific with the intention of interfering in the South African rebellion. Thence, as we know, Sturdee's bait lured him to the Falklands and his grave.

In Africa, the loss of German colonies belongs to a naval chapter only in so far as it is remembered that the Allied command of the seas left each possession helpless before attack. On Nyassa Lake in German East Africa there was naval fighting in August when the small armed steamer Gwendolen captured a German ship, but operations otherwise belong to military history.

### **THE RUSSIAN FLEET DISPUTES THE CONTROL OF THE BALTIC.**

The presence of the Russian fleet in the Baltic during the early years of the war furnishes yet another reason why Germany could not leave her bases and seek out the English fleet. No offensive was directed against Russia for the first months but careful reconnaissance was made of the Russian coast defenses, and early in the war, in this work the Germans lost a fine new cruiser, the Magdeburg, which had been laid down in 1911. About the first week in Sep-

tember a flotilla of German warships which were hunting down passenger steamers mistook their own for enemy ships and engaged in a lively battle. Some seven German destroyers and torpedo boats arrived at Kiel in a damaged condition and many wounded were conveyed ashore.

During this period the Germans were trying by torpedo attack to reduce the strength of the Russian navy and within eight weeks twenty submarine attacks were delivered although only one got home, on the Pallada, which sank with all on board. Meanwhile the Russians were gaining confidence, adding to their navy and adapting themselves to the modern devices of naval warfare. With the spring and break-up of the ice, the Russians still held their own in spite of the German superiority of numbers, and the command of the Baltic remained in dispute. In March the Russians, supported by their fleet, made a raid into East Prussia and captured Memel. The city was surrendered again to a German relieving force, and seven battleships accompanied by torpedo craft cruised along the Courland coast, fired on defenseless villages, March 31 heavily shelling Libau, an open town. May witnessed the great German offensive against Russia, both on her Carpathian and Baltic fronts, and on the latter the fleets of both countries assisted in the operations, the Germans capturing Libau and extending their activities as far north as Windau, until the time came for them to make an attack in force in the Gulf of Riga. During this phase the Russian naval Commander-in-Chief, Admiral von Essen, died of pneumonia in hospital at Reval. Vice-Admiral Kanin took office and successfully handled the Russian sea-forces during the next few months.

MURIEL BRAY.



Early British Encampment in France

## CHAPTER XIII

# The First Five Months of War

### A SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS DURING 1914

**T**HOUGH the War at the end of 1914 had almost attained the proportions of an All-European War, it had not yet become a World War. On the one side the German and the Austrian Empires, aided by Turkey, were arrayed against France, Russia, the British Empire, the remnant of Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro and Japan. Italy, though a member of the Triple Alliance, had declared her neutrality and was in 1915 to take her stand on the side of the Entente Allies, rather than with her former associates. Bulgaria was watching her opportunity to strike a blow at Serbia, though possibly Allied military success would have caused her to cast her lot with them.

#### **THE POWERS WHICH HAD SO FAR REMAINED NEUTRAL.**

Switzerland and the Netherlands on the flanks of the battle line mobilized their armies to defend their neutrality. Greece was bound to assist Serbia by treaty and the Prime Minister, Venizelos, and the people generally were apparently ready to recognize and fulfill their obligation, but were hindered by the pro-Germanism of King Constantine and some of the higher military officers. Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Spain had proclaimed the neutrality which they maintained more or less successfully to the end. Portugal and Rumania were to maintain their neutrality for over a year to come, when they declared for the Entente.

The United States was neutral, though both sides were struggling for sympathy and for material help. Though the language, institutions, laws and blood of the people of the United States had been derived chiefly from the British Isles, the number of inhabitants of German or Austrian birth or descent was very large. These together with some of Irish descent set themselves to gain the good-will of the United States for the Central Powers. In general the people were dazed by the magnitude of the War, the causes of which they understood only imperfectly, and could not comprehend that it was of any immediate concern to the United States. None of the other American states had as yet taken sides.

#### **THE CONFIDENCE OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF.**

The German General Staff had planned every detail of the War far in advance, and believed that their solution of the problem was as definite and as unassailable as a mathematical calculation. The armies of decadent France would be crushed with ease and Paris would be taken within a few weeks. The German forces would turn then upon Russia before the clumsy colossus could finish mobilization. The War was to be ended by German victory so quickly that the soldiers would spend their Christmas at home. Meanwhile Austria would overrun the

Balkans, and Turkey would be ready to take care of complications in the East.

Material preparations were made and the German machine functioned perfectly; but Germans have shown themselves constitutionally unable to understand the psychology of other peoples. Therefore a whole series of miscalculations marred the success of the beautiful plan. In the first place the General Staff did not expect the Belgians to resist the passage of the German armies through their territory, and had underestimated the strength of that resistance should they be so mad as to oppose the German battalions. The Belgians did refuse permission, did resist, and delayed the German advance several precious days.

#### A SERIES OF MISTAKES REGARDING GREAT BRITAIN.

Concerning Great Britain the German strategists were mistaken in nearly every point. They had the fixed idea that Great Britain was so pacifist in sentiment, so torn with dissension over Ireland, and so fearful of revolt in Egypt and India, that she would not declare war. In the improbable event that Great Britain should come to the aid of France and Belgium, the military masters of the German Empire were quite certain that she could render no assistance in time to be effective. The War was to be ended in such a short time that the superior strength of the British Navy would be unable to exert any considerable pressure upon the Central Powers. Again, the self-governing Dominions were expected to take the first opportunity to sever their connection with the Empire. Instead, as we know, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (so lately in arms against Great Britain) rallied with unexpected enthusiasm. Even India was aflame with loyalty, and Egypt was quiescent.

Five months of 1914 were to emphasize these errors of judgment. The German armies, though delayed in Belgium, had swept through Belgium and Northern France, only to be turned back at the Marne less than twenty miles from Paris, by the French

armies and the small British Expeditionary Force. They had been forced to retreat to the Aisne and beyond. Then came the substitute plan, the attempt to reach Calais and the other Channel ports, since Paris was, for the moment, out of their reach. This too failed, as the Allied line held on the Yser, at Ypres, at La Bassée and around Arras, though against fearful odds. At Ypres they could not have been less than five to one. A continuous line of trenches extended 600 miles from the sea to the Swiss frontier.

#### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY PROVES HERSELF A WEAK ALLY.

Nor were these the only disappointments. Three times Austria had attempted to invade Serbia, only to be thrown back with humiliating losses. Nor had the Austrian attempts to occupy a part of Russian Poland been much more successful. The Russian bear had moved with astonishing celerity, and but for German help, Galicia would have been lost, for the time at least. As it was, the Austrian armies were demoralized and required German aid to reorganize.

On the Eastern front generally there had been much more mobility than in the West. Armies had struggled in the open and not behind a continuous line of trenches. The Russian generals had shown themselves to be possessed of initiative, and their men had shown enthusiasm. The front line troops seemed fairly well equipped, and the defects and deficiencies, so fatal later, were not yet obvious. The sacred soil of East Prussia, the cradle of the Hohenzollern power, had been invaded, though the Russians did not spend Christmas in Berlin as they had hoped. At the so-called battle of Tannenberg they had lost heavily and had been thrown back within their own frontiers by an elderly German officer called from his retirement to take command. The Germans had found in Paul von Hindenburg a general who could win battles, but even he could not win Warsaw until the next year. He held a considerable part of Poland, but the Russians occupied very nearly the line they had first intended to defend.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### THE ALLIES HAVE THE ADVANTAGE ON THE WATER.

On the water the situation was wholly in favor of the Allies. A brush off Heligoland in August ended to the advantage of the British fleet. Von Spee's victory off the coast of Chile, on November 1, had been avenged on December 8, by Sturdee's destruction of the German squadron off the Falk-

vessels of war, British and Russian, but more unarmed merchantmen. A few submarines had been captured or sunk. Great Britain had not been effectually blockaded; the paths across the Channel over which men and supplies poured to France had been kept open; and a British submarine had braved the dangers of the Dardanelles, and had sunk the Turkish *Messudiyeh*.



POTSDAM PLACE, BERLIN, IN THE BUSINESS SECTION OF THE CITY

Potsdam Place is a part of the business centre of Berlin. Because of its position as the centre of the North German Railway System, Berlin was before the war the natural emporium for the agricultural products coming from Russia, Austria and East Prussia. Besides this nearly every article of domestic and industrial use are produced in the city's many busy factories. The iron and steel industry, cloth printing and dyeing were also important.

Picture from H. Ruschin

land Isles. A few German commerce raiders still held the sea—The *Karlsruhe*, the *Prince Eitel Friedrich* and the light cruiser, *Dresden*, but they were now the hunted rather than the hunters, and soon were trapped. The careers of the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, the *Cap Trafalgar*, the *Emden* and the *Königsberg* were ended. The German High Seas Fleet was safe behind guns and mine-fields, and did not dare risk a general engagement. An Allied fleet was blocking the Dardanelles.

The submarine campaign had had more success. It had destroyed some

Moreover the actions of the submarine commanders had begun to excite the resentment of neutral powers, a resentment for which Germany was to pay heavily in the future.

### THE LOSS OF THE GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRE.

Outside of Europe the War seemed to be going against the Central Powers. The German possessions in Africa were in straits. Togo had been taken, and the conquest of Cameroon was in process. The abortive rebellion in South Africa, which Germany had encouraged, had come to an inglorious end, and German South West Africa



was on the point of being taken. The German flag had been hauled down from every German island, and an Allied force and fleet, chiefly Japanese, had compelled the capitulation of Tsing-tau, that formidable fortress, which had been erected as a centre of German power and influence in China. The pro-German Khedive of Egypt had been deposed, and the Suez Canal was still open. The British held the Persian Gulf, and a force had advanced to Basra, the city of Sindbad the Sailor.

Nevertheless the Germans might point with pride to their territorial gains. All Belgium, except a narrow strip was in their hands and German officials dealt out a German conception of justice to the conquered people. The richest and most populous industrial districts of France were occupied by German soldiers and all the resources of the occupied lands were being exploited for the benefit of the Fatherland. A tiny corner of Alsace was in French hands, but it had no military significance. The small neutral countries nearby, fearful of German might, were supplying food and material for the factories. The old rules for contraband of war did not fit new conditions, and Great Britain was slow to change them. Many commodities vitally necessary continued to come through the semi-blockade. The German population had not yet felt the pinch of hunger or even serious deprivation of the common comforts.

## GERMAN GAINS ON THE EASTERN FRONT CONSIDERABLE.

On the Eastern front conditions were hardly less encouraging. Great stretches of Russian territory were occupied, and von Hindenburg, the organizer of victory, was preparing for the New Year, which, it was confidently expected, would put Russia definitely out of the War. Bulgaria was not yet in the War, but it was already known that she would come when the time was ripe. German intrigue had kept Greece from the side of the Entente, and the Kaiser had faith in the good-will and the power of King Constantine.

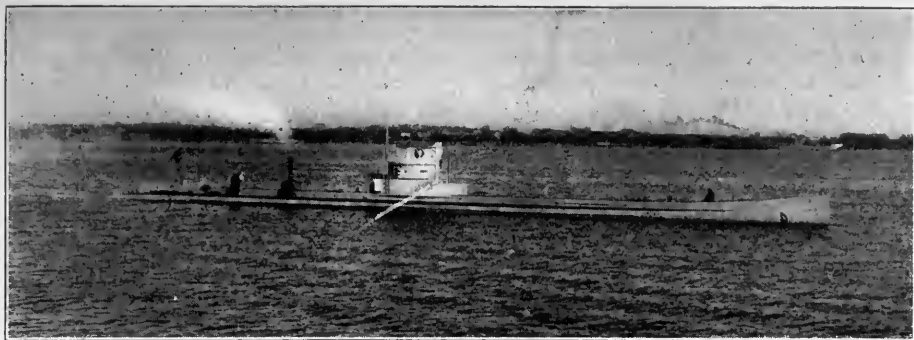
Though plans for the permanent occupation of Belgium and Russian

Poland were being made, here again the fatal capacity of the Germans for making mistakes was to prevent their success. Deliberately in both Poland and Belgium, and to a less extent in Northern France, a policy of "frightfulness" (*Schrecklichkeit*) was adopted to awe the inhabitants, and to warn others who might be disposed to resist the German power. Comparatively little authoritative information concerning the outrages in Poland reached the Western World, but the stories of what had happened in Belgium aroused a feeling against the Germans, which they were unable to overcome. Finding that their policy was failing to have the desired effect the worst of the outrages ceased, but the constant appeals of the Commission for Relief in Belgium kept Belgian wrongs in mind.

## BOTH SIDES LOOK WITH CONFIDENCE TO 1915.

In spite of the obvious German gains the Allies were confident of success which they hoped would come in 1915. They studied potential resources, particularly in man-power, and could see no answer except in early decision in their favor. They had not realized either the strength of the German military machine, or the demands and possibilities of modern war. This is particularly true of Great Britain and Russia. France, which had felt the iron heel twice within fifty years had a better conception of the task, but even France was not fully aroused.

Russia could put into the field millions of men, provided she could equip them, and for many reasons this equipment was not forthcoming. In Great Britain the signs, "Business as usual," had not yet been all removed. Volunteers had been enrolled by the hundred thousand, but the War Office seems to have had little conception of the quantity and kind of war material which would be required. The fact that this was to be a war of things as well as of men had not penetrated the consciousness even of the leaders of the nation. Great Britain was strong in heart, but was not yet fully awake to the situation. So far only the army, not the nation, was at war.



German Unterseeboot 8 at Anchor in Kiel Harbor

## CHAPTER XIV

# War Under the Water

## THE SUBMARINE BECOMES AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE WAR

WAR above the ground, beneath the ground, and below the surface of the sea have been the most striking phases of the great struggle. In the air, in the trenches and beneath the sea have been fought the most thrilling battles of the war. The aeroplane, the long-range gun and the submarine are indisputably the greatest of all the multitudinous weapons of hard-pressed ingenuity. Though the fighting has involved the destruction of much in art and nature that was an heritage of the ages, it has also witnessed the triumphant fruition of centuries of patient toiling in the vast fields of science.

### THE SUBMARINE NOT AN ENTIRELY NEW INVENTION.

The submarine is not a product of new principles but rather an application of those already learned. The strides in the generating and storing of electrical energy, the development of the Whitehead torpedo and the internal combustion engine with the advances in metallurgy, are results gleaned from at least 400 years of endeavor. As far back as the days of "Good Queen Bess" a certain William Bourne described how to make a boat "swimme when you would, and sinke when you list," and in 1620 a Dutchman, Van Drebbel built two small boats for use upon the Thames. These were weighted down with ballast so as to be nearly

awash and kept under water by means of oars. The secret of air-supply was carefully guarded by the ingenious inventor who encouraged a rumor that he could purify exhausted atmosphere.

### BUSHNELL'S INVENTION FAILS TO WORK.

The succeeding century and a half saw nothing of great practical value added to the submarine until the time of David Bushnell, an American inventor of the time of the Revolution. The British fleet was blockading the Atlantic ports, thereby causing considerable privation and suffering. Bushnell was at Yale when war broke out, and deeply interested in the problem of under-surface navigation. He now resolved to turn his experiments into a means of attack upon the enemy ships lying in his home waters. A charge of an explosive against the most vulnerable part of the ship, the hull, was, he deemed, the best offensive. Means of attaching this charge had therefore to be found, and Bushnell prepared a little one-man submersible which when fully ballasted showed only the surface of its conning-tower above the water. He could submerge his boat by admitting water into tanks and raise it by pumping the water out again. He steered by compass and propelled his ship slowly by a little screw-shaped oar. Air was admitted through a ventilator

on the surface and there was enough in the ship to last for 30 minutes below water. When the ship was ready, a magazine, fitted with a clockwork contrivance for firing after a safe interval of 30 minutes had elapsed, was towed alongside.

Bushnell's health was too delicate for him to navigate his own invention, and a brave volunteer, Sergeant Ezra Lee, one night attempted to blow up one of the English ships lying off Plateau Island. He was towed by a row-boat from the New York shore and set adrift with a strong tide running towards the English ships. It was too strong and carried him past and it cost him two hours' hard work to bring up alongside one of them, the *Eagle*, again. When he attempted to attach his magazine to the ship's hull, he failed as it was probably encased in copper. As he had four miles to go for safety's sake he was obliged to get away while darkness lasted. Near Governor's Island some English soldiers perceived the conning tower and gave chase, but Lee detached the magazine, which floated towards them, and they gave up the chase. Other attempts against the English ships with Bushnell's submarine all failed, in great measure because the operators were unskilful.

#### ROBERT FULTON'S SUBMARINE OFFERED TO FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

During the wars between France and England following the Revolution, the English fleet, in 1801, was blockading the French ports. An American, Robert Fulton, offered an invention to the French Government which he claimed would annihilate the English Navy. After some delay the matter was taken up by Napoleon, then first Consul, and a grant of 10,000 francs was made to enable Fulton to proceed with the construction of his boat. It was completed and launched under the name of the *Nautilus*, and given several trials both upon the Seine and in open water off Brest. As in Bushnell's invention, the offensive power consisted of an explosive magazine which was to be fastened to the hull of the enemy ship. The *Nautilus* was

provided with a mast and sail for surface work, and when submerged was propelled by a two-bladed propeller rotated by a handwheel.

#### FULTON IS NOT ENCOURAGED.

Popular opinion, however, was against this method of warfare, and in spite of successful experiments, the French Government finally rejected all Fulton's propositions. In disgust, he crossed the English Channel and laid his schemes before the English Government. Pitt was Prime Minister at the time and he was greatly attracted by the proposals. He could not act alone and the Commission appointed to consider the schemes even went so far as to offer Fulton money to desist from his inventions. In great indignation the American left the country, and within a few years astonished Europe by his development of steam propulsion for ships. Just before he died he was preparing another submarine, the *Mute*, which had steam motor power, and armored plates as protection against gun power.

In 1850 a Bavarian, Bauer by name, offered a submarine to the Prussian Government to raise the Danish blockade. During a trial off Kiel, the boat *Le Plongeur Marin* was lost, but Bauer and his companions were miraculously saved. The plan was not further developed but the mere rumor of the device had caused the enemy to recede to the waters of the offing. In 1887, *Le Plongeur* was raised and it is now in the Oceanographical Museum in Berlin.

In the Civil War the Union fleet blockaded the chief harbors and navigable rivers of the South, whose defenders were thereby forced to place their reliance upon the torpedo for breaking up the blockade. A number of little submarine boats were built and these received the biblical appellation of "Davids" as against the great "Goliaths" of the North. One of these Davids, the *Huxley*, was the first submarine up to the time of the Russo-Japanese War that succeeded in destroying a battleship. On Feb. 7, 1863, the *Huxley* sank the *Housatonic* as she

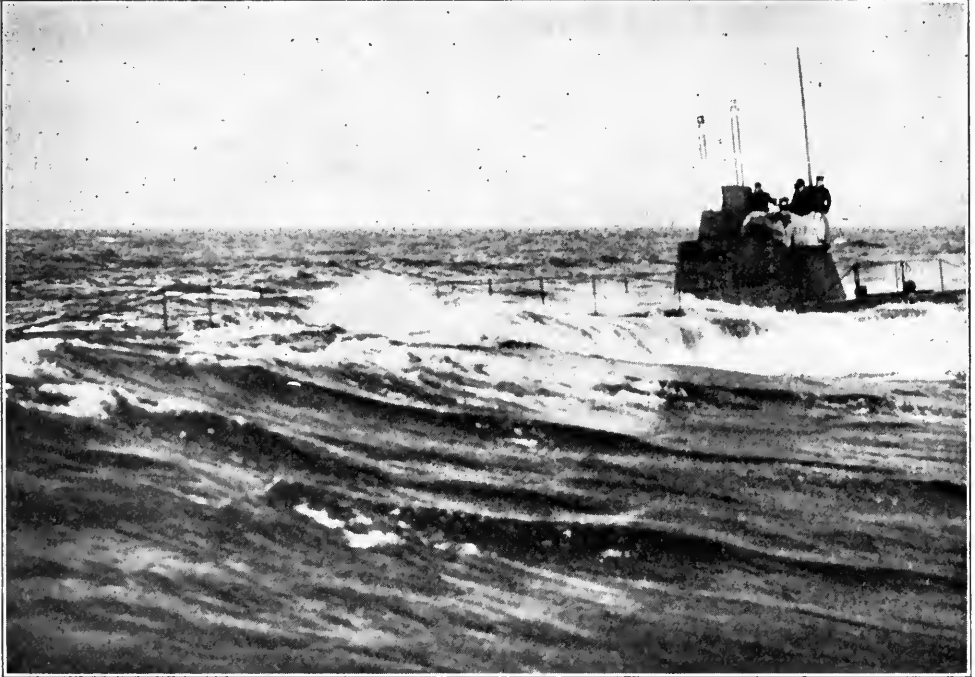
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

lay in shallow water. In the same year several larger boats propelled by engines were begun in Europe, and these at intervals were followed by others designed by Hovgaard, Goubet, Zede, Nordenfelt, Tuck and Holland.

### THE HOLLAND TYPE OF SUBMARINE APPEARS.

John Philip Holland, an Irish school-teacher, read in 1863 of the battle

and Holland, reserving only the engine, sank his old boat and began once more. His new venture (christened "The Fenian Ram" by a disappointed reporter) was built on the Hudson. When, in 1895, the U. S. Navy Department advertised for plans of a submarine to be built out of a \$300,000 appropriation for the purpose, Holland's plans were accepted. These



GERMAN SUBMARINE U5, AFTERWARDS CAPTURED BY THE BRITISH IN A STORM

This submarine belonged to a class laid down in 1906-07, measured 141 feet 8 inches in length and was armed with two torpedo tubes. When captured, British naval authorities decided that in view of the inhumane conduct of submarine warfare, its authors could not be accorded honorable treatment. Germany immediately declared reprisals, placing British officers in solitary confinement and the original decision was revoked.

between the Monitor and the Merrimac, and realized that the ironclad had come to stay. His interest in Irish independence led him to investigate means of breaking the English sea-power. In 1871 he came to Paterson, N. J., and obtained capital to build a small boat whose advent he thought would doom the ironclad. His small one-man boat (which was neither armed nor fitted with a tube) was tried out in the Passaic. It had two great defects; the diving rudders were amidships instead of aft and his motor would stick as soon as it was hot. It was cheaper to build anew than to readjust,

proved the practicability of gasoline engines, and later in 1900 the Government ordered seven more boats of the same type.

In spite of all precaution, however, gasoline would escape and cause explosions. The invention of the Diesel engine which burns heavy oils removed this danger and made the submarine safer. The name submarine is, however, misleading. Submersible is really more accurate. A cruiser submarine hardly averages three hours a day under water. The engines are not used under water, but the boat is driven by electric batteries, which are

charged by the engines while the boat is moving on the surface. Except when at rest on the bottom, the submarine can remain only a comparatively short time under water.

### ALL NATIONS BUILD SUBMARINES.

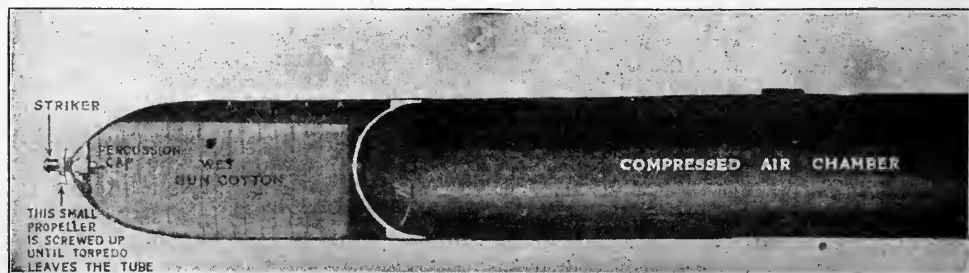
The French Navy began experimenting with submarine boats about 1885. The *Gymnote* was built in 1888, and in 1901, the construction of submarines was actively commenced.—Twenty boats were provided in the budget of that year, and by 1914 France had completed over 70. Great Britain began in the same year as France and used first of all the Holland type. By 1914 she had built in all 96 for her own use, and two for Australian defense, and had 70, as against 28 in commission for Germany. In 1914 Russia had 43, Italy 20, Germany 45 and Austria 15.

The submarine steadily increased in size during the war. In 1914 few were as much as 150 feet in length, and the inside diameter was about 12 feet. The limit of speed was around twelve knots on the surface and about nine submerged. Before the end of the war a length of 300 feet was reached and speed was increased about fifty per cent, and the cruising radius was likewise enormously increased. Good habitability for the men, space for a number of torpedoes, a battery which could sink an unarmed vessel, and as much surface speed as it was possible to obtain were also developed. In some cases (*Deutschland* and *Bremen*), the submarine was designed for underseas merchant service and reached a tonnage of over 2000, and was able to cross the Atlantic. Fleet submarines, from 1500-2000 tons displacement, built

in 1916, were expected to be able to accompany the battle fleet and in these instances something of the submarine's greatest handicap—vulnerability—was overcome for they could stand some punishment from guns of small craft, and themselves carried guns—in some cases up to 6 inches.

### THE TORPEDO WHICH MAKES THE SUBMARINE DREADED.

The torpedo, itself the principal weapon of the submarine, is like a small submarine. It is built in three parts with a head, an air-flask and an after-body. In war time the head carries an explosive charge of wet gun-cotton, with a priming charge of dry cotton in a hermetically sealed case which is inserted in the front end just before screwing in the "nose." At the nose end is a projecting pin, which, if driven forcibly inwards will explode the contents of the head. To prevent the pressure of the water from exploding the torpedo as it travels along, there is a releasing screw whose blades revolve and gradually unscrew till the firing pin is unlocked. If the torpedo then strikes an object the firing pin is driven in and explodes the charge. The body of the torpedo is the air-flask, charged with compressed air. In the after-body are contained an engine-room, a depth regulator, a steering engine, a gyroscopic wheel, propellers, and rudders. The rudders are actuated by the gyroscope, which serves to keep the torpedo on its course. The speed of the torpedo is about four times that of a submarine so that a modern type has a speed for a short range (up to 2500 yards) of fifty knots or sea miles, or about fifty-seven and a half land miles an hour. The Germans used a



This diagram of a torpedo shows its two forward parts, the head containing the charge and the air-flask.

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short range torpedo with an enormous bursting charge which was very effective and rarely failed to sink the enemy. The torpedo tubes are generally in the bow of the submarine, though some have tubes in the stern also. Each tube has a water-tight door at each end. Only the inner door is opened while the torpedo is placed in position, and then the inner door is closed, and the outer one opened, ready for firing.

### GERMANY'S HOPE OF NAVAL SUCCESS LAY IN THE SUBMARINE.

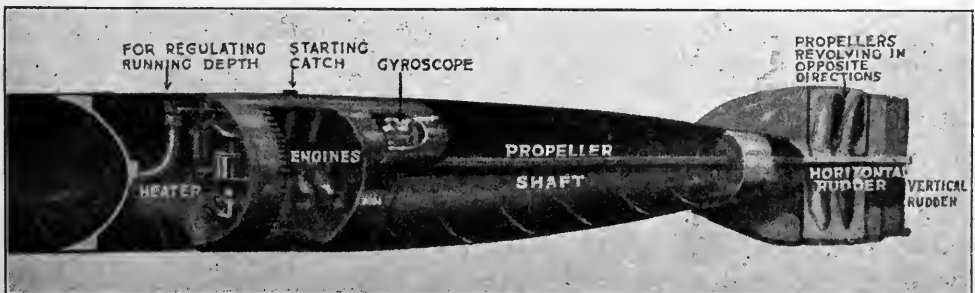
Thus the era of the submarine was tentatively begun. Early in 1914 Sir Percy Scott, a great British naval expert, expressed the opinion that the submarine and not the battleship in future would be the controlling factor on the high seas. His words aroused great interest, and considerable difference of opinion. When hostilities began it soon became apparent that Germany was greatly inferior in battleship strength and must retire her ships within her own harbors and bases accepting blockade, and must seek to reduce the preponderance of her enemy's strength by mining and by destroyers and submarines. The only protection of a blockading fleet against the submarine was to keep on the move, and even when in motion it would be exposed to anchored or floating mines. Though Great Britain had 70 submarine vessels against the 28 in commission for Germany on the outbreak of war, the difference was offset because the German submarines were able to pass into the high seas and carry on their operations in waters free from obstructions. Few German vessels were on the seas and the British sub-

marine found its way barred by mine fields and heavy steel netting which prevented entrance to German harbors and roadsteads.

In the first week of the war, the U.15, (*Unterseeboot*, i.e., Undersea boat, Number 15) attempted an attack on the Grand Fleet at sea and was promptly rammed on coming to the surface by H.M.S. Birmingham. H. M.S. Pathfinder was sunk by the U.21 in the Firth of Forth, but on September 15 the *Hela*, a light German cruiser, was sunk by the submarine E. 9, six miles south of Heligoland.

### THE FIRST CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS.

A week later the Germans scored a considerable success against three British cruisers on patrol duty in the North Sea, the *Aboukir*, *Cressy*, and *Hogue*, of 12,000 ton displacement, mounting 29 two-inch and 12 six-inch guns and protected by a belt of six-inch armor. They had been laid down in 1898-99, and as they had been placed in the second line, they were manned by reserve forces. The weather which from the outbreak of war up till the 10th of September had been calm, had broken and violent storms raged continuously up to the morning of the 22nd so that the accompanying screen of destroyers had been forced into port. On the morning of the 22nd the cruisers had just taken up their patrol stations three miles apart when, shortly before 6:30 A.M., the *Aboukir* was torpedoed. Both the *Cressy* and *Hogue* started in to her rescue and were within a quarter of a mile respectively of her starboard and port when the *Hogue* was struck with such violence that she leapt into



The after-body of the torpedo contains all its vital machinery. The rudders are actuated by the gyroscope.



the air. Three of her boats had already started to the assistance of the Aboukir but one of these, the launch, was besieged by so many survivors that her timbers parted and she sank. The Cressy came in close and fired on the submarine until she too was struck amidships by two torpedoes. Two Dutch boats and an English trawler arriving upon the scene, saved as many lives as they could, but the total loss in officers and men was about 1600. It took between twenty and forty minutes to send these three ships to the bottom and the attack was so boldly made that at times the enemy's conning tower was exposed at close range.

Thereafter, the attempted reduction of the British Grand Fleet proceeded but slowly. On October 15, the Hawke was sunk in the northern waters of the North Sea and out of her crew of 544 men only 70 were saved. Four days before an enemy submarine had attacked three Russian cruisers on patrol duty in the Baltic and succeeded on October 11 in sinking the Pallada. The last day of October witnessed the sinking of the Hermes in the Straits of Dover by a German submarine, and on November 11 the torpedo gun-boat Niger was torpedoed in the Downs, a spectacle seen from the shore by the inhabitants of Deal. As a counter blow to this, late in November the German submarine U. 18 was sunk off the north of Scotland and her crew interned in Edinburgh Castle, while on December 13 the British submarine B. 11 entered the Dardanelles, dived under five rows of mines and torpedoed the Turkish battleship Messudiyeh, returning safely after a nine-hour immersion. In January, 1915, the Formidable was sunk.

### **A SUBMARINE BLOCKADE DECLARED.**

Considering the length of the line patrolled by the British Fleet, aided by the French in the Mediterranean, from Archangel in the north to Alexandria in the south, a distance of 5,000 miles, losses from submarines were comparatively small. After six months of war, the German Government finding her warships swept off the high

seas, her merchant marine paralyzed, her mines and submarines failing to reduce the strength of the British fleet and her people threatened with hunger when Britain declared wheat contraband, was driven to the desperate expedient of declaring a submarine blockade of Britain. The announcement was made Feb. 10, 1915, and the blockade came into effect on the 18th of that same month.

This policy as it was inaugurated and carried out by the enemy was productive of very grave results, and ultimately supplied one of the principal causes of Germany's defeat. In the first place it was contrary to the accepted principles of international law in general as German submarine commanders sank ships irrespective of their nationality, destination or cargo. In the second place it first lost the hope of obtaining American aid in breaking the British blockade, and finally led to war with America. Thirdly, in its attack upon merchantmen, it neglected the main issue of submarine activities, the weakening by attrition of the British Fleet.

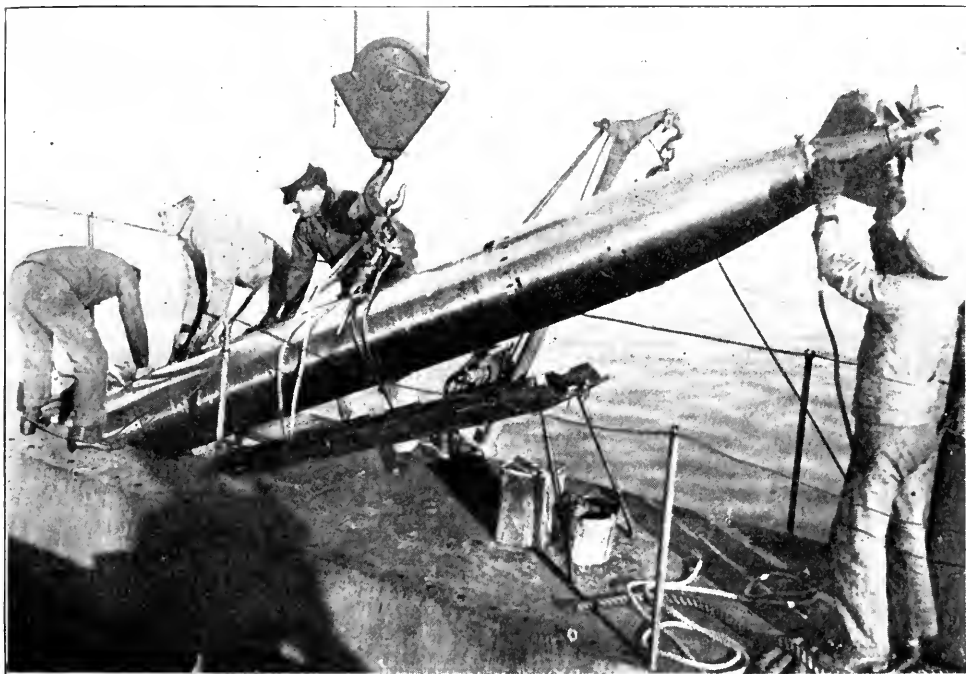
### **THE SUBMARINE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.**

No special principles of international law governing the use of submarines had been formulated, for, previous to the Great War, the use of such vessels had been negligible. The general rules for the treatment of enemy merchant ships provide that the safety of the crew and passengers must be assured when a ship is captured or destroyed. In the case of neutrals suspected of carrying contraband, the customary procedure when search had been made, was to take the ship into port where her cargo was thrown into the prize court, her crew of course suffering no penalty. Only as a last resort were prizes to be sunk. Obviously, the German submarines could not take merchantmen into their blockaded ports, and their only resort, therefore, was to sink their prizes. Thus at the start, submarine warfare upon enemy merchant ships was questionable; further, the attack upon neutral ships became illegal when search was not made for suspected



#### FRENCH SAILORS PREPARING TO PLACE A TORPEDO ABOARD A SUBMARINE

The torpedo is brought down to the dockside on a small trolley and then swung around and lowered into its place by a crane. The projecting pin at the nose end, which, driven forcibly inwards will explode the contents of the head, is covered by a safety cap until the discharge is determined upon.



#### MANEUVERING TO LOAD THE TORPEDO INTO ITS TUBE

The men are working in gloves in order to get some grip on the slippery metal sides of the torpedo, which, when it is a little lower, will slide down over the steel rest provided for it. Below, one of the crew guides it into its tube and then fastens the water-tight door, or else it is placed in reserve in the magazine. The torpedoes cost about \$8,000 each, and the number which a submarine can carry is limited because of lack of space.

contraband, but the ship was sunk at sight without due warning or a safety period allowed for the escape of the crew. A more detailed discussion of the legality of submarine warfare will be found in the chapter dealing with the causes of the entrance of the United States into the war.

At first the policy of the submarine blockade was tentative in character. That is to say, the merchant ships of the Allies were the sole victims and America and the other neutrals remained calm. Moreover, British sea-borne trade was not paralyzed and as American trade with her enemy increased, Berlin suspected a growing tolerance for whatever breaches of international law the Allied blockade of Germany entailed. Then Germany's will crystallized and a policy of unrestrained terrorism was decided upon. British sea-power left her with only one weapon, the submarine. She used it ruthlessly with the result we know.

### **A**ERICAN SHIPS ARE SUNK.

After seven weeks of the new phase of naval warfare only 37 British merchant vessels and six British fishing vessels had been destroyed, the gross tonnage of which in all was not more than 100,000. Several submarines were reported as destroyed either being rammed by merchant vessels and warships or by the gunfire of destroyers. Most notable of all, the submarine, U. 29 which had torpedoed the Hogue, Cressy, and Aboukir, in September, 1914, was sunk. At the end of March, however, the warfare developed in intensity and on March 28 the Falaba of 4,806 tons was torpedoed on five minutes' notice and sank in ten minutes with a loss of 100 lives, one of which was an American. The cases of the Cushing and the Gulfight, both American ships, followed. The former was damaged by an aeroplane and the latter was sunk by submarine with a loss of three lives in spite of the fact that President Wilson, in a note to the German Government after the blockade was announced, had warned Germany that the United States would hold her to "strict accountability."

On May 7 a top-note of horror was struck when the Cunard liner, Lusitania, was torpedoed without warning off the Old Head of Kinsale, Ireland, and sank in 18 minutes, with a loss of 1198 out of her total number of 1959. Over 100 of these were American citizens and the world waited breathless even in those days of cataclysmal horror America's exaction of Germany's "strict accountability." The day that the Lusitania left New York a warning signed by the German embassy was published in the chief newspapers of the United States. The text was as follows:

"Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles, that, in accordance with former notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk."

### **T**HE LUSITANIA GOES DOWN.

It appears from subsequent events that having warned the victim Germany felt herself licensed to commit murder. On the afternoon of May 7, when within the danger zone of the Old Head of Kinsale, Captain Turner of the Lusitania was on the port side of his vessel at 2:20 when the second officer cried, "Here's a torpedo!" The captain rushed to the other side of the ship and saw clearly the wake of a torpedo, and immediately after a slight shock was felt and then another, and smoke and steam came up between the last two funnels. It was fair and calm, and the vessel was making only about 18 knots an hour in order not to reach the Liverpool bar before high tide. Captain Turner ordered the boats to be lowered down to the rails and for the women and children to get into them. Next the bulkheads were closed and signal given for the engines to be reversed but it became evident that they



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

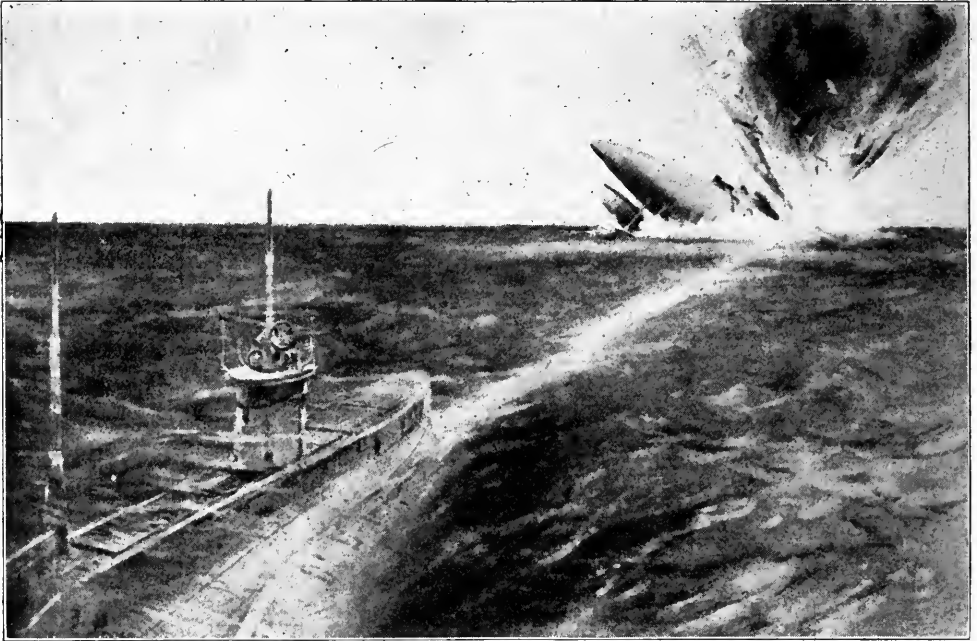
no matter what the cost to herself, abandon a policy of jeopardizing American lives and property.

### THE SUBMARINE IN THE NORTH SEA.

In the North Sea the submarine was a menace to the patrol service of the British Navy but, perhaps because its efforts were directed mainly to the attack upon commerce, loss from this cause was negligible, and only one ship,

national law Norway entered a protest.

In the Baltic a number of British submarines acting under command of the Russian Admiral did good work. Between July and the end of October they succeeded in sinking six battleships and six transports while a seventh transport was forced to run ashore. In the autumn the Allied submarines turned the tables on the enemy by



### WHEN GREEK MEETS GREEK

This picture shows a British submarine which overtook a U-boat, and fired a torpedo. A splash was observed and the enemy turned end-on, with its stern out of water and conning-tower half submerged. In another minute the sea was empty save for pieces of wreckage and patches of oil.

the Bayano, was sunk on patrol duty March 1. June 10 the British Navy lost its first torpedo boats sunk during the war by submarine attack. June 20 the cruiser Roxburgh was torpedoed off the Firth of Forth but sailed into port. June 30 the Lightning was torpedoed with the loss of 14 of her crew but the fighting was confined to small affairs between outpost vessels and the only clash through July in the North Sea was the sinking of a German destroyer by a British submarine. In August the auxiliary cruiser, India, was torpedoed in Norwegian waters at the entrance to the Western Fiord, and at this territorial breach of inter-

attacking German merchantships, at first during October driving them ashore at the rate of one or two a day. This hindered the export of minerals from Scandinavia into Germany

### DESTRUCTION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

In the Dardanelles the enemy submarines torpedoed the battleships Triumph and Majestic and forced the big Allied ships to retire to sheltered harbors protected against their attack. Then when France and Britain used a fleet of monitors less vulnerable to submarine attack, the alien underseas craft began an attack on the long Allied line of communication through the

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Mediterranean and for a while achieved considerable success, sinking or damaging several transports (the Royal Edward, Southland, Ramagam, Marquette, Woodfield and Mercian), some merchantmen, and two liners, the Ancona of the Italian line with a loss of 300 lives in November, and the Persia of the P. & O. line with 200 lives in December, in both cases firing torpedoes without warning.

As a counter-success French and British submarines penetrated into the Sea of Marmora and up to the end of October had sunk two battleships, five gunboats, one torpedo boat, eight transports and 97 supply ships, thereby considerably affecting the supply of Turkish forces in the Peninsula. The work was highly perilous and four French and three British submarines were sunk or captured during the year.

### WARFARE IN THE ADRIATIC.

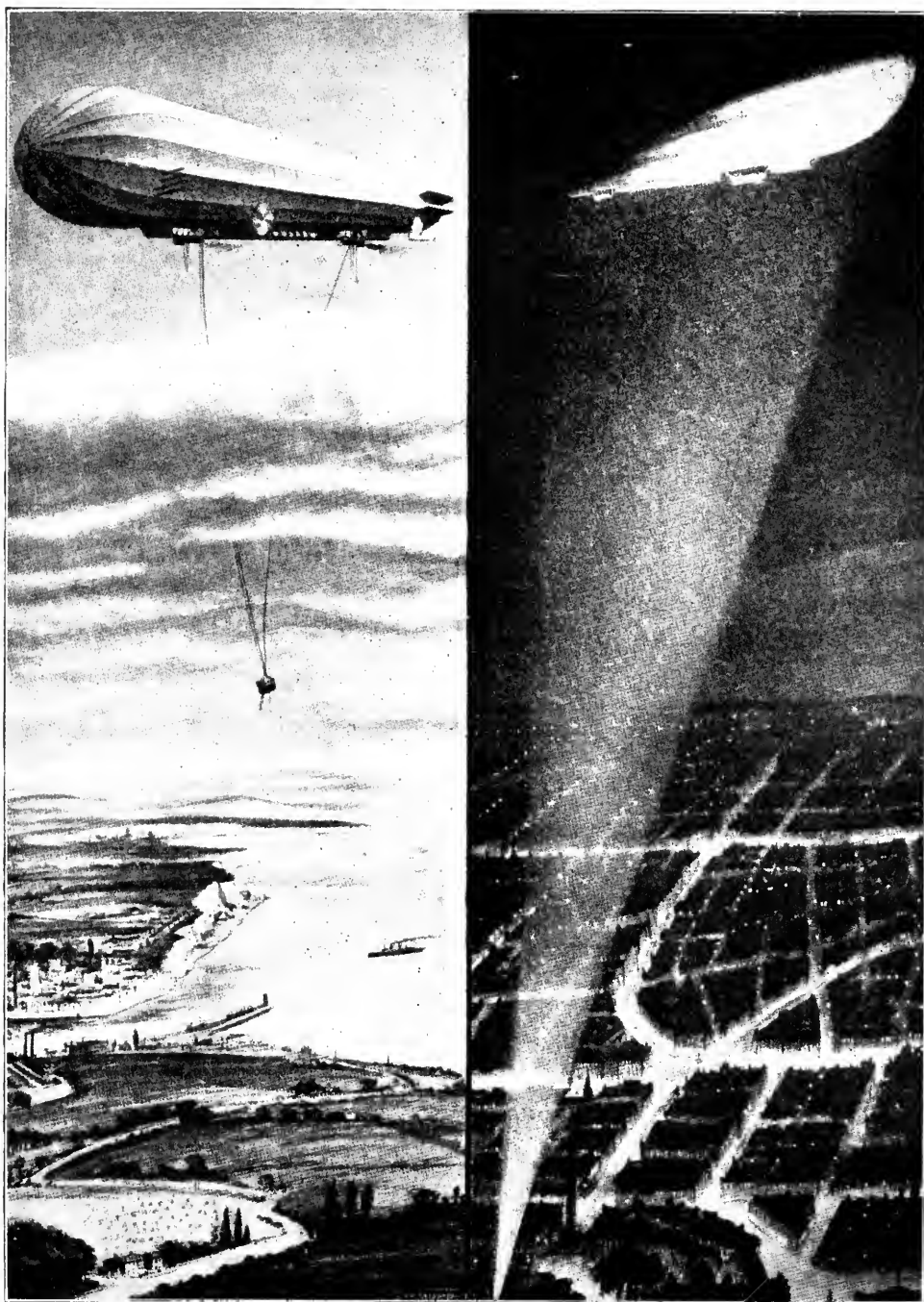
In the Adriatic, the French, British, and Italian submarines, operating against the Austrian and German boats met with fairly even fortunes. Eluding the vigilant guard kept at the Straits of Gibraltar, the enemy submarines received reinforcements overland as they came shipped in three divisions on the Austro-German railways. One wonders if the inanimate torpedo felt a spark of dormant energy working within him as he lay in the shipping yards of Fiume where his forebears had under the genius of Lupuis and Whitehead first seen the light of day! Serious loss of life from enemy submarine activity occurred in

April when the Italian cruiser Leon Gambetta was sunk with a loss of 600 lives.

Two amazing duels between submarines occurred, in the first instance both the Italian and Austrian adversaries engaged went to the bottom, in the latter instance only the Austrian duelist, the U. 12 was sunk. At the end of the year, the narrow seas were much used as a transport lane, first for the Serbian refugees coming into Italy, and secondly for the Italian expeditionary forces crossing into Albania. Austria used her opportunity with the greatest assiduity: again and again her submarines attacked, but such was the alertness and vigilance of the watch displayed that the Allies suffered the loss of only three small ships though nineteen such raids were made.

All this time the attacks upon merchantmen continued and although they had considerable success, the results gained were in no way commensurate to the means employed. Commanders of the merchant ships showed extraordinary bravery and great ingenuity before the devices of the pirates of the deep. Nor were protective measures left to the inventiveness of private seamen; experts were busied under the French, British, and Italian Governments in devising means to counteract the unusual possibilities of the submarine, and these devices whose object was to sink more submarines than the enemy could build were used increasingly as the months went by and finally in a later year accomplished their end.





#### THE AIRSHIP BY DAY AND BY NIGHT

The drawing on the left illustrates a set of ideal conditions for an attack by airship. A layer of heavy cloud is hanging rather low, and makes the land below experience a "dull" day. Meanwhile the airship floating in the sunlight above the cloud, progresses with ease, its large bulk hidden from the earth. From the cage suspended through the cloud, and visible only with difficulty against the dark background, the navigators in the gondolas above can be instructed as to route, and bombs can be dropped upon selected spots. The drawing on the right illustrates how hard it is to detect an airship on a moonless night. It is only by the employment of powerful searchlights that it can be seen at all, and even then those parts not in the direct rays of the searchlight beams are invisible, and therefore can escape all anti-aircraft guns.



Fighting Plane Armed With a Machine Gun

## CHAPTER XV

# The Beginning of War in the Air

## THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF BALLOONS AND OF HEAVIER THAN AIR MACHINES

IT has become a commonplace to remark on the number and variety of scientific inventions during the Great War. For four years the mind of the whole world was focused on some one or other of the war's many phases, seeking instruments of destruction and agencies of healing, intensifying production and feeding the scrap heap with its fruits. Even in an age of conflicting claims no one will deny that the progress attained in mastery of the air transcends that in any other line of warfare. The state of the application of steam power at the end of the first decade of its discovery, perhaps represents the stage to which the science of flight had arrived upon the outbreak of war. After that, not a month passed without discovery and advance: statistics were out-of-date as soon as published, and today the machines and equipment of 1914 are as obsolete as the flintlock gun. As each step was taken an important discovery was registered in one of the many branches of science that form the complex subject of aeronautics.

### WHAT AVIATION HAS CHANGED IN MODERN WARFARE.

The chronicles of aviation throughout the war are less terrible than those of any other "arm" for the reason that its greatest achievement—the mastery of another element—is its crowning

glory rather than the accompanying destruction of human life and property. A triumph as great as the application of steam and the harnessing of electricity has emerged out of war's hideous chaos. Furthermore, though of so recent use in war it may be said that aviation has largely determined the nature of the recent struggle. One reason for the long drawn-out character of modern warfare lies in the employment of aircraft. By its use the element of surprise has been almost eliminated, and armies brought almost to a position of immobility under deadly artillery fire directed from the clouds.

### WHAT AVIATION AND AEROSTATION MEAN.

As the study of the science of flight was pursued, two-fold development appeared, aviation and aerostation. The history of the former is concerned with attempts to fly machines heavier than air, and also with attempts of human beings to fly by aid of artificial wings. The great principle upon which artificial flying rests is the extraction from the air of vigorous upward recoil. In the case of birds this recoil is extracted from the air by the vigorous action of their wings. In the aeroplane, wings and action are featured by planes driven through the air by a propeller. Like the wings of a bird the wings of an aeroplane are slightly inclined to

the path of the air, and thereby pressure or recoil is developed on the under side which is much greater than the driving force necessary to produce it and the aeroplane ascends.

### THOSE MACHINES WHICH ARE LIGHTER THAN AIR.

The science of aerostation deals properly with machines which like balloons are lighter than air, and therefore float in that medium. From the flying dove of Archytas of Tarentum (400 B.C.) that was set in motion "by hidden and enclosed air" down to the super-dreadnoughts of Count von Zeppelin, the subject has attracted imaginative minds, which, however, were limited by the narrow scope of scientific knowledge of their time. The modifications and improvements of the "hidden and enclosed air" and the application of steering gear are comparatively modern developments.

Among the ancients Archytas' dove, that legends report to have flown, probably represents the highest effort towards mastery of flight. In the Middle Ages Roger Bacon propounded a theory that copper vessels of exceeding thinness filled with a liquid fire would float in the atmosphere like a ship; and other inventors between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries all based their methods on equally fantastic conditions. This was not surprising when one remembers the superstitions of the age, the magnitude of the task attempted, and the limitations of scientific knowledge.

### HOT AIR AND THEN HYDROGEN GAS RAISE BALLOONS.

In 1766 Henry Cavendish, an English chemist and physicist, discovered the remarkable lightness of hydrogen gas—or as it was called, inflammable air—and sixteen years later in France two brothers, Etienne and Joseph Montgolfier made a hot air balloon which rose into the air. As the air cooled the craft descended and the problem of keeping the air hot was met by procuring a small dish, which they filled with glowing charcoal and tied to the neck of the balloon. News of the Annonay experiment roused great interest throughout the country and in

Paris a subscription was set on foot to cover the cost of repeating it. The new balloon was constructed by two brothers named Robert under the supervision of a young and inexperienced physicist Charles, who decided to inflate the envelope with hydrogen made by the action of sulphuric acid on iron. Four days were needed to obtain sufficient gas to fill a silk globe 13 feet in diameter.

Paris waited on the daily bulletin with the greatest excitement and the crowds were so great that on the third day (August 26, 1783), the balloon was moved secretly to the Champ de Mars. The following day at 5 o'clock the ascent was made, the balloon rose to a height of 3000 feet and remained in the air for about three-quarters of an hour. When it fell in a field near Gonesse some 15 miles away it so frightened the peasantry that it was torn into fragments by them. About a month later the experiment was repeated at Versailles before the King and Queen and court. The farmyard supplied the first aeronauts, a sheep, a duck and a cock who occupied the wicker cage swinging beneath the envelope. Half a mile's voyage produced no ill-effects upon the passengers.

### THE FIRST MAN MAKES A BALLOON ASCENSION.

On the 15th of October that same year the first human being ascended in a balloon. Jean François Pilatre de Rozier made several trial trips in a captive balloon to test the practicability of taking up fuel and feeding the fire which was in a brazier suspended under the balloon. All went well and November 21, de Rozier, accompanied by the Marquis d'Arlandes, made the first aerial voyage in a free fire balloon. They remained in the air about 25 minutes, rose to a height of 500 feet, and sailed across the Seine and over a considerable part of Paris. The first step had been taken and for a while progress was rapid. Ten days after the de Rozier success, Charles and one of the Roberts made an ascent in a balloon inflated with hydrogen and supplied with a valve, a barometer and sand ballast.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### FREQUENT USE OF BALLOONS IN WAR-FARE.

In 1794 such strides had been made that the French used an observation balloon in the battle of Fleurus against the Austrians. When Napoleon sailed for Egypt, he ordered a balloon to be carried with him, but its shadow never fell across the face of the pyramids for the ship that carried it was captured

noitering the German positions around the beleaguered city, and Gambetta escaped in one. In South Africa the British Army remapped the Orange Free State and the Transvaal from topographical photographs taken from captive balloons.

In the Great War the balloon *per se* was by no means superseded, as it formed a valuable adjunct to the fight-



INFLATING A BALLOON FROM CYLINDERS OF HYDROGEN GAS

This balloon has a "girdle" to which are attached the sacks of ballast which keep it on the ground. Once filled it can make a number of ascensions before it leaks so much that it must be refilled. During intervals it is kept in a sheltered spot, preferably under trees, where it will rest secure from the wind and from the reconnaissance of enemy observers.

by an English frigate on its way through the Mediterranean. In Moscow, in 1812, the Russians in desperate straits planned a giant craft which, carrying some 50 passengers, would shower bombs into the ranks of the assaulting French. Some fault in construction, however, reduced the Russians instead to the desperate expedient of destroying Holy Moscow by fire. In the battle of Solferino in 1859 the captive balloon was successfully used for observation purposes, and again during the Civil War in the United States. During the siege of Paris, 1870-71, balloons played an important part in recon-

ing machine in performing observations. During the British naval attacks upon the German forces in Flanders, owing to the undulating nature of the country, the "spotters" upon the monitors and battleships were unable to obtain a sweeping view of the country. Captive balloons were therefore sent aloft, sometimes from the deck of monitors, at others from the beach, and these easily picked up the German dispositions which they reported by telephone or by signals. In the Battle of the Somme we have another testimony to their effective use from the diary of a German lieutenant who

writes "August 25. We stand here under the most severe artillery fire ever seen by the world, directed so accurately by 29 captive balloons and about thirty aviators, that they bring under fire every shelter and every junction of a trench." And again from the same: "August 31. There are thirty-four English captive balloons and one German to be seen. That is a fine state of affairs!" It is not easy to put a balloon out of action by artillery as the bag must either be riddled or the gas set on fire. Shrapnel, high explosive or incendiary shells must, accordingly, be used, and the difficulties of picking up the range and timing the fuse for the critical moment are complex.

When war broke out the average British balloon was the lightest used by any of the belligerent powers, lifting only 290 or 300 pounds or the weight of two observers. The French and German balloons were able to lift four times the weight (except the French auxiliaries designed to lift one observer only), and possessed a greater maximum altitude. The familiar spherical balloon was used at first in the French and British armies, but the Germans thought it satisfactory only in calm weather and accordingly evolved the so-called Parseval-Siegsfeld captive balloon. This in form is a bulky cylinder having at one end a surrounding outer bag whose lower part is open to the wind. When the wind blows against it, it charges the balloonet with air, and causes it to act as a steady force in rough weather. When war broke out Germany is said to have had about 100 balloons of this type. After a few months, the Allies applied the principles of stream-line shape to the captive balloon, and thus the kite balloon of Caquot type, the well-known "sausage" made its appearance to be the target for enemy aerial operations and the chief dependence of its own artillery.

### **THE DIRIGIBLE BALLOON WHICH CAN GO AGAINST THE WIND**

All balloons at first were at the mercy of the wind unless they were attached to a windlass on the ground or a truck by a cable. The next step was

the dirigible balloon, that is one which could be guided, and could be driven even against the wind. In 1852 a Frenchman, Henry Gifford, first made an ascent in a balloon that was driven by a three horse-power steam-engine and an eleven-foot propeller, and which made six miles an hour. To steam succeeded gas and electrically driven motors and in 1884 Renard, a countryman of Gifford's, flew an airship modeled with a true stream line, and fitted with an electric motor developing 9 horse-power. On one occasion this balloon flew around Paris at an average speed of 14½ miles an hour.

The last decade of the twentieth century is filled with the interesting experiments of two great aeronauts, Santos-Dumont, a Brazilian gentleman, residing in Paris, and Count Zeppelin, the German inventor. Santos-Dumont began his experiments in 1898 and in several years produced a number of interesting types. In 1901 his sausage-shaped balloon with a pointed end won a prize of \$20,000 for circling the Eiffel Tower and returning to the starting point in half an hour. His No. 5 was fitted with a four-cylinder air-cooled motor driving a large propeller which gave a thrust of 120 pounds at 140 revolutions per minute. This was a great advance at the time but it is significant of the amazing progress of aeronautics to contrast this number with the 1400 revolutions demanded in a modern machine!

### **COUNT ZEPPELIN'S RIGID MACHINES PROVE SUCCESSFUL**

The first rigid dirigible with aluminum framework was built by an Austrian named Schwartz in 1897. In 1898 Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin, who had become interested in balloons while in the United States during the Civil War, first began his experiments. He divided the framework of his rigid airship into seventeen compartments of which fifteen were filled with gas so that if some of these burst, the others would keep the balloon up. Two cars for engines, crew and passengers were suspended from the metal shell and in 1900 a successful ascent was made.



#### THE EYES OF THE ARTILLERY

This shows a French captive balloon doing observation work. This model has balloonets which increase stability. From his basket the aerostat surveys the enemy's lines, and furnished with a powerful telescope, can note the sites of hostile batteries, movements in the rear and the massing of troops preparatory to attack.



#### HOW THE BALLOON IS ANCHORED TO THE GROUND

After the balloon itself the most important part is the truck on which is the mechanism for winding the cable. Such trucks were generally camouflaged lest enemy observers should train their batteries on to them and set the balloon loose among the clouds. Mounted on the truck is a vertical boiler, a steam motor and a drum which carries a cable of 1000 metres passing between pulleys which control the cable.



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Despite obstacles and disappointments other and better airships were made until in 1910 a voyage of over 300 miles was made in a little more than nine hours. Engines and balloonets were added, the length of the dirigible, the volume of hydrogen gas used for inflation, and the horse-power were all increased, but nothing more in the way of radical changes was effected to the end of the Great War.

Count von Zeppelin's work began in his country that most remarkable military airship organization which within a single decade enabled Germany to

men and the engines, six enormously powerful Maybach-Mercedes gasoline engines of 240 horse-power each, propelled the vessel, which weighed a total of 50 tons all complete, at a rate of 60 miles in still air. The gasoline tanks had a capacity of 2000 gallons. In the forward gondola, were placed the engine room, wireless operator's cabin and navigating platform whereon all steering apparatus was concentrated as well as control of the electrical gear for releasing bombs. Nine machine guns were carried—two of these of 0.5 inch bore on the top of the vessel

and six of smaller calibre in the gondolas, and the ninth in the tail. The airship had a flying radius of 800 miles and could climb to 12,000 feet.

### THE GERMAN STRENGTH IN DIRIGIBLES IN 1914.

In August 1914, of Zeppelins, Parsevals and other types of dirigibles Germany possessed twenty-four with an average speed of 48 miles per hour. By the end of the year she had added three super-Zeppelins, and an extra squadron by March 1915. Of the semi-rigid and non-

rigid types her best examples were the Gross and Parseval craft. The Gross figured in the "M" class and the M-IV completed in 1913 was the largest of the type, as it measured 320 feet in length, had a maximum diameter of 44½ feet, displaced thirteen tons and was fitted with motors developing 450 horse-power and a speed of 47 miles per hour. The Parseval ranked, perhaps, as the finest type of airship flying the German flag. It is a direct outcome of the Drachen balloon perfected by Parseval and Siegfried, and though strictly speaking non-rigid, the strength of the suspension system—a long reinforced girder which supported the gondola—gave it a character of great solidity. No greater



OBSERVER IN HIS BASKET

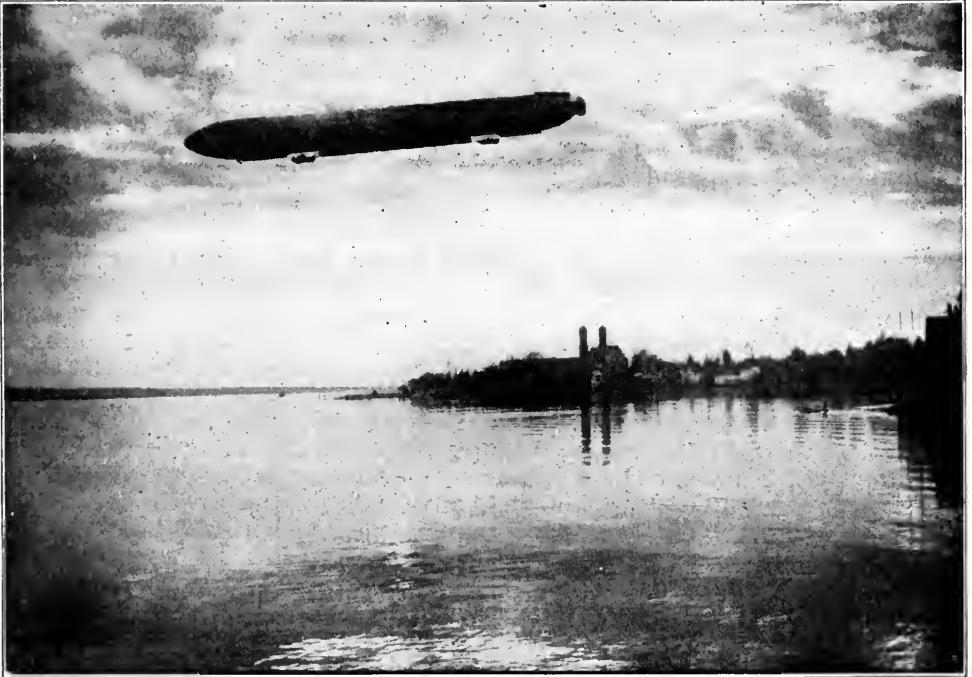
Parachutes attached to baskets of the observation balloons were the observer's sole means of escape if his balloon was brought down. A moment's hesitation would bring the burning envelope floating down upon him. Note the belt around the observer's waist over the telephone apparatus.

assume supremacy in this field. Some account of the Zeppelin brought down in Essex will illustrate the stage of development to which the airship had been brought. Its length was about 680 feet and its largest diameter 72 feet. Stream-line in form it had a blunt rounded nose and a tail that tapered off to a sharp point. Its framework of aluminum alloy was made of longitudinal latticework girders connected at intervals by circumferential ties and stiffened by wires which could be tightened as required. Within the framework 24 balloonets afforded a hydrogen capacity of 2,000,000 cubic feet. Four gondolas connected by a passageway running along the keel held the crew of twenty-two

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skill or knowledge was needed to handle it than that required for an ordinary free balloon. In the vertical plane its movements are not dissimilar to those of the aeroplane as ascent and descent are normally conducted in the "screwing" manner. Germany had five classes of aerial cruisers and vedettes among her military Parsevals when war broke out. The largest and most

ard-Clement, Astra, Zodiac and government-built machines, all of the non-rigid type. The semi-rigid type was represented by the Lebaudy type, the largest of which measured 293 feet in length by 51 feet in diameter and had a displacement of ten tons. The French did not favor the rigid type but one example of this, the Spiess, was being constructed during the first months of



FRIEDRICHSHAFEN, THE HOME OF COUNT ZEPPELIN

This shows a raiding Zeppelin being tested over Friedrichshafen. This town on the east shore of Lake Constance, was the home of Count Zeppelin, inventor of the great lighter-than-air rigid dirigibles. The shores of Lake Constance have been the scene of many of his trial flights. In 1909 a Zeppelin factory was established in Friedrichshafen, and during the war this plant turned out scores of airships.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

powerful was the B type which measured about 240 feet in length by 40 feet maximum diameter, of 223,000 cubic feet capacity, and was fitted with two motors and two propellers. In the large types the speed ranged from 32 to 48 miles per hour with a horse-power of 360-400.

### THE FRENCH STRENGTH LESS THAN THE GERMAN.

France's military programme called for seven large swift aerial cruisers of 24,000 c. metres to be delivered January 1915, but by the end of the year only three were in process of construction. Her air-navy included the Bay-

war. This fleet was inferior to the German numerically, in point of speed and at first in military tactics, though their last advantage was speedily overcome, and the skill and ability of the French aeronauts had no equal.

Russia possessed not more than two airships which were of fairly modern type. England had seven slow and old-fashioned non-rigid airships of various types and six improved non-rigids were ordered. Later she built a small rigid dirigible measuring between 200 and 250 feet buoyed up by a balloonet at each end and carrying a fuselage and one aeromotor, and propeller

directly under the airship. Two men formed the crew of these "blimps" as they were called, which could make 50 miles an hour and were much used as scouts over the North Sea and adjacent waters on the look-out for submarines. Austria owned two-passenger dirigibles of early Zeppelin type which were adapted for war purposes and three non-rigids, but she was able to use this somewhat insignificant total with greater effect as her border enemies possessed nothing of consequence.

### GERMAN FORESIGHT IN PREPARING FOR AERIAL WAR.

Apart from Germany's possession of the largest fleet of dirigible aircraft early in 1914 was the interesting fact of their distribution throughout the Empire as if in readiness for the coming combat. Harbor facilities had been provided at Königsberg, Berlin, Posen, Breslau, Kiel, Hamburg, Wilhelmshaven, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Frankfurt, Metz, Mannheim, Strassburg and other places besides elaborate headquarters at Friedrichshafen upon Lake Constance. Workshops, testing grounds, harboring facilities had all undergone complete remodeling, and tools of the latest type had been provided to facilitate the rapid construction and overhauling of the Zeppelin monsters.

A further circumstance which gave Germany's dirigible fleets the advantage of unusual mobility and security of base was the system of aeronautic signal lights and beacons. Between her east and west frontiers ran a network of beacon stations which enabled the Zeppelin to steer a straight course at night. France and Britain omitted this precaution, and the neglect proved a handicap for several months. German experiments had proved that searchlights could not be seen at long distance. Colored lights, however, were found very practical for marking landing-places, aerodromes, or hangars. So the searchlight plan was discarded and beacons were erected resembling the lighthouses for marine navigation.

### INGENIOUS DEVICES TO GUIDE THE AERONAUTS.

These beacons were of three kinds; the flash, fixed, and revolving lights

which operated not upon the horizon but upon the sky. In a class by themselves were Morse beacons, so constructed as to translate into perpendicular flashes the dots and dashes of the Morse telegraphic code. Thus a Morse beacon gave its position by short and long flashes. Landing lights were embedded in the ground with a thick glass cover on which the aircraft landed and was brought to a stop. A further ingenious arrangement of lights signaled to the aviators the direction of the wind. In the centre was a large square white light and 75 yards from this centre were four large red lights, north, east, south, and west. A weather vane was connected electrically so that in a dead calm there would be no light other than the white showing, and in a wind all lights other than those showing its direction would be extinguished. At the end of 1914 the largest aeronautic light was the Weimar beacon which had a candle power of 27,200,000 behind its huge revolving flashlight on top of the military aerodrome: and the tallest light was that of the Grosser Feldberg on the Taunus range, which possessed 800,000 candle-power and shone from a crag over 2,800 feet above sea level.

As the war developed the Allied lighting and defense of aerial bases—at first both defective—improved considerably. In 1914 German defense in military aeronautics was also better developed. Their bases were surrounded by a zone of rapid artillery fire covering a wide area. In the case of an attack on an aerodrome the dirigible would leave its housing at night and take up its position at an altitude supposedly greater than that which hostile aircraft must steer in order to make an attack on an aerodrome effective.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE HEAVIER THAN AIR MACHINE.

The actual problem of flight through the air—as differentiated from floating—has occupied men's minds for a very long time but up until almost the end of the nineteenth century the sum total of all investigations only went to prove that certain thin rigid surfaces of a

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certain shape and structure could support weights when projected through the air at sufficient speed. At the close of last century two schools arose; inventors of the first sought to accomplish flight by large kite-like apparatus which enabled them to fly against winds, while their machines were supported by the inertia of the air. The second sought to send their kite machines through the air at high speed by motor power.

Among the disciples of the first group the most prominent were a German, Otto Lilienthal, and Octave Chanute, an American citizen. Lilienthal made rigid wings arched like those of a bird which he fastened to his shoulders, and then would run down hill until the wings would catch the air and lift him completely from the ground. A rigid tail acted as glider and the inventor balanced the planes by swinging his legs. While making an experiment in 1896 Lilienthal was killed, but before his death he had made over two thousand glides. Chanute's gliding trials were similar to Lilienthal's, but his apparatus was stronger and different in that he used a trussed double wing that was similar to a box kite.

### **SOME MACHINES OF THE OTHER SORT WHICH ALMOST FLEW.**

Of the second school Sir Hiram Stevens Maxim, an English inventor, made a machine with two engines of 175 horse-power, and this almost flew when the trial was made in 1897. At the same time Clement Ader in France had the same bad fortune; he experimented for six years with two machines fitted with propellers and a steam-engine but neither of the two left the ground at their trials and further government backing was refused. In America, Professor Samuel Pierpont Langley, of the Smithsonian Institution, was commissioned by the Board of Ordnance and Fortification of the United States Army to build an aerodrome, as he called his machine, Congress appropriating \$25,000 for the purpose. Langley had made several small machines with engines which flew without a passenger, and finally

built a tandem monoplane fitted with a 50 horse-power engine to carry an engineer. Two attempts on October 7 and December 8, 1903, were made to fly the craft but on both occasions the machine became entangled in the defective launching apparatus and was thrown headlong into the Potomac River. Langley had used up the appropriation and his failure caused so much ridicule that he is said to have died of a broken heart. The correctness of his reasoning and deductions has been shown in subsequent work, and his studies and experiments have become aeronautical classics. In 1913-14 the Langley aeroplane, fitted with a Curtiss motor and controls, flew.

Next two young Americans began experiments in the fall of 1900 at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. All the theories of flight that disciples of the gliding school had put forward were patiently tested. Unrewarded the Wrights put aside old theories and still using gliders started all over again and finally constructed a glider which was easy to balance both laterally and longitudinally. In place of Lilienthal's swinging of his legs, they made a horizontal elevator which was raised and lowered by a lever operated by the pilot stretched out on the lower wing, and this kept the machine level with respect to the ground. Lateral control next occupied their attention and by observation of the flight of birds the brothers obtained transverse control by warping the wings. Later an aileron was attached to the ends of the wings. The idea was distinctly a Wright discovery. A vertical rudder for directional steering was next added, rounded wing tips and curvature proved necessary, and the greater safety of the biplane was recognized. In constructing the wings the brothers adopted the stream line surface which has since been used for all surfaces meeting the air in the forward progress of the craft. This form was later adopted when the fuselage was constructed.

### **THE QUESTION OF AN ENGINE LIGHT ENOUGH**

The problem of the engine remained, and because there was no gasoline

motor in existence light enough to mount on their glider, the Wrights made one in their shop at Dayton, Ohio. This was a four-cylinder gasoline motor developing 16 horse-power, which was mounted on the rear of the planes of the glider and had twin propellers fitted by a chain drive. December 17, 1903, on the sand hills at Kitty Hawk, Wilbur Wright made the first successful sustained and steered flight of 852 feet in 59 seconds. Further experiments were made, and on October 5, 1905, the aeroplane made a flight of  $24\frac{1}{4}$  miles in 38 minutes and 3 seconds. For a while field flights were suspended while the patent rights were protected, and then in 1908 Wilbur Wright in France and Orville Wright in America began to demonstrate their machines by public exhibitions. The superiority of their biplane over the French machines was clearly demonstrated.

The success of the Wrights was followed by much experimenting, in France especially, where prizes were offered for flights. Santos-Dumont turned from balloons to aeroplanes and in 1909 presented a monoplane with the least weight and the smallest surface of any machine that had been built up to that time. It was not safe, however, and the type was soon abandoned. Glenn H. Curtiss, an American inventor and manufacturer of motor cycles, developed a type of biplane driven by one high-speed propeller which depended for its stability on ailerons and won in 1908 the *Scientific American* trophy with a flight of over a mile. A second and improved machine was entered in the great international competition at Rheims and won the Gordon Bennett cup in 1909 for flying a distance of 12.42 miles in 15 minutes,  $65\frac{1}{2}$  seconds. In 1910 Curtiss devised a hydroaeroplane. Following the success of the Wrights in France came that of Henri Farman who flew a Voisin cellular biplane with curved parallel surfaces, which was both the first machine to be fitted with wheels to aid in landing and in rising, and also the first machine in France to fly a sufficient distance to win a prize for practical flight.

## VARIOUS IMPROVEMENTS IN DESIGN COME THICK AND FAST.

In 1909 the famous Gnome rotary engine appeared having eleven cylinders set like the spokes of a wheel. There followed in France the Brequet, Somner, Blériot, de Nieuports, and Duperdussin types of machines; in England the Cody, Dunne, Roe and Short machines; in Germany the Taube of 1912 and the Albatros tractor biplane of 1914. In 1908 Louis Blériot designed a successful type of machine which had a covered fuselage, the engine in front of the aviator and a shape similar to a bird. Other machines of both mono- and biplane type followed and the years were marked by ever-increasing distance and speed records. At a great international meet held at Rheims in August 1909, thirty-six aeroplanes competed and notable speed records were made, Farman completing in his Gnome engine biplane 145 miles in four hours, eighteen minutes, forty-five seconds. Some conception of the increase in this respect can be gained by the comparison of the speed records of 1909 and 1919. In 1909 Glenn H. Curtiss won the trophy with an average speed of 47.04 miles an hour in a biplane. In 1919, Sadi Lecomte reached a speed of 226 miles an hour.

## THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE POWERS IN AEROPLANES.

When war broke out the standing of the different Air Services was as follows: France possessed an enormous number and variety of aeroplanes; since 1911 she had added fully 1000 machines so that a round 1500 were ready for service, and during mobilization the military force was augmented by about 500 machines from private owners, but ere the war had been in progress many weeks an official order was issued forbidding the employment of the Blériot, Duperdussin, Nieuport and R.E.P. monoplanes. Those which received official approval included the Caudron, Henri and Maurice Farman, Morane-Saulnier and Voisin machines. The effect of this order was to reduce the effective strength of France's aerial navy by 558 aeroplanes. The reason for the



#### FRENCH MOBILE ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS

The rôle of the machine gun mounted on armored motor cars was considerable until the war of movement gave way to trench war. In Belgium, especially, they rendered great service; later they were generally used against aircraft. In this picture the observer is scanning the heavens with powerful glasses.



#### MOTOR WORKSHOP AND TRAILER IN AVIATION SERVICE

This was the precursor of the "traveling circus" in which the whole squadron worked as a self-contained unit, in a train which moved material, stores, spare parts and mechanics from place to place, and also provided sleeping accommodation for the pilots. The Germans had these early in 1916, for Richthofen their great "ace" describes a journey through Germany in one to the Russian front in June of that year.



order was to standardize as far as possible in order, among other things, to avoid carrying a varied assortment of spare parts, and confusion in the repair shop. The French aviators were highly trained and possessed of brilliant daring and initiative but were behind the Germans in their tactical knowledge and use of aircraft.

Germany possessed about 1000 machines of which from 600 to 700 were ready to use, and, during the period of mobilization 450 others were added, drawn from the most part from private owners. She possessed upwards of 30 factories, many of them along both her important frontiers, and a day and night service was installed so that by the end of a few months' fighting a thousand machines were in full commission. Every biplane excepting a few special fast scouts was fitted with bomb-dropping apparatus and a camera. Her policy of standardizing her machines was a further asset in the game for it eliminated delay and confusion in repair.

## THE DIFFERENT GERMAN TYPES EARLY IN THE WAR.

The most marked German types at that early date were the Etrich monoplane, or Taube, the Gotha monoplane and the Albatros biplane. All these machines were standardized tractors; that is, their propellers were mounted in front. To relieve the pilot as much as possible of the strain of maintaining his balance, the Taube and Albatros were made automatically stable by shaping the wings like those of a dove and by giving them the contour of a broad arrow-head. They were strong as strength was conceived in 1914, and they were dependable. If the original German plan of a smashing campaign had gone through their air equipment was sufficient for the purpose, for it was superior to that of the Allies, but the prolongation of the war gave both France and England time to create strong air fleets, which in time gained the mastery in the air.

Great Britain's aerial navy was not large; on paper she had a total of 300 aeroplanes, but the Royal Flying Corps had only about eighty-two machines

in good condition, and the Royal Naval Air Service some twenty seaplanes. There was a somewhat heterogeneous collection consisting, among others, of Henri Farman biplanes (80-h.p. Gnome engines) and Maurice Farman biplanes (70-h.p. Renault engines), Blériot Experimental biplanes, Caudron biplanes, Short biplanes, Blériot monoplanes, Nieuport monoplanes, and Duperdussin monoplanes. Not a single machine used a British-built engine at the beginning of the war, but such was the rapidity of organization that hundreds of complete aeroplanes were built in the first year of war, thousands in the second, many thousands in the third, and plans for the production of tens of thousands in the fourth were only stopped by the armistice. The care that had been taken by the R. F. C. to train pilots as well as observers was an object lesson to both France and Germany, for the British service gave good account of itself at the front from the start.

## BELGIAN, AUSTRIAN AND RUSSIAN STRENGTH IN THE AIR.

The Belgian Army in 1914 had about thirty efficient aeroplanes, mostly of the Farman "pusher" biplane type fitted with 80-h.p. Gnome engines. This small "fourth arm" soon came to an end under service conditions, but not before the Belgian pilots had given the Allied commanders valuable information about the German forces. The later Belgian aeroplanes were French designed and built, and were employed in reconnaissance, and bombing work on the Western Front, where their pilots successfully co-operated in many raids, especially those around Ostend.

Austria-Hungary was the weakest of the great powers in aeroplanes. She had little more than a score of modern machines at the front, although Germany loaned her a squadron of fliers. The Russian air force had been enormously improved under the Grand Duke Alexander, but although on paper statistics showed her to possess some 500 machines, these included all imported aeroplanes of private ownership and perhaps not a fifth of this paper

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

armada, and much of it antiquated, was really in readiness in August 1914. Of great interest, however, were the Sikorski giant biplanes for destructive purposes, but of these only four were completed. When Italy entered the war in May, 1915, she used machines of French design but successful engines later were produced in the Isotta-Fraschini, Fiat and other Italian workshops, and some huge machines were built.

### PREVIOUS USE OF PLANES IN WAR INSIGNIFICANT.

Almost nothing has been learned in previous wars concerning the military use of airships and aeroplanes. In the Tripolitan and Balkan Wars a few aeroplanes had been employed for scouting purposes: in the former war only Italy used them as the Turks had none; in the latter the airmen did their work and tacitly avoided one another. Therefore the belligerents in 1914, although they expected great developments in the air, were all ignorant of the enormous demands upon both men and machines the struggle was to make. Scouting for troop disposition was the only function which at first was expected from the fourth arm. Control of artillery fire and destruction of war material developed with trench warfare, and as competition in design waxed keen, the evolution of the rapid-climbing machine led to actual fighting in the air.

The Germans boldly took the initiative with their air-scouts from the first day of war. Aeroplanes ushered in the invasion of Belgium, and scrutinized the terrain of northern and eastern France before the great army rolled on toward Paris. Their aviators reported the weakness of the Allied line along the Meuse and Sambre and hour by hour the men in the clouds sent back news of vital importance to the German commanders so that from the first there was no battle that resembled a surprise attack. Although Allied reconnaissance was inferior to German—with few exceptions—it also prevented surprise. One of the officers of the Royal Flying Corps first brought news to Sir H. Smith-Dorrien that his advance divi-

sion was faced by three German army corps supported by strong reserves in place of the three divisions which he thought were opposing him, and so led to the retreat from Mons which saved the British Expeditionary Force. Sir John French's first official report emphasizes the valuable work done by his flying men and adds: "When the news of the retirement of the French and the heavy German threatening on my front reached me, I endeavored to confirm it by aeroplane reconnaissance; and as a result of this I determined to effect a retirement to the Maubeuge position at daybreak on the 24th."

### OBSERVERS IN AEROPLANES TELL OF VON KLUCK'S TACTICS.

Aerial reconnaissance first brought news of von Kluck's wheel to the southeast. The flying machine unskillfully handled even as it was by the French nevertheless reported that the enemy had over-reached himself and would fall back before an offensive. Again, German airmen perceived the movement to turn their flank so that the High Command was able to draw in its lines and retreat to the Aisne. There, their Taubes informed them of an Allied enveloping movement from the southwest, while French and British aviators gave information as to the German counter-movements so that the curious hand-over-hand character of the race for the sea was a direct result of cloud reconnaissance.

With the development of trench warfare both sides set up a daily reconnoitering system as to changes in the enemy's disposition and lines and the effect of the foreknowledge was to prevent surprise and thereby to lengthen the war. The vital duty of aircraft now was to detect the positions of big guns, especially howitzers which could be concealed miles away behind a hill. "Spotting" for big guns in 1914 was crude in comparison with what was done in later years when the machines were fitted with reliable wireless sets. Then ranges were worked out by artillery officers in the usual way, and aircraft signaled the results of fire by smoke bombs, tinsel paper, and colored lights. The enemy had also a code of

signals by means of aeroplane evolutions which sent news to the batteries in the rear. From Sir John French's official report covering the period from November 20, 1914 to February 2, 1915 we read: "Armies have now grown accustomed to rely largely on aircraft reconnaissance for accurate information of the enemy. . . Although the weather was uniformly bad. . . there have been only thirteen days on which no actual reconnaissance was effected and approximately 100,000 miles have been flown. In addition to the daily and constant work of reconnaissance and co-operation with the artillery, a number of aerial combats have been fought, raids carried out, detrainments harassed, parks and petrol depôts bombed, etc., various successful bomb-dropping raids have been carried out, usually against the enemy's aircraft matériel. . . ."

### SOME ADDITIONAL USES ARE FOUND FOR AEROPLANES.

An official note on the airmen by the French Government early in 1915 corroborates that of the English commander. "They give information to our commanding officers who find them invaluable auxiliaries, concerning the movements of the enemy and the progress of columns and supplies. They are not liable to be stopped like cavalry by the uninterrupted line of trenches. They fly over positions and batteries, enabling our forces to aim with accuracy. They drop bombs on gatherings of troops, convoys and staffs and are an instrument of demolition and demoralization."

The second function—the destruction of enemy troops and material—was in 1914 and early 1915 a secondary one for most aeroplanes were busied with reconnaissance, and no air forces were then so organized as to be able to cause great or continued damage to troops, nor were the machines so constructed as to be able to carry sufficient weight of explosives to destroy anything but delicate structures such as gas works, magazines, airships and aeroplane sheds. In the case of the British Air Service the chief destructive work was done by the naval wing

of the Royal Flying Corps who had no daily reconnaissance and from whose headquarters at Dunkirk many bold raids were carried out. A few instances taken from a long list of destructive aeroplane raids by both parties will illustrate this. News of Russian air-work is scanty, but the bombarding of railway stations by the gigantic Russian Sikorski biplane with its four engines producing a horse-power between 400 and 600 is of interest, as well as its work in the great Russian retreat to the San where it operated against the enemy's railways and transport columns.

When Italy came into the war great aerial activity prevailed in the northern corner of the Adriatic, the Italian aeroplanes attacking all the Austrian railways, the Fiume dockyards, torpedo works and submarine factory, and the Trieste dockyards.

### THE WORK OF AVIATORS IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

Two aeroplanes of the British R. N. A. F. discovered the German cruiser *Königsberg* up the Rufigi river in German East Africa. Indicating her position by smoke bombs, they trained two monitors, the *Severn* and the *Mersey*, on to her so that she was finally sunk. In the Dardanelles the seaplanes reported day by day location of new gun positions and gave valuable information to the mine sweepers about surface mines. An observer in a balloon off the coast of Anzac saw a large transport packed with Turkish troops going across the sea of Marmora. He signaled this fact to the *Queen Elizabeth* which was across the mountainous peninsula, rapidly calculated the future position of both ships and gave the signal. The observer saw the 15-inch shell strike and sink the enemy transport and its burden. In the Mesopotamian campaigns airplanes were also useful.

The French air service made reconnaissance daily along 500 miles of front. For example, on April 2, 1915, apart from seven bombardments, their work included forty-five reconnaissances and twenty range corrections. As the submarines and airship bases of

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Flanders were the main British objectives, the bases of S. W. Germany were the French objectives. May 27, a French squadron of eighteen planes attacked the chemical factory of Ludwigshafen, the most important factory of explosives in Germany, aviators dropping eighty-five bombs and kindling three enormous fires.

### WHAT THE GERMAN AIR FORCES ACCOMPLISHED.

About the middle of June 1915, the French press published a list of raids made by German aircraft to that date. Open towns in England and France had been bombarded eighty-three times by aeroplanes and twenty-one times by Zeppelins. Paris and Calais were the chief French centres visited, London and the east and northeast coast towns in England. As the summer went on Paris was less molested as her aerial defense grew more perfect. When the raiders arrived, fire from forts and anti-aircraft batteries poured up to greet them, searchlights flashed into the sky and a squadron of aeroplanes arose from the ground, where all lights faded into darkness and bugles rang out insistent peals to take shelter. Nevertheless Germany had a long list of destructive work wrought by her aeroplanes, especially during the early months of fighting. The railway station at Charleroi was destroyed, bombs were dropped upon Ghent, Ostend, Dunkirk, Calais, Lunéville, Pont-à-Mousson, Nancy and Warsaw. Towards the end of October over a hundred persons assembled close to the headquarters of the Russian General Staff were killed. In December at Hazebrouck a British soldier and five civilians were slain by bombs from aircraft. Through January, Dunkirk, Paris, Warsaw and the coast of Suffolk suffered visitations. In March again Calais was bombarded and twice during May bombs were dropped over St. Denis. The summer saw a new development in the attacks made from the skies on British merchantmen.

### THE ZEPPELINS AT FIRST HAVE COMMAND OF THE NORTH SEA.

German superiority in airships told most in the naval war. The British

Navy held the command of the North Sea but the German Navy ruled its atmosphere with especially large Zeppelins each with a weight of thirty-five tons. Their engines gave them a speed of 50 miles an hour, afterwards developed to 60 miles, and their fuel storage put all the North Sea easily within their range. No aeroplane or seaplane within the first twenty-one months of war had their range of action or their staying power for they were able to hang at a great height over the sea, drifting in the wind without using their engines while they watched the waters beneath. England did not possess any such craft and she endeavored to make up the deficiency by using airships with narrow radius of action, or squadrons of seaplanes rising from mother ships. As a consequence British destroyers and patrols at great risk had to carry out most of the reconnaissance work that should have been done by large airships.

The enemy used his fleet in two ways. Not only did he scout over the coasts of Russia, hunt out submarines that passed the Sound, patrol the coasts from Denmark to Holland, and watch the movements of ships in the North Sea, but he employed his airships against the armies in Flanders and France and the Balkans in an indirect but telling manner. Raids were made on England for the purpose of detaining large forces of anti-aircraft guns and crews and an increasing number of machines and pilots that could have been used at the front. Attempts to terrify the hostile populations of France and Russia were made as well: the towns behind the Russian front were bombed with great violence, continual attempts being made around Riga, Dvinsk and more southerly cities to reach ammunition depots and dislocate the railways.

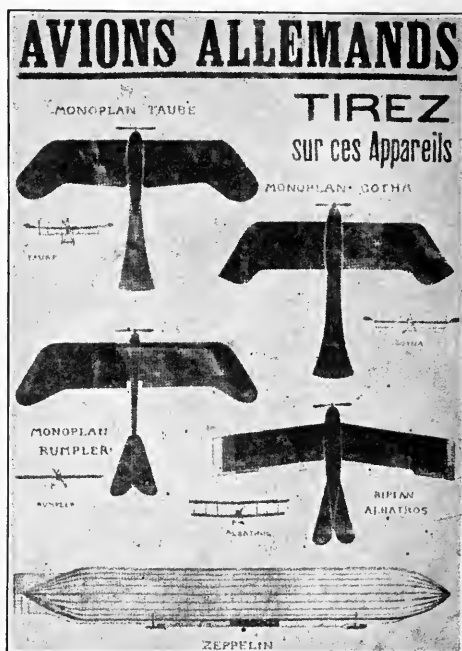
### THE BEGINNING OF SYSTEMATIC ATTACKS ON ENGLAND.

England, however, was the chief object of attack, because of her length of coastline. It was not until April 19, 1915, that the German airship director launched his ships against the coast towns. The raids were renewed with

energy in May and June when the British Army in Flanders was trying to remove the pressure against the Russians by attacking the German front. May 31 the Zeppelins reached their goal, London, and the German press extolled the time as the "moment which sets the keystone to the lifework of Count Zeppelin." Contrary to German expectation raiding increased recruiting and roused the British spirit so as to banish for ever all thoughts of a premature peace. By August the enemy had lost more than twelve Zeppelins without counting any hit by the Russians or any loss of Parsevals. This was the minimum loss of rigid airships on the western front and his total losses on land and sea were probably much greater. In the summer of 1915 the airship sheds were moved for greater safety from near Brussels to Antwerp, and Count Zeppelin constructed a new model with increased protection, lifting power, and speed, and this was built in numbers which were said to have brought the Zeppelins up to 100 by the spring of 1916. The German press was filled with the tremendous exploits of its air fleet and greatly exaggerated enemy losses were recorded. In all, in 1915, twenty raids were made upon England. The Press Bureau issued a statement February 4, pointing out that 133 men, 90 women and 43 children had been killed by bombs besides several hundred injured. Of these by far the largest proportion were civilians.

British aerial defenses at the end of eighteen months' warfare were in a deplorable condition. Neither the Fleet nor the Army could spare the long-range guns needed against high-flying Zeppelins; the supply of high explosive shell was urgently needed in Flanders, the Dardanelles and Mesopotamia; nor had the organization itself been planned with sufficient system. In February 1916 Lord Kitchener made a short statement on the problem of air defense during a debate in the House of Lords. He pointed out that hostile invasions of England so far had effected no military purpose and continued, "as regards Zeppelin attacks, it is

beyond our power to guarantee these shores from a repetition of incursions. But although we have only one example of a Zeppelin being destroyed by aeroplane attack—I allude to Lieutenant Warneford's gallant action—there have been several cases in which we have so disabled the enemy's aircraft as to bring them eventually to the ground or to render them useless for further service."



## "FIRE ON THESE MACHINES"

This is a reproduction of a notice issued by the military authorities to French soldiers, so that they might be able to recognize hostile German aircraft.

## AVIATION EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENT DURING THE FIRST MONTHS.

To be able to fly rapidly and against adverse weather conditions was all that was required of aviators in the first weeks of war when reconnaissance was their sole function. When destruction of war material was added to scouting, machines were required to carry bombs, and steel darts or *fléchettes* for use against troops. The early bomb-carrying and bomb-release mechanisms were primitive, of course, and aviators found it expedient to get rid of all bombs, even by sacrificing them, before risking a landing. As progress was made, the bombs were carried suspended under

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the wings or fuselage of the plane, or in a compartment in the fuselage. The release mechanism was designed for lightness and for safety, and the order of releasing so arranged as to disturb the balance of the plane as little as possible, so that for instance, bombs would be released alternately from each wing. All bombs were fitted with a safety mechanism so that if the aviator had to get rid of them over his own lines he could drop them "safe" and they would not explode. Bombs were of three kinds: demolition, for use against ammunition dumps, railways, roads, buildings and all sorts of heavy structures; fragmentation bombs which threw showers of fragments against bodies of troops; and incendiary bombs, designed for use against ammunition depots, light structures, grain fields and the like.

### THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOMBING PLANE.

Bombing aeroplanes were not developed until early 1915, and then by the French most rapidly who first used a Voisin pusher, and later a multiple-engined plane of the Caudron type which had unique climbing powers and considerable weight-carrying capacity. In the early months, bombing aeroplanes were not fitted with sights adjusted to height, air speed and strength of wind, and aviators had to trust to their own skill entirely in calculating the parabolic curve that a bomb would describe above its mark. Nor were the early bombs so finished and steadied with fintails as to offer the least possible resistance to the air and at the same time avoid tumbling over and over in their downward course. These developments came in the second and third years of the war. Bombardment was generally undertaken by Allied aeroplanes in squadrons so as to be sure that some of the bombs hit the mark. In September a French squadron flew to Stuttgart and dropped thirty bombs

over the palace of the King of Wurtemberg, and made other raids on Treves and Saarbruck as a reprisal for Zeppelin attacks upon London.

### THE FIGHTING PLANE NEXT TO BE ADOPTED.

Since to be "all-seeing" was to be "all-hitting" it behooved the belligerents to strive for mastery in the air, and fighting in the clouds followed naturally on reconnaissance and bomb-throwing.



RETURNING AFTER THE DAY'S WORK.

Armament of aeroplanes is entirely a development of the Great War, and the question of the inventor and use of the first machine gun is somewhat obscure, as there is much conflicting evidence. The French had made a few experiments, and at the beginning of the war had a few heavy aeroplanes equipped to carry machine guns, but pioneer aviators usually only carried automatic pistols, and sometimes trench grenades and steel darts which, however, were of little use against swiftly moving machines. The first historic record during

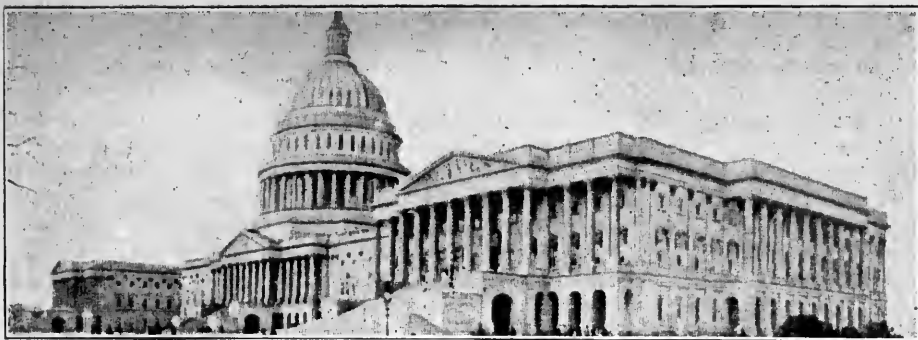


the war of a machine gun mounted on an aeroplane was in the despatch telling of the death of the French aviator Garaix, August 15, 1914, by the aerobus Paul Schmitt; and the first recorded equipment of a machine gun on a German machine was October 25, 1914, when a Taube near Amiens opened fire on a Henry Farman machine, piloted by Corporal Strebich and his mechanic who were directing artillery fire. The Germans first used a Mauser gun for their aeroplanes, but these are only isolated instances, and the British actually began real air-fighting because their staunch fast biplanes were the most suitable for mounting machine guns.

The fact that the Allied machines were of so many types was responsible for their being able to make trial and choice of the fittest fighting machine. The high-powered racer of Morane with wings arranged over the pilot's head and the small fast biplanes of Sopwith and Bristol all became models for new squadrons, and all subsequent changes in aeroplanes were dictated by the necessity of engaging in air duels. When the French and British strengthened their racers so that they could carry machine guns the Germans at first discarded their standardized monoplane Taubes in favor of the biplane Albatros, but these were too heavy and they tried the Fokker, a small fast-climbing monoplane with extraordinarily powerful engines. "When the Allies saw what was needed to defeat the Fokker it was a matter of a few weeks before the type was doomed, and afterwards temporary supremacy in the air belonged to the owners of the machines having advantages in speed or armament, so that it became a constant battle of wit, skill in design and engineering knowledge."

## MACHINE GUNS ARRANGED TO FIRE THROUGH THE PROPELLERS.

In the meantime developments had been taking place in the equipment and mounting of the machine gun itself. At first the gun was mounted on the upper plane of the biplane so as to shoot over the arc described by the propeller, but this position only allowed of a single belt or magazine being used on a trip. Then early in 1915 the gun was brought down into the fuselage to fire through the whirling propeller. Garros mounted a gun to shoot through the propeller February 1, 1915, and in order to protect the propeller blades covered the tips with steel. Only a small proportion, about 7 per cent of the shots, hit the blades with this device. Many of the French Nieuports at this time had their fixed guns literally shooting through the propellers, the bullets perforating where they did not shatter the blades. There is even an instance on record of a flight commander in the British service working a Lewis gun over the Bulgarian lines in 1917, with the propellers protected only by cloth wrappings. The invention of the so-called "synchronizing" device put an end to these make-shifts. By it the mounting of the gun was so fixed that the bullets would miss the blades of the flying propeller because engine and gun were geared together so that the engine pulled the trigger. This synchronized field gun the Germans were using extensively in their Fokkers by the spring of 1916. No very satisfactory machine for "spotting" for the guns was evolved up till the beginning of 1916 when the Germans showed a good type; the body was encased in metal protecting it against trench fire. Hereafter the greatest development was to be in fighting planes and in the heavy bombing planes.



The Capitol of the United States, at Washington

## CHAPTER XVI

# War and the Neutral Nations

### THE DIFFICULT POSITION OF ALL THE NEUTRAL POWERS

**I**N every great war of modern times questions of neutrality and neutral rights have been raised. In such contests two parties always appear; one concerned chiefly with belligerent rights; the other with the rights of neutrals. In a war which involved all of the great industrial nations of Europe these questions were certain to become pressing and the division was one to appear.

#### **THE DIFFICULT POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES.**

The United States was the greatest of the neutral powers at the outbreak of the war and it very soon became apparent that American interests would be seriously affected by the titanic struggle across the Atlantic. In the first place other neutral powers would expect the United States to champion the rights of all neutral states. Furthermore this country was the largest available source of supply for foodstuffs and war munitions. Naturally all of the belligerents wished to avail themselves of these resources while at the same time they would endeavor to prevent their opponents from doing so.

The situation which confronted the country was not unlike that which it faced more than one hundred years before during the Napoleonic wars. The recent struggle was, however, far more desperate and the economic

relations of the great nations of the world were far more intricate than they had been in the previous century, and the difficulties were correspondingly greater.

#### **WHAT IS MEANT BY THE DECLARATION OF LONDON.**

Various attempts had been made in the past to define neutral rights by international agreement. The most recent effort in this direction was the Declaration of London signed by the ten leading naval powers at the International Naval Conference in 1908. The Conference aimed to define precisely the principles of naval warfare relating to blockade, contraband, continuous voyage, use of neutral flag and other disputed points. The Declaration fixed a list of absolute contraband, that is, goods which are primarily intended for warfare and hence liable to seizure and confiscation; a second list of conditional contraband, that is, goods which might be used either for peaceful or warlike purposes and which were liable to seizure only in case they were for military use; and finally a list of non-contraband goods which were absolutely free from seizure.

In Great Britain the Declaration was not received favorably and that nation refused to ratify it. When the Great War began the United States inquired whether the belligerent states were prepared to conduct naval war-

fare according to the terms of the Declaration of London. To this query Great Britain replied that she had decided "to adopt generally the rules and regulations of the Declaration in question subject to certain modifications and additions." These modifications involved new and extended lists of contraband. Further, that Great Britain would "treat as liable to capture, a vessel which carried contraband of war with false papers if she were encountered on the return voyage." Certain other technical changes were also indicated. In reply to this note the United States Government stated that it would withdraw its proposal to abide by the Declaration and that "it will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law." But there was no "existing rule of international law" regulating the vexed question of contraband, and as the war advanced the Entente powers steadily extended the lists of absolute and conditional contraband despite the protests of the United States and other neutral powers.

### **THE DIFFICULTY OF BLOCKADING GERMANY.**

It was natural that Great Britain should take full advantage of her preponderant sea power. In doing so, however, serious questions involving the rights of neutral states arose due to the geographical position of Germany. On two sides Germany was bounded by neutral states with access to the sea. Through Holland and the Scandinavian countries, goods from the United States and other neutral states could be sent into Germany. More indirectly foreign goods were brought from Switzerland. Unless Great Britain could in some manner regulate such trade in order to prevent contraband goods reaching the enemy the value of her sea power would be materially lessened. This was somewhat complicated by conditions in the states themselves.

In the Scandinavian states there was a divided public sentiment toward the nations at war. In Sweden as a whole there was a strong pro-German,

or perhaps more truly, an anti-Russian, sentiment. The aristocracy was frankly pro-German. In Norway popular sentiment appeared to lean toward the Allied cause, and the same was true, though perhaps in a less degree, in Denmark. All suffered from the Allied blockade, and their ships felt German frightfulness. Norway, particularly, lost a large proportion of its shipping. The responsible leaders in all three of the Scandinavian countries realized the necessity for common action in the protection of their common interests. Conferences were held by representatives of the three powers in December, 1914, in March, 1916, and again in February, 1917. At these conferences steps were taken to protect the economic interests of the three states, though they were powerless to do more than enter protest against belligerent encroachments on their sovereignty.

### **THE DIFFICULT POSITION OF THE NETHERLANDS.**

The geographical position of the Netherlands placed that country in a peculiarly difficult position. The invasion of Belgium by Germany aroused the fear in Holland that she might meet a similar fate, and to meet this danger the Dutch army was mobilized. To the expense which these military measures involved was added a considerable burden in caring for the large number of Belgian refugees who fled across the Dutch border. In maintaining her blockade of Germany, Great Britain found it necessary to control in some way the movement of goods through Holland into Germany. By an arrangement with the Dutch Government there was organized a company called the Netherland Overseas Trust, to which imports from foreign countries were consigned with the proviso that such goods should not be shipped into Germany. The example was later followed in other countries.

The little country of Switzerland found herself completely surrounded by the nations at war. With a population sharply divided in their sympathies toward the belligerents, the Swiss



**THE DUTCH ROYAL PALACE, AT AMSTERDAM**

The palace was originally designed and used for a townhall 1648-55. Louis Bonaparte appropriated it as a royal palace, but King William I returned it to the city and the sovereign is actually the city's guest when residing in it. The sovereign usually lives at The Hague.



**AMSTERDAM, THE CHIEF CITY OF THE NETHERLANDS**

The canals of Amsterdam cut the city up into 90 islands which are connected by about 300 bridges. Building in Amsterdam is a lengthy process, as it is necessary to go down deep before a firm foundation can be secured. In the Jewish quarter of the city Rembrandt lived and Spinoza was born, and many of the former's pictures are in the Rijks-Museum.

authorities faced a difficult problem in maintaining the neutrality of the country. The army was mobilized on all of the frontiers to prevent any possible violation of Swiss territory. The war brought a heavy financial burden to Switzerland. In addition to the added military expenses, many refugees from the surrounding countries were cared for while, at the same time, the Swiss were deprived of a large part of their peace-time revenue from the tourist travel.

### ATTEMPTS TO LIMIT EXPORTS TO GERMANY.

Great Britain, early in the war, brought pressure to bear upon all of these states to limit their exports to Germany. Partly due to this pressure and partly due to a desire to conserve their resources all of these countries declared more or less effective embargoes on foodstuffs, livestock, oil, chemicals, munitions and other commodities. Denmark and Holland attempted to divide their surplus products between the Allies and Germany, which demanded food in return for coal.

South American countries suffered a severe dislocation of their economic life. A large part of the business in these countries depended upon credits from the nations at war, particularly Great Britain and Germany. A large part of their export trade was cut off, because of the diversion of means of transportation to war purposes. In their difficulties these countries turned to the United States for financial aid. Argentina floated two loans in this country, one for \$15,000,000 and the other for \$25,000,000.

### INCREASE OF IMPORTS OF NEUTRAL STATES.

At the beginning of the war the imports of the neutral states adjoining Germany increased enormously and some began to receive articles never before imported. For example, the quantities of lard, meat, cereals, cocoa, cotton, copper, rubber, and other commodities received by these states was many times greater than they had ever received before. Denmark and Holland, both normally exporters of meat, received large amounts, and Holland,

in which there was neither coke, nor blast furnaces, received at the single port of Rotterdam a million and a half tons of Swedish and Norwegian iron ore between August and December 1914. Obviously these commodities were going to Germany, either across the Baltic, or through Denmark and Holland, and unless they could be cut off, the blockade was ineffective. On the other hand legitimate neutral trade was allowed in time of war, and here controversy arose with the United States, the chief neutral source of commodities.

### THE NORTH SEA DECLARED A MILITARY AREA.

In September the British authorities seized two cargoes of copper shipped from the United States to Holland, and in October three shipments of copper to Italy were held at Gibraltar on the ground that the ultimate destination of these goods was Germany. A further restraint upon neutral commerce came with the declaration by the British Admiralty on November 3, 1914, that the whole of the North Sea was to be considered a military area and warning neutral vessels that if they entered this area they did so at their own peril. This action was justified on the ground that Germany had "scattered mines indiscriminately in the open sea on the main trade route from America to Liverpool via the north of Ireland."

Ships desiring to trade with the Scandinavian countries, the Baltic or Holland were advised to go through the English Channel where they would be given sailing directions. In announcing this unusual policy, Mr. Asquith explained that the British authorities were aware of the anxiety which such action would cause in neutral countries and that he hoped that these neutrals "will appreciate their earnest desire that there should be no interference with neutral trade provided that the vital interests of Great Britain, which are at stake in the present conflict, are adequately maintained." Against this policy of the British Government vigorous protests were made by American business interests and the State Department was urged to obtain some relief.

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### THE PROTEST OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST BRITISH REGULATIONS.

For some months the United States Government made no official protest, possibly in the hope that Great Britain would not continue a policy which appeared to be unjustified by the established rules of international law. Finally on December 26, 1914, a formal note of protest was sent to Great Brit-

bursed for detained cargoes was not sufficient. The American Government recognized the right of visit and search, but it could not admit the right to take American vessels into British ports for such purpose. It was pointed out that great injury was done to the commercial interests of the United States, because they were denied the right to trade in foreign markets. In conclu-



STOCKHOLM ON LAKE MALAR

The capital of Sweden has often been called the Venice of the North, but in aspect it is different from the southern city. Waterways cut it in every direction, but the islands and peninsulas so formed are rocky and high, and forests creep in almost to the heart of the city. Stockholm possesses a good harbor but the approaches are somewhat perilous on account of reefs.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

ain. It was stated that the United States Government "has viewed with growing concern the large number of vessels laden with American goods destined for neutral ports in Europe which have been seized on the high seas, taken into British ports, and detained sometimes for weeks by the British authorities." Goods consigned to neutral countries had been detained and seized because the countries to which they were consigned had not forbidden the export of such articles. Foodstuffs had been stopped despite the presumption of innocent use. The fact that the consignors were reim-

sion the United States Government stated that the policy which Great Britain was pursuing might "arouse a feeling contrary to that which has so long existed between the American and British people."

### THE DISCONCERTING BRITISH REPLY.

The reply of the British Government to this protest stated that it was not the intention to interfere with legitimate neutral trade. It was pointed out, however, that the trade of the United States with neutral countries contiguous to Germany had increased to such an extent that the presumption



was that a considerable proportion of these goods reached Germany. Thus the exports from New York to Denmark which in November 1913 amounted to \$558,000 in the same month of 1914 amounted to \$7,101,000; to Sweden \$377,000 in November 1913 and \$2,558,000 in November 1914; to Norway \$477,000 in 1913 and \$2,318,000 in 1914; and to Italy, \$2,971,000 in 1913 and \$4,781,000 in 1914. Furthermore it was shown that this great increase was especially marked in contraband articles. Thus the exports of copper to Italy had increased nearly three-fold, and to other neutral countries five-fold.

In regard to foodstuffs it was stated that it was not proposed to seize them unless they were destined for the armed forces of the enemy. It was further stated that Great Britain had not considered placing cotton on the list of contraband. The question of importation of foodstuffs into Germany became complicated when on January 22, 1915, Germany issued an order commandeering all stocks of grain within the empire. This action made it difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between grain intended for the military forces and that for the use of the civil population. As a consequence Great Britain declared that thereafter foodstuffs would be considered contraband.

#### **D**IFFICULTIES IN BLOCKADING GERMANY.

For six months after the outbreak of the war Great Britain did not proclaim a blockade of German ports. This delay was probably due to the difficulty of enforcing the blockade under the existing rules of international law. Two of the fundamental requirements for a blockade are, first, that it should be effective and second that it must bear equally upon all neutral powers. The geographical position of Germany and the operation of submarines made the application of these rules difficult. To enforce the usual "close" blockade by maintaining a patrol outside the German harbors would have exposed the blockading fleet to constant danger from submarine attack. Furthermore, as has

been stated, an effective blockade of Germany would involve a control of the commerce of contiguous neutral states.

Despite these difficulties Great Britain and France, on March 1, 1915, declared their intention to confiscate all goods "of presumed enemy destination, ownership or origin." Such action, of course, was justified only if a blockade was proclaimed and in answer to an inquiry from the United States whether such a blockade was contemplated the British Government replied 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 accepted rules of blockade, prohibited." Great Britain justified its action on the ground that Germany had violated the rules of international law in the proclamation of a "War Zone" around the British Isles, threatening to sink all vessels entering this zone, and in the inhuman treatment of the civilian population of Belgium and northern France.

#### **C**ARGOES, NOT SHIPS, CONFISCATED.

The British note defined the radius of activity of the British and French fleets in enforcing the blockade as "European waters including the Mediterranean." At the same time it was stated that the Entente powers would not exercise the right to confiscate ships for violating the blockade, but would only stop goods going to or coming from the enemy.

In a communication addressed to the British Government on March 30, 1915, the Government of the United States called attention to the unusual character of the proposed blockade. It was stated that it "would constitute a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area." The unprecedented feature of the blockade "is that it embraces many neutral ports and coasts." While ready to admit that new methods of warfare, especially the use of the submarines, might justify a modification of the old

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form of "close" blockade the United States could not concede any interference with "free admission and exit to all lawful traffic with neutral ports through the blockading squadron." Moreover, it was asserted that alleged illegal acts of Germany could not be offered as a justification for abridging the rights of neutral states.

For a time the questions in dispute

ports of his enemy." Concerning the American contention that the blockade should not interfere with commerce through neutral territory the British note maintained that such interference did not violate the fundamental principles of international law provided that "circumstances render such an application of the principles of blockade the only means of making it effective."



### WHERE NEUTRALITY WAS STRICTLY RESPECTED

This picture shows Dutch and German guards on the Holland-Belgium frontier. The Germans shared the vigil for other reasons than the Dutch who were anxious that their neutrality be respected. The Germans feared lest any should escape or enter with information of military value. Where the frontier was unprotected, a fence of electrified barbed wire was erected, and notices of warning affixed.

between the United States and Great Britain were eclipsed by the far more serious questions which arose in connection with the German submarine campaign which culminated in the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

### THE BRITISH ANSWER TO THE AMERICAN NOTE.

On July 23, 1915, the British Government sent a long note defending the principles of the British blockade in answer to the American protest. Sir Edward Grey stated that the right of blockade had "obviously no value save in so far as it gives power to a belligerent to cut off sea-borne exports and im-

In this connection Sir Edward Grey asserted that Great Britain was following the precedent established during the American Civil War. In order to make effective the blockade of the ports of the Confederacy the Federal Government seized goods in transit from European countries to Bermuda and Mexico on the ground that the ultimate destination of these goods was the Southern Confederacy. It was further pointed out that this practice was upheld by the United States Supreme Court. Finally the British note stated that the utmost possible care would be taken not to interfere with

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the *bona fide* commerce of neutral countries, and that it had tempered the severity of the old rules of blockade by relinquishing the right to condemn ships entering or leaving the blockaded area.

### CONTINUED INTERCHANGE OF NOTES.

Early in October 1915 the submarine controversy between Germany and the United States appeared to have reached a satisfactory solution when Germany agreed to abandon her policy of sinking merchant vessels without warning. With the main issues in the strained relations with Germany for the moment disposed of, the United States Government resumed with vigor the controversy with Great Britain in regard to the interference with American commerce.

In a long and vigorous note, Mr. Lansing, on October 21, 1915, replied to the British defense of the blockade measures. In regard to the statistics submitted by the British Government showing the increase in the volume of American export trade to neutral countries adjacent to Germany it was pointed out that Great Britain had failed to take into account the increased price of commodities or to make allowance for the closing of markets formerly open to such neutrals. The practice of taking vessels into port for purposes of visit and search, it was contended, was not justified under the existing principles of international law. While the United States was at first inclined to view the blockade measures with leniency because of British assurances of regard and provision for neutral trade, experience had shown that such assurances were not realized in actual practice.

In regard to the character of the British blockade the American note asserted that it violated all of the basic principles laid down in international law. Concerning the British contention that the blockade of neutral ports was practiced by the United States during the Civil War it was held the circumstances then were essentially different from those in the present case and that, moreover, Great Britain had never

recognized such a practice as warranted by international law.

### THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES ANNOUNCED

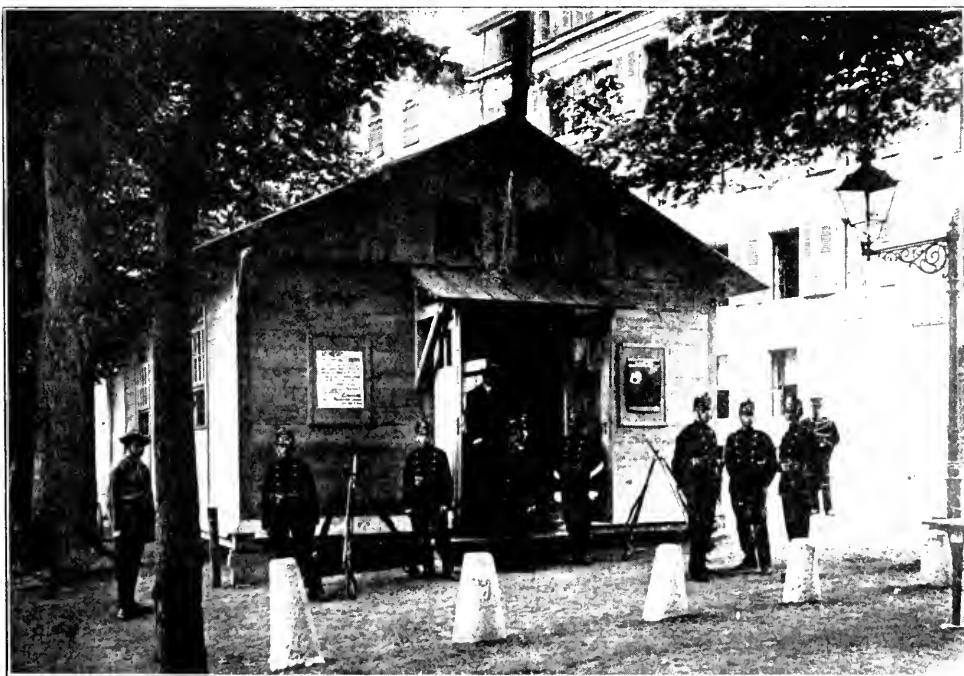
The note concluded with the sharp reminder that the United States regarded the blockade as "ineffective, illegal and indefensible" and that the United States "can not submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights by these measures which are admittedly retaliatory, and therefore illegal, in conception and in nature" but would "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 upon which Great Britain in the past has held the United States to account when the latter nation was a belligerent engaged in a struggle for national existence."

This vigorous protest did not bring any material change in the blockade policy of the Entente powers, but on April 25, 1916, the British Government made an extended and conciliatory reply to the American note. It was maintained that the policy pursued by Great Britain was "judicially sound and valid" and that every effort was being made to meet the legitimate complaints of neutrals through the appointment of "an impartial and influential commission." In regard to the complaint that ships were taken into port for purposes of visit and search it was pointed out that the size of modern steamships and methods of concealing contraband made it impracticable to search vessels at sea. Once more the British submitted figures to show that American commerce with neutral countries had not been seriously curtailed. It was shown that large consignments of meat and other commodities had been made to dock-laborers, lightermen, bakers; etc., in Sweden and Denmark and that such consignments were obviously meant to conceal the real destination of the goods. The statement that the blockade was ineffective was denied. On the contrary, it was asserted that it is doubtful whether there had ever been a more effective blockade.



#### GUARDS OVERLOOKING THE AUSTRO-SWISS FRONTIER

In Switzerland the French-Swiss were outnumbered by three to one by the German-Swiss, and each was kept from his own frontier. At intervals the Imperial forces were reported to be massing for a drive through Switzerland. In 1916 Falkenhayn was said to be preparing to break through into Italy.



#### SWISS GUARDS ON THE FRONTIER

Her mountainous terrain was Switzerland's best safeguard against violation of her neutrality by Germany, who would have liked to outflank the right of the French line by pouring troops through Switzerland. Nevertheless, her army was a factor in her safety. The Swiss army, including all the citizens, was fairly well trained, and the war material was excellent. The German High Command did not dare risk adding another enemy with such advantage of position to those she already had.

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### OLD RULES NO LONGER APPLICABLE.

Concerning the vital question of restrictions upon trade between neutral countries the British note said 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."

This reply made it clear that while Great Britain was anxious to mitigate the hardships which neutrals suffered under the blockade, she was unwilling to concede the claim made by the United States that neutral trade should be free from interference. In America there was considerable irritation against Great Britain because of her unwillingness to accept the American point of view. In Congress retaliatory measures were proposed in order to force concessions from the Allies. In an amendment to the General Revenue Act the President was empowered to restrict or prohibit the importation of commodities from countries which placed restrictions, contrary to the law and practice of nations, upon goods exported from the United States.

### GERMAN ACTS AID GREAT BRITAIN.

On the other hand there was clear evidence that by the end of 1916 public opinion in the United States had undergone a marked change. Two years of warfare had tended to clarify the great fundamental issues. It had come to be recognized in the United States that the Entente powers represented, on the whole, those principles of democracy and justice which the American people respected. Moreover the shocking crimes of Germany on land and sea had caused a feeling of resentment among all right-thinking Americans. It is doubtful, therefore, whether public opinion in the United States in 1916 would have supported

any action by the Government which would have seriously embarrassed the Entente powers.

Two other questions arose which led to an interchange of notes between the United States and Great Britain. One involved the use of neutral flags by belligerents and the other dealt with the interference with neutral mail.

### B RITISH USE OF NEUTRAL FLAGS.

Early in the year 1915 complaint was made by the German Government that British vessels were using neutral flags to avoid attack by submarines. It appears that the British steamer *Deduna* on leaving Queenstown had raised the American flag and that the *Lusitania* when approaching the coast of Ireland had received wireless orders to hoist the American flag and sail under it to Liverpool. In a note addressed to the British Government the Government of the United States called attention to "the serious consequences which may result to American vessels and American citizens, if this practice is continued." It was pointed out that while it was legitimate under international law to use neutral flags in exceptional cases to escape capture, any general use of the American flag for such purposes would seriously endanger American vessels.

In answer to this note the British Government stated that the raising of the American flag on the *Lusitania* had been done at the request of American passengers on board. Moreover it was stated that Great Britain, when a neutral, had accorded to vessels of belligerent states the use of the British flag to escape capture and that the United States had so used it during the Civil War. At the same time it was indicated that the British Government did not propose to permit British merchant vessels to use neutral flags as a general practice.

### D ETENTION AND EXAMINATION OF THE MAILS.

In December 1915 the British Government began the practice of removing mail pouches from ships sailing between the United States and neutral European ports. Against this practice

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the United States entered a vigorous protest. While the United States Government was "inclined to regard parcel-post articles as subject to the same treatment as articles sent as express or freight in respect to belligerent search, seizure and condemnation" it was unwilling to admit the right of belligerents to force vessels to enter their harbors or to bring pressure upon ship-owners to have their vessels voluntarily enter such harbors and there to subject the mails to censorship and delay. It was pointed out that "important papers which can never be duplicated, or can be duplicated only with great difficulty, such as United States patents for inventions, rare documents, legal papers relating to the settlement of estates, powers of attorney, insurance claims, income tax returns, and similar matter had been lost" as a result of the opening and search of mail pouches. Delay in transmitting business correspondence such as bids on contracts had caused serious loss to American business interests.

In answer to this protest the British authorities showed that under the protection of the mails considerable quantities of contraband were being sent to Germany and declared that the Allied Governments proposed to stop such shipments. It was asserted that the Allies did not propose to interfere with genuine correspondence but that it was impracticable to examine the mail bags without bringing the ship into port. In regard to ships which voluntarily entered British ports it was held that mail on such ships was subject to British regulations in regard to censorship. Charges were made in certain business circles in the United States that Great Britain was using information obtained through the censorship of American mail to the advantage of British business interests. This was emphatically denied by the British authorities, and no proof in support of the charge was presented. In Congress a resolution was passed giving the President power to deny the use of the American mails to the citizens of countries which interfered with the free use by American citizens of the mails in such countries.

More serious difficulty arose with Sweden on this question. Swedish mail both inward and outward bound was detained for examination by the British authorities, and in reprisal the Swedish Government, in December, 1915, held up British mail destined for Russia. A sharp correspondence ensued in which the Swedish Government charged repeated infractions of international law on the part of the British. The British Government denied the charges, and finally Sweden reluctantly released the detained mails, on the promise that any claim of injury should be submitted to arbitration after the war.

### THE SUBMARINE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.

Of the many new devices which the Great War brought forth none aroused such serious problems or such bitter feeling as the submarine. For the first time the under-sea warship appeared as an important factor in offensive naval warfare. Hopelessly distanced by Great Britain in naval strength Germany apparently hoped to redress the balance by a vigorous development and use of this new naval weapon. The use of the submarine was certain to give rise to a number of novel and vexing questions which the existing rules of naval warfare did not cover. First of all was the nature of the craft itself. Being lightly armored it would be an easy prey, if discovered, for warships or even for merchantmen carrying small calibre guns. The one element of strength of the submarine was its ability to attack unseen. Deprived of this recourse it became practically impotent. But to sink a merchant vessel without warning and without making provision for the safety of passengers and crew would violate long established rules of naval warfare. Furthermore it was quite impossible for submarines to follow the old methods of capture by which a prize-crew was placed on the captured vessel, for the submarine carried only a small crew.

### GERMANS DISREGARD ACCEPTED RULES OF WARFARE.

The war was not many months old before Germany clearly indicated that



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she did not propose to be hampered in the use of submarines by attempting to conform to the accepted rules of naval warfare. On February 4, 1915, she served notice that the waters around the British Isles were to be considered as a war zone and that after February 18, 1915, all enemy merchant vessels encountered in this area would be sunk even if it was not possible to provide for the safety of their crews and passengers. Neutral vessels were warned of the danger of traveling in this zone except for a passage along the Dutch coast and another along the Norwegian coast.

In defense of this remarkable proclamation the German Government asserted that Great Britain had refused to abide by the established rules of international warfare in repudiating the Declaration of London and by proclaiming a blockade of neutral ports. These measures, it was asserted, were aimed not only at Germany's military strength, but at her economic life, and "by starvation to doom the entire population of Germany to destruction." As Great Britain had claimed that vital interests of the British Empire were at stake, so Germany appealed to the same vital interests, and "it is to be expected that the neutral powers will show no less consideration for the vital interests of Germany than for those of England."

### THE FIRST NOTE ON SUBMARINE WARFARE.

The United States Government promptly took notice of the German proclamation. In a note addressed to the German Government on February 10, there was pointed out the "very serious possibilities of the course of action apparently contemplated." It urged Germany to consider before acting on that policy "the critical situation in respect of the relation between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens." While loath to believe that the German Government contemplated any such violation of the well-recognized principles of interna-

tional law the United States felt constrained to warn Germany that "it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights" and that "the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts."

To this warning of the United States the German Government replied on February 18, 1915. It called attention to Germany's observance of "valid international rules of naval warfare" in contrast to Great Britain's illegal interference with neutral commerce. It charged that neutrals had tacitly acquiesced in Great Britain's acts and hence Germany felt "obliged to answer Great Britain's method of murderous warfare with sharp counter-measures." The German Government expressed its willingness "to deliberate with the United States concerning any measures which might secure the safety of legitimate shipping of neutrals in the war zone" but at the same time Germany declared her intention of suppressing by every means in her power the large contraband trade with Great Britain. Finally it was suggested that American merchant ships carrying non-contraband be convoyed through the war zone. In conclusion the note stated that if the United States should be able to persuade Great Britain to abandon her alleged illegal methods of naval warfare Germany would "gladly draw conclusions from the new situation."

### THE SECOND STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In view of the very serious consequences which Germany's proposed policy threatened, the United States addressed identical notes to Great Britain and Germany proposing a basis of settlement. It was suggested that both powers should agree to the following conditions. (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; that all mines should



**TYPE OF GUARD ON THE HOLLAND FRONTIER**

The cost of keeping the army mobilized was a great drain upon the resources of Switzerland and the Netherlands, but these countries did not dare do otherwise. Guards were stationed at every road and bridge, and at intervals along the whole frontier. Along most of the frontier there were fences of barbed wire.



**MUNITION MAKING IN HOLLAND**

The Germans desired the Dutch to remain nominally neutral, but practically favorable to the German cause, and aided their commerce. In addition to these commercial considerations the memory of the Boer War told against Great Britain. Nevertheless, the experience of the refugees influenced the Dutch, making them willing if need be to oppose the power of Germany. They prepared large quantities of munitions to be ready for any emergency.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

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bear the stamp of the government planting them and should be so constructed as to become harmless when separated from their moorings; (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 both should prohibit the use of neutral flags for the purpose of disguise. Finally it was suggested that Germany should agree to allow foodstuffs imported from the United States to be consigned to agencies designated by the United States and to guarantee that such foodstuffs should be used for the civilian population only while Great Britain was requested not to place foodstuffs on the list of absolute contraband nor to interfere with such foodstuffs as were consigned to the designated agencies. To these suggestions Germany returned a qualified agreement while Great Britain refused to modify its blockade measures in these particulars.

### THE LUSITANIA IS SUNK WITHOUT ANY WARNING.

Unable to arrange an understanding between the belligerents the United States awaited the result of Germany's submarine activities. On March 28, 1915, word was received that the British steamship *Falaba* had been sunk near the English coast and an American, Leon C. Thrasher, had been drowned. In defense of this act Germany claimed that the *Falaba* had been warned and had attempted to escape. Upon being overhauled the passengers were given ten minutes to get into the life boats and the vessel was then sunk. During the month of April 1915 two American vessels were attacked in the war zone, the *Cushing* and the *Gulflight*. The United States instituted inquiries at London and Berlin concerning these attacks, but before the Government had taken any final action in these cases the whole civilized world was horrified at the news of the sinking of the Cunard Line Steamship, the *Lusitania*, on May 7, 1915, off the Old Head of Kinsale, the southeastern point of Ireland, resulting in the loss of 1153 lives. Of the victims 114 were American citizens.

On Saturday, May 1, the following notice had appeared in the newspapers throughout the United States.

"Notice!

"Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters, and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

"Imperial German Embassy  
"Washington, D. C., April 22, 1915."

### THE STORY OF THIS WARNING.

Mr. John R. Rathom, editor of the *Providence Journal*, later disclosed the interesting story of this message. Mr. Rathom, early in the war, determined to ferret out German intrigue and propaganda in this country. He succeeded in placing confidential agents in the German Embassy at Washington and in the German Consulates in a number of important cities. (For the story of Mr. Rathom's work see the "*World's Work*," December 1917, February and March, 1918.)

On April 29, 1915, the wireless station maintained by the *Providence Journal* picked up a code message which read as follows:

From Berlin Foreign Office

To Botschaft, Washington.

669 (44-W) Welt nineteen fifteen warne 175, 29, 1 stop 175, 1, 2 stop durch 622, 2, 4 stop 19, 7, 18 stop LIX, II, 3, 4, 5, 6.

This message aroused great curiosity for it followed no known code. The key was finally discovered through the clever work of one of Mr. Rathom's agents who recalled that on the morning of April 29 one of the officials of the German Embassy had been looking for a copy of the *World Almanac*. The words "*Welt 1915*" furnished the clue and with a copy of the *World Almanac* for 1915 by following the num-

bers as indicating page line and word the message was decoded as follows:

"Warn Lusitania passengers through press not voyage across Atlantic."

Throughout the United States this ruthless sacrifice of innocent lives aroused a feeling of bitter indignation. Some few German apologists attempted to justify the act. Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, who was regarded as the Kaiser's spokesman in America, issued a statement defending the German action on the ground that neutrals had received ample warning not to travel on belligerent ships, concluding that "everybody takes a risk if they want to. Anybody can commit suicide if they want to."

### WHAT WOULD THE UNITED STATES DO?

During the week following the sinking of the *Lusitania* the American people awaited with tense interest to see what action would be taken by the President in the face of this very grave situation. Public opinion was clearly aroused and it was expected that the United States would hold Germany to a "strict accountability" for the terrible crime. On May 10 the President addressed a meeting of four thousand naturalized citizens at Philadelphia. Coming so soon after the *Lusitania* tragedy it was expected that he would make reference to it. In the course of his remarks he said: "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." By many persons both in this country and abroad this statement was interpreted as foreshadowing a mild protest to Germany in the *Lusitania* matter.

Such fears, however, proved to be unfounded. On May 13, 1915, the eagerly awaited statement of the United States was published. With forceful dignity the President reviewed the acts of German submarines since the proclamation of the war zone "which the Government of the United States has observed with growing concern, distress and amazement." Concerning the German claim that the al-

leged illegal acts of Great Britain justified retaliatory measures the United States was unwilling to admit that such measures could deprive neutrals of rights clearly established by international law. Among such rights was that of traveling on merchant ships either of belligerent or neutral ownership.

### GERMANY IS AGAIN WARNED.

The United States assumed that the German Government recognized these clearly established principles and therefore 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 has in the past so wisely and so firmly contended." The note concluded with the warning 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."

A communication received from the German Government on May 11, 1915, clearly indicated that the German authorities appreciated the force of the resentment in neutral countries against Germany's submarine ruthlessness. It was stated that the German submarine commanders had no intention of attacking neutral ships in the war zone. Even if such ships carried contraband they were to be dealt with only according to the accepted rules of cruiser warfare. If any neutral ship should be attacked as a result of an "unfortunate accident" the German Government would "unreservedly recognize its responsibility therefor." This statement did not touch upon the right of neutrals to travel on belligerent merchant vessels but it nevertheless marked a clear

retreat from the extreme position taken in the proclamation of the war zone.

## THE GERMAN NOTE EVADES THE ISSUE.

On May 28, 1915, the German Government sent a reply to the American communication. In regard to the Cushing and the Gulflight it was stated that the German Government had instituted an investigation and if it was shown that the German commanders were at fault, the German Government would express regret and make reparation. The sinking of the Falaba was again justified because of the vessel's efforts to escape and to summon help. Concerning the Lusitania it was stated that the German Government had already expressed its regret at the loss of American lives. It was then suggested that the Government of the United States had not considered all of the material facts connected with the sinking. Among these were the alleged facts that the Lusitania had guns mounted below decks, that it carried a large amount of ammunition and some Canadian troops and that commanders of British merchant vessels had been ordered to ram submarines without warning. The German Government then requested the United States to take these matters into consideration and to make a further reply. A supplementary communication acknowledging responsibility for the Cushing and the Gulflight was received soon after.

Before the despatch of the American reply to this communication, Mr. Bryan tendered his resignation as Secretary of State, which was accepted. In explanation of his action, Mr. Bryan stated that he had found it impossible to agree with the President as to the mode of procedure in settling the controversy with Germany. In Mr. Bryan's opinion the Lusitania controversy should be submitted to an international tribunal and moreover the Americans should be warned against traveling on belligerent merchant vessels or on vessels carrying munitions of war.

On June 9, 1915, the Government of the United States replied to the German observations concerning the Lusitania. The note first expressed satisfaction

that Germany recognized its responsibility in the cases of the Gulflight and Cushing. Concerning the Falaba the United States was unable to agree that the attempt of the vessel to escape justified the sinking without making provision for the safety of persons on board.

## THE SECOND LUSITANIA NOTE.

Turning to the Lusitania question the American note stated that the German contention that the ship was armed was not true. In regard to the carrying of munitions of war it was stated that it was entirely "irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel." Coming to the heart of the matter the President said that "the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion, or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the Lusitania, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or warning; that men, women and children were sent to their deaths in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare." The United States therefore "very earnestly and very solemnly" renewed the representations made in its previous communication.

## THE POSITION OF SECRETARY BRYAN.

Coincident with the publication of this note Mr. Bryan issued a further explanation of his differences with the President. He pointed out that if the differences were merely personal it would matter little, "but the real issue is not between persons; it is between systems." In settling international disputes either force or persuasion may be used. "Persuasion employs argu-

ment, courts investigation, and depends upon negotiation. Force represents the old system, the system that must pass away. Persuasion represents the new system, that has been growing all too slowly, it is true, but growing for 1900 years" . . . "The war in Europe is the ripened fruit of the old system." He further said that he wished to be "counted among those who earnestly urge the adoption of a course in the matter which will leave no doubts of our Government's willingness to continue negotiations with Germany until an amicable understanding is reached, or at least until the stress of war is over, we can appeal from Philip drunk with carnage to Philip sobered by the memories of an historic friendship, and by our recollection of the innumerable ties of kinship that bind the Fatherland to the United States."

At the same time Mr. Bryan addressed an urgent appeal to all German Americans not to misunderstand the President who was "not only desirous of peace, but hopes for it, and he has adopted the methods which he thinks most likely to contribute towards peace. My difference with him is as to the method, not the purpose." He urged the German Americans to use their influence to persuade the German Government "to take no step that would lead in the direction of war."

### THE THIRD LUSITANIA NOTE.

On July 8, 1915, a further communication was received from Germany. Its tone was conciliatory but there was very clear evidence in the note that the German authorities were attempting to evade the real issue. In answer to this note the State Department sent a reply on July 21, 1915, couched in language which was clearly intended to convey to Germany the conviction that the United States regarded the German note as "very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real difference between the two governments" and it called upon the German Government "no longer to refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander."

The determined stand of the United

States apparently had its effect in Germany. It is true that many boastful statements appeared in the German press declaring that Germany would not abandon its submarine warfare. During the later months of 1915, however, sinkings without warning and without provision for the safety of passengers were the exception rather than the rule. In the case of the steamship *Arabic*, sunk without warning on August 18, 1915, the German Government, while inclined at first, to refuse to admit any obligation for the sinking, on the ground that the *Arabic* had attempted to ram the submarine, nevertheless, later agreed to disavow the act and to pay an indemnity for the loss of American lives. At the same time it was stated the orders given to the submarine commanders "have been made so stringent that a recurrence of incidents similar to the *Arabic* case is considered out of the question."

The tension was further relieved by a statement made by Ambassador von Bernstorff in a letter to Secretary Lansing on September 1, 1915. In it he gave assurance that no more liners would be sunk without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants. It will be noted that this assurance includes belligerents as well as neutral ships. The result of these negotiations was regarded as a distinct diplomatic victory for the United States. It had apparently forced Germany to abandon her policy of maritime terrorism and to agree to respect those principles of law and humanity which she had set at naught for eight months.

### THE QUESTION OF ARMED MERCHANTMEN.

Just as the country began to breathe more easily at the passing of the crisis with Germany a new issue appeared which once more precipitated a grave situation. Under the accepted rules of naval warfare merchantmen were allowed to carry guns for defensive purposes. The practice was a relic of the days of piracy and the armament of merchantmen was intended for defense against these marauders of the sea. Such armament was never sufficient to



be available against a regular war ship. Against the submarine, however, even the small calibre guns of a merchant vessel would be effective for offensive as well as defensive purposes.

The German Government charged that Great Britain had mounted guns on many merchant vessels and had given instructions to the commanders to sink German submarines on sight. It was the view of the German Government that under these circumstances the armed merchant vessel became a man of war. This contention had some force and Secretary Lansing in a note to the Entente powers stated "that my government is impressed by the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser, and so treated by a neutral, as well as by a belligerent government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly." It was suggested, therefore, that all armament should be removed from merchant vessels.

### THE MCLEMORE RESOLUTION IS PRESENTED IN CONGRESS.

Without waiting for the reply of the Entente powers to this proposal of the United States, Germany served notice that after March 1, 1916, armed merchant vessels would be sunk by the Teutonic powers without warning. Shortly after this a communication was received from the Entente powers declining to accede to the suggestion of the United States that guns should be removed from merchant vessels. This refusal created an unfavorable impression in the United States and in both houses of Congress resolutions were introduced to carry into effect the announced position of the United States to consider armed merchant vessels as vessels of war. In the House a resolution proposed by Mr. McLeMORE of Texas provided that the President should warn all Americans to refrain from traveling on any armed merchant ships at their own risk. A similar resolution was introduced by Senator Gore.

Great excitement developed in Congress and much bitter feeling was displayed. For a time it appeared that the resolutions would pass by substantial majorities. A serious breach between Congress and the President was threatened. Appealed to by Senator Stone, President Wilson stated that no nation has a right while a war is in progress "to alter or disregard the principles which all nations had agreed upon." As the Entente powers had refused to modify their position in regard to armament on merchant vessels, the President maintained that the United States could take no further action in the matter. At the same time the President did not take kindly to Congressional interference in the conduct of the country's diplomatic negotiations. In a letter to Mr. Pou of the House Committee on Rules, the President pointed out that the impression had gotten abroad that there were divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the country and that such an impression would "expose the country to the utmost risk." He therefore urged an early vote on the resolutions before Congress, in order that "all doubts and conjectures may be swept away." This appeal to "stand behind the President" had its effect upon Congress and the resolutions were laid on the table in both houses.

Fortified by this expression of support from Congress the President let it be known that no further negotiations relative to the Lusitania case would be undertaken until Germany gave assurance that American lives would not be endangered by the announced intention of Germany to sink armed merchant vessels. The later developments in the submarine controversy ending in the declaration of war by the United States will be discussed in another place.

### THE QUESTION OF AMMUNITION AND NEUTRALITY.

The war had been under way but a short time when it became evident that the Entente allies would draw largely upon American munition manufacturers for supplies of arms and ammunition. The German press in Germany

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and German sympathizers in the United States demanded that the United States Government should prohibit such traffic in the interest of real neutrality, pointing out that it was impossible for Germany to obtain such supplies in the American market because British control of the seas would prevent their delivery in Germany. German sympathizers throughout the country through such organizations as the American Truth Society, American Peaceful Embargo Society, Friends of Peace, Friends of Truth and many others, started a vigorous campaign to influence American public opinion in favor of an embargo on arms and ammunition with the hope of helping Germany or injuring Great Britain. The membership of these societies included a considerable number of native-born Americans, chiefly pacifists or sentimentalists. Some of the members of such organizations did not realize that they were being used to advance German interests.

The question of an embargo reached Congress and bills were introduced in both Houses, making it unlawful to export any munitions to the European belligerents. On April 4, 1915, Ambassador von Bernstorff called the matter to the attention of the Government of the United States officially. He insisted that conditions in past wars formed no precedent for this gigantic struggle and that a real spirit of neutrality demanded the prohibition of a trade which was aiding only one of the belligerents. To this communication the United States replied that the right to sell arms and ammunition to belligerents was clearly recognized by international law; that American firms were prepared to sell to Germany on equal terms with the Allies and that it was no fault of the United States if Germany was unable to transport such supplies to Germany. To prohibit the export of munitions would be a clear modification of international law which was not warranted during the progress of a war.

**AN EMBARGO BOTH UNJUST AND UNWISE.**

In answering a similar protest from the Austrian Government the State Department made the position of the United States clear. Not only would an embargo be a violation of neutrality but it was clearly not to the interest of the United States to establish such a precedent. It was pointed out that it had never been the policy of the United States to maintain a large military establishment, but that it had depended, in case of war, upon its right to purchase in the markets of the world the necessary military supplies. To deny this right would necessitate the building up of large military stores in time of peace and would encourage that very militarism to which the United States was unalterably opposed.

This very forceful presentation of the American point of view tended to silence the clamor for an embargo, except among the small but energetic group of German sympathizers in the United States and definitely put an end to the possibility of Congressional action in the matter. For more than two years the United States authorities had labored to maintain the essential rights of neutrals. It was a difficult and thankless struggle. To the inevitable criticism of all the belligerents was added that of many neutrals who felt that the protests of the United States were not sufficiently vigorous, and also the protests of those Americans whose sympathies drew them to one or another of the belligerents in Europe. There were many persons who maintained that the United States had been far more insistent in protesting against German than against British violations of neutral rights. This was true and there was a very good reason for this difference. British violations, however irksome, affected only property for which indemnity was promised in case of any proved injustice, but German violations resulted in the loss of human lives.

NELSON P. MEAD.



#### THE CANADIAN SCOTTISH MARCHING THROUGH YPRES

The roads and squares of Ypres which had once been lively with prosperous Flemish merchants and their families, then had settled into quiet small-town life, became in 1914 and 1915 a setting for strange military pageants. Here we see the Canadian Scottish passing through the ruins after their gallant charge in the wood west of St. Julien. The Highland pipes echoed where the chimes and trumpets of Flanders lay broken and silenced. The part of the Kilties from Canada in the battle of April 22, 1915, was so brilliant a performance that the day is celebrated in their home country as St. Julien's Day. Moving in light order and with fixed bayonets upon the German position in the wood, they rushed through a storm of fire upon a low ridge, shouting and cheering, to fight hand-to-hand in woods and trenches. The 10th Battalion, in the van, lost its Colonel, Russell Boyle. In the battle the 48th Canadian Highlanders lost 691 officers and men out of 896.



FIELD-MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG  
Commander-in-Chief of the British Armies in France  
and Belgium from December 15, 1915





Scene in the Region Held by the Belgians

## CHAPTER XVII

# Fighting in Flanders in 1915

## BRITISH, BELGIANS AND FRENCH FIGHT IN THE NORTH

THE year 1915 dawned with high hopes for the Allied cause. The Germans had been balked during 1914 of that quick decision in the west on which they had staked their strategy; and the Allies had been given time to bring their more slowly mobilized resources into play. Already the "Russian steam-roller"—as the British fondly designated the vast Russian armies—had been moving through Galicia and Poland and over the Carpathians; and the British newspapers began publishing estimates of how far the Russians still had to go to reach Berlin. France, although she had suffered terrible losses in 1914, was still sound. Her depots were as yet far from depletion; her incompetent generals had been weeded out by Joffre with a ruthless hand; and the spirit of her people had never shone so brightly.

### LORD KITCHENER PREPARES FOR A LONG WAR.

The British Empire had sprung to arms with an unsuspected alacrity. Lord Kitchener, the British Secretary of State for War, realizing almost immediately the character of the struggle, and discarding at once the doctrine that Great Britain had only a limited liability in a continental war, had issued a call for a million volunteers. These volunteers had flocked to the recruiting offices even faster than the country, with its unprepared resources, could equip them; and by the end of 1914 Great Britain had in Flanders, not two army corps, as at Mons, but

two armies. Already in Europe were troops from both India and Canada, the latter the vanguard of the largest military force which had ever up to that time crossed the Atlantic. On the other hand, Austria-Hungary had been brought by her early defeats to the verge of ruin; and Germany was compelled to face, virtually single-handed, the outnumbering adversaries who ringed her round. Armchair strategists, computing the man-power of the various belligerents, proved by mathematics that Germany was already as good as beaten; and many people thought that an Allied advance to the Rhine was on the cards for 1915.

### THE FATAL LACK OF MUNITIONS.

These hopes were false and illusory. They failed to take into account two cardinal facts. The first of these was that, even more important than the question of man-power, was the question of munitions; for the vastest armies, if they are inadequately equipped, are helpless against very much inferior forces which are well equipped. Had the British people, for instance, known that at this very time Russian soldiers were advancing against the enemy without rifles and ammunition, and that the Russian guns were already being rationed to two shells a day, they might have discounted somewhat the Russian menace to Germany. Had they fully realized that the smallness of the British standing army was the least part of the



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

British unpreparedness for war, but that this was seen much more vitally in the absence of any adequate organization of the country for waging war on a large scale, they might have been less sanguine about their own effort.

### **I**GNORANCE OF GERMAN PREPARATIONS.

Nor did they know that Germany, prepared for war as she was, had al-

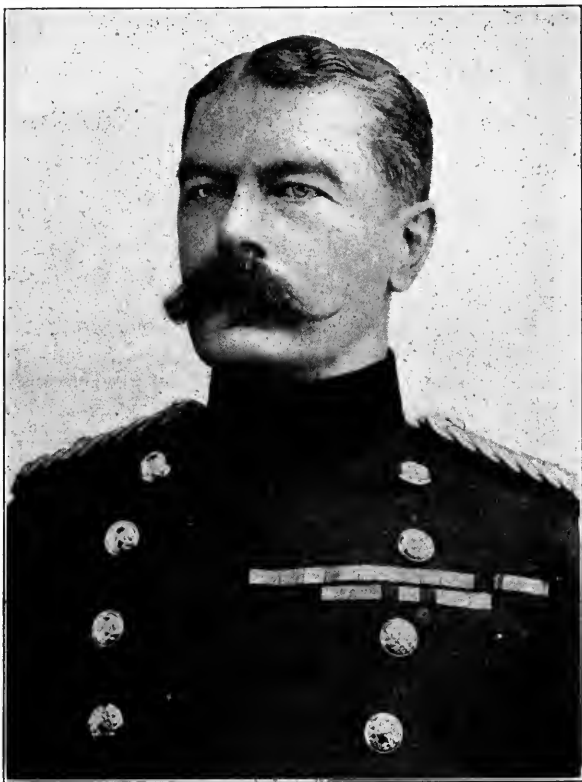
come over the character of the war on the western front. The war of manœuvre in the open had for the time come to an end, and trench warfare had succeeded it. During the long winter each side settled down into long rows of parallel ditches, so that an observer, scanning the battle-field, might not see a single human being. At first these trenches, sometimes waist-deep in water and liquid mud, offered an uncomfortable and precarious refuge; but gradually, since necessity is the mother of invention, they were improved and strengthened.

### **P**OSSIBILITIES OF TRENCH-WARFARE IGNORED.

A new branch of military science sprang into being. Trench-warfare was, of course, not entirely new. It had been seen during the Russo-Japanese war in Manchuria; but its lessons had not been fully digested. The Germans alone seem to have grasped something of its implications. They, for instance, foresaw that under trench-warfare conditions the rifle would be superseded, except for sniping purposes, by the bomb and the machine-gun, and they had armed their troops plentifully with both of these, whereas the British were less well equipped with machine-guns, and were compelled to manufacture their bombs on the battle-field—weird missiles made out of jam and bully-beef tins and slabs of gun-cotton tied to sticks. All these facts

mitigated against the chances of a successful Allied offensive on the Western Front; and they enabled the Germans, during the winter of 1914-1915, to withdraw large bodies of troops from this front for service against the Russians.

Some inkling of these new factors in the situation must have come to the British officers and men who through that exceptionally wet and bitter winter fought in Flanders fields. Along



**KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM**

August 1914, Lord Kitchener was called to the War Office by unanimous popular sentiment. It was largely due to him that a great army was available for the Battle of the Somme.

ready taken to heart the warning of her shell shortage on the Marne, and was now straining every nerve to make up for her comparative weakness in man-power by the most colossal output of war material—guns, shells, machine-guns, bombs, even liquid fire and poison gas—of which she was capable.

The second fact of which the undue optimism of the Allies failed to take account was the change which had

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

the Yser, where the Belgians, with the French on their right, stood guard behind the inundations over the last remnants of their country, there was little or no fighting; for it was not until toward the spring that the German guns broke down the dam that held up the waters of the Yser, and so permitted the drainage of the flooded area. But along the British front from Ypres south there was continual local fighting; and in this fighting neither

a French-Canadian rebel, carried out the first of those trench-raids for which the Canadians were to become famous. New methods of warfare were resorted to. Trench mortars and *minenwerfers* appeared on the scene; and the struggle was even carried underground, where mines and counter-mines were run. On February 20 the Germans blew up a whole squadron of British Lancasters doing their tour in the trenches. The casualties on both sides in this



**BELGIAN TRENCH STRUCTURES IN THE FLOODED REGION**

In the flooded areas of Flanders it was impossible to dig trenches, therefore structures of sand-bags resting upon piles had to be substituted for furrows in the earth. It was an odd setting for the episodes of war—upon lakes or lagoons. But there the heroic Belgians kept a foothold.

side was able to advance. A section of trench here, a strong point there, generally represented the gain to the attackers; and frequently this was lost during the counter-attack.

### **CANADIANS SHOW THEIR METTLE.**

In such struggles the most desperate valor was often displayed. It was at this time that the Irish Guardsman O'Leary won the Victoria Cross and world-wide fame by clearing a German trench single-handed, and that a party of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, led by the grandson of

winter fighting were heavy; among the British alone they were not less than 20,000. But nothing availed to break the deadlock.

### **AN ALLIED ATTACK IS IMPERATIVE.**

The general situation demanded that, no matter what the difficulties, the western Allies should attack in the spring. Loyalty to the Russians, who had been fighting heavily all winter, alone required this. On the other hand, as the winter drew to a close, the British, at any rate, found themselves in no position as yet to undertake a

general offensive. Though they had now over a quarter of a million men in France and Flanders, they were hardly in a position to undertake an attack on an extended front. For that, it was deemed better to wait until more of "Kitchener's million" were ready to take their places in the line of battle. But in the meantime it was decided to attack on a narrow front and with a limited objective, partly in order to aid the Russians, partly in order to improve the British line, and partly for the purpose of making trial of the strength of the German defenses.

Plans for the attack were laid with much care and thought. The spot chosen for the attack was a shallow salient thrust into the British line in front of the village of Neuve Chapelle. This village had been much fought over the previous autumn, and had finally remained in the hands of the Germans; but its importance rested in the fact that it lay in front of the Aubers ridge, a slight eminence which looked on the broad plain surrounding Lille. An attack on it was calculated to yield into the hands of the British this dominating position, and possibly even the city of Lille itself.

### THE BATTLE OF NEUVE CHAPELLE.

The assault here was to be made on a front of four miles by two army corps of Haig's First Army, the Fourth Corps under Rawlinson and the Indian Corps under Willcocks, with a cavalry division in reserve. At the same time, strong demonstrations were to be made along the line to the north by the Second Army, and to the south by the First Army Corps, with the object of pinning down the German forces. The attack was to be prefaced by an intensive artillery bombardment; and for this purpose some three hundred guns were quietly collected in the Neuve Chapelle sector—a concentration which clearly foreshadowed the massed artillery attacks of subsequent battles. All preparations were made in great secrecy; and the British airmen, who now began to win that ascendancy over the German airmen which became so pronounced later on, not only

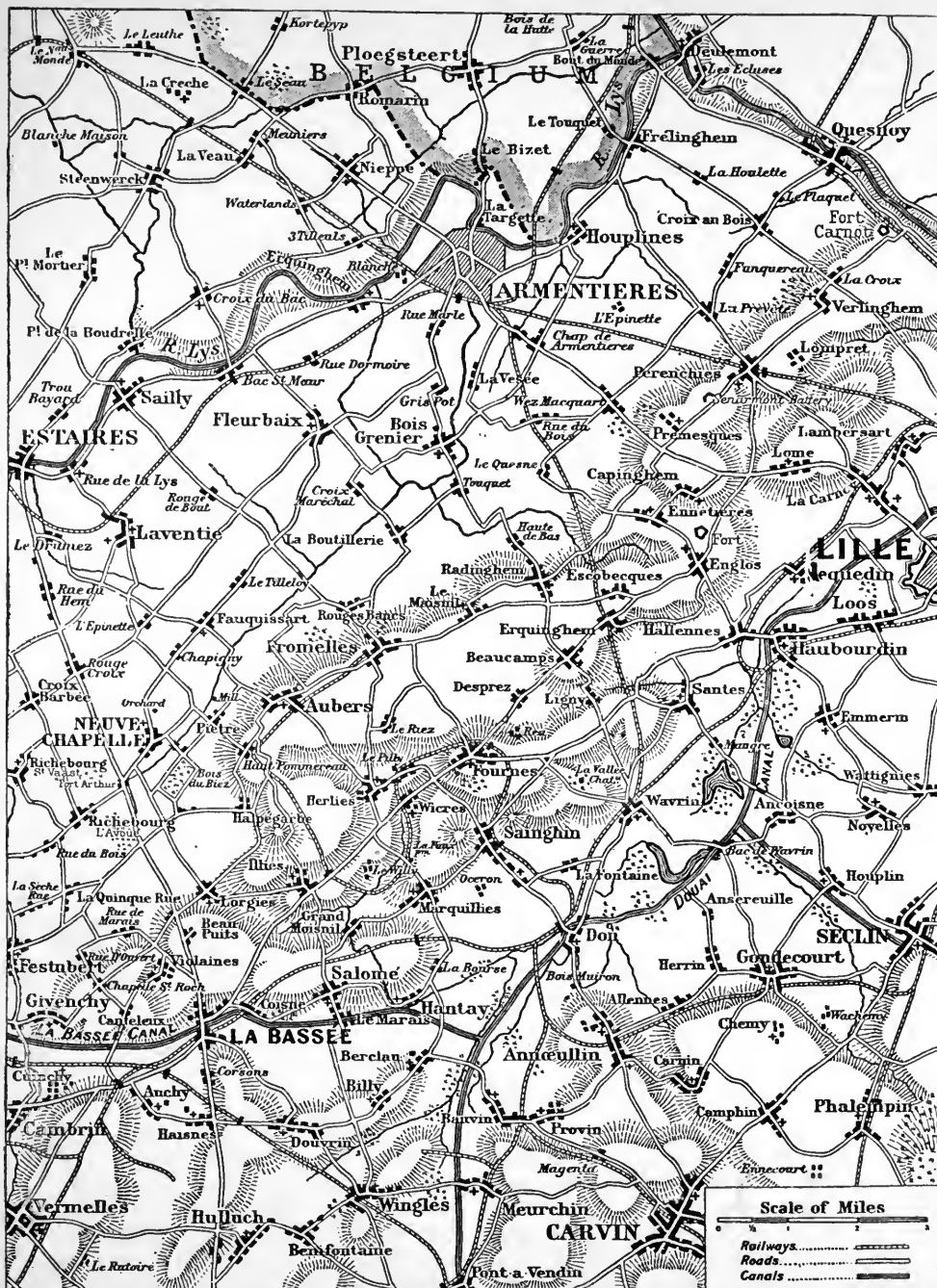
bombed the German railway junctions behind the front, but effectually prevented aerial observation over the British lines.

The battle began at 7:30 A.M. on March 10. As the half-hour struck the British guns opened up with one voice a terrific bombardment—the type of bombardment to which the Germans immediately gave the enduring name of "drum-fire." This continued for half an hour, the gunners working their guns with such speed that at the end of the time they were lying panting like spent hounds about their pieces. The result was most successful. Along the greater part of the German front the heavy wire entanglements were blown to pieces, the trenches were levelled almost beyond recognition, and the German infantry in them were either annihilated or left so dazed and unnerved as to be incapable of resistance. Then, at 8:05 A.M., the British troops attacked, while the artillery lifted on the village of Neuve Chapelle.

### THE TOWN IS TAKEN BY THE BRITISH.

Except on the German right, where the wire had been only partially destroyed and the German machine-guns were still in action, the attack swept forward almost unopposed; and by noon Neuve Chapelle itself was in British hands. Here occurred, however, a most unfortunate delay. Especially in the north, where the British had had to overcome a stubborn resistance, units had lost direction, had become badly mixed up, and in some cases had lost most of their effectives. It was therefore deemed necessary to reorganize and rearrange them. This took time; but it can hardly have been the chief cause of the delay, for some of the units were actually able to reform in the open, so completely had the Germans been taken by surprise and overwhelmed. The chief cause of the delay seems to have been the failure of the British reserves to arrive in time. It was not until 3:30 P.M. that the line of khaki once more swept forward; and by this time the German local reserves had had a chance to recover

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MAP OF OPERATIONS AROUND NEUVE CHAPPELLE IN MARCH, 1915

themselves, and reinforcements had had a chance to arrive from the adjacent parts of the line.

The attack had not gone far before it found itself held up on the left by

an organized resistance from the hamlet of Moulin-du-Piètre to the north-east of Neuve Chapelle, in the centre by a machine-gun post at a bridge over the little Des Layes River, and on the

right by the Bois de Biez south-east of Neuve Chapelle. The machine-guns on the Des Layes exercised a peculiarly important influence on the situation, for they were able, not only to hold up the attack in front of them, but they were able to bring a most destructive enfilade fire to bear on the Indians as they swept into the Bois de Biez. The result was that, as night came on, the British were compelled to dig in to the east of Neuve Chapelle, barely a mile from their point of departure.

### THE DELAY PROVES FATAL TO THE BRITISH PLAN.

It was still hoped that the attack might be resumed with success on the following day, when the British artillery might be brought to bear on the new German positions. The next morning, however, broke unfortunately thick with mist; observation of the enemy's positions became impossible; and the artillery was able to lay down only a blind fire. A few hundred yards were gained by the British infantry here and there; but no appreciable difference was effected in the general situation. On March 12 the Germans, heavily reinforced by Bavarian and Saxon reserves from Tourcoing, launched their counter-attack. It broke down with heavy losses all along the line; and the western slopes of the Aubers ridge were littered with German dead. But when the British attempted to follow up the repulse of these attacks, they found the defense still too strong to be broken; and by the evening of the 14th Sir John French deemed it wise to break off the engagement.

The battle of Neuve Chapelle anticipated in many important respects the fighting of the later stages of the war. In the use of massed artillery fire for beating down a strongly entrenched line, in the double use of aeroplanes both for offense and defense in conjunction with the attack, and in the employment of successive assaulting waves, one passing through the other, it pointed the way for future tactics. The scheme was, however, less happy in its execution than in its conception. It was unfortunate that the author

of the scheme, Brigadier-General John Gough, the brilliant general staff officer of the First Army, was killed before the battle began, and so was not able to superintend its conduct. Very early in the battle co-operation between the infantry and the artillery broke down, with the result that the British troops suffered under their own guns and did not get adequate support from them in the later stages of the attack. It is clear, too, that the British had not yet learnt how to deal with the murderous German machine-guns; perhaps, in view of their deficiency in bombers, they could not have been expected to deal with them.

### THE LESSONS LEARNED BY THE BRITISH.

The most disastrous breakdown, however, was the failure of the reserves to arrive in time. This alone was sufficient to rob the operation of success, no matter how well it began. Neuve Chapelle, in truth, was a costly lesson for the British in the hard school of experience. They had captured 2000 prisoners and a tract of ground not much larger than a good-sized farm at the cost of nearly 13,000 casualties, nearly as many as they had sustained in the whole of the retreat from Mons; but they had learnt much about the difficulties of attacking the new entrenched lines, and, above all, they had learnt that, in order to get the best results, it was necessary to advance on a wide front, to do which they had to wait until more of the new British forces were ready for the field.

The next move went to the Germans. Although they had checked the British at Neuve Chapelle, they seem, with their weakened man-power on the western front, naturally to have been afraid of a resumption of the British offensive. It was a cardinal article of their military creed that the best kind of defense is an attack. An attack would not only conceal somewhat their weakness, but, if at all successful, might seriously upset the British plans. The difficulty was that an attack with weak forces, especially against the new entrenchments, might easily end in disaster. In this predicament they

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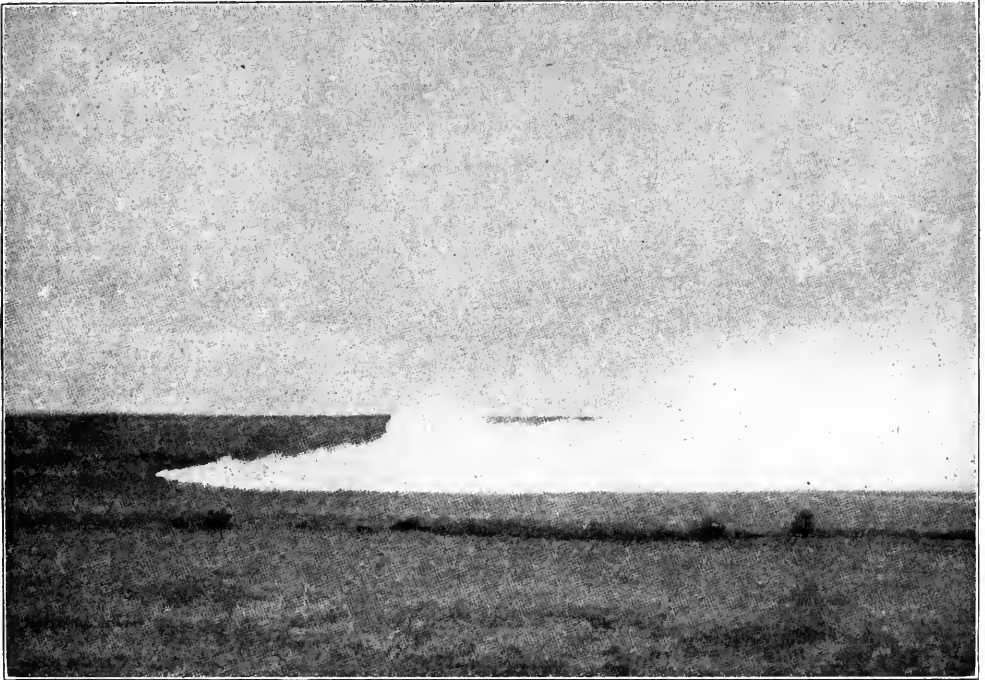
cast about for some device which they could call to their aid. The device upon which they hit was poison gas.

### THE USE OF POISON GAS IN WARFARE.

Attempts have been made to defend the use of poison gas in warfare, on the ground that it is no more cruel and painful in its effects than artillery fire may be. This is hardly true: a man who is hit by a high explosive shell may suffer as terribly as a man who is

lightly upon her. Nor was the decision to use poison gas one taken without thought on the spur of the moment. It can only have been the result of long preparation, in which the making of great retorts and repeated experiments upon dumb animals had their place.

The spot selected by the Germans for their first public demonstration of this new and hellish mode of warfare, was the old battle-ground of the Ypres



AN ADVANCING WAVE OF POISON GAS

A wave of the greenish-yellow poison gas, by which the Germans planned to "settle the hash of the wicked English" is shown in the picture as it looked rolling on in the direction of the trenches. Taken by surprise in the first attack by this new device used in the Second Battle of Ypres, the Algerians were overcome. The story of the Canadians' stand, in the face of the horrible peril, has become famous.

gassed, but he may also die a painless and instantaneous death, whereas the man who is gassed is certain to suffer a long and lingering torment. But the real objection to the use of poison gas was that the use of poison had by common consent long been barred in warfare among civilized peoples, and had been expressly forbidden by the Hague Convention, to which the representatives of the German Emperor had set their sign and seal. Once again, as in the invasion of Belgium, Germany showed that her plighted word sat

salient. Here the Allied line was held by a variety of troops. At the northern re-entrant of the salient, adjoining the Belgians, who still clung to the fringe of their native soil behind the Yser, were elements of the French Eighth Army, mainly Algerians. Next to them, holding the northern face of the salient, stood the First Canadian Division, which had reached the front in February, but had as yet seen no heavy fighting. The remainder of the salient was held by British troops of Smith-Dorrien's Second Army. It was



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to the north of Ypres that the gas attack was launched.

### THE SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES.

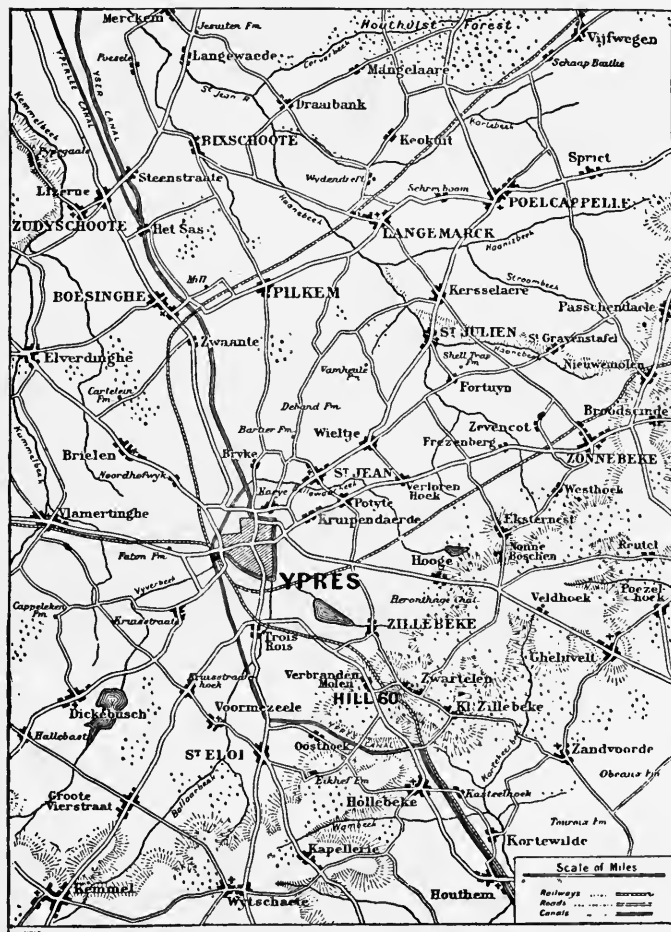
In the late afternoon of April 22, there appeared from the German

ground in a blue agony of death, they turned and fled. Many of them did not halt in their flight until they had reached Ypres or put the canal between them and their diabolic enemies. Meanwhile, the German infantry had

jumped from their trenches and were moving forward into the gap thus created. By the evening they were actually in one place across the Ypres canal.

The Canadians, on the right of the Algerians, were now in a most critical position. They had suffered from the gas, although not so severely as the Algerians, and their left flank was completely in the air. According to all the rules of warfare, they should have fallen back with all haste in order to straighten the line. The Germans, who regarded them as raw colonial militia, doubtless expected them to do so. But the Canadians were not minded to retreat. While holding their original line, they merely extended it several thousand yards in a south-west direction so as to cover their flank, and awaited developments. The Germans, thinking to overwhelm their over-

bold opponents, attacked them from all sides with furious rifle and artillery fire, and with blasts of their infernal gas; but when they attacked they were met with such deadly rapid-fire from the thin Canadian line and such avalanches of shrapnel from the Canadian guns firing point-blank with fuses set at zero, that they recoiled from the severity of the punishment. The Germans were astonished.



### THE SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES

Here on April 22, 1915, stood the thin but steadfast line that kept the Germans from marching through into northern France. The barrier of thorn-bushes interlaced with beams, on the ancient ramparts of Ypres, seems now to have prefigured the barbed-wire of our time.

trenches opposite the Algerians a cloud of greenish-yellow vapor, which, under the impulsion of a northerly breeze, rolled down on the French lines. As the deadly fumes reached the Algerians, these superstitious natives of North Africa were seen suddenly to throw up their hands, to clutch their throats, to betray all the symptoms of asphyxiation; and then, leaving some of their number wallowing on the



WHERE THE CANADIANS "SAVED THE SITUATION" IN THE SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES

No picture can really show the terrible fighting at the Second Battle of Ypres, but this glimpse of a bit of the Canadian trenches will give an idea of those terrible April days in 1915. It was painted by Major Richard Jack, A.R.A., and forms a part of the Canadian War Records. The valor of the 1st Division of Canadians in this battle, which was the first in which poisonous gas was used, is one of the imperishable memories of the great struggle.

© Canadian War Records

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### CANADIANS WIN IMMORTAL FAME.

Meanwhile, the Canadian reserves were being rushed forward. Two battalions of these counter-attacked at midnight at the extreme left of the Canadian line, drove the Germans back, and recaptured four British 4.7 guns which had been taken by the Germans in their advance. The next morning two more battalions counter-attacked still further to the left, and they too drove the Germans back. The very vigor of these counter-attacks seems to have given the Germans the impression that the British had at their disposal considerable reserves, when, as a matter of fact, nothing lay between them and Ypres but one thin and over-extended line. Gradually, on the left of the Canadians, the five-mile gap along the canal was filled by British cavalry and by detachments of British and French infantry; and by the morning of April 23 the supreme danger was over. Had they known it, the Germans on the evening of April 22 could have walked through into northern France; and nothing but the high-spirited stand of the Canadians seems to have stopped them.

### THE DANGER OF ALLIED DISASTER.

The situation, however, was still not without its peril. The Canadians were occupying a sharp and dangerous salient, with no supports in rear, and at any moment they might be overwhelmed by the superior numbers of their opponents. During April 23 and 24 they were compelled to withdraw the centre of their line, under pressure of heavy attacks, to a less vulnerable position nearer Ypres. But by the time this movement was completed, British reinforcements had begun to arrive from farther south. At first, these were thrust in anywhere and everywhere, so that Canadians and Britons were found fighting together in the same trenches, a bitter object-lesson to those Germans who had thought the British Empire on the point of dissolution; but by April 25 sufficient reinforcements had arrived

to permit of the sorely-tried Canadians being relieved. It was indeed high time. Their losses had been appalling, even when judged by the standards of the Great War. Several battalions had come out of action barely one hundred strong; and in three terrific days the division had lost about half its effectives. But it had the satisfaction of knowing that, as Sir John French reported, it had "saved the situation," and that it had made the name of Canada respected and feared upon the battlefield.

The battle did not end with the withdrawal of the Canadians. It continued, almost without abatement, for another ghastly month. It seemed as if the Germans suddenly realized how near they had come to breaking through, and were making frantic efforts to recover the opportunity they had lost. The British and the Indians who had relieved the Canadians were attacked with redoubled vigor; and some of the British units lost even more heavily than the Canadians.

### GAS ATTACKS ARE CONTINUED WITH INCREASED VIRULENCE.

Whenever the wind was favorable, the Germans continued to launch their devil's gas. So deadly did the gas attacks become that the British began to adopt the heroic expedient of dashing quickly through the on-coming cloud of vapor and falling with the bayonet on the Germans behind it. In addition to the gas, the Germans now brought to bear on the British a furious artillery bombardment, to which the latter, most of whose guns were still in the south, could make no effective reply. The ordeal became almost more than flesh and blood could stand. Fortunately, while these attacks were proceeding, the British and French who had filled in the gap along the Ypres canal were making some progress; this somewhat relieved the pressure on the right; and by the end of the month the German onslaught in the north had slackened.

Then the Germans shifted their attack to the eastern face of the salient. Here the withdrawal of the Canadian line in the north had left an

awkward angle in the British line which invited attack. As early as May 1 the Germans began to show their hand in this sector. On May 3 the British made a most successful retirement, flattening out the salient so that the front line ran now, not five, but three miles from Ypres. It was well they did so; for on May 5 the Germans, after bombarding the empty British trenches for a day, advanced to the assault with a fury reminiscent of the First Battle of Ypres. On May 8 the attack culminated in an overwhelming artillery attack, both with gas shells and high explosive, which transcended anything the British had faced before. Whole battalions were wiped out of existence. Repeatedly the line was broken and pushed back. It became necessary once more to throw the British cavalry into the breach.

### **I**MPROVED RESPIRATORS REDUCE DANGER.

With grim, bull-dog tenacity, the British held on, sometimes fighting both in front and rear. "Even numbers about turn, odd numbers carry on," was a command improvised by one gallant British officer. For six days the tornado lasted; and then it died down out of pure exhaustion. On May 24 the Germans made a last despairing effort to reach that gaunt, tottering tower in Ypres, so near and yet so far, which was the goal of their hopes. On a front of over three miles, from Shell-trap Farm to Bellewaarde Lake, they launched a gas attack of great virulence, followed by an infantry assault. But the British troops had now been served with rude respirators, soaked in chemicals which counteracted the effect of the chlorine gas. When the Germans advanced to the attack they met with unexpected opposition. "They were simply shot back into their trenches by a blaze of fire," a British officer wrote afterwards. "They bolted back like rabbits." This was the end. The Germans cried, "Enough;" and though the Ypres salient continued for many long months to be a veritable charnel-house for the Allies, the Second Battle of Ypres was over.

The net result of the battle was a

gain to the Germans, at the cost of losses probably as great as those which they inflicted on the French and the British, of several thousand prisoners, eight batteries of French guns and four British 4.7 guns, all captured on the first day of the battle, and a strip of territory some two miles deep, representing the outer fringe of the Ypres salient. To outward appearances, the battle seemed to be merely a senseless repetition of the First Battle of Ypres five months before, distinguished only by the criminal use of the poison gas. But from the strategical standpoint it is probable that it represented a distinct advantage to the Germans, no matter how unfairly that advantage was gained. It must have seriously deranged the Allied plans for the summer; for it forced them to alter their dispositions, and to use up in defense troops which might have been used in attack. Above all, it revealed to the world—to the Germans as well as to the Allies—the unreadiness of Great Britain.

### **B**RITISH FAILURE TO PREPARE ADEQUATELY.

A striking feature of the battle had been the overwhelming predominance of the German artillery. Not only did it outnumber, in guns, the British artillery by at least six to one, but it seemed to have at its disposal unlimited supplies of shells, whereas the British at times during the battle had been compelled to rely almost solely on their rifles. The truth was that the Germans had been during the winter speeding up their production of munitions, whereas the British had not. That the importance of an overwhelming superiority in munitions was realized by some at least of the British staff in France, is shown by the plans for Neuve Chapelle; but there seems to have been a strange lack of co-operation between France and England. Perhaps the truth is that Lord Kitchener, the British Secretary of State for War, had tried to do too much himself, and consequently had not been able to give sufficient attention to some aspects of his work. In any case, the Second Battle of Ypres and its revelation of

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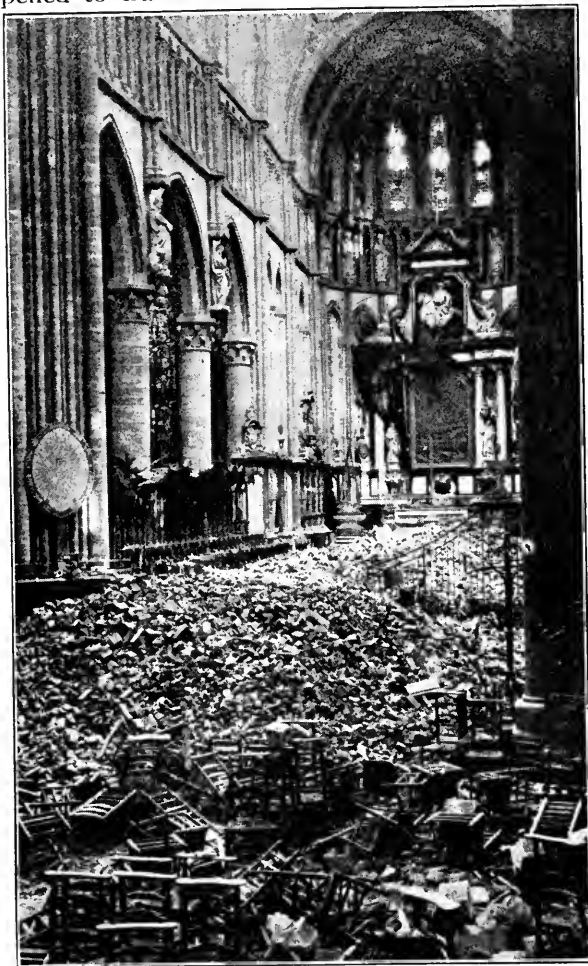
bungling at the War Office produced a most unpleasant impression in Great Britain, and brought on a political crisis. The Asquith Government, which had hitherto been in power, was compelled to transform itself into a coal-

ition. While the fighting at Ypres was in progress, the British, it is true, launched an offensive along the southern section of their line, between Laventie and Festubert. This battle, which began with a bloody repulse for the British on May 9, lasted for two weeks, and resulted in the capture of the German forward positions on a front of about four miles in the neighborhood of Festubert and Richebourg. But the object of this battle was merely to relieve the pressure on the Ypres salient farther north, and might properly be regarded as part of that struggle. On June 15, the Canadians, in conjunction with the British on either side of them, made a local attack in the neighborhood of Givenchy. The Canadians, who brought two of their artillery pieces up to the front line, captured their objective, but the British on their flanks were not so fortunate; and the whole attack had to fall back.

### FURTHER OPERATIONS AROUND YPRES.

On June 16, British troops in the Ypres salient carried out, under cover of the first adequate artillery protection they had had for months, a smart attack on the German trenches near the ruined château of Hooze, and carried them. Two weeks later the Germans counter-attacked. They exploded a mine they had run under the British position; they sprayed the survivors with liquid fire from their diabolical *flammenwerfer*; and only one man

is known to have escaped alive from the trench. But on July 9 the British came back with an old-fashioned bayonet attack, and took their revenge. The trenches of Hooze were recaptured, but there were few German prisoners captured in them. Warriors who took refuge in poison gas and liquid fire did not seem to the British infantryman to be deserving of mercy.



WRECKAGE IN ST. MARTIN'S, YPRES

St. Martin's Cathedral, Ypres (whose beautiful choir, with handsome carvings in oak, is here seen piled with debris) was a fine example of a late Gothic style noble in line and proportion. It dates from the 13th Century. International Film Service

tion or national ministry, and to create a new Department of Munitions, under the charge of David Lloyd-George, the leader of the radical wing of the Liberal party. Only when this was done did Great Britain really begin to place itself on a war basis.

The Second Battle of Ypres condemned the British to comparative inaction for the whole summer of



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Apart from these encounters, however, the British front during the summer remained quiescent. To people in England, inflamed by the sinking of the *Lusitania* and by the inhuman methods of German warfare in the field, the inaction of the army was exasperating. Nor was it good for the troops themselves, since it weakened their offensive spirit. The Germans likewise felt this decrease in vigor. A German divisional order captured at this time complained that it had become the habit of the infantry "to fire as little as possible so as not to provoke a reply from their opponents." But the British inaction was dictated by the stern compulsion of necessity.

### CHANGES IN TRENCH WARFARE.

As the summer advanced, the field fortifications on both sides had assumed a formidable and almost impregnable aspect. It was a far cry from the shallow shelter trenches of the beginning of the war to the deep and comfortable trench-labyrinths of 1915, with their timbered dugouts and their strong points bristling with machine-guns. In order to attack these new triumphs of military engineering with any hope of success, a crushing superiority, not only of men, but of guns and munitions, was necessary; and for this the British army had to wait in patience until Lord Kitchener's new armies were trained and equipped, and until Lloyd-George's new factories had been able to turn out the requisite number of guns and shells. To attack prematurely was merely to postpone the day when the great offensive should drive the Germans out of France. It made little difference that during the summer the Russian armies were in full retreat, striving to save themselves from destruction at the hands of von Hindenburg's and von Mackensen's victorious troops. The bitter truth was that the western Allies were not yet in a position to attack.

### THE BLOODY BATTLE OF LOOS.

It looked at one time as though the French and the British would not be

able to resume the offensive until the spring of 1916; but as the summer wore on, the French munition factories had, by working overtime, reached an unexpected level of production, and the new British plants, under the organizing genius of Lloyd-George, had entered on a programme which was to out-rival the output of the death factories of Essen. In the beginning of September, therefore, Joffre, who, with that Olympian patience which had characterized him during the fighting of August, 1914, had been biding his time, now decided that the hour was ripe for the resumption of the Allied offensive in the West. In view of the losses which the French had sustained in 1914, he might well have asked the British to undertake the chief offensive; but he preferred to reserve that honor for his own countrymen. He decided to launch a great French offensive in Champagne, which is described in another chapter, perhaps because an attack there was nearer to the Germans' base, and was therefore more likely to affect their line of communications; and he merely asked the British to conduct, in conjunction with the Tenth French Army on the Arras front, a subsidiary attack in the west.

During the summer the British army in the field had grown to formidable size. It was now composed of three armies, and every army corps had been increased from two to three divisions. The total force under Sir John French's command numbered probably three-quarters of a million men; and of these nearly half a million represented bayonets in the line. The increase was largely made up of the first instalments of Lord Kitchener's "New Armies," citizen soldiers who in the great majority of cases had had absolutely no military training before the war. Scorn had been poured in Berlin on the idea that Great Britain could suddenly improvise armies that could meet on equal terms the highly trained troops of the German Empire; and fears had been entertained even in Allied circles that the new levies might not prove to be all that could be desired.



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### THE NEW ARMIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

These fears, however, were in most respects ungrounded. Every man in "Kitchener's mob," as the new formations with humorous modesty described themselves, was a volunteer, a crusader. Through a year of intensive training he had applied himself to learning the art of warfare with unquenchable enthusiasm; and the result had surpassed all but the fondest expectations. Even in the technical branches of the army, such as the artillery and the engineers, the new troops had reached a state of efficiency which surprised even the British staff in France. With this addition to the strength of his forces, Sir John French had been able to increase greatly the frontage he held, and to relieve the French on his right. His line now extended south of La Bassée to Lens; the French Tenth Army held the line from Lens to the south of Arras; and thence the British front ran again south to Albert.

The place chosen for the combined British and French attack was at the northerly junction of the British and the French Tenth Army near Lens. To the south of Lens the French were to storm the long hog's back of Vimy Ridge; and to the north the British were to assail the German lines, on a front of about seven miles, between the La Bassée canal and the village of Loos, while holding attacks were to be made here and there along the British front as far north as Ypres. Neither in the Vimy Ridge nor in the Loos sectors were the German defenses easy of capture. Vimy Ridge itself, with its long *glacis*, was a position of great strength; and the country about Loos was dotted by mine-pits, slag-heaps, quarries, and mining villages which offered special facilities for the defense. But a successful attack in each sector would squeeze the Germans out of the important railway centre of Lens, and might conceivably lead to a considerable advance which would force a German retirement all along the line. Lens was the key of the whole situation.

### VARYING SUCCESS OF THE ATTACKS.

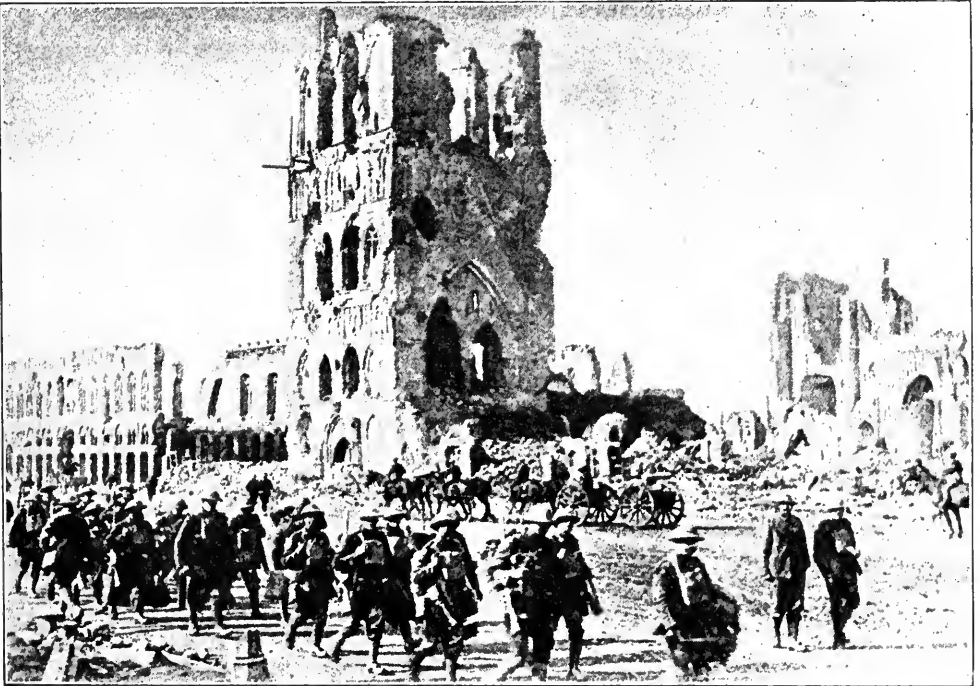
The British infantry attack was timed to begin at 6:30 A.M. on September 25. For four days before this the guns pounded the German positions, and at dawn on the 25th their fire rose in a crescendo to a roar not unlike that of the bombardment at Neuve Chapelle. At the same time, the new gas cylinders, with which the British had now in self-defense provided themselves, were turned on. Then, as the guns lifted to lay down a barrage fire behind the German front line, the infantry jumped over the parapets and rushed forward. Their attack met with varying fortunes. On the left, near the La Bassée canal, they ran into uncut wire and strong intact positions; their own gas, a treacherous ally, came back on them; and they met with a bloody repulse. This was the more unfortunate, since the German line in this part already formed a salient, and now provided a position from which the German guns south of the canal were able to bring an enfilade fire on the British advance farther south.

In the left center, Highlanders of the New Armies—a battalion of Camerons, led by Lochiel himself, heading the charge—swept past Fosse 8 and even reached the outskirts of the village of Haisnes; while the veteran Seventh Division, the heroes of Ypres, captured the Hulluch quarries and reached the hamlets of Hulluch and Cité St. Elie. But these troops found that they had outstripped the advance on either side of them, and were compelled to fall back from the point of their farthest gains. In the right centre, the attack was again held up by undemolished defenses; and it was only after repeated assaults and heavy losses that the troops in this part of the field were able to push forward. Only on the right was anything like a breakthrough achieved. Here the Londoners—one of whose units, the London Irish, advanced kicking their regimental football before them—stormed Loos. Meanwhile, the Highlanders on their left—urged on by the martial music of



#### THE REORGANIZED BELGIAN ARMY ON THE WAY TO THE FRONT

The march to the front is headed by a mitrailleuse section of the Belgian Army. After the shock and losses of the first few months of war, this army had been greatly improved by reorganization. On the Allied line they held the section from Nieupoort to a point directly north of Ypres.



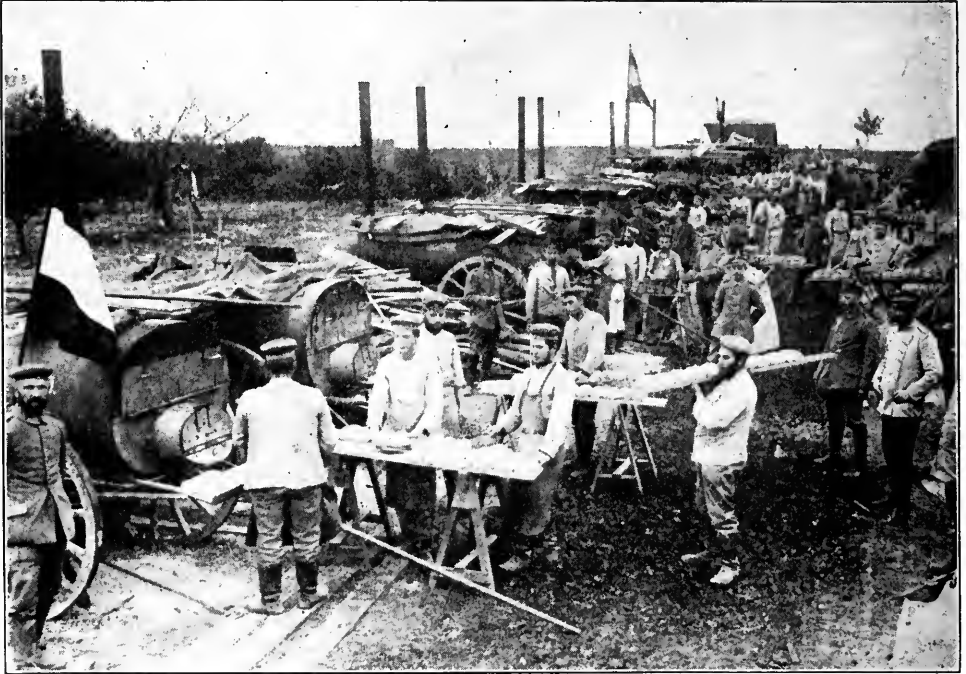
#### THE REMNANT OF THE TOWER OF THE CLOTH HALL

The belfry of the Cloth Hall at Ypres, which until August 1914 was perhaps the best preserved specimen of Flemish Gothic in the Netherlands, no longer rings out its clarion either to give alarm or call the towns-folk to their joyous kermesse, as it did before the World War began. The long façade of the Hall, with its fine, simple lines and statue-filled niches is crumbled to wreckage.

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their bagpipes screaming defiance at the foe—swept over Hill 70, and actually attacked one of the suburbs of Lens. But here these gallant Scotsmen found themselves completely isolated; and the few survivors of the charge had to fall back to the western slope of Hill 70, leaving behind them, as one of their countrymen has said, "a fringe of Jocks and Sandys to mark the farthest point of advance."

long night march through strange country; they had lost their field cookers; and they were already weary and famished before they came into action. They did not reach the front line until late in the evening, when the Germans had already reinforced their defense; and it was not until 11 A. M. the next day that they took up the attack. Why Sir John French should have been so dilatory in throwing these



GERMAN FIELD KITCHENS BEHIND THE LINES AT YPRES

Order and system were essential in the great culinary establishments that prepared the food for thousands of exhausted, famished fighters at the front. Here are cooks and bakers at work on the wholesale production of bread in their out-of-door workshop, with cooking-ranges on wheels, portable tables and other equipment.

### LACK OF RESERVES CAUSES TROUBLE.

By noon the attack had everywhere been brought to a standstill. Now was the time for the reserves to come forward, and restore impetus to the line. But unfortunately the reserves were still far in the rear. In view of the length of the battle-line, Sir John French had insisted on keeping his reserves, nearly all of whom were new troops who had never yet even been under fire, in his own hand; and they had hardly begun to move forward when the need for them had arisen at the front. They had had, moreover, a

reserves into the battle, and why, in any case, he should have chosen to employ as reserves wholly unseasoned troops, are questions for which it is difficult to find an answer.

The advance of the new divisions on October 26 was launched along the right centre of the line, between Hulluch and Hill 70. It was conducted with great gallantry at the cost of appalling losses. On the right the attackers reached the Bois Hugo, a thick wood to the north of Lens. Here, however, they came into collision with a powerful German counter-attack; their ammunition ran out, and when

they attempted a bayonet attack, they found themselves overwhelmed. Unnerved by this their first experience of warfare, they broke and fell back precipitately on their supports; with the result that all the fruits of their fine advance were given up, and an awkward sag was produced in the British line north of Hill 70.

### THE WORK OF THE GUARDS DIVISION.

The following day the newly-formed Guards Division, the *corps d'élite* of the British army, was brought up, and they succeeded in restoring the position. But by this time the German counter-attacks were developing all along the line, and the decimated British troops were being hard put to it to maintain their gains. They were pushed off Hill 70; farther north they temporarily lost the Hulluch quarries, were driven back from Fosse 8, and had difficulty in holding the Hohenzollern Redoubt, a quadrilateral fortification which had formed part of the German first line. In this mixed fighting hundreds of British prisoners were captured, including a brigadier. So hard pressed were the British that French had to ask Foch on his right to assist him by taking over the defense of Loos. Gradually, however, the British succeeded in consolidating their positions and in rectifying their line; and when, on October 8, the Germans launched a grand counter-attack with the object of sweeping the British back to their old trenches, they encountered a stonewall defense.

The German bombers who made up the vanguard of the attack were driven back by avalanches of the new British bombs, thrown by men accustomed to games of sport from their infancy; and the German infantry once more recoiled before the punishment dealt out by British musketry fire. Everywhere the line remained intact. After this, fighting continued for several days. A modern battle is like a storm at sea, which may blow itself out in two or three days, but which leaves behind it tempestuous waters. By October 13, however, the struggle had died down, an equilibrium had

been established, and each side was able to take stock of its wounds.

### GAINS AND LOSSES OF THE OPERATIONS AROUND LOOS.

It was not possible for the British to regard the result of the battle with much complacency. They had captured perhaps eight or nine square miles of ground, 3000 prisoners, and 26 guns. But, far from breaking through the German positions, they had not even reached their primary objectives; and they had suffered a "butcher's bill" of between 50,000 and 60,000 men. Compared even with Neuve Chapelle, Loos was a very limited success. One reason for this was no doubt the difficult country in which the British had to attack. But in the later stages of the war much thornier positions were carried on both sides with comparatively small losses; and the real reasons must be sought elsewhere. One of these was without doubt the fact that preparations for the attack had not been kept secret enough, and that the Germans were ready to deal with it when it developed. Another was the failure of the artillery to demolish certain parts of the German first line defenses, due perhaps to the fact that some of the new batteries had not yet "found" themselves. But the most incomprehensible of all was the failure of the reserves to arrive until the first attack had already spent itself and was forced back on the defensive. For this Sir John French, who had made the arrangements for the battle, was directly responsible; and it was not surprising when, shortly afterwards, he was, to use the language of the British army in South Africa, "Stellenbosched." As Lord French, he returned to England to take over command of the Home Forces; and Sir Douglas Haig, the commander of the First Army, succeeded him as commander-in-chief in the field.

### THE FRENCH AND THE FIRST BATTLE OF VIMY RIDGE.

While the British were attacking north of Lens, the French were attacking south of it. The line of d'Urbal's Tenth French Army, which occupied

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

this sector, ran from its junction with the British line opposite Lens south to the Souchez River, which it crossed west of Souchez village, and thence south-east through Neuville St. Vaast and the maze of trenches known as the Labyrinth to the eastern outskirts of Arras. The object of the attack was primarily to seize Vimy Ridge, a long upland some 400 feet high, which

6:30 A. M. on September 25; but at the last minute it had to be deferred until 1 P. M., perhaps because some of the mines were not yet ready to be sprung.

### THE FRENCH ATTACK BEHIND ARTILLERY.

When the zero hour struck, the guns lengthened their range, the mines exploded with an earth-shaking uproar, and the blue-coated infantry of



CANADIANS BEING REVIEWED BY THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

This is a regiment of Canadians passing in review before the Duke of Connaught on their way to the fighting front. The men, descendants of Scotchmen who had settled in Canada, are wearing the kilt of the Highland regiments. It was in February, 1915, that the First Canadian Division reached the front.

lies south of the Souchez River, and which overlooks the rolling plain about Douai. This position, as was seen more clearly in the fighting of 1917 and 1918, was a pivot or anchor of the whole German line in the west.

The French preparations for the attack consisted in a three-weeks' artillery bombardment, which greatly damaged the German defenses, and in the tunneling of no fewer than seven mines underneath the German front line. The infantry assault was originally timed to begin simultaneously with the British advance farther north, at

France went over the top. Like the British farther north, they met with a stubborn resistance. To the north of the Souchez River they captured a small wood and the trenches adjacent to it, and the Souchez cemetery fell into their hands; but Souchez itself, a leveled village with cellars bristling with machine-guns, defied their bravest efforts to take it. Opposite Vimy Ridge, they drove the Germans from their last foothold in the labyrinth; but twilight found them still struggling at the foot of the heights. Night fell on an inconclusive battle.

The following morning, however, the battle was renewed with much better success. On the extreme left, the French *chasseurs* swung south across the Souchez River, drove back the Germans at the point of their long bayonets, and got well up the north-west slopes of Vimy Ridge. At the same time, troops on their right carried the ruins of Souchez, ferreting nearly a thousand German prisoners out of the cellars. On the rest of the front, the attack swept up the lower slopes of the ridge. This advance was no doubt due to the fact that the British attack near Loos had absorbed most of the German reserves.

#### THE FRENCH TAKE THE RIDGE.

On September 27 the French rested, consolidating their new positions in expectation of the inevitable counter-attack; but when no counter-attack developed, they once more moved forward on October 28. By this time reinforcements had begun to arrive for the defenders of the ridge, among them two divisions of the Prussian Guard; and the French met again with a bitter resistance. The hillside was found to be honeycombed with underground shelters and passages, some of them capable of sheltering half a company of infantry; and the advance had to be made with great caution. But the French had set their hearts on reaching the crest of the ridge, and they were not to be gainsaid. By the morning of September 29, they were intrenched on the plateau.

Under ordinary circumstances, the French would now have swept on, and endeavored to drive the Germans down the farther slopes of the ridge. But at this juncture the British had found themselves in need of help, and the French had to extend northward so as to take over the defense of Loos. It became therefore difficult for them to pursue their offensive further; and the action was broken off.

#### THE END OF THE YEAR OFFERED MUCH DISCOURAGEMENT.

The year ended with the British line in France practically where it had been when the year opened. The

Germans had flattened out the Ypres salient a little, and the British and French had made a few dents in the German line farther south; but elsewhere virtually the same trenches faced each other. The high hopes of the early spring had given way to the disillusionment of the autumn. People began to wonder whether the German positions in the west were not after all impregnable, and whether the war was not destined to become a war of exhaustion. What made the prospect so dark was the tragic scale of casualties entailed by the war. By the end of 1915 the British losses on the Western Front alone cannot have been less than a quarter of a million men; and of these the great majority were the hope and youth of England.

The losses of 1914, comparatively small in themselves, had fallen mainly on the British Regular Army, which was composed of professional soldiers; but the losses of 1915 had fallen most heavily on the New Armies, which were composed of those civilians who had leapt first to the call of duty. These latter, Manchester mill-hands and Whitechapel costers as well as Oxford and Cambridge scholars and blues, represented the best that the British Isles had to give, the bravest, the truest, and often the ablest of the youth of the nation. Now the God of War had accepted the sacrifice, and had vouchsafed no mercies in return.

#### THE BRITISH WILL TO WIN AROUSED.

But though there was depression in England, there was no despair. The British people never appear to such good advantage as when under the stress of adversity. A deep determination now arose among all elements in the nation to fight the battle out on these lines, if it took many summers—to see the struggle through to a successful conclusion no matter what the cost. And behind this determination lay something of the old Puritan belief that God would confound their enemies—that He would not permit warriors to prosper who used the devil's weapons and who contemned all laws, human and divine.

W. S. WALLACE.





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#### BLUE DEVILS BEFORE THEIR DUG-OUT ON A HILLSIDE

Stocky and strong, daring and spirited, jaunty and gay, the Chasseurs Alpins, familiar figures in their distinctive blue uniforms, have won popularity and admiration by their brave deeds. In the early fighting on the borders of Alsace they showed their mettle. At Badonviller, through which they fought back and forth against the Bavarians and other German troops, the sound of their voices ringing out their well-known bugle march brought a bit of cheer to the villagers hiding in cellars beneath the feet of the fighters. And on the day when ill-fated Gerbeville was first attacked, sixty or seventy valiant Chasseurs defended it for hours against a force three or four thousand strong.



A British Artillery Camp in France

## CHAPTER XVIII

# Fighting in France in 1915

## SMALL BUT BLOODY ENGAGEMENTS THE FEATURE OF THE YEAR

WHEN 1915 opened, the new boundary of France, determined by the first great struggle of the War, was settling into position in a line that was to remain little changed throughout the year, in spite of desperate and almost continuous fighting along its whole extent. Fighting on mountain tops deep with snow; fighting in forests which became barren stretches dotted with shattered stumps; fighting through drenching rain and clogging mud and enveloping fog; fighting face to face, with bayonets and hand grenades; fighting across miles of intervening ground, with long distance guns and hurtling shells; bombing from aeroplanes; mining and counter-mining; fighting for a hill, a bridge, a trench, a few feet of land; fighting always with a determined vow that the foe should not pass, the French armies sacrificed their thousands in engagements that yielded little apparent gain.

### THE NEW WARFARE OF POSITIONS.

"Few of the civilians who glibly used and gaily accepted the expression 'siege warfare' in describing the war at this period can have had any idea of the terrible accuracy of that description. It was not only siege warfare, but siege warfare, as it were, under a microscope. Any yard of the front might become a bastion and delay advance at

the cost of hundreds of lives to the assailants and a minimum of loss to the defenders. The minute localization of this war is shown quite clearly by reference to the *communiqués*. Day after day Europe, the greater part of which was in the war area, waited eagerly for news of events at the sugar refinery or the cemetery of Souchez, at the ferryman's house on the Yser, the crest of Hartmannsweiler Kopf in Alsace, the Four de Paris in the Argonne. It was not until 1915 that the French seem definitely to have realized this intense localism of the war, and to have conducted all their operations on that knowledge." The conflict had become a "war of positions."

### THE PLANS OF THE CAMPAIGN DURING THE SECOND SUMMER.

The object of the invading armies was to hold the front to which they had been pushed back after the battle of the Marne, while they devoted all the force possible to the destruction of Russian power in Eastern Europe. This was the reverse of their plan for 1914, when they had "held" on the Russian front while throwing full weight upon France in order to crush it. The object of the French in 1915 was firmly to resist the enemy all along the front, "nibbling," as General Joffre said, here and there at the line where opportunity offered, with an

offensive movement now and then, timed to coincide with some need of the Russian ally, so hard pressed in the East. No offensive of any great extent could be undertaken until Kitchener's new army was ready for the field and British factories were furnishing abundant supplies of munitions of the right sort—especially, high explosives and machine guns.

### **FRENCH PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.**

In France adjustment had been rapid. Since 1914, the army had been reorganized, and reinforced with troops gathered in from all over France and her colonies. It numbered about 2,500,000, as many as the whole population of Paris. Spade warfare, which had seemed irksome and exhausting at first, was now a matter of course. Since trenches must be dug, they must be made deep and adequate. The army uniform had been changed from the striking blue and red to a color as inconspicuous as possible—horizon blue, which blended into surrounding masses, and, at a little distance, became invisible. Ammunition was being produced in great quantities, to be distributed all along the four hundred miles of disputed frontier. Machine guns were increasing in number. The artilleryists were gaining extraordinary skill in the use of the "75" guns, "France's greatest artillery asset." The commissariat was working successfully. Transportation had been brought to a high degree of efficiency. In places of high command changes had been made by the removal of incompetent or elderly officers and the rapid advancement of those who proved their ability by brilliant or able service on the battle-field. It was such recognition that led General Joffre to put in command of the newly-formed Ninth Army, General Ferdinand Foch, who had been at the head of a corps.

From where the British and French combined forces were pressing upon the German right wing in Flanders and around Lille and Lens, the great line of battle swept south, east, and south again to the border of Switzerland, just east of the strong French fortress

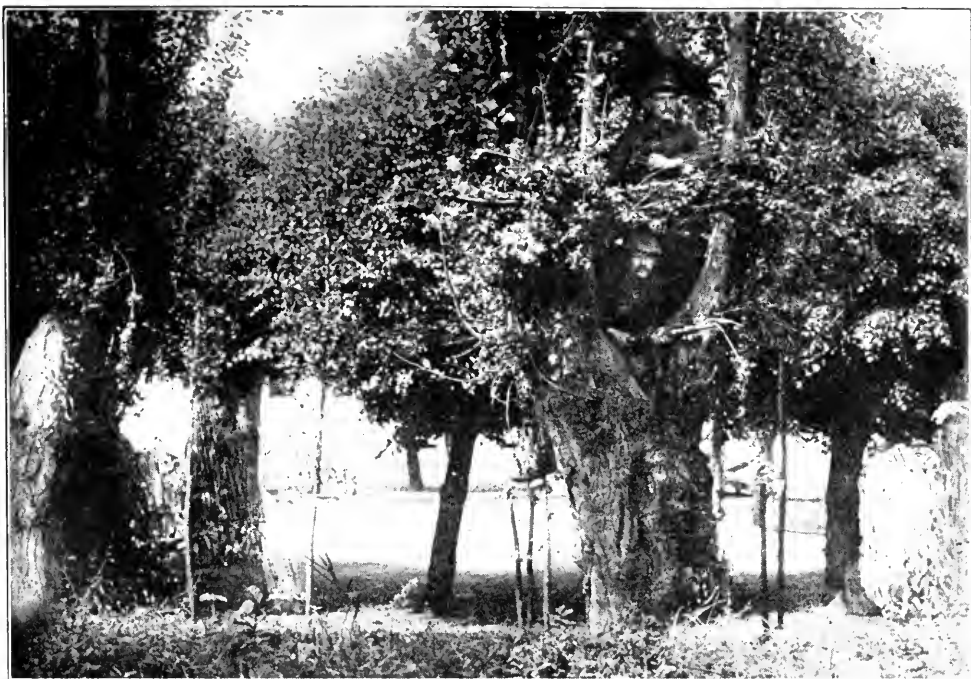
of Belfort. From Arras, directly south of Lens, it described a slight curve, crossed the Somme and bent around to cross the Oise a short distance north of Compiègne. This point formed the hinge where the French left wing joined the center, which extended along the Aisne to Berry-au-Bac, across the Champagne and the northern part of the Forest of Argonne, and over the Meuse to the neighborhood of Verdun. There the line formed a half-circle around Verdun, with the salient of St. Mihiel forming the arc on the south-east—St. Mihiel, later to be the theatre of American deeds of valor. Along the border of Lorraine and south through the Vosges, the new French-German border dropped, then straight into Alsace itself, halfway between Belfort and Mülhausen, which had been taken twice in the early French offensive, but abandoned when troops were called off to strengthen the armies nearer Paris. The western edge of Alsace, "redeemed" from Germany, in August, 1914, remained in French hands during the war. The moral effect of this occupation far outweighed its strategic value.

### **MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS UNDER GERMAN CONTROL.**

In the section of France to the north and east of the long, irregular gash where the hostile trenches faced each other, were ninety per cent of the iron ore of France, fifty per cent of the coal. The greater part of French manufacturing equipment had passed under German control, and much of it was used to forward German military mastery.

Much machinery was taken to Germany, some was destroyed, while other establishments were run by their German captors.

In the early days of January, 1915, the most important combat of all, along the extended front, was a continuation of the Battle of the Aisne. On the north bank of the river, opposite Soissons, between the villages of Cuffies, Braye and Crouy was a height, Hill 132, overlooking the road and railway between Soissons and Laon. On January 8, that part of General Man-



CONCEALED GERMAN OBSERVATION POST IN FRANCE

Seen from even a little distance these trees reveal no peculiarity. To an observer in the air they would offer no sign of alert human occupants, ready with glasses and with gun. This is an excellent example of the use of trees, tangles of shrubbery, ruined buildings, or other screens for concealing observers or gunners.



A GERMAN POST OFFICE ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Efficiency appears to be operating in this post office at the front of battle. To keep up the spirit of the men in the trenches or on the field letters from home were most welcome. Judging from some that came to light, however, not all the messages written to them or by them were cheerful or encouraging. The commanders realized the effect of discouraging news and attempted to keep back information which might affect the spirits of either soldier or civilian.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

our's army stationed on the right bank of the river attacked and captured the hill. Heavy rains on the following days swelled the Aisne and cut them off from the main body. The Germans were strongly entrenched in this region and General von Kluck rushed reinforcements from Laon. On January 12 and 13, the Germans, by counter-attacks retook the hill. The Kaiser, who was present, laid plans for entering Soissons and proceeding to Rheims where he proposed to hold services in the Cathedral. Soissons and its Cathedral, meanwhile, were under bombardment by German guns, for the continued existence of the city "annoyed the representatives of Teutonic Kultur."

### THE FRENCH WITHDRAW ACROSS THE AISNE.

The French forces, beside having the disadvantage of inferior numbers (about 12,000 against 40,000 of the Germans), were beset by natural difficulties. Their perilous position, with their backs to the river, was further endangered by heavy rains that swelled the stream and drenched the ground. Bridges were destroyed by German guns or carried off on the rising waters. Pontoon bridges were of short life. It was impossible to keep open communication with the base on the south side of the river. When the Germans, by tunneling to the shore, succeeded in blowing up the river bank and flooding the French trenches, retreat became inevitable. On the night of the 14th, the French retired, over new pontoon bridges, to the left bank of the Aisne, although they were able to retain St. Paul, situated in the loop on the opposite shore, and two bridge-heads. They established a new and stronger position before Soissons. The contest had involved considerable losses on both sides,—probably about 10,000 Germans killed and wounded and half as many French. In the retreat, some guns were abandoned, but they were destroyed first. The battery which covered the withdrawing troops at Missy fought until ammunition was gone and there were only six men left standing. They wrecked their guns before following their comrades across the

river. Again the line between the enemy and Paris had been strained, but not broken.

A point of particular danger in the battle-line was located in the Champagne region between Rheims and Verdun. There the army of the German Crown Prince occupied a part of the forest of Argonne, with General von Einem's troops nearby a little to the west, in the area south of the Aisne. In case of successes on the Eastern European Front, the Germans might increase their pressure at this point, and try to push through to Rheims or to break General Joffre's right wing from his centre.

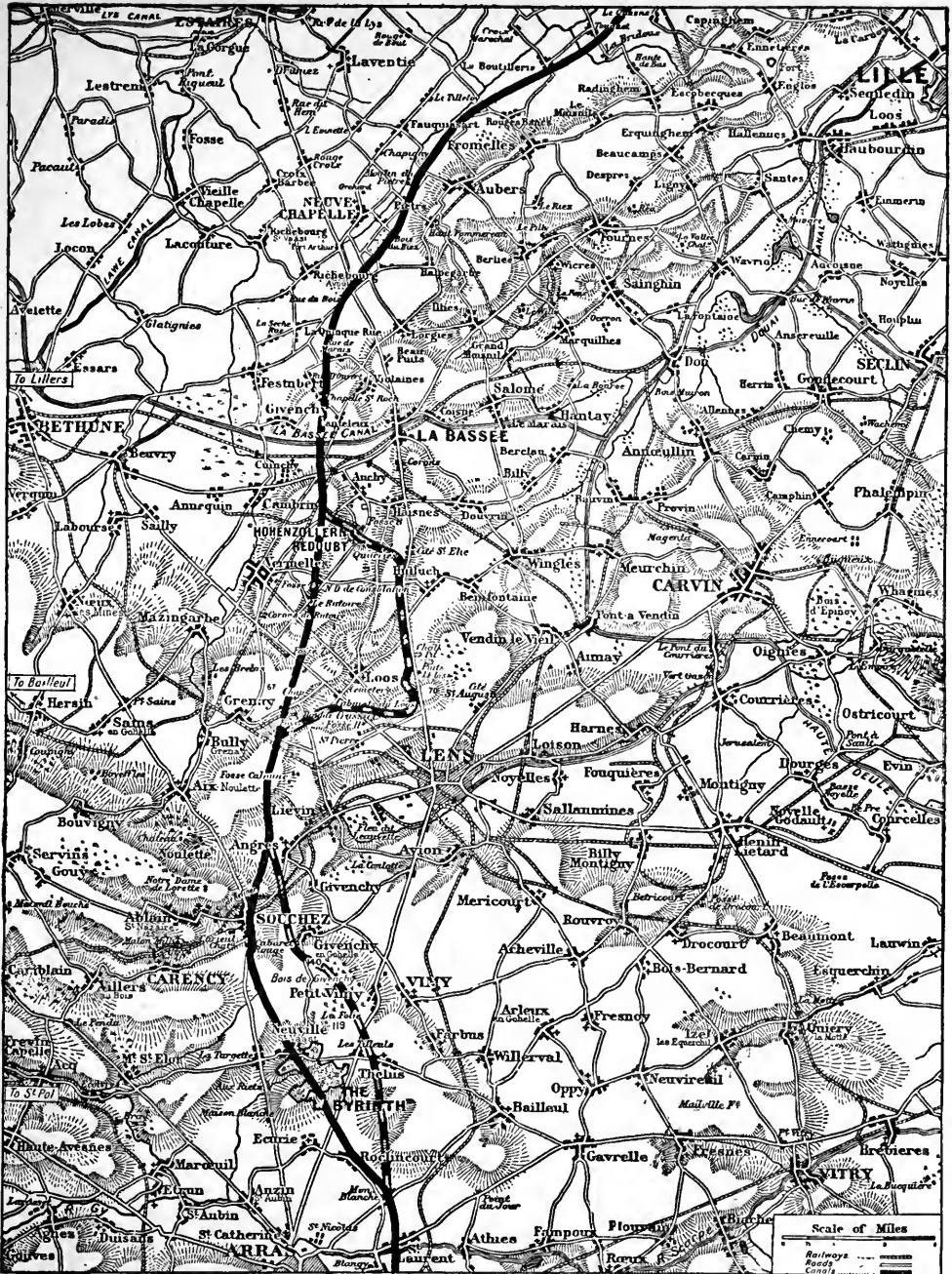
### WHY THE BATTLE OF PERTHES WAS FOUGHT.

While the Russians were engaged in withstanding the Austrian armies in the Carpathians, the French commander aimed to hold in the Champagne "the largest possible German force, to oblige it to use up ammunition, and to prevent any troops being transported to Russia." To judge fairly of the battle waged in February and March, around Perthes, which had been won early in January, we must keep in mind that aim.

Early in February General Joffre ordered General Langle de Cary to advance against von Einem's forces. On the sixteenth the French secured two miles of German trenches, beyond Beauséjour, north of Perthes. The battle front was pushed back and forth, in repeated attacks and counter-attacks, through the remainder of February and up to the 12th of March, with the German reports claiming successes for their army. From four to five and a half German Army Corps were engaged. Yet, the net result of the encounter showed a slight gain for the French, some one or two miles advance on a four and a half mile front, and a better position secured for their line. Moreover, when the British "drum-fire" opened the attack upon the enemy at Neuve Chapelle before Lille, on March 10, the resistance of the Germans was not so strong as it would have been if their reserves had not been drawn off for the Champagne



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR



**BRITISH AND FRENCH GAINS IN THE ARTOIS ATTACK, SEPTEMBER 25, 1915.**

battle. France had co-operated with her allies both east and west, to the advantage of all, even though von Einem's army had not been driven back across the Aisne. More and heavier fighting was to follow.

### FIGHTING IN THE ARGONNE FOREST.

Both Germans and French were strongly intrenched in the northern end of the Forest of Argonne. There the nature of the ground was most difficult,



with a "hog's back" lying north and south, in the midst of broken ridges, valleys, and watercourses. The conformation of the land was well adapted to the construction of the deep, "three-decker" intrenchments that had been built in. The French faced both the western and eastern entrances to the Argonne. In the close quarters of the woods, with their rough slopes and thick underbrush, fighting assumed a peculiar character. Saps were dug toward the hostile trenches, sometimes running as close as seven or eight yards. There, unless they were discovered by counter-sapping, mines were exploded, tearing up the intrenchments and making havoc among the troops who happened to be in them. During the first week in January, while Langle de Cary was engaging von Einem near Perthes, General Sarrail, with the assistance of Constantin Garibaldi, and a band of Italian Volunteers, made an attack upon a section of the German trenches, after the explosion of eight mines by way of preparation. But the Italians went too far forward, Garibaldi was killed, and no real advantage resulted from the effort. This was but one of a long series of contests conducted at close range and yielding little ultimate benefit to either side, although the German reports published them as victories.

### **V**ERDUN NOT YET ENDANGERED.

General Sarrail's command included the city of Verdun and its environs. As we have already noticed, his trenches made a large loop around the city, so effectual that the fortress hardly felt any impression of the war. Barbed-wire entanglements, skillfully protected battery emplacements, and extensive defenses turned toward Germany a strong shoulder, pushing back as far as possible the menacing Teuton guns. Air reconnaissance was useful in directing the course of the artillery in the duels that kept activities open and strove to widen the encircling area around the fort. A newspaper correspondent describes the situation in this way:—"It is the men in the trenches who are giving Verdun her elbow room.

It is the artillery which renders their existence possible." And so it was at Toul and Épinal and Belfort.

At the St. Mihiel salient, the wedge which in September, 1914, the Germans had thrust across the Meuse from their base at Metz, the policy of the French strategists was to put pressure upon the sides of their base, so as to "press them together like the legs of a pair of compasses." On the northern side, too, they hoped to interrupt enemy communication with St. Mihiel by taking some part of the strategic railway. The point of the salient was made practically impregnable by the Camp des Romains just above St. Mihiel.

Les Éparges, on the northern leg, and Pont-à-Mousson, on the southern leg, of the salient, were the objectives of many French assaults. January saw hot contests in the Bois-le-Prêtre near Pont-à-Mousson. February and March brought a resolute drive upon the heights at Les Éparges, where there were tiers of excellent German trenches, stretching one above another around the summit. None of them gained much ground. In April, concerted movements were made from Verdun on the north and from Toul on the south. The latter attack struck near the apex of the salient, near Apremont, instead of at Pont-à-Mousson.

### **T**HE ST. MIHIEL SALIENT IS ATTACKED.

In the Wood of Ailly, where the St. Mihiel Road formed an angle with the road to Apremont, the Germans had constructed a strong work. On April 5, after a terrific bombardment and explosion of mines, the French rushed forward through heavy rain and smoke. The work at the angle of the roads had been reduced to ruins by artillery fire. The St. Mihiel road trenches were quickly taken and the first lines of the Apremont trenches. Then came a check. Fighting with bayonets and bombs, all day and all the following night, the French troops finally prevailed and held the new position against counter-attacks. At the same time, at Bois-le-Prêtre and in other woods on the southern edge of the salient, various operations met with varying success.



#### A CHASSEUR IN THE VOSGES MOUNTAINS

The fighters in the Vosges, like their neighbors in the Alps, had especial problems to meet. When snow and frost enveloped the mountains, the chasseurs with their skis performed striking feats of skill and bravery in the manoeuvres. Some of the country in which they fought was very rough and difficult.



#### A FOREST ROAD IN THE VOSGES

The work of the engineers in opening routes of communication or improving those already in existence was of utmost importance on all the fronts. In the picture a regiment is seen traversing a fine road through a forest on a mountain side in the Vosges. In the forefront of the group appears their music. The snowfall in this region is considerable and the temperature often falls many degrees below freezing.

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At Les Épargés, from April 5 until April 12, the struggle for mastery was violent. The Germans considered the position so important as to claim every attention and means of security. Their shelters, made ready at their leisure, were strong and safe and provided with comforts. A narrow-gauge railway brought supplies and reinforcements from Metz. Guns of all sizes were concealed on the sides and summit of the hill. It was discovered during the battle that the gunners had been chained to their machine guns.

### THE ATTACK ON LES ÉPARGÉS IS ALSO SUCCESSFUL.

The slopes of the hill presented a difficult approach, made far more forbidding by the drenching, soaking rain that fell in torrents until the earth was water-logged. Men, unwounded even, were drawn down and drowned. Rifles became choked with mud, so that only the bayonets were of use. In spite of all, however, the summit of the hill was attained. As trench after trench was taken, the parapets were reversed and turned against their former occupants. By the morning of the 9th, both sides, exhausted, stopped for rest. Then reinforcements, which had taken fourteen hours to labor up the slippery incline, reached the French. They renewed the attack at once, under cover of their artillery, until a sudden fog enclosed them and the covering fire had to stop. Summoned to go forward again, after a successful counter-attack by the enemy, they stood at last upon the plateau of Les Épargés, where they could look down upon the whole surrounding region and control with their guns the plains of the Woëvre and lower hills around. Counter-attacks made during the next few days failed to dislodge them, but men could not be spared just then to reduce the salient.

South of St. Mihiel, in the Vosges and in Alsace, no important engagements took place. The bodies of troops stationed there were small by comparison with those on all other parts of the front. But they were busy drilling through the rocks with mines and counter-mines, and making sudden sallies from time to time. First rains

and then snowstorms interrupted hostilities during part of the winter. However, on January 3-4, Steinbach was captured by the French in a sharp house to house contest. It was a town twelve miles within the German frontier.

### THE ALPINE CHASSEURS IN THE SOUTH.

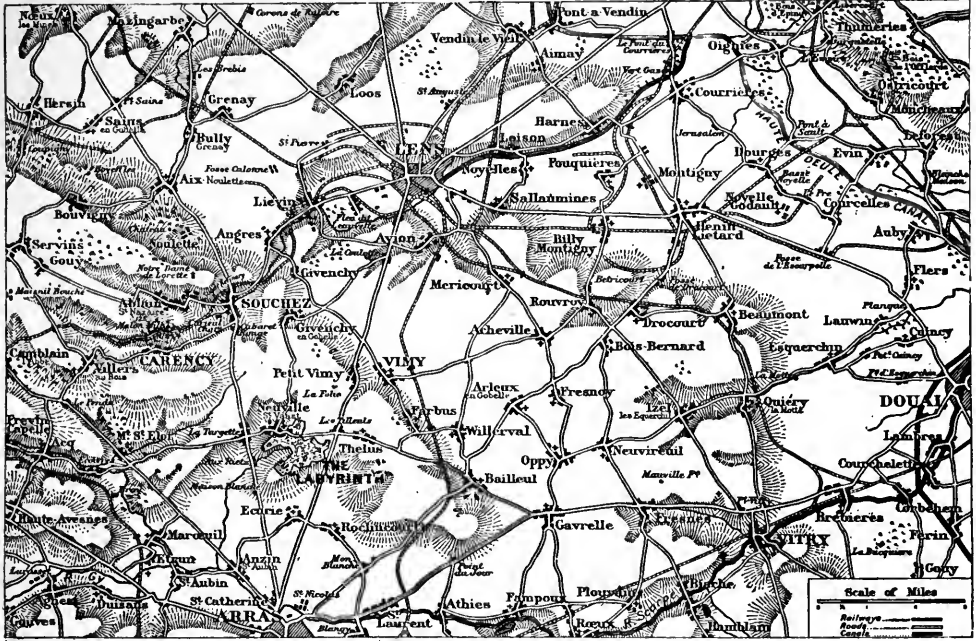
The artillery in this region was strengthened, and frequent long-distance duels were fought. On the mountains, when frost had hardened the snow, some gallant deeds were done by the Alpine Chasseurs, who dared any danger as they dashed down the steep slopes on their skis and landed with terrifying suddenness in the enemy trenches, wielding their bayonets with as much ease and skill as they did their skis. A small band of these Chasseurs on the top of Hartmannsweiler Kopf, when surrounded and cut off from their base, for several days held their trenches. At last, about forty of them attempted to make a sortie by glissading on their skis down into the midst of the enemy, shouting "Vive la France." The rest stood their ground until overpowered. In June another company of Chasseurs became isolated on a hill. They made a camp and there defended themselves, with the aid of protecting shells from their distant artillery, until after three days they were rescued. When ammunition began to fail, they rolled rocks down upon their assailants below.

One salutary effect of the activities in Alsace was that the German population close at hand could not be deceived by falsified reports about things that they could see for themselves. Another good result was that German forces were detained here opposite the French right wing instead of being used where the greater issues were being fought out in Champagne and Artois. General Dubail was the French officer in command of the whole right wing, from Pont-à-Mousson to the Swiss border. In the west, General Foch was responsible for the movements of the left wing from Compiègne to Flanders. On that wing the Seventh Army, under General de Castelnau, guarded the section between the Somme and the

Oise; while the Tenth Army, commanded by General Maud'huy, hinged upon the British forces near Lens and extended south beyond Arras.

For the first three months of the year, in the area north of Arras there was the habitual artillery strife, often so intense that neither side could break through the barrage of fire. This was varied by mine explosions and crater-

been included with the right wing under General Dubail's supervision, was now put under the control of General de Castelnau, whose Seventh Army was given to General Pétain. At the head of the Tenth Army, General d'Urbal succeeded General Maud'huy. The latter, who had been a Chasseur, was sent to the Vosges under General Dubail to command the Chasseurs there.



#### FRENCH OPERATIONS NEAR LENS IN ARTOIS IN MAY AND JUNE, 1915

These operations—a part of the concerted movement by French and British—were under the personal direction of General Foch. The fighting soon became a series of isolated actions against strong German positions like the Souchez sugar refinery, Ablain Cemetery, a road on Notre Dame de Lorette ridge, and the Labyrinth, where for weeks a desperate struggle was waged through dark, intricate underground caverns.

fighting, that is, using the mine craters as points of vantage from which to attack. The moral superiority lay with the side which could keep up the livelier activity. North of Arras, near Lens, where the Tenth Army was co-operating with the British under Sir John French, the most notable of its achievements in the early spring was a successful advance upon the ridge of Notre Dame de Lorette, in March. The Germans promptly retaliated with a fresh bombardment of Arras.

By the month of May, certain changes and adjustments had been made by way of preparation for later undertakings. The center, from Compiègne to Pont-à-Mousson, which had

#### BATTLE RAGES IN OLD ARTOIS.

Reinforcements of troops and large additions of artillery built up the strength of d'Urbal's army opposite Lens in the old province of Artois, which nearly corresponds to the department of Pas-de-Calais. Here the German position was one of the strongest to be found on either front. General Foch himself arrived to superintend operations during the offensive drive which the Allies had planned for the assistance of Russia. Simultaneously with the British advance in the direction of Lille, the French would push toward Lens. After the customary preparation by artillery fire, on

May 9, they moved forward. The right wing made an impetuous and successful assault upon Neuville St. Vaast; the center seized the White Works, which were German fortifications cut in the chalky rock; and the left wing began a struggle for Carency, farther north. On May 12, the day of Carency's surrender, the summit of the ridge of Notre Dame de Lorette was taken and the village of Ablain was partly conquered.

The situation then presented a new phase. Instead of forming a continuous barrier, the German front in this section had been broken up into a series of isolated forts, each of which had to be laid under siege. One after another in those weeks of May and early June, the sugar refinery at Souchez, the cemetery of Ablain, the White Road, and the Labyrinth yielded to the fierce, unrelenting blows of the French. The Labyrinth, all but impregnable, was a fortification contrived with tortuous, complicated tunnels, sometimes as deep as fifty feet below the surface, with mines and fortresses, death-traps, caves and shelters, from which unexpected foes could attack with gas or liquid fire or knives. In the darkness and dampness and foulness of those Stygian vaults where in some places the only guiding gleams were from electric flash-lights, men battled for days,—for weeks, until June was half spent. What wonder that the Germans could scarcely believe that the enemy had made it their own? What wonder that one of them exclaimed, "Nothing resists these French devils"?

Meanwhile, the British near Festubert were vigorously sustaining their side of the offensive in spite of the strain they had just passed through in the second battle of Ypres. Both Ypres and Arras were suffering still from constant bombardment. As the battle of Artois was coming to its end, General d'Urbal directed an attack upon the 17th Baden Regiment at Hébuterne, not far from Albert. In two days the German regiment was not only defeated but practically eliminated and the French had gained a few yards of trenches.

### OTHER SMALLER ENGAGEMENTS COST MANY LIVES.

Coincident with this was a sudden dash upon the German position opposite the farm of Quennevières in the angle of the Oise and the Aisne, where General de Castelnau's artillery, Zouaves and sharpshooters by combined action made a gap in the enemy's front. The infantry who captured the German trenches carried with them rations for three days, and each man was supplied with a bag, to be filled with earth and used in fortifying each position as soon as it was taken. The engagement was short, June 5th, 6th, and 7th; but it cost the Germans about 3000 lives. The French losses were 250 killed and 1500 wounded.

These engagements taken individually were brilliant achievements, but they made little material difference in the situation as a whole. By the end of the first year of the war, the superior equipment of the Teutonic invader had been demonstrated. No rift in his long solid line would be effectual unless it could be made along a front of at least twenty or thirty miles. It had been made clear to themselves and to the foe that as yet, the Allies had not the men nor the guns nor the munitions required for so great an offensive. But there was hope to sustain them in the time of waiting. Their supplies were increasing. Millions of men could yet be brought forward. For the enemy there was no such reserve. He was almost at the crest of his man power. The failure to cross the Marne had actually blocked his plan, which was dependent upon a rapid, sweeping victory.

### SUMMER WEATHER IN THE TRENCHES.

Summer in the trenches was a happier time than the winter and spring, of painful initiation. With sunshine, instead of frost or rain, life seemed more endurable. The men improved their shelters and made gardens in protected spots. On both sides, alternative positions were prepared and fortified, behind the front lines. The intrenched regions developed into underground cities of cement, wicker-work and sand-





#### LUDWIG OF BAVARIA'S FAREWELL TO LANDSTURM OFFICERS

Ludwig III is here shown bidding farewell to the officers of the Landsturm, reserve troops called from business and professional life to become part of the great conflict. The figures of these officers are probably quite different in line from those which they presented in their earlier years of military service.



#### THE KAISER AT GERMAN HEADQUARTERS IN FRANCE

From his headquarters, behind the battle line in France, Emperor William II issued from time to time to make spectacular appearances on the battle-field, becoming more modest as time passed and Paris was still out of reach. His rôle changed from stern military leader to "venerable father of his people", and signs of age were allowed to appear in photographs. The spiked helmets are covered with cloth to avoid reflection of light.



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bags. The siege area was taking on a permanent look. While France was able to bloom and smile a little through the scars of battle, the same sun that blessed her was pouring anguish upon Gallipoli, where Britain's gallant hosts, landed there in April, were digging, wrestling, and dying in the tortures of heat and thirst.

The only action of first importance

mans making excuse or justifying themselves in their trespasses by bringing charges against the Allies.

In an attempt to move down through the middle of the forest, the Germans advanced by attacking near the hunting-lodge, Bagatelle, and between the spring, Fontaine Madame, and the woodland ridge, Haute Chevauchée. Eventually in July, the ground was partly recovered and the Germans were driven back.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE FIGHTING IN THE ARGONNE IN 1915

during midsummer was an offensive, in the Argonne, undertaken by the Imperial Crown Prince, reinforced by troops from St. Mihiel. Possibly the object was to cut the railway communication between Verdun and Châlons, or it may have been an effort to brighten his own reputation, none too glowing. The preliminary bombardment had less effect in the irregular, wooded terrain than in a more open district, but was not omitted. It opened on June 20th. The first attack, directed against the French on the western side, was rewarded with some success. When the French made their counter-attacks, German Staff reports accused them of using liquid fire—one of the instances of the Ger-

### AN INTERVIEW WITH THE CROWN PRINCE.

"A French corporal, René Destouches, who was captured and afterwards escaped, has recorded the interview which he had with the German Crown Prince. The Crown Prince, with whom was an elderly officer, perhaps von Haeseler, according to Destouches, looked thin and tired. He paced up and down his tent with his hands in his pockets, and, if Destouches is to be believed, spoke excellent French with a nasal accent. He assured Destouches that life in a German prisoners' camp was not very ter-

rible. After asking several questions, which were answered evasively, he threw away his half-smoked cigar, and with a sad smile remarked: 'I am afraid you are rather stupid, Destouches, and don't keep your eyes open. I suppose,' he added, 'your chiefs never tell you how badly things are going with you.' The answer of the French corporal was 'that every Frenchman saw for himself that the situation was excellent.' A weary expression passed over the Crown Prince's face. He shook his head, and with his companion passed out of the tent."

September was the earliest moment that seemed practicable for an Allied undertaking of any magnitude; but



**THE HAZARDOUS TASK OF THE MINERS**

The occupation of the miner on the war front was perilous and exciting, for the enemy's mine sometimes met his own or wrought havoc by explosion.

it was deemed wise not to wait later because of conditions both military and political in Russia. General Joffre and Sir John French, with the support of the leaders of both countries, arrived at a decision to attack simultaneously, driving upon the two sides of the great salient in western France. The British and French were to attack in the north near Lens, while the French alone were to make an attack in Champagne. The story of the combined Franco-British attack is told in the preceding chapter.

## FRENCH PREPARATIONS IN CHAMPAGNE.

Preparations of the utmost scientific precision and patient care were in progress throughout the greater part of the summer, along the Champagne front. From observation posts and reconnaissance aeroplanes the map-makers studied the enemy's trenches, daily recording their discoveries. Every foot of the elaborate fortifications which the Germans considered a "steel barrier," was accurately examined and diagrammed,

so that it might be familiar ground to the officers who should direct the coming attacks. Fighting aircraft, meanwhile, were busy keeping enemy planes from reconnoitring the Allied positions. At the same time, engineering works of large proportions were preparing the way for a smooth performance of the proposed drive. Where the distance between the French trenches and the enemy was broadest, long saps were pushed out.

Next, bombardments of greater intensity than had yet been known broke out all the length of the front, in August, to hammer as hard as might be on the defenses to be taken. Squadrons of bombing planes, escorted by fighting air machines, hovered over the enemy supply centres and railway junctions, dropping their loads of explosives. And the guns great and small kept pounding, pounding on.

The last three days of this bombardment revealed where the offensive was to be launched. Day and night the roar of guns did not cease, while shells



**AN UNDERGROUND LISTENING POST**

Listeners in branch galleries sometimes used stethoscopes to catch the faintest sound indicating an attempt at a counter-mine by the enemy.

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rained thick along the Champagne fortifications. In a German soldier's letter we may find a description of the conditions resulting in the German front-line trenches: "A cloud of smoke hangs so thick upon the front of battle that nothing is to be seen. The men are falling like flies. The trenches are nothing but a heap of ruins."

### WHAT THE CHAMPAGNE FRONT WAS LIKE.

The Champagne region between Ville-sur-Tourbe and Auberive, the section chosen for the attack, was open country, with plains and rolling downs of chalky soil. In the hollows, here and there, were wooded bits. Many of the trees had been shivered into tattered posts by the wild storms of shells to which they had been exposed. Behind the German front and almost parallel with it ran the Bazancourt-Challerange-Apremont railway, a connecting link between von Einem's army and the army of the German Crown Prince in the Argonne. Five roads led back to the railway from the intrenched front, which they crossed at or near Auberive, St. Souplet, Souain, Perthes, and Ville-sur-Tourbe.

Along this portion of the front, the "steel barrier" consisted of a main, or first line, position, and a second line. A space of from two to two and a half miles lay between the two. The front line was a deep and intricate network of parallel trenches joined together by communication trenches, with dug-outs and concrete protections, and, stretching between the trenches, extensive barbed-wire entanglements. This the French knew. But, hidden from them, on the farther side of the hills lay a line of support trenches, connected by tunnels with observation posts and gun-emplacements on the front of the hills, and communicating with the first line through lateral trenches.

For still greater protection there were fields of wire entanglements in great pits dug into the chalky earth. They covered areas of seventy yards each and were sunk to a depth of six or seven feet, so that the tops were level with the surface of the ground. The artillery bombardment could not reach

this rear line of defense, which was destined to be a baffling surprise and in places an insuperable bar to the onrushing ranks of the French.

### LANGLE DE CARY MAKES THE ATTACK.

The Fourth Army under General Langle de Cary, was the one chosen to make the attack, with General de Castelnau present to direct operations in person. Some of the troops engaged were the 2nd Corps, men of Picardy; the Colonial Corps; the 7th Corps, from Franche-Comté; the 21st Corps, from Lorraine and Burgundy; and some Chasseur battalions. To the Chasseurs and Colonials fell the most difficult share, the advance upon the left centre. In command of the Colonials was General Marchand, the former explorer of Africa. When wounded in the Champagne conflict, he wrote to a friend: "I expect to return to the front to take up my command again in six weeks, for, in these days, one has a right to be dead, but not ill."

The great flanking movements of the first weeks of the war had been set aside when the siege settled into trenches; but on a small scale the same method was applied in local contests. An individual section could be enveloped by a flanking operation after infantry had been thrust in at different points. This plan was adopted for the new effort in Artois and Champagne. Wherever the fortifications showed a position of comparative weakness, the strongest advance was made, so that each section might be besieged like a separate fortress. Between Auberive and Souain was one opening; opposite Souain, another; and again, east of Perthes and facing le Mesnil, and between Beauséjour and Massiges, two more gateways were opened. General de Castelnau had said to one of his staff officers: "I want the artillery so to bend the trench parapets, so to plough up the dug-outs and subterranean defenses of the enemy's line as to make it almost possible for my men to march to the assault with their rifles at the shoulder."

In places the infantry found this wish almost realized and took the first

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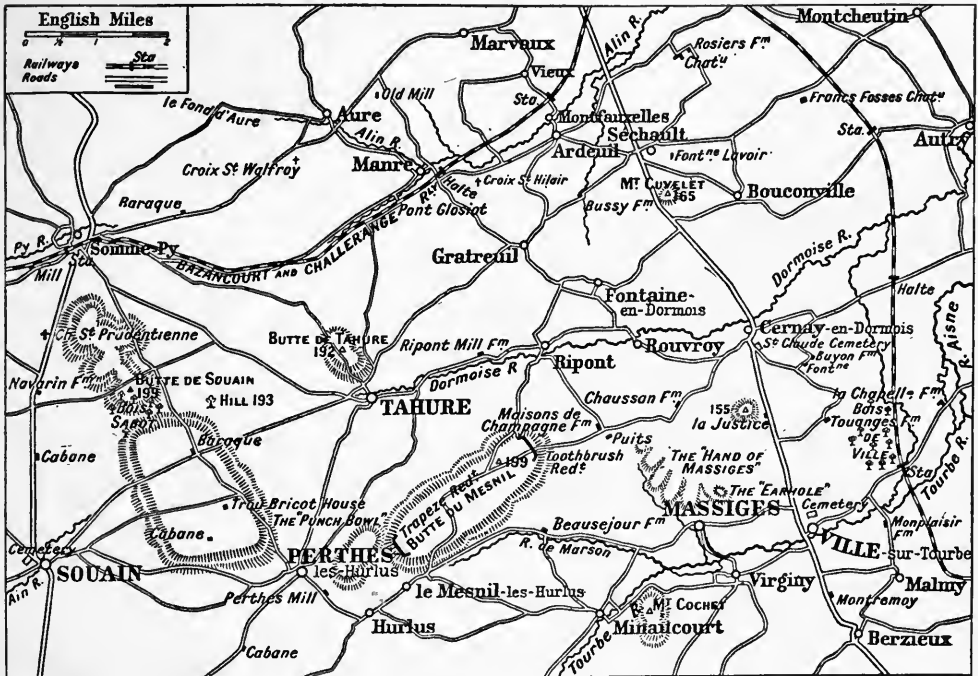
line trenches with little loss for themselves. In other places, however, the resistance was so strong as to take great toll of their numbers. The men were given exact instructions as to what they were expected to do, so that each platoon had a definite objective as its aim. They were heartened for their task by the Order from General Joffre, which was read to them:—

the whole front in close union with the Armies of our Allies.

"Your dash will be irresistible.

"It will carry you with your first effort up to the enemy's batteries beyond the fortified line opposing you.

"You will leave him neither truce nor rest until victory has been achieved. On, then, with your whole heart for



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### THE FRENCH STRUGGLE IN THE CHAMPAGNE REGION

Beyond Souain and Perthes in the Champagne region, on September 25, 1915, an attack was delivered by the French, with General de Castelnau in immediate command. Tahure was captured, many prisoners and guns were taken in the Trou Bricot fortress (north of "the Pocket"), and there was brilliant success on the "Hand of Massiges," a most difficult position. But the advance was held up at the Butte du Mesnil, northeast of Perthes.

**G**ENERAL JOFFRE'S ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS.

"Soldiers of the Republic!

"After months of waiting which have enabled us to increase our strength and our resources while the enemy was using his, the hour has come to attack and to conquer, to add fresh pages of glory to those of the Marne, of Flanders, the Vosges, and Arras.

"Behind the storm of iron and fire unloosed, thanks to the labor of the factories of France, where your comrades have worked day and night for you, you will go to the assault together upon

the liberation of our country, and for the triumph of right and liberty.

"J. Joffre."

### THE GREAT ATTACK IS LAUNCHED.

The infantry dash was made on the morning of September 25, in a veil of rain, although the three days preceding had been clear enough to give the aeroplanes excellent opportunity to reconnoitre and to direct the artillery fire. The first rush across the slimy, chalky stretch between the fronts, where the surface had been ploughed and tossed up by shells and mines, was made so

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suddenly that the German barrage was too late to catch it. A great part of the German first line was carried before noon. One regiment traveled two and a half miles in two hours. But progress varied more and more after the forward roll of the first wave, as it was controlled by the difficulties of the section under attack.

The region between Souain and Perthes, where the French had made some advance steps in the Bois de Sabot, during February and March, was one of the most nearly invincible points of resistance. The French called the system of defense there, the "Pocket." A heavy blow was struck directly east of the Pocket. When the troops on the left had carried their column around to the north and joined those who pierced the line on the right, or east, the position was surrounded. In the woods a little farther east the battalions from Perthes moved so quickly through the trenches of the first line that they surprised some of the German officers in bed, trusting confidently in the strength of the "steel barrier."

### CAVALRY COMES INTO USE AS A PURSUING FORCE.

The next position on the east, opposite le Mesnil, offered greater resistance than any other. Almost no impression was made upon it by the first day's fighting. But, a step beyond, the greatest success of the day was attained. There the infantry broke through and drove forward, opening a way that encouraged the cavalry, so long idle, to follow. The German gunners harnessed their horses and started to save their guns. The French cavalry could not advance far because of the fire of machine guns, but some of them dismounted and on foot fought with the sword. At the extreme ends of the wings, both left and right, the German resistance held firmly.

The net result of the first day's operations was an advance of five-eighths of a mile to two and a half miles on a fifteen and a half mile front, with more than 12,000 prisoners captured. Almost the whole of the German front line was demolished, and the French were holding some sections of the second

line. The suddenness of the attack had surprised the Germans so as to throw them reeling back. The French line east of Auberive had reached and seized l'Epine de Vedegrange; north of Souain the Colonials had rolled on as far as the Navarin Farm; north of Perthes, the advance was not far from Tahure; and north of Beauséjour the right wing held the farm, Maisons de Champagne.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR "LA MAIN".

For five days a stern conflict was waged for the mastery of a formidable German fortification called "La Main" (the Hand), on three hills north of Massiges, whose conformation suggested the back of a hand and three fingers. The Germans boasted that it could be held with "two washerwomen and two machine guns." The Colonial infantry who made the assault upon it, wrote there "a new page of heroism." An officer in the battle gives the opposing army credit for admirable bravery. "The enemy fought with amazing courage against a still more amazing attack," he said. "Time and again the enemy machine guns were only put out of action when the gunners had been bayoneted at their posts. Grenadiers fought with desperation, and so close was the fighting that many of them were killed or wounded by the explosion of their own grenades."

The heights were at last secured, to be used in flanking attacks upon the trenches east of them, where the front did not yield to any assault. There are other instances where the Germans held their ground until they were destroyed or hopelessly overpowered, but there are accounts of others who surrendered readily in groups. One French officer reported, "I can't find men to take the prisoners back."

At the German rear, reinforcements were being thrown in, almost without order or system—troops of many different commands sent from all parts of the German front, rushed into the fighting in precipitous haste, not properly provisioned or organized. "They reached the front anyhow and anywhere." In managing these reserves, the method which usually characterized the Ger-

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man Staff seems to have been entirely lacking.

### THE OFFENSIVE FORCED TO HALT.

The French communiqué for October 1, states: "Our men are holding firmly the captured positions in the enemy's second line." But for every foot of progress now, the loss was painfully heavy. October was not far spent

dred years and more ago the Christian manhood of Europe, although semi-barbarous itself, halted the furious super-barbarian, Attila, and his Hun followers. Southwest, again but a little way, Rheims lifts her battered Cathedral, whose vaults have echoed with the shouts of many generations at the consecration of their kings, where Joan of Arc brought the Dauphin to be



A MITRAILLEUSE IN POSITION IN THE VOSGES REGION

In the mountains where trenches, hewn from rocks, followed the undulations of the surface, sometimes the lines came close together, occasionally but a few yards apart. Sometimes, on the other hand, they were separated by a whole valley. Dotted all along the walls of the fortifications were the useful mitrailleuses.

before the offensive halted. The average advance of front was approximately a mile and a half. About 25,000 prisoners had been taken and 125 to 150 guns, besides large quantities of small arms and munitions. The French General Staff arrived at an estimate that the German losses altogether amounted to about 140,000 men. The French themselves lost probably about 120,000.

To glance back over the battle field of the autumn offensive in Champagne, let us see it in relation to the rest of central France and to past history. Only a little way to the south is Châlons-on-the-Marne, where fourteen hun-

dred years and more ago the Christian manhood of Europe, although semi-barbarous itself, halted the furious super-barbarian, Attila, and his Hun followers. Southwest, again but a little way, Rheims lifts her battered Cathedral, whose vaults have echoed with the shouts of many generations at the consecration of their kings, where Joan of Arc brought the Dauphin to be crowned. Nearer than either Châlons or Rheims, almost within the fighting area, lies Valmy, where the new Republic, in 1792, made a successful stand against the Prussian intruders. Directly north of Souain and Perthes, Vouziers, a meeting-place for railways and roads, was the objective of the French assault in September, 1915, as Lille and Lens formed those of the British and French respectively, in their synchronous attack in Artois, between La Bassée and Arras. In Artois, at Loos and Vimy Ridge, the subsidiary British and French attack went on, with results shown in the previous chapter.



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The great offensive was yet to be made, far in the future, when unlimited supplies of munitions should be ready and a broad front could be pounded with untiring persistence. But the autumn campaign had not failed of its immediate object. Large numbers of the enemy had been detained in Champagne, many of whom had been killed or wounded or made prisoners. This meant a diminution of the total enemy forces. Moreover, the line of siege had been moved back, though very slightly, in a few positions.

### THE ALLIES NOT READY TO STRIKE.

Although by the middle of October the great engagements all along the front in Champagne Pouilleuse were no longer continued, there were severe encounters at some points throughout the remainder of the year. General de Castelnau's aim was to straighten his line by attacking the German salient between Tahure and Maisons de Champagne. The Germans endeavored by vigorous counter-attacks to drive the French from their foothold on the Butte de Tahure. They used quantities of asphyxiating gas shells in almost all their assaults. Occasional success fell to either side. The French held most of their gain around Tahure, where they were but a mile from the Bazancourt-Challerange railway; but the Germans won back a small district west of the Maisons de Champagne. In Alsace the struggle over the Hartmannsweiler Kopf went on without cessation. The summit passed into the hands of the French, to be retaken by the enemy;

however, at the end of the year the French were holding it with desperate resolution.

On the whole there was little activity along the western front during the winter until the Verdun offensive began in February. The trenches, far more habitable than those of the previous winter, were further strengthened and improved; and every part of the service was receiving attention so as to set it in readiness for the next great combat. Some changes in high command were made before the year ended. For instance, General Gallieni replaced M. Millerand as Minister of War, while General Joffre was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the French armies in all the theatres of war.

### MINOR OBJECTIVES REDUCE ALLIED STRENGTH.

But minor objects were drawing upon the resources of the Allies. Gallipoli had already cost them dear. After Bulgaria became allied with Central Europe in October, French and British troops were transported to Saloniki under General Sarrail. The German and Austro-Hungarian successes in the East, while they did not destroy hope, called for prolonged patience, since they made another pause a necessity for the Powers who had thus gradually to gain confidence and force after steadying themselves from the shock of the first terrific onslaught of the foe. They were building up, while Prussia and Austria had passed the zenith of their power. The war had become a test of patience and endurance, and the moral advantage lay with the western Allies.



SENEGALESE ON THE ROAD TO RHEIMS



Austrian Soldiers in Trenches in Galicia

## CHAPTER XIX

# The Eastern Front During 1915

## RUSSIA IS DEFEATED AND PUSHED BACK BUT NOT DISHEARTENED

FOR some weeks after the close of 1914 it seemed as though the opposing armies along the Eastern Front lay panting in the snows from sheer exhaustion. Not that there was any indication of settling down into winter quarters; there was to be none of that. Numbers considered, the Austro-Germans had as yet accomplished little. Russians occupied a part of East Prussia, Galicia was almost entirely in Russian hands, and the great von Hindenburg had twice been thrown back from Warsaw. At least 150,000 Austrians were being besieged in the great fortress of Przemyśl, on the San, and Brusilov's men held the important Carpathian passes. For Austria the situation was extremely serious; her armies had again and again been shattered, and now she faced the possibility of a Russian invasion of the fertile plains of Hungary, from which so large a portion of her foodstuffs must be drawn.

### TREACHERY IN THE COURT OF THE TSAR.

But on the other hand, Russia was now running short of munitions. To a large degree this was probably due to unpreparedness, but rank treachery in the higher circles of Petrograd is also indicated. Already at this time the pro-German intriguers within the Court itself, headed by the Tsarina and the corrupt monk, Rasputin, had be-

come active and were working for a Russian defeat. To what extent Sukhomlinov, the War Minister, was their conscious creature, even his trial did not make clear, but it is certain that had the Russian forces been properly equipped and had they had an ample supply of ammunition, the operations of 1915 might have taken a different course.

For several weeks in January neither side showed any activity, but the whole Teutonic Eastern Front was now under a single command: the German General Staff. Soon its superior brain power began to manifest itself. Great plans of campaign were in preparation. It was decided to give up hopes of advance in the West, to strengthen Austria by affording help in Serbia and Galicia, and to attempt to deal a death blow at Russia. We may divide the Eastern Front into three parts: the East Prussian zone, the Polish zone and the Galician, or Carpathian zone.

### RUSSIANS HOLD THE CARPATHIANS.

Early in the year rumors were set in circulation that Germany was now going to support Austria in a really determined effort to overrun Serbia. For the special edification of spies a continuous stream of troop trains was sent southward, but many miles north of the Serbian frontier these trains were

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

switched off on lines running eastward, across the plains of Hungary, toward the Carpathians. Over 400,000 men, divided into three separate armies, were involved in this movement.

The Russians held the chief passes of the Carpathians, and had even penetrated some distance down toward the Hungarian plains. Gradually, toward the end of January, they observed that the enemy outposts opposing their lines became more numerous and active. Slight skirmishes developed into lively engagements. Then a determined attack was made on the Russians under Brussilov holding Dukla Pass. At Dukla the Teutons were thrown back with heavy losses, but they succeeded in forcing their way into Uzsok Pass, further to the eastward, without, however, being able to clear the northern debouchment of the cleft of the Russians. On February 7 the Russians emerged from Dukla Pass on the Hungarian side and attempted to flank the Austrian line below the Lupkov Pass, and almost succeeded, taking some ten thousand prisoners. For over a month the fighting went on in this district almost continuously, without any success on the part of the Austro-Germans. Here it was that the Russians suffered severely from the lack of sufficient arms and ammunition; again and again their attacks failed at the point of success, only because their supplies ran short.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PASSES.

The Austro-German army, under von Linsingen, with Lemberg as its goal, succeeded in taking all the passes in its appointed section. The Russians, under Ivanov, retired to the Koziowa Ridge, facing the passes, and waited. Passing down the bald slopes below the passes, the Austro-Germans were making for the valley of the Orava River, when Ivanov fell upon them, on February 6, and so began the most fiercely contested battle for the Carpathian passes. During one day the Teutons made as many as twenty-two bayonet charges in their attempt to drive the Russians from their commanding positions, but this was the sort of fighting

at which the Russian soldiers excelled. Nevertheless, the fighting continued for five weeks, without the Austro-Germans being able to hammer their way through. Though hardly to be described as a victory for the Russians, their success in holding back the enemy was of tremendous importance, in that they prevented the relief of Przemyśl and saved Lemberg for a time.

### WHAT AND WHERE IS BUKOVINA.

Another Austrian Army, meanwhile, was also delivering its assault, further east in an effort to retake Bukovina, through the Jablonitz, Kirlibaba and Dorna Vatra passes. Bukovina forms the eastern end of Galicia and its people are Rumanian in blood and speech. Here the Russians were in much smaller force, and here, too, they were less successful in holding back the enemy. On February 18, after storming Jablonitz and marching down the Valley of the Pruth, the Teutons took Czernowitz, and after that, Kolomea, whence the railroad runs to Lemberg. Within three days they had reached Stanislavov, another important railroad centre, where a heavy engagement was fought lasting a whole week. Finally, however, at the critical moment, when the Austro-Germans seemed on the point of success in their attempt to swing around the Russian rear, reinforcements arrived from Ivanov, who was holding his own so well, and on March 1, at Halicz, the Teutons were so decisively defeated that they were compelled to retire, losing nearly 20,000 men as prisoners alone. Although the Russians lost all but two of the Carpathian Passes, they still held the greater part of Galicia, nor was Przemyśl relieved. The occupation of Bukovina however, prevented Rumania from considering joining the Allies at that time.

### THE SIEGE OF PRZEMYSL.

That important stronghold of Przemyśl had now been besieged for four months. As already stated, the Austrians succeeded in relieving the siege for a few days in the middle of October, but in spite of the food supplies which



#### GERMAN SKI AND DOG PATROL IN THE CARPATHIAN PASSES

Count Tisza, the Hungarian Dictator, demanded half a million German troops to continue the Battle of the Carpathians, and defend the Hungarian plain and its wheat. Early in September the Germans sent a few army corps to the Carpathians but some time passed before they dispatched the number needed.



#### AUSTRIANS AMID THE SNOWS OF THE CARPATHIANS

The troops of the Dual Monarchy felt the severity of winter mountain-warfare far more than the Russians. Their transport service over the heights was often disarranged by snowstorms, and the condition of the wounded was horrible in the wild, desperate scenes of struggles far removed from the Hungarian railway system. Fighting day after day in the snow became exceedingly wearisome.

Pictures from Henry Ruschin

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had been rushed in during that brief period, before the beginning of the new year the garrison and the population were again suffering severely from a scarcity of provisions.

mally surrendered, with 2,600 officers and 117,000 men, besides 1,000 pieces of ordnance and a large quantity of rather useless ammunition. The Russians were jubilant over their success.

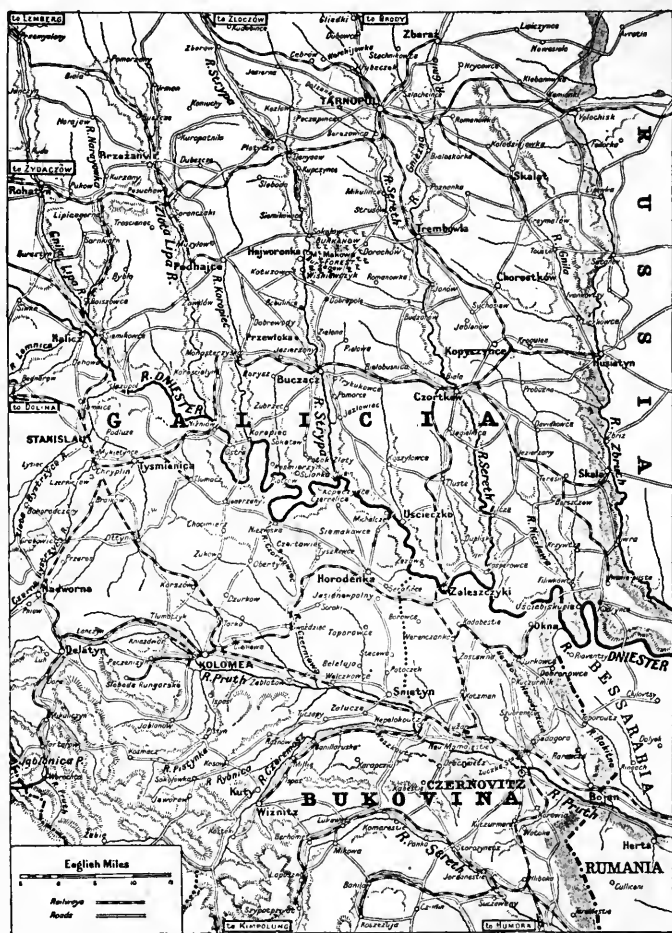
### AUSTRIA ON POINT OF COLLAPSE.

This was a tremendous blow to Austria, for not only did she lose a substantial part of her fighting forces, but over 100,000 Russians were released for duty on the main front. In spite of the strong Prussian support, Austria now seemed on the point of collapse, like a pugilist who has been hit hard during the first few rounds of a fight.

But Galicia was only one section of the great Eastern Front, and during this period active operations had been going on along other parts of the thousand-mile line. In East Prussia the Germans had been attacking the Russians, too, and there the latter had not been so fortunate as they had been in Galicia. Attacks launched by the Russians against the East Prussian frontier, in January, 1915, centering at Lyck, had met with some success.

The Germans, in weaker number, had been compelled to fall back to positions of considerable natural strength, formed by the Masurian Lakes and the Angerapp River. Here they had been able to hold back the Russian offensive, until later in February, when Hindenburg came up to this section in person and was ready to give the situation his direct attention.

With the same secrecy that the Galician campaign had been planned, he now gathered together forces in East Prussia, for the purpose of throwing



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE FIGHTING IN BUKOVINA.

Again and again the garrison had made desperate sorties, not so much in the hope of breaking through as to compel the Russians to maintain a large besieging force and to keep their artillery busy here. On the night of March 20 a final attack was made against the besiegers, in which the Russians took some 4,000 prisoners and drove the Austrians back. Next day heavy explosions were heard within the city; the Austrians were destroying their munitions, and the following day, March 22, General von Kusmanek for-



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#### PRZEMYSL, AFTER BOMBARDMENT BY AUSTRIAN MORTARS

This picture shows Fort 10A, when the Austrian mortars had finished their work. The Great War has shown that defenses of concrete and steel are of little use. Field fortifications or earthworks offer better resistance.



© Brown & Dawson

#### AUSTRIAN 30.5 cm. MORTAR BOMBARDING PRZEMYSL

This gun must be mounted on a concrete base. Fired at an angle, its shell is thrown high into the air and falling, explodes with irresistible force. In contrast is the field gun fired at short range directly at its target.



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back the Russians and overrunning Courland and the Baltic Coast up to Riga. He had been waiting for cold weather, and had prepared thousands of sledges and sled runners.

### THE BATTLE OF THE MASURIAN LAKES.

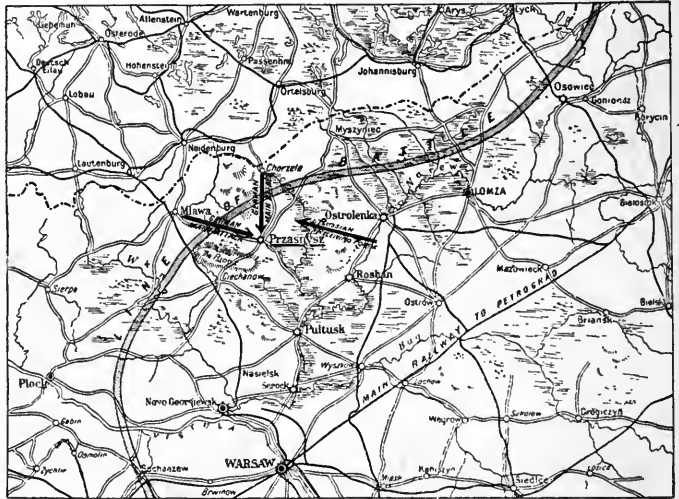
On February 8-9 the Germans came on, driving through a whirling snow-storm, about 300,000 strong, taking the Russians, who numbered about 120,000, by surprise. Thus began the winter Battle of the Masurian Lakes. By February 12 the German left wing, sweeping down on the Russian right flank from the north, had pushed the whole Russian line off of German soil, and the Russians were finally expelled from East Prussia. Much of this fighting was witnessed by the German Emperor in person. Berlin reported that 100,000 prisoners were taken, which included the commander of the Russian Twentieth Army Corps. The Russians, however, claimed that only 30,000 men were lost during these operations.

The opposing lines swept in a great half-circle from the Baltic to the borders of Rumania. It is obvious that both the Galician and the East Prussian campaigns were, compared to the main German effort to come, mere demonstrations. The Russian centre, holding Poland and Warsaw, was, after all, the main objective. Here there had been comparative quiet while the battles raged in the Carpathian passes and over the frozen swamps of the Masurian Lakes. Here von Hindenburg was quietly making his biggest preparations. Fully 2,000,000 men were being gathered together behind the German centre, to deliver a final blow at the whole Russian line. For this time the German General Staff had reversed its

main plan of action; the Western Front must be held defensively while the Russians were decisively defeated and so thoroughly crippled that they could not again take the offensive—till the Germans had defeated the British and French.

### VON MACKENSEN'S PHALANX ATTACKS.

It was not until spring that the Germans were ready to deliver this great attack, this chief effort to bring the war to a close on the Eastern Front. On April 28 the first movement began with von Mackensen in command of



THE MASURIAN LAKE DISTRICT

Map of part of the swampy Masurian Lake region, showing the area of the German attack on Prasnysz, including the ridges where 6,000 Russians held 48,000 Germans till the relieving army arrived.

the Eleventh German Army and two Austro-Hungarian corps. After an artillery fire, such as had never before been seen during any war, General von Mackensen swung his right wing forward, near Gorlice, against the Russians under Dimitriev. The infantry attack began on May 1. The Russians were completely overwhelmed, and quickly fell back, defeated. This army (von Mackensen's phalanx) was to drive forward, paying no attention to other armies.

From the left bank of the Dunajec River, where it joins the Biala, then along the Biala to the lower slopes of the Carpathians, stretched the line of battles, each a military engagement of



© Brown & Dawson  
German Infantry Reserves waiting for the order to advance in a battle in Galicia in 1915. The fighting here was very severe, heavy losses being inflicted by both the Austro-Germans and the Russians. Military operations on this front are greatly hindered and complicated by the swampy character of the ground and the lack of roads. The snows of winter almost entirely stop movements of troops. The great German offensive which began with the capture of Warsaw was stopped by the Pinsk Marshes.

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the first magnitude in itself, yet compared to the field as a whole, a mere skirmish. That summer of 1915 claimed more than its proportionate share of the 4,000,000 dead which has been Russia's loss on the Eastern Front.

### THE RUSSIAN LINE IS FORCED BACK.

For nearly a week the Russians made their stand along the Visloka, but outnumbered, betrayed by Petrograd

By June 18 the Teuton tide had swept far to the eastward and lapped the very gates of Lemberg. Przemyśl had been retaken on June 3, just ten weeks after the city had surrendered to the Russians. By this time the Russian losses approached 800,000 men; half in dead and wounded, the other half marching west as prisoners of war. On June 23 Lemberg fell to the advancing victors. By this time the army of Dimitriev was practically noth-



GERMAN SOLDIERS AND SUPPLIES IN LIBAU

May 8, 1915, by means of a combined naval and military attack, the Germans captured the valuable port of Libau. This was a serious loss as it was usually free from ice throughout the year, and the harbor was a base for the German warships which had been operating from Dantzig.

itself, they could not withstand the Teutonic masses that swept against them and steadily bore them back. On May 11 the bulk of their line lay just west of the lower San, as far as Przemyśl, then south to the upper Dniester. By that time Dimitriev had fallen back nearly eighty miles. Over 100,000 Russians had been taken prisoners during those eleven days, and the Russian army in the north under General Evarts, and Brusilov on the south had likewise retreated to escape disaster.

ing more than a retreating, unarmed mob, save when they could come into hand to hand conflict with the pursuing foe with their bayonets, for their ammunition was now practically exhausted. More sinisterly significant was the fact that often supplies of ammunition arriving at the front did not fit the rifles or the cannon for which they were intended.

### THE INVASION OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES.

Up in the north the German advance more than kept pace with the general

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

onward sweep of the Teuton hosts in Poland and Galicia. A column of Germans poured up over the sand dunes of the Baltic Coast, and by May 8 it had reached as far as, and taken Libau, and a large part of Courland had been overrun.

By July 1 the stupendous advance under the command of von Hindenburg had made such progress that the

sian salient. Twice had Hindenburg attempted to take that important city by a frontal attack. He was leaving it now until the last. He would squeeze the Russians out of that portion of Poland or trap them.

### THE IMPENDING FATE OF WARSAW.

But in the north and in the south blow after blow fell, re-echoing in all



COSSACKS OCCUPYING A GALICIAN TOWN

Although all irregular troops of the Russian cavalry were called Cossacks they have not a common origin; they come from the provinces of the Don, Kouban, Orenenbourg, the Ural and Transbaikalia. Something of the reputation of the Cossack should be credited to his horse, a small animal, short of limb and neck, but a wonderful stayer, thriving on poor food, docile, intelligent, indifferent to weather and ignorant of the luxury of a stable.

whole world of the Allied countries was thoroughly alarmed, fearing a disastrous Russian debacle. On July 19, the German Emperor telegraphed his sister, the Queen of Greece, that Russia was paralyzed, and would so remain for the next six months. On July 24 the German line ran from Novgorod in the north, south of Przasnysz, thence to Novo-Georgievsk, then swinging to the southeast below Warsaw, it passed close to the west of Ivangorod, Lublin, Cholm, and then south to a point just east of Lemberg. Warsaw, it will be noted, was at the point of a great Rus-

the Allied capitals. "Can Warsaw hold?" was the general question asked. Each end of the long Russian line was being gradually pushed back. Would it presently break in the middle—at Warsaw? "Yesterday evening," telegraphed the correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* from Petrograd, on July 22, "the bells in all the churches throughout Russia clanged a call to prayer for a twenty-four hours' service of intercession for victory."

Prayer availed Russia little. All through the last days of July the German armies advanced. On July 23, the

troops of von Hindenburg were close up to the encircling forts of Ivangorod and stood on the Vistula all the way between the fortress and the mouth of the Pilitza. The following day brought the announcement of the capture by the Germans of the fortresses of Rozan and Pultusk on the Narew, placing the crossing of the Narew between those two places in the hands of the Germans. On that same day, in Galicia, the Russians retreated on a front of forty kilometres between the Vistula and the Bistritz for a distance of ten kilometres. Their attempts to make a stand in between were rendered impossible by the onrushing sea of Austro-Germans.

### THE INEXORABLE ADVANCE OF THE GERMANS.

On July 25 the Germans crossed the Narew along its whole length from Ostrolenka to Pultusk. The troops moving southeast from Pultusk now approached the Bug, getting toward the rear of Warsaw, thus threatening to close the only way of escape to the Russians in the Polish capital—the Warsaw-Bielstok railroad. On July 26 the Russians made a determined counter-offensive from their line running from Goworowo to Serock, in an effort to remove this danger from Warsaw. But they gained nothing and lost over 3,000 prisoners.

The jaws of the pincers were coming together. To the south of Warsaw the Germans had seized a number of villages, which brought them nearly to the Vistula, just below the capital. The Russian troops before Warsaw had been falling back, and in so doing had laid the country waste, which served to hinder the advance of the enemy a little. On the morning of July 28 the Germans crossed to the eastern bank of the Vistula between the mouth of the Pilitza and the Kozienice at several places, and thus threatened the Warsaw-Ivangorod railroad.

### THE WARSAW-KIEV RAILROAD IS TAKEN.

Continuously, by day and by night, the Russians in Warsaw made counter attacks, both to the north and the south. On the night of July 27 they

made a desperate attempt to push forward to the west near Gora-Kalvaria, south of the city, but were completely shattered. Farther south the German advance was still more vigorous. Again the Russian front between the Bug and the Vistula was thrust back. On the evening of July 29 the Teutons captured the Warsaw-Kiev railroad line at Biskupice, about half way between Lublin and Cholm, thus getting astride of this important line of communication. On the afternoon of July 30 Lublin was occupied, and on the following day Cholm was taken. Thus the German armies now had possession of the important railroad between Warsaw and Kiev. Meanwhile a further advance was attained up in the north, in Courland, where the important railroad centre, Mistan, was seized.

Warsaw was now doomed; every Allied military expert recognized that fact, even though basing his deductions on the Russian official reports. The decisive blow was that which came with the crossing of the Vistula twenty miles north of Ivangorod, on July 28. It showed that Warsaw was rapidly being surrounded. On July 30 Petrograd announced officially that the Teutons had crossed the Vistula on pontoon bridges where it is joined by the Radomka. By August 2, two German army corps were across. On August 4, the fortress at Ivangorod surrendered, after a violent bombardment of four days.

### WARSAW IS EVACUATED AND OCCUPIED.

The evacuation of Warsaw began on the night of August 3. Many of the inhabitants, half a million in number, sought refuge in flight, toward Russia. All material that could be of use to the Germans was destroyed, so that when they entered they found the shell of a city. At midnight, during the night of August 5, the last Russian troops left the city, first blowing up the bridges. At six in the morning the Germans entered, under the command of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, who was widely advertised in Germany as the conqueror of Warsaw, for political reasons.

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In commenting on the fall of Warsaw, the military critic of the *Fortnightly Review* said:

"If, as is believed, Field Marshal von Hindenburg in communication with General von Falkenhayn conceived, planned and executed the campaign, which began on April 22 with the attack on General Dimitriev's army on the Dunajec, and led to the occupation

was due to the skill of his imperturbable antagonist, who always seemed to know where to stand and when to retire, and kept his brain cool, no matter how difficult the situation which confronted him."

### INFLUENCE OF THE LOSS OF WARSAW.

Politically and economically the fall of Warsaw was a hard blow to Russia,



GERMAN OCCUPATION OF WARSAW

Prince Leopold of Bavaria was accorded the privilege of entering Warsaw as a conqueror. He found only a remnant of the population—Poles and the poorest of the Ghetto, for the rest had migrated eastward removing all goods that might be useful to the enemy, and burning what they could not transport.

of Warsaw by Prince Leopold on August 4, he has established a claim to a high place among living strategists, for he grasped the problem before him with a foresight which provided for every eventuality, and left no stone unturned to secure success. One army after another was first organized, then concentrated, and finally launched at the right time, and in the right place, just when and where it was wanted to step into the strategical area. It is true that the Marshal failed to obtain the full results which he expected, for there was no Sedan in Poland; but this was not the fault of his strategy, and

but in a military sense, it was merely an incident in a great campaign. The taking of territory counts for comparatively little in a campaign, so long as the enemy's military forces remain intact. Von Hindenburg had not attacked Warsaw directly in this great campaign. He had hoped that the flower of the Russian Army would remain within the fortifications of the city and be trapped when the city did fall. The Russian Army covering the approaches to the city on the west was allowed to remain in position without being attacked, in the hope that it would remain there long enough to be

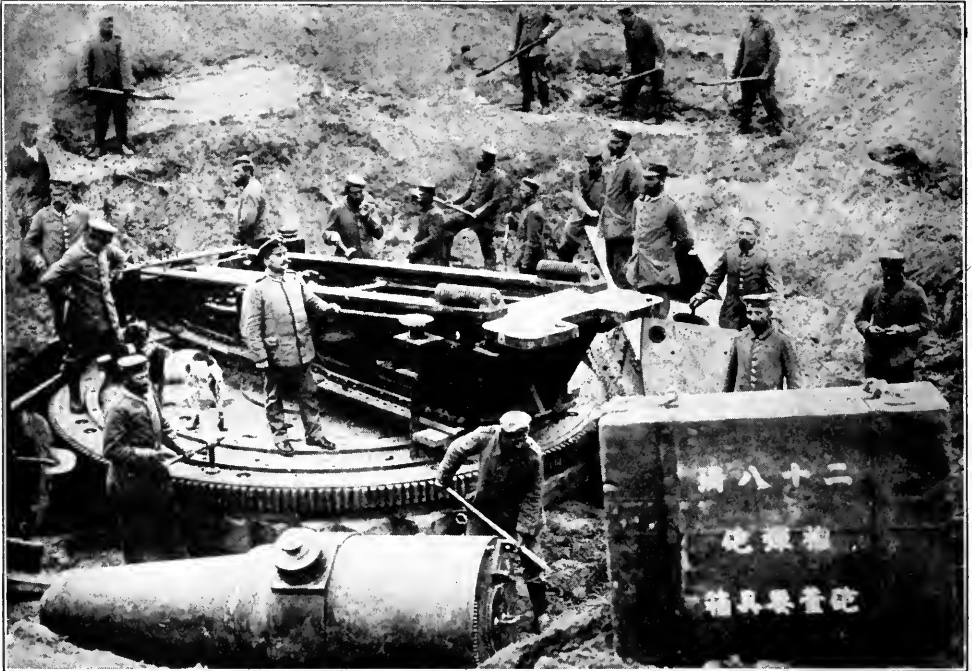


## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

unable to escape, and there be locked up, as the French had been at Metz.

It was von Moltke's strategy over again, and if it had succeeded Russia would indeed have been rendered helpless for at least six months, as the German Emperor had hoped when he joyously telegraphed his sister in Greece. But the brilliant strategy, the sound military judgment, of Grand Duke

it was commencing to experience a number of difficulties. First of all, the German lines of communication were lengthening. So long as the excellent German railroads lay immediately behind them, the German armies could be quickly and effectively served. But now they were advancing into territory where railroads were not so well laid out, beside which they were of a differ-



THE GERMANS FIND JAPANESE GUNS AT BREST-LITOVSK

After the capture of Warsaw the Germans sought to capture the Central Russian Army which heavy artillery only had caused to withdraw into the interior. In the retreat fortresses became death traps (for field-armies could not hold them against German siege-trains). One after another was treated as temporary earthworks and abandoned as soon as the maximum loss had been inflicted upon the enemy.

Picture from Henry Ruschin

Nicholas, or his advisers, had defeated this plan. With extreme nicety he knew when to withdraw his forces, neither too hastily, nor too late. Warsaw fell, but the Warsaw Army was saved, intact. In the eyes of the world generally, and of the German public specially, von Hindenburg had won a brilliant victory. But all military critics, and not least of all von Hindenburg himself, probably realized that in itself it was but a hollow victory.

### THE ADVANCE BEGINS TO SLACKEN.

From this time the advance of the German armies was not so headlong;

ent gauge from those in Germany and must be relaid before they could be used for the German engines and cars. Again, the German forces were daily being weakened by troops being assigned to the conquered cities and towns for garrison duty. The Russian defense gradually stiffened.

After the capture of Warsaw, von Hindenburg concentrated his next efforts on Brest-Litovsk, on the Bug, where he probably hoped to set another trap for the Grand Duke. First of all, he must capture Kovno, the key to the Russian line on the Niemën. On August 6 the Germans before the fortress

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

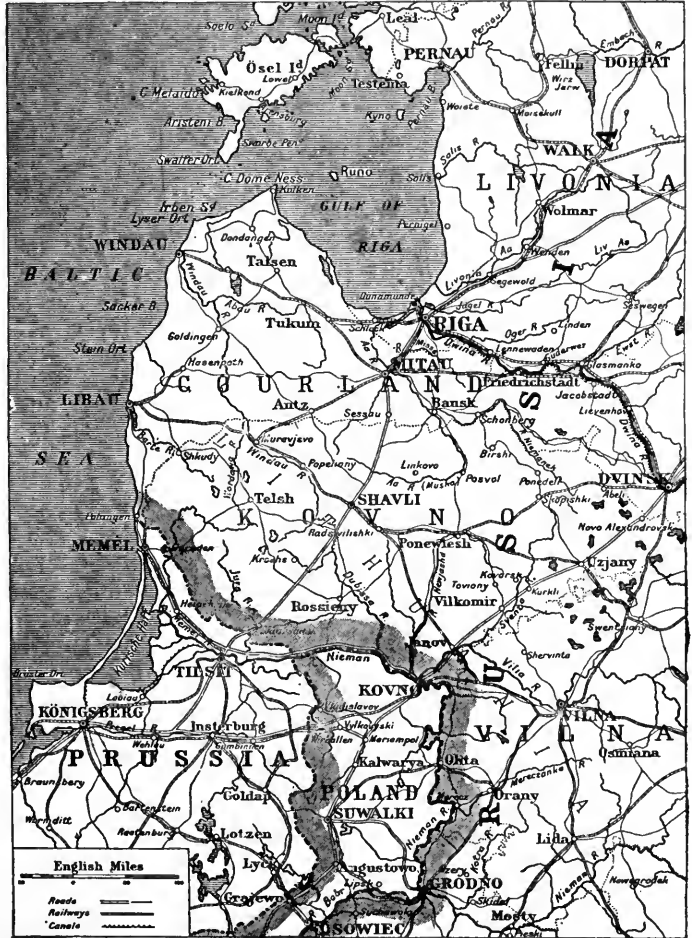
of Kovno made a strong attack, but were repulsed with enormous losses. Finally the Germans brought up their heavy howitzers, and ten days later the south bank of the Niemen fell into German hands. That night they crossed the river and captured the rest of the fortress, taking prisoner 4,000 Russians, together with 400 guns and much war material. Some of the circumstances suggest treachery on the part of the Russian commander. This was indeed a greater disaster to the Russians than the fall of Warsaw. For not only was the line of the Niemen turned, but the road to Vilna was opened up, threatening communication with Petrograd and Moscow.

### THE REPULSE OF THE ATTACK ON RIGA.

It was only ten days later, while two large Teuton armies were converging on Brest-Litovsk that the Russians scored their first important triumph of the campaign. On that date the Germans attempted to capture Riga from the sea. A German fleet of forty ships, mainly gunboats and light cruisers, sailed up the Gulf of Riga, escorting a force of 5,000 marines, who were embarked on lighters and sent to be landed at a small town on the north shore. The Russian fleet had retired before the German ships, giving the impression that the Russian Admiral feared an encounter with a superior force, but before the marines could be landed the Russian ships turned on the enemy and engaged them in battle. For four days the engagement lasted, and then, after

losing two cruisers and eight torpedo boats, the Germans fled, leaving the marines on the lighters to be captured before they had landed.

On August 25 Brest-Litovsk was abandoned by the Russians, before the



### THE GERMAN ATTEMPT TO CUT OFF THE RUSSIANS

Map of the campaign in Courland, Kovno, and the Gulf of Riga, illustrating the German attack on the road to Petrograd.

Germans could close in on them. When the Germans entered this important city, it was a mass of flaming buildings, and all the Russian forces had withdrawn in time. Again had von Hindenburg failed to destroy the Russian army.

### GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS IS DEPOSED.

A continuous retreat, no matter how brilliantly conducted, eventually in-

dures the morale of the soldiers composing the retreating armies. Under the circumstances Napoleon himself could only have retired before the advancing Germans, nor could he have conducted the retreat more dexterously than did the Grand Duke Nicholas. Nevertheless, it was only natural that the Russian peasants composing the mass of the Czar's armies should gradually become imbued with the belief that their Commander-in-chief had failed. Under such circumstances, no matter how blameless he may be, a commander is usually removed. This is one logical reason which may be ascribed for the removal of the Grand Duke from the chief command, on September 5, when Czar Nicholas announced that he would himself henceforth command the whole Russian front. Another reason was German intrigue at Petrograd. Grand Duke Nicholas was transferred to the Caucasus, where he later had an opportunity to show his great ability in directing the operations against the Turks.

As a military commander Czar Nicholas was, naturally, a mere figure-head. The real Commander-in-chief was now General Alexiev, who was made Chief of the General Staff, and as such henceforward had charge of the operations, though he was hindered by influences in Petrograd.

#### THE RUSSIAN SPIRIT IS UNBROKEN.

This change in command may have had some stimulating effect on the rank and file of the Russian armies, for now the fighting grew fiercer than it ever had been before. The battle before Vilna, which resulted in the fall of that city on September 18, was one of the bitterest of the whole long retreat. Here the Germans made another effort to trap a large portion of the Russian forces, by intercepting their retreat, but again their strategy failed, and the Russians retired intact, after inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

While these operations were going on in the north, the armies of General Ivanov, south of the Pripet, won two considerable successes in the eastern corner of Galicia, defeating two Ger-

man divisions west of Tarnopol, and an Austrian corps at Trembovla, on the Sereth, making large captures of prisoners and war material.

The capture of Vilna proved the high water mark of German success. From that date the Russian defense assumed a more stubborn character; the great retreat had come to an end. Possibly, too, the Germans were stretching their endurance and were forced to slacken their offensive from sheer exhaustion. Von Mackensen himself, directing the operations in the Pripet Marshes for a fortnight, finally removed his troops in that section, turned his command over to a subordinate, and gave his attention to what seemed a more hopeful quarter.

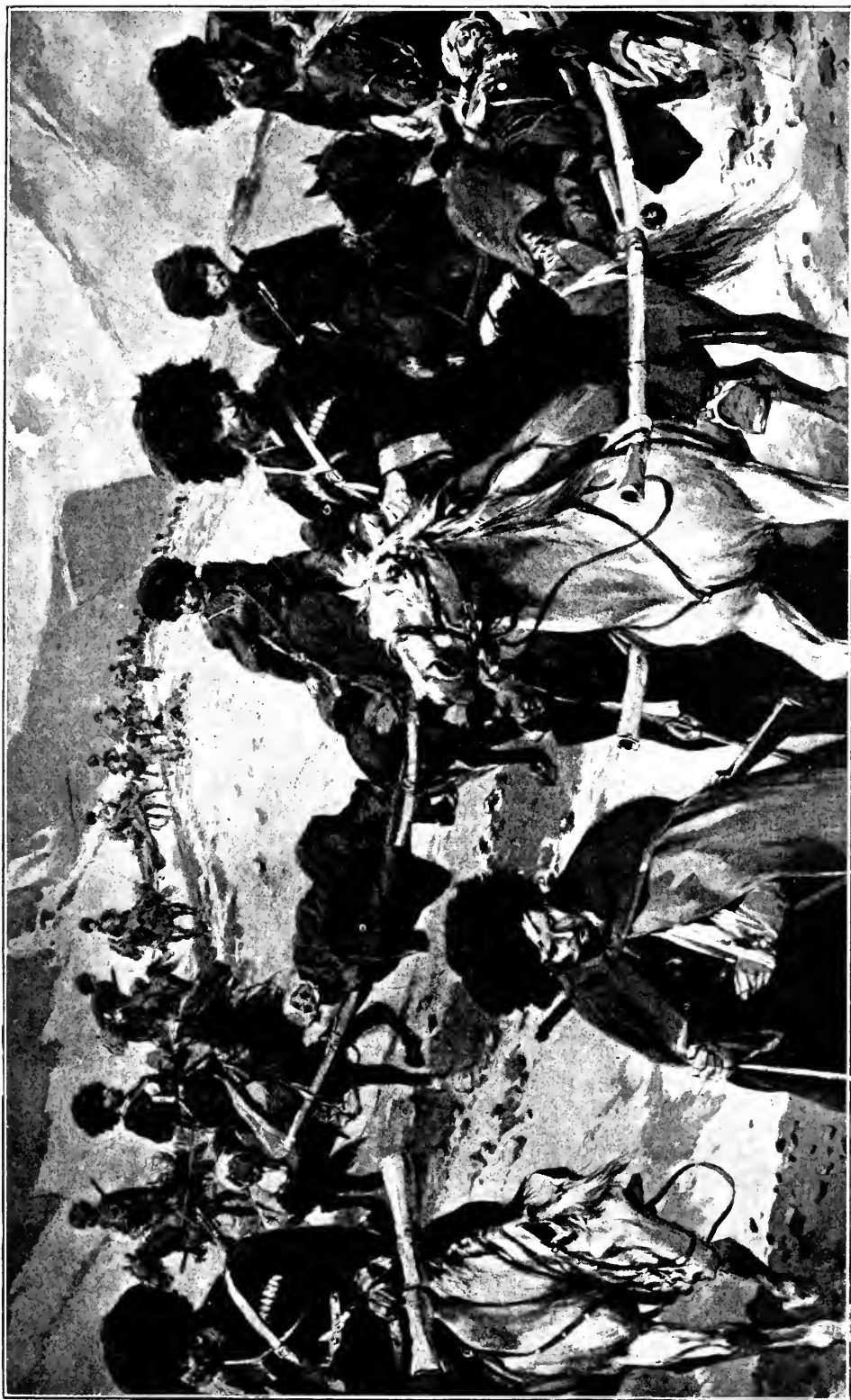
#### SUCCESSFUL OPERATIONS IN BUKOVINA,

Meanwhile Ivanov, after defeating the Austrians at Trembovla, continued advancing toward the Strypa, and on October 11 he badly defeated the Austrians under von Bothmer in a fiercely fought battle at Hajvoronka, driving the enemy across the river and taking many prisoners. This gave him control of practically all of that portion of Galicia which lies east of the Strypa.

Von Hindenburg now attempted to take Dvinsk, but this time his plans ended in complete failure. The marshy nature of the country around this important stronghold prevented the Germans from bringing up their heavy siege artillery, and without this they proved themselves unable to complete the task before them. The Russian retreat was now definitely ended; henceforth the Russian armies held their own, giving here and there, perhaps, but taking elsewhere in retaliation. The Prussian Commander had come to the end of his tether.

#### AMMUNITION FROM THE UNITED STATES ARRIVES.

This change in the situation was in some measure also due to the fact that supplies of ammunition were beginning to arrive from Vladivostok, where the munitions purchased in the United States were being landed. Also, at this time the necessity of pushing their way through Serbia was becoming impera-



A COSSACK AMBULANCE CONVOY IN A SNOW-CLAD MOUNTAINOUS DISTRICT.

tive to the Central Powers, in order that Bulgaria might be brought into the war and that direct communications might be opened up with Turkey, now much in need of Teutonic assistance. Thus large forces of both Germans and Austrians were diverted to this enterprise in the south, and Mackensen himself was compelled to leave the Eastern Front to direct it. For the Central Powers knew, from former experience, that the Serbian nut was to be decidedly hard to crack. Some divisions were also transferred to the Western Front to oppose the attack upon Loos. Thus the Russians were given a breathing space, a period during which they were enabled to prepare for a counter offensive:

The Russian lines now extended from Riga, on the extreme north, along the Dvina, down to Dvinsk, thence, turning eastward along the river, they again turned south and so on down, east of the famous Pripet Marshes. From this point they extended almost due south to the Rumanian frontier. This was practically the line the Russian commander had first considered defending in 1914. The Polish Salient had disappeared, pinched off at its base. The line was now across Russia from north to south.

### **M**ORE FIGHTING IN BUKOVINA.

Late in December the Russians began their counter-offensive with a determined attack against the Austrians near Czernowitz, between the Pruth and the Dniester, and so successful was it that for a while, at least, von Mackensen was obliged to leave his operations in Serbia and direct the Austrian defense in Bukovina. This battle continued on into the new year, and was, therefore, the beginning of the campaign of 1916, in which the Rus-

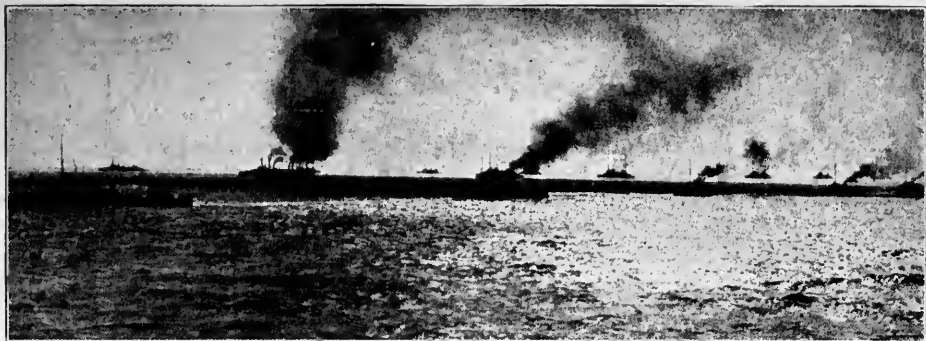
sians were to recover some of what they had lost during that unfortunate retreat of 1915.

In this quick recovery Russia showed a recuperative power truly remarkable; a power which might have been even more effectively manifested had it not been for the corruption and lack of ability among the higher officials surrounding the Czar's throne. In no country was there displayed more genuine enthusiasm for the war than among the Russian people. It was the voluntary social organizations, such as the zemstovs, the federation of municipalities, and the co-operative societies, which made it possible for the Russian commanders to maintain their armies at the front at all, in that they supplied food, clothing, hospital facilities and medical aid to the soldiers. Often the administrative machinery of the autocracy deliberately hindered these efforts, to such an extent that there is still good reason to believe that from the Court down to minor provincial officials, the government organization was honeycombed with rank treason.

### **T**HE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THE WAR.

The war had begun as a quarrel between great imperialistic powers. Before the end of the first year it developed into a plain struggle between the principles of democracy and autocracy. Temperamentally, the Russian people were on the side toward which their sympathies naturally inclined, when they found themselves defending the cause of democracy. But their rulers were not. Patriotism, no doubt, led many of them to disregard their class interests. But many chose otherwise, and quietly supported the conspiracy for a Russian defeat, the centre of which was the Tsarina herself.

ALBERT SONNICHSEN



The Naval Attempt to Force the Dardanelles

## CHAPTER XX

# The Gallipoli Expedition

## THE FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT TO FORCE THE DARDANELLES

**P**OLITICIANS, playing their game in the old city on the Golden Horn, by various shifts of their pawns brought it about that the headlines of the twentieth century war-news displayed names from the oldest battle-ground of the civilized world. For, with Turkey's entrance into the war, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, again became the scenes of combat—lands, where Rameses encountered the king of the Hittites; where Saul and David struggled with the Philistines; where Sargon and Nebuchadnezzar rode to conquest; where Cyrus the Great and Xerxes the Proud led their hosts; where Alexander and his phalanx of Macedonia, pushing eastward, drove the Persians before them; where the Caesars set the stamp of the Roman Empire; where, centuries later, Christian Crusaders sang under the cross on their banner as they fought their way toward the City of David and "David's greater Son."

Constantinople, the gateway to that historic East, has long justified the choice of the Greek colonists who, under the guidance of the Delphic oracle, found there a site for their trading city, Byzantium. For centuries the capital of the Roman Empire in the East, it has been since 1453 the European stronghold of the Ottoman Turks. Napoleon, it is said, once called it "the key of the world." He dangled that key before the eyes of Tsar Alexander I

while they were planning to divide all Europe between them. Toward this city beside the Bosphorus the eyes of many nations turn with anxiety or desire. Russia, Bulgaria, modern Greece have built dreams of empire around it and have longed to possess it.

### **R**USSIAN AND GREEK CLAIMS TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

The claim of Greece is sentimental, historic, and traditional. That of Russia is religious and economic. On the one hand, the Greek Catholic Church, with its centre at Constantinople, is the church of the Russian people. On the other, Russia, from the days of Catherine the Great, has been reaching out for a free road from her Black Sea port to the Mediterranean. More than once, in the nineteenth century, she seemed about to acquire it, but England and France laid a detaining hand upon her lest she should grow too powerful, and block their own plans for development in Asia. In this way the two countries of Western Europe became protectors and sponsors for the Turk, who did not hesitate to promise good behavior in return for their intervention, and then to break the promise. While their patience was being worn by repeated massacres of Christians and other outrages committed by their troublesome protégé, a new influence began to slip in, replacing theirs. A ruler in Central Europe had dreams of empire which



included Constantinople and the Asiatic domains of the Sultan.

### GERMAN INFLUENCE IN TURKEY.

From the beginning of his reign, it appears, William II of Germany was contriving in the interests of the plan for a "Mitteleuropa" that would extend from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf. The projected Berlin to Bagdad line lay across Turkey in Europe, and Turkey in Asia, with Constantinople as the important bridgehead uniting the two continents. It was not difficult to increase German influence in a government whose system was that of "fictitiously accepting the tutelage of all the leading Powers, in order to counterbalance one with another and to deceive them all." The court of Abdul Hamid received and honored Emperor William when he made his journeys to the Orient; and were flattered by his attentions and his gifts. Turkish youths went to German universities to study. Negotiations concerning the Berlin to Bagdad railway progressed. The Porte obtained the guidance and instruction of a German military mission to assist in training the army. Eventually, German naval commanders supplanted the British mission that had built up the Turkish navy. It was a gradual and insidious process, scarcely recognized by the Western nations even when war had begun to reveal deep-laid reasons for many apparently natural and obvious acts.

In 1908 Europe was taken by surprise by developments in the Ottoman Empire under the control of the Young Turks. Their successful bloodless revolution, planned by secret committees in Paris and other foreign cities and supported by secret committees within the Empire, gave promise of new life for the old land. In Turkey, the proclamation of the Constitution produced excitement and jubilation. "For a people living under tyranny the constitution is a dream, perfect and absolute as only things in dreams can be." The Turks, in strange ignorance, hailed their "constitution" as a person or thing that somehow would give liberty and equality to all. "Hurriyet var"

("There's liberty") became an explanation for acts of abandon and violence, an excuse for extreme demands. On the slightest pretext processions with bands of music broke forth and the people cheered with hand-clapping.

### THE TASK OF THE YOUNG TURKS.

We may believe that the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress started with the sincere intentions of saving their land from oppression and securing for it a democratic government of justice and freedom; but their problem was too great, and their own lust for power, too strong. The real weakness of the Ottoman Empire lies in the inferiority of the ruling class, the Turks,—in numbers, in culture, and in economic importance—by comparison with the subject peoples. Such domination can be sustained only by military force and autocratic rule, and means the sacrifice of things economic and cultural. Among the members of the Committee in power, some had thorough understanding of their land and their people, while others, who had lived abroad, had extensive knowledge of constitutional government. There was none who combined the two. In their ultimate performance they seem to have pooled their mistakes rather than their knowledge.

Nevertheless, the immediate results of the revolution were admirable. The intricate spy system of Abdul Hamid was eliminated; corrupt Ministers were removed; repressive censorship of press and mail was lifted; freedom of speech and liberty to travel were established; there was to be no further imprisonment without trial. Then the zeal of the extremists led them on to attempt nationalistic measures that could not fail to meet resistance. Their aim to Ottomanize all the people under their control would destroy national individuality in the subject races by substituting the Turkish language and customs for those of the Greeks, Albanians, Armenians, and others. Dr. Nazim, strong-willed, cold, unbending, and Enver Bey (later, Enver Pasha), the soldier, were the leaders who believed that national differences must disap-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

pear and all become uniformly Turkish. In Albania and Macedonia revolts resulted, followed by massacres, and in the end many Christians emigrated.

### THE DWINDLING TURKISH DOMINIONS.

Difficulties increased for the new rulers. Bulgaria had already broken away and declared its independence in

May, 1913, Turkey was left only a little corner of Europe—Constantinople and its immediate environs. But, straightway, the victors fell to fighting among themselves, with new adjustments and a new treaty as results. By the treaty of Bucharest, in August, thanks to Germany's friendly offices, Turkey recovered her fortress of Adrianople.



CONSTANTINOPLE, THE CITY ON THE GOLDEN HORN

Constantinople, ancient Greek Byzantium, capital of the Roman Empire from 330 to 1453, and since 1453 head of the Ottoman Empire, has for centuries been an influence in European thought. The mosque of the Sultan Suleiman, seen in the picture, is on one of the hills of Stamboul, the old part of the city. Across the Golden Horn (shown in the foreground) are Galata and Pera, the business and foreign residential quarters.

1908, at the same moment that Austria had chosen for the appropriation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The uprising of April 13, 1909, probably instigated and financed by Abdul Hamid, was suppressed by the efforts of Shevket Pasha and Mukhtar Pasha. The Sultan was deposed and his brother, Mahomet V, proclaimed in his stead. Italy took advantage of the unsettled Balkan conditions to fight for the possession of Tripoli in 1911. Finally, in the following year, the Balkan Wars began when Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece united to rescue the Christians of Macedonia from continued persecution. By the Treaty of London in

### GERMAN DIPLOMATS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

By the year 1914, of momentous memory, the relations between the land of the Sultan and the land of the Kaiser were close and cordial. Turkey was more in sympathy with the Triple Alliance than was Italy. In proportion as German influence had increased, that of England had diminished, especially after the formation of the Triple Entente had recorded Great Britain as the friend of Russia, Turkey's natural foe and hated rival. In Constantinople, German ambassadors, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, gracious and tactful, succeeded by Baron von Wangenheim,

energetic and forceful, strengthened every bond between their government and the Porte, while British diplomats seem to have blindly or contemptuously let slip their opportunity to use convincing persuasion and conciliatory influence.

The result of this neglect, during the period of indecision, between the opening of the war and the day in late October on which their own aggressive action, the bombardment of Odessa, devoted the Turks to active co-operation with the Central Powers, was the establishment in Constantinople of what was practically a German dictatorship. In that interval, German gold to the amount of £1,200,000 or more had been distributed through Turkish territory and greater sums were sent later; several thousand sailors and soldiers had been introduced at various posts (ostensibly they were intended for work on the railway); German officers had assumed control in military matters; and finally Admiral Limpus of the British Navy had been replaced by the German Souchon Pasha in the supervision of the fleet.

#### **TURKEY MOVES TOWARD WAR.**

The actual events that formed a prelude to hostilities were as follows. On the third of August the British representatives in Constantinople informed the Turkish authorities that the British government had found it necessary to take over the contract for two Turkish ships, the *Osman I* and the *Reshadie*, being built in Great Britain. On the eleventh, two German warships, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, were allowed to enter the Dardanelles, although British and other foreign ships were being detained. Repeated protests were raised by the British Embassy, with the result that Turkey was declared to have bought the boats. The retention of German officers and crews called forth more protests. In fact, for the following three months, Turkey continued to deplore the loss of the *Osman* and the *Reshadie*, for which popular subscriptions had been raised; while England retaliated with reproaches for Turkey's breach of neutrality in keep-

ing the Germans aboard the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*. The Grand Vizier and the several Ministers continued, to the last moment, to vow that Turkey had no intention of breaking neutrality, although preparations for war were actively in progress from Anatolia to Yemen, from Alexandretta to the Shatt-el-Arab. England took anxious thought for the Suez Canal, and daily dispatches passed between the home government and the embassies.

German intrigue was evident in the partiality of the Turkish press, which printed distorted and falsified accounts of the war, presenting England and France in an unfavorable light. Rumors were abroad that a "Jihad" or Holy War, was being stirred up in all Moslem countries. The Kaiser was reported to have accepted the religion of Islam and become its defender. Foreign vessels were frequently detained and searched; some of their cargoes were seized. Mines were laid in the Dardanelles and other waters. Munitions were being brought into the country and distributed. The embassies were informed that the Capitulations which gave to foreigners the right to be tried by their own courts had been abrogated. Still, the Turkish Government declared its intention to remain neutral. It was on October 29 that the deception ended, when a Russian gunboat was sunk and the Russian harbor of Odessa was bombarded by Turkish gunboats.

#### **THE SULTAN DECLARES A HOLY WAR.**

The first week in November, France and England declared war upon Turkey. On November 13, the Sultan issued a long proclamation in which he called upon the faithful to take up arms in a Holy War against the Christian Powers ruling over them. This, of course, did not include Germany and Austria, who held no sovereignty over Moslem peoples.

One member of the Turkish Ministry who from the first had been committed unquestionably to war against the Allies was Enver Pasha, Minister of War. An enthusiastic admirer of things German and an able pupil of



#### TURKISH AND GERMAN OFFICERS AT GALLIPOLI

In this group are Turkish and German officers at Gallipoli. In the centre front stands General Liman von Sanders, whom the Sultan appointed Commander-in-Chief at the Dardanelles. General von Sanders had come to Constantinople at the head of a Military Mission which showed a "ubiquitous activity" in guiding the Turks in the way they should go.



#### GERMAN MARINES IN THE UNIFORM OF THE TURK

Before the war began, the Turkish Army had become practically "a weapon at the disposal of the Kaiser's Great General Staff." During Turkish neutrality German soldiers were introduced into Turkish territory in the guise of workmen for the railroad. Upon the coming of the Goeben and the Breslau, with Admiral Souhon, to the Dardanelles, German sailors were slipped into the Turkish Navy.

Pictures Henry Ruschin

General von der Goltz (who had been military tutor of the Turks from 1910 to 1912), he had lived in Berlin as military attaché. While he had no intention of being superseded, he constantly encouraged German assumption of authority in Constantinople until he himself became a "cog in the Prussian system." Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, did not particularly like the Germans, but, in seeking to increase his own power and that of the Committee, he, too, had been drawn into the system. Massive and strong-willed, he has been characterized by Ambassador Morgenthau as the "Big Boss of Turkey." Unlike the other Young Turk leaders, he had preserved somewhat ostentatiously his character as a "man of the people," identifying himself with the humbler classes for his own political advantage. A third member of the ruling Committee, who, since the close of hostilities, has been included with the other two in sentence to the death penalty for responsibility in forcing Turkey into war, was Djemal Pasha, then Minister of Marine. His cruel nature was not, like Enver's, concealed under a smooth, bland surface. He was the sort of man who could find satisfaction in assassinations and judicial murders, as "part of the day's work." In the hands of these three lay the real control of the Ottoman Empire during the war.

## THE QUESTION OF THE DARDANELLES.

England's first act against Turkey was the sending of an expedition from India to seize the lower Mesopotamian basin. But the attention of the Entente at the moment was fixed upon the struggle to push back the invader from the paths to Paris and the sea. Little thought could be spared for any other plan. Gradually however, men began to speak of another Eastern expedition, an attempt to force the Dardanelles—in ancient times a source of conflict and disaster—now about to become the scene of a venture of almost unprecedented "madness and glory."

The Dardanelles is the Hellespont of the ancient Greeks. It is the strait which separates Europe from Asia,

connecting the Sea of Marmora with the Ægean. At the narrowest point it is hardly more than a mile and a quarter wide, and the average width for the forty-five miles of its length is between three and four miles. On the European side is the peninsula of Gallipoli, the principal scene of our narrative; on the Asiatic side are the hills of Asia Minor. Both sides have been strongly fortified from early times.

Wherever rightly lies the blame for the improvident, halting, blundering, irresolute conduct of the Gallipoli expedition, a large share of responsibility must rest upon the British Cabinet. Either they should have put aside the project entirely, or they should have given it adequate support. From first to last they appear hardly to have known their own minds in the matter and so continued to hesitate and delay that their program throughout was "tentative and piecemeal," of the sort that Sir Ian Hamilton had indicated "was bound to lead to disaster."

## WHAT SUCCESS WOULD HAVE MEANT.

The scheme itself was worthy of careful investigation. Given success, it would have yielded great results, and shortened the war. Turkey, deprived of the Dardanelles and Constantinople, would have been paralyzed—no longer of use to her allies; the path of the Central Powers into Asia would have been blocked; India, the Persian Gulf, and Egypt would have been rendered safe; Bulgaria would have remained neutral or, more likely, would have decided for the Allies; and Serbia and Rumania would have been saved. The Venizelos party in Greece might have been fortified and carried to earlier success. Russia, relieved of pressure in the Caucasus would have been free to transfer her forces to the western front. Moreover, a way would have been opened from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean through which Russian grain could have been carried out and supplies of munitions carried in.

A call from Russia, early in January, 1915, asking for some action on the part of England to divert the enemy, first introduced the Dardanelles project into





### GALLIPOLI AND THE DARDANELLES, "THE PIVOT OF THE ORIENT"

Gallipoli, known in ancient times as the Chersonesus, is a peninsula extending southwest on the shore of Turkey-in-Europe. Across the Dardanelles (the old Hellespont) it faces the coast of Turkey-in-Asia. The map itself discloses some of the difficulties met in the attacks upon the Dardanelles and Gallipoli,—the points at Cape Helles and Kum Kale, where forts protected the entrance to the strait; the Narrows, rendered dangerous by fields of floating mines; the rugged ridges covering the peninsula; the formidable heights of Sari Bair, Kilid Bahr, and Achi Baba. From the Gulf of Xeros the Queen Elizabeth dropped shells upon the forts at Chanak. Around Cape Helles lie the beaches where the landings were made on April 15, the French at Kum Kale on the Asiatic shore diverting part of the enemy's attention from the British landing attacks. The inset shows Anzac Cove where the Australians made their brilliant début and where the skilfully managed secret landing was accomplished in August. At Suvla Bay occurred the fatal delay in the August attack. Gallipoli will stand in history beside Thermopylae and Balaklava in the record of valient deeds undertaken under conditions of utter discouragement.



the serious considerations of the British War Council. Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, presented the idea of making a demonstration of some sort in the Dardanelles region. His conviction is expressed in his speech of the following summer: "Through the Narrows of the Dardanelles and across the ridges of the Gallipoli Peninsula lie some of the shortest paths to a triumphant peace." The enormous difficulties of those Narrows and those ridges neither he nor his political associates understood. Expert opinion was consulted to some extent. Admiral Carden and other naval authorities declared that only a regular and well-sustained attack could possibly succeed. General Joffre and Sir John French were opposed to any action that would draw off forces from the line of defense in France. In the end, their fronts suffered loss not of men, but of munitions, through the campaign in Gallipoli—a loss that was felt at Verdun.

### **L**ORD FISHER OPPOSES THE ATTACK UPON GALLIPOLI.

Admiral Lord Fisher, who, since October 30, 1914, had been First Sea Lord, vigorously objected to the plan at once, when it was suggested to him and the Prime Minister. Admiral Fisher's experience in the eastern Mediterranean during the Russo-Turkish War and the Boer War had convinced him that, "even with military co-operation" the forcing of the Dardanelles was an operation that would be "mighty hazardous." His opinion, he says, was well known to the Government and the War Council, "even to the charwomen at the Admiralty." In the meetings of the War Council he preserved silence, feeling that it would not be proper to hold altercations with his chief, with whom up to this time he had worked in accord.

"Sea Lords are the servants of the Government," he says, "having given their advice, then it's their duty to carry out the commands of the political party in power until the moment comes when they feel they can no longer support a policy which they are convinced is disastrous."

At the meeting of the Council on

January 28, 1915, Lord Fisher arose to leave, intending to resign, but was persuaded by Lord Kitchener to remain, in view of the large program of ship-building that had been undertaken. It was not until May, when further naval reinforcements for the Dardanelles were ordered by Mr. Churchill, that the Admiral tendered his resignation.

### **I**NADEQUATE PREPARATIONS MADE.

Occupied by the attractive political possibilities of the venture and confident of the success of long-range naval fire, the British Ministry failed to inform themselves of actual existing resources and conditions. They launched their project without being aware that they had no adequate supply of troops or munitions with which to carry it through. Their discussion was chiefly as to whether the attack should be purely naval or a combined effort by land and sea.

Having waveringly decided upon the latter course, they issued their orders. The result was that before the end of March, 1915, a hastily-gathered collection of forces was poured into the harbor of Mudros, on the island of Lemnos, about fifty miles from the entrance to the Straits. The 29th Division of the regular army, made up of units that had not worked together before, and the Royal Naval Division were there. And from Egypt, now that the danger to the Suez Canal seemed less, had come a Territorial Division, some Indian units, with the Australian and New Zealand Division, who were as yet untried. Their valiant response to the trial by fire and steel through which they passed at Gallipoli has placed in the firmament of fame a new constellation, Anzac (the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps).

### **G**ENERAL HAMILTON TAKES COMMAND.

Lemnos was the advanced base for operations; at Tenedos, a small island much nearer the scene of action, headquarters were established. There, on the seventeenth of March, arrived General Sir Ian Hamilton, as commander of the land attack. And there he found



Admiral Souchon was in command of the Goeben and the Breslau when they entered the Dardanelles. To him was given control of the Turkish naval movements.

his colleagues, General d'Amade, commander of the French Corps, Vice-Admiral de Robeck, who had succeeded Admiral Carden, and Admiral Guépratte. Upon inspecting the transports at Mudros, General Hamilton perceived that they had been loaded in pell-mell haste. Nothing could be undertaken until they had returned to Egypt to be re-loaded in such a way as to make them of use. This was the first of a long series of delays and mishaps.

Responsibility for the blunders that mar the story of this campaign is in some instances hard to fix. For the unsupported naval bombardment of the Straits on March 18, we have an explanation in Mr. Winston Churchill's speech in his own defense, made in the House of Commons on November 15, 1915. He then said:

"The Admiral on the spot, Admiral Carden, expressed himself in entire agreement with the spirit of the Admiralty telegrams, and announced his intention to press forward in his attack on lines which had been agreed upon,

and with which he said he was in exact accord. The date of the attack was fixed for March 17, weather permitting. On the 16th Admiral Carden was stricken down with illness, and was invalidated by medical authority. On the advice of the First Sea Lord, who fully concurred, I appointed Admiral de Robeck, second in command, who had been very active in the operations, to succeed him. I thought it indispensable to find out, on the eve of this difficult attack, whether the new Admiral shared the opinion of his predecessor, and I therefore sent him a telegram, of which the following is a paraphrase: *'Personal and secret—From the First Lord. In intrusting you, with great confidence, with the command of the Mediterranean detached fleet, I presume you are in full accordance with the Admiralty telegrams 101 and 109, and Vice-Admiral Carden's answer thereto, and that you consider, after separate and independent judgment, that the immediate operations proposed are wise and practicable. If not, do not hesitate to say so. If so, ex-*



Enver Pasha, Minister of War, was confident of the strength of the German allies. Born and educated in Constantinople, he had become a leader of the Young Turks.

*cute them without delay and without further reference, at the first favorable opportunity.'* Admiral de Robeck replied that he was in full agreement with the Admiralty telegram which expressed his views exactly. He would attack on the 18th."

The Admiralty telegrams in question had urged "more vigorous measures," so as "to press hard for a decision."

From the time that Turkey's decision had been made, the Dardanelles had been the scene of intermittent activities. On November 3, 1914, the British squadron guarding the entrance drew fire from the forts on the points at Cape Helles and Kum Kale to test the enemy's gun range, which was found to be limited. On December 13 Lieutenant Holbrook took the British submarine B 11 through the Straits, diving beneath five rows of mines and successfully resisting the strong outward current. After he had torpedoed the Turkish battleship, *Messudiyeh*, on guard over the minefield in the Narrows, he escaped gunfire and torpedo attack by remaining submerged for nine hours and scraped along out of the channel to safety. For his bold exploit he received the Victoria Cross. Another British submarine was, however, forced to turn back the next day and a French submarine was destroyed a month later.

#### THE NAVAL FORCES PROVIDED FOR THE GREAT ATTACK.

The eastern Mediterranean, in the spring of 1915, swarmed with a large and varied collection of ships from all parts of the seas. Among them was the British naval force gathered for the attack. It consisted principally of old battleships and light cruisers, but included also the *Inflexible*, of the Dreadnought class, and the most powerful British ship, the great super-dreadnought, *Queen Elizabeth*, playfully called "*Lizzie*" by the bluejackets. These were strengthened by a French squadron under Rear-Admiral Guépratte. During February and March, Admiral Carden made several assaults upon the entrance to the Straits, with the intention of destroy-

ing their fortifications and sweeping the channel clear of mines. In some of these bombardments, the fifteen-inch guns of the *Queen Elizabeth*, then in the Gulf of Xeros, stationed near Suvla Bay on the west coast, dropped great shells upon the forts at Chanak all the way across the peninsula and the Narrows.

But apparent gains had been misleading. Sometimes batteries had been silenced only for a time, when the gunners were stifled by fumes from bursting shells. Even the ruins of the damaged forts provided shelter for Turkish gunners who crept forward through the debris. The character of the coast made attack from the sea almost futile. Sandstone cliffs bordered the shore, so steep and close that gun-range was difficult to regulate. Too low a shot would strike the cliff; one a bit too high would land in the country behind the fortifications or even in the sea beyond the peninsula. Once in the narrow channel, ships were within range of the enemy's guns from both shores.

#### FRUITLESS RESULTS OF BOMBARDMENT.

In spite of the postponement of Sir Ian Hamilton's military undertaking, due to the necessity for reloading the transports, Admiral de Robeck decided to proceed at once with the naval attack. His attempt to force the Straits on March 18 proved finally that naval attack without strong military support was useless. Mr. Morgenthau and others have expressed the belief that the ammunition of the Turks was getting low and that a little longer pressure by the British would have silenced the batteries on shore. But Sir Charles Caldwell, who was Director of Military Operations at the War Office, has pointed out that even had that been accomplished the movable armament of the Turks and drifting mines and torpedoes would have successfully blocked the way to Constantinople. Granted success in reaching Constantinople, it is questionable whether anything would have been gained without a strong landing force. The opinion of Admiral von Tirpitz is expressed in a letter dated March 21,

in which he says, "The lack of munitions is grievous. As things are now, the forcing of the Dardanelles would be a severe blow for us."

In the engagement, there had been a loss of three ships from floating mines—two British, the *Irresistible* and the *Ocean*, and one French, the *Bouvet*, which sank with almost all her men. Others were badly injured by shell-fire or mines. Not only had the attack failed of accomplishing its object, but the enemy had been given full warning to prepare for the coming land attack.

Preparations on the peninsula were already extensive, for the Turks and their German directors had expected trouble there. General Liman von Sanders himself was given the oversight of strengthening and garrisoning the forts. So great was the respect for the British fleet that Constantinople vibrated with nervous tension. In case the city were captured, the Young Turks feared that they would lose all and the Germans, that they would suffer from popular wrath. In the midst of this quiver of apprehension, only Enver, back from his unsuccessful campaign in the Caucasus, remained calm and audaciously confident, declaring "I shall go down in history as the man who demonstrated the vulnerability of England and her fleet." He asserted that the peninsula was impregnable.

### **ALMOST IMPREGNABLE DEFENSES OF THE DARDANELLES.**

Natural advantages are all with the defender of the Dardanelles. The narrow passage is flanked by hills or cliffs, which furnish good positions for fortifications and easily-concealed gun-emplacements. The current flowing out of the Sea of Marmora into the *Ægean* serves to carry floating mines down upon enemy ships. The French boat, *Bouvet*, was so destroyed in the battle of March 18. On the European, or Gallipoli side, the land is particularly irregular and broken, with many hills of crumbling stone, deeply-gashed ridges and wooded hollows extending beyond the high sandstone ledges of the coast. To add to the protection of the

defender and the confusion of the invader, the heights in many places are covered with patches of low scrub-growth. The few beaches are extremely narrow, offering slight chance for foothold.

General Hamilton's examination of the coast from ship-board convinced him that a landing upon the peninsula, to be successful, must be sure and rapid,—if possible, a surprise. Since there was no space for massing any considerable number of troops at any one landing-place, his plan was to make simultaneous landings on several beaches at the point of the peninsula, in the vicinity of Cape Helles and Sedd-el-Bahr, while the Australian and New Zealand contingent seized a strip of beach farther up on the western or *Ægean* Coast, near Gaba Tepe. There are three principal heights at the western end of Gallipoli. *Sari Bair*, tall and peaked, lies between Cape Suvla and Gaba Tepe. To the south, stretching inland from the Straits is the plateau of *Kilid Bahr*. Farther southwest, nearer to Cape Helles, *Achi Baba* rises bare and rounded. Of these *Achi Baba* was to be taken at once. The two forces were to work toward each other until they met. Six months later, *Achi Baba* was still untaken and the two groups were still far apart, not because of any lack of gallant endeavor on the part of the men but because the impossible had been demanded of them. Yet, they had accomplished all but the impossible.

### **THE TROOPS LAND ON THE BEACHES.**

In the Battle of the Landing, on April 25, the beaches of Gallipoli became scenes of imperishable acts of courage and daring. The approach of the transports, made under cover of darkness in the early morning, failed to take the enemy by surprise. Landing boats and beaches were raked with fire from the cliffs, except in one or two cases where covering fire from the ships succeeded in protecting their men until they were ashore. Trenches and heavy entanglements of barbed wire extending even out into the shallows made death traps where hundreds fell in

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

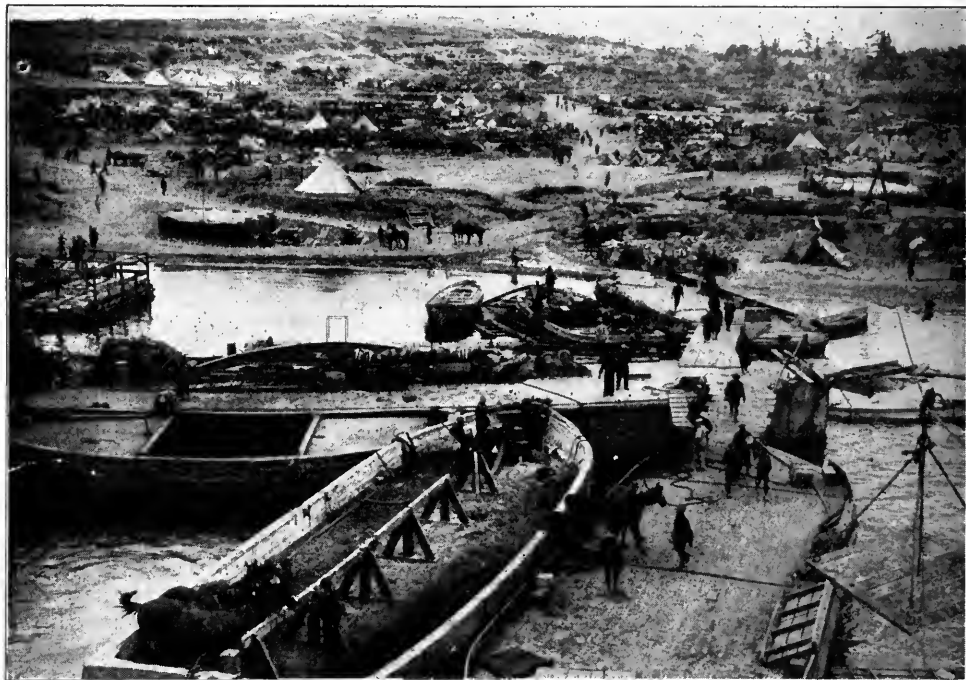
their brave struggle to cut a way through. Shrapnel, bullets from machine-guns and rifles, the shot of snipers concealed everywhere behind sand-dunes and shrubbery, rained death upon the resolute groups that clambered from the boats and dashed for cover or rushed upon the foe.

At Beach V, on the southern side, almost within sight of the plains of

gangways and lighters that few men were able to go more than a step or two without being struck. Disembarkation had to be postponed until nightfall, when the survivors landed in safety.

**THE ANZAC LANDING EFFECTED WITH WONDERFUL DASH.**

The Anzac landing north of Gaba Tepe was the most brilliant episode of the day. Under cover of the guns from

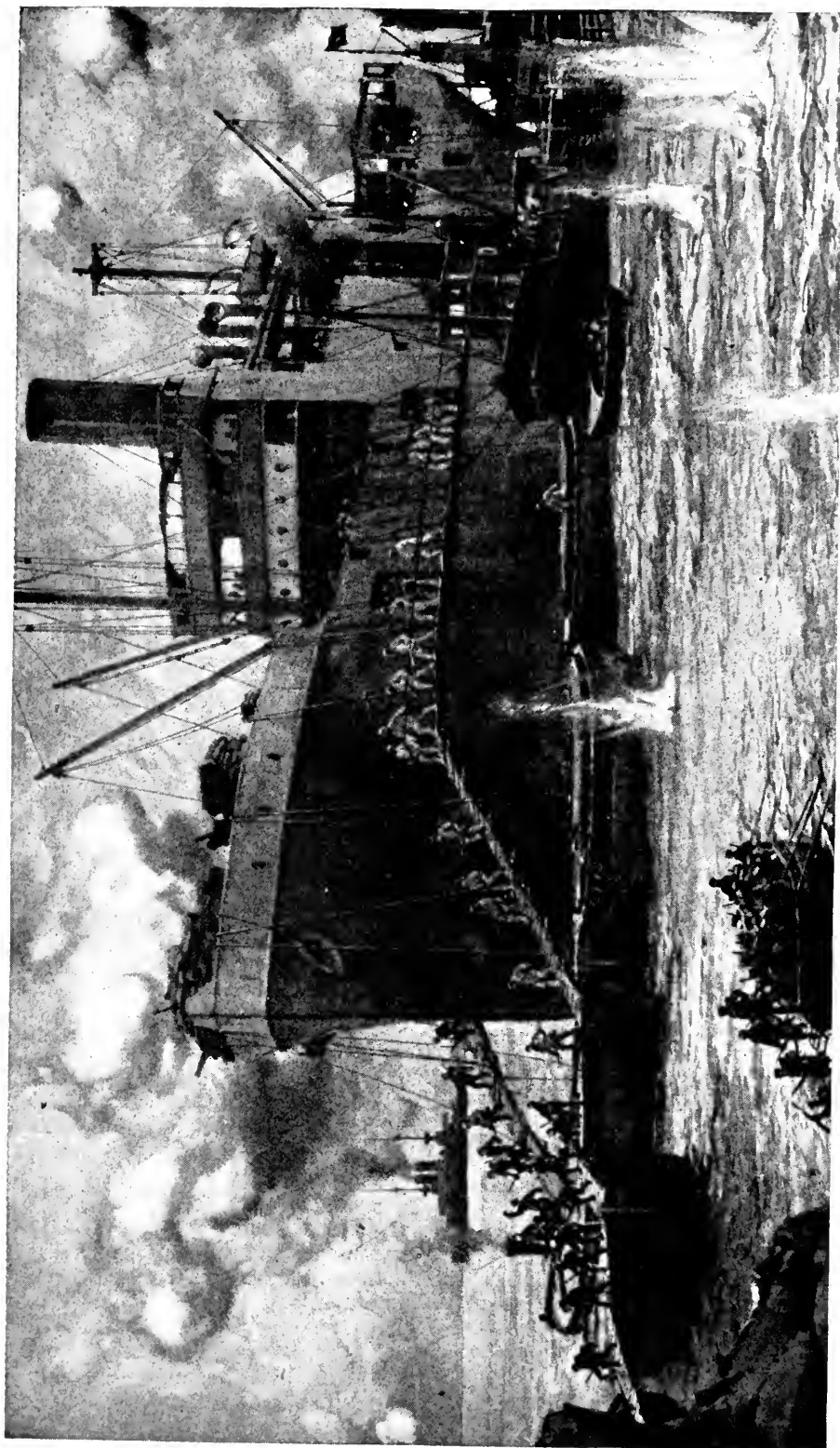


**A VIEW OF BEACH V FROM THE COLLIER, RIVER CLYDE**

This picture, by the official photographer of the Dardanelles expedition, shows the lighters bridging the distance between the beach and the River Clyde (the "Wooden Horse" of Gallipoli). Only the most gallant efforts of the naval working party accomplished the placing of the lighters. The scene on the beach, as a correspondent said of that on Beach Y, "reminds you of a gigantic ship-wreck." American Press Association

Ancient Troy, a twentieth century "Wooden Horse" poured fighters from its sides. The collier, River Clyde, with great doors cut in its hull, was beached for the purpose of disembarking the soldiers rapidly and directly. As the water was too deep where the boat stuck, lighters were used to bridge the space between it and the land. They, at first, drifted into unfavorable positions, giving opportunity for noble heroism on the part of Commander Unwin and the youths who followed him into the water and worked there for hours to keep the boat in place. So heavy was the Turkish fire upon the

their attendant battle-ships, the lads from the South Seas dashed upon the beach, bayonets in hand, and made a headlong rush up the heights, without form or order. Using the steel, which the Turk dreads more than the deadliest fire, they drove the Moslems from their positions, silenced guns, and still pursued the fleeing Turks through the scrub. By afternoon, twelve thousand Australians were on shore and two batteries of Indian artillery had been landed. The battle on the heights gradually took form. The Anzacs "had been told to occupy the heights and hold on." This they had done, and they



THE FATAL DISEMBARKATION FROM THE RIVER CLYDE AT BEACH V ON APRIL 25, 1915

Only about two miles from the spot where the guile of the Greeks had conceived their Wooden Horse for the undoing of ancient Troy, the River Clyde played the rôle of modern "Wooden Horse" in the story of Gallipoli. But the twentieth century venture did not develop with the success of the Homeric undertaking. Men struggled toward shore through submerged tangles of wire and in the face of a tornado of fire, or gave their lives striving to hold lighters in place for a gateway to the beach.



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continued to hold on to what they had seized, inspired and guided by their commander, Lieutenant General W. R. Birdwood.

Valorous deeds were done by the beach parties accompanying the troops. Under incessant fire they attended the wounded, carrying them back to the boats. Munitions, supplies, and water

moisture from the outside of receptacles in their impatience for relief.

### SUPERIOR FORCES OF THE TURKS.

At the cost of severe losses, extreme exhaustion, and infinite effort, the available shore had been seized within twenty-four hours. Still under withering cross-fire and in constant danger



DISTRIBUTING THE PRECIOUS WATER AT GALLIPOLI

The troops at Gallipoli suffered severely from thirst. Water, brought from great distances, was stored in reservoirs with distributing pipes where possible; but all kinds of receptacles were used—cans and petrol tins (as seen in the picture) and canvas bags. Supplies were carried to the front in carts, on mule-back, or by men.

had to be transported as quickly as was possible and landed on a harborless shore without the aid of derricks or other lifting machinery. During the whole occupation of Gallipoli, one of the most difficult problems was to keep the thousands of men and animals provided with water on their sandy shelf of shore. Most of it was carried from Egypt in tanks. Wherever on the shore a well was found, a make-shift reservoir was constructed and a pump set up. Yet there was much unavoidable suffering from thirst. Soldiers ran to meet the water-carriers, licking the

of attack from an enemy far superior in numbers, thoroughly supplied, strongly intrenched and backed by ample reinforcements, the tired heroes dug themselves in, preparing to hold fast what they had so hardly won.

The Turks had perhaps 600,000 men in the neighborhood of Constantinople furnishing a great reservoir of reinforcements.

While the British were engaged in making their landings, the French corps had made an assault upon Kum Kale, the fortified point on the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Dardanelles.

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By engaging the guns there and silencing the batteries, they relieved their companions in the Sedd-el-Bahr region of one source of attack. Then in the next few days they made good their section of the Gallipoli shore, flanking the British on the right.

### SICKENING STORIES OF HARDSHIPS.

Where shall we find a parallel for the devoted endurance of the officers and men who walked steadily on in the face of death? Flung upon a harsh, unfamiliar coast, in burning heat and torturing thirst and terrible fatigue, they pushed forward day by day as far as advance was possible. The force of 120,000, furnished by the government was smaller than the lowest estimate that had been named as necessary by military and naval authorities. Reinforcements there were none. Guns were lacking at the first. And the supply of ammunition was never sufficient to keep up a sustained effort. After the slight gains of the two weeks following the landing, the lines settled down into trench warfare, with continual artillery action and occasional sharp attacks on one side or the other.

May brought new discouragements. German submarines became active in the Aegean. Three weeks after the Queen Elizabeth had been removed to a place of greater safety by order of Admiral Fisher, her wooden prototype, which had been prepared as bait, was attacked and sunk. When the Goliath had gone down in the Straits, as the result of torpedo boat attack, and the Triumph and the Majestic had been sunk by submarines, the heavy vessels of the fleet were withdrawn. Their guns, so necessary an aid in attack or advance, were badly missed.

General Hamilton's appeals for new troops to take the place of the many dead, wounded and diseased who had fallen out of his too-thin ranks, were not granted. The expedition, having been given secondary rank, received secondary equipment. July was over before a fresh effort could be undertaken with any hope of success. An additional 50,000 men had finally

been granted, some of them a part of Lord Kitchener's new army.

General Hamilton's plan required moonless nights, for it involved the concealment of about thirty thousand of the reinforcements at Anzac, a position that was open to the observation posts of the enemy. The first week in August furnished the earliest opportunity. And now the Anzacs again



General Sir William R. Birdwood, known as the "Soul of Anzac" because of his gallant leadership of the Australian and New Zealand troops at Gallipoli, had served previously in South Africa and India.

showed their dauntless spirit by working day and night, digging, under cover of darkness, shelters to receive the fresh troops. They entered into the plan as if it were a game. Men, horses, stores, guns, munitions, were landed and hidden with entire success. By day, everything looked exactly as it had before. The Turks had no reason for suspecting any change.

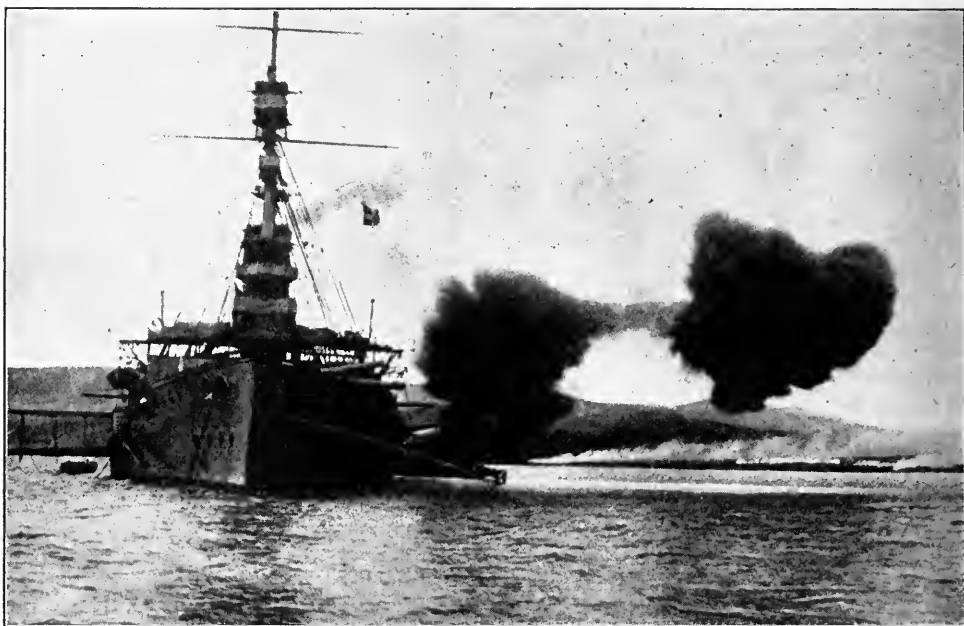
### THE PLAN OF THE GREAT ATTACK.

The great attack was to be made in three sections, working separately, but co-ordinating so as to bend together the line of the Turks. Near Cape Helles, the 29th Division with their sup-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

porting units were to move toward Krithia, engaging the enemy in the south so as to hold them there. The Australians and their colleagues were to take Sari Bair, driving the Turks back toward the east. And a new force, landing at Suvla Bay, was to secure that, then press in upon Sari Bair from the north and west and join the Anzacs on the Anafarta Heights, in order to

same hour that saw this contest begin marked the opening rush of Australians upon the hill of the Lone Pine, an important position, which the Turks had always carefully guarded as it covered a valuable water supply and afforded an opening beyond. The warships which had now returned had been shelling the hill for several days in order to break up the barbed wire entanglements. On



A FAREWELL BROADSIDE UPON LEAVING SUVLA BAY

The evacuation of Gallipoli was an example of masterly organization and performance, carried out under the supervision of Sir Charles Monro, with Admirals de Robeck and Wemyss in charge of the naval movements and General Birdwood managing the military side. Anzac and Suvla Bay were evacuated in December before Christmas, and the abandonment of the beaches around Cape Helles was completed by January 9, 1916. The former operations took place in clear weather, with bright moon-lighted nights bringing danger of discovery; the latter were finished in heavy, driving, stormy seas. The picture shows H.M.S. Cornwallis, the last ship to leave Suvla Bay, firing a final broadside.

turn the Turkish right south toward Kilid Bahr. This would ensure the control of a narrow part of the peninsula. It appeared later that the Turks themselves had planned an advance, which was anticipated by only a few hours.

### THE ANZACS ON LONE PINE HILL.

At Cape Helles the fight was so desperate as to employ not only the Turks of that section but call in others as reinforcements. The week of August 6th to 13th was spent in this terrible struggle, which centred about a vineyard in the neighborhood of Krithia. The

the afternoon of the 6th, they opened a heavier fire than usual, stopping suddenly just before the charge was to be made, so that the Australians advanced through clouds of smoke.

The contest that followed was perhaps the most intense and violent of the war, fought hand to hand in trenches so heavily covered that great effort had to be spent in opening a way into them. Thousands of dead and wounded soon lined the trenches. The Turks came up in masses, but the Australians could not be moved back. Although they were wearied by the unceasing labors of the past few days, they fought

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on almost without sleep or pause. Meanwhile the New Zealanders were clearing Table Top and other hills by hot and relentless fighting, and the Ghurkas were on the heights of Sari Bair. All was going as it should in south and west. What was happening at Suvla Bay?

hastened to Suvla; but even then it seemed impossible to get the lines in motion before the morning of the ninth. The commanders in charge had not had experience of the new warfare, they were ignorant of the Turkish methods, and they seem to have been oblivious of the importance of timely action.



FINAL VIEW OF ANZAC COVE FROM THE CORNWALLIS

This is the last view of the hills and the beach of Anzac Cove as seen from the Cornwallis. Night after night the transports had gathered up their loads—first, the sick and wounded, the horses, the stores and equipments; later, the able-bodied men with their arms—all without arousing the suspicion of the Turk. The final rear-guard consisted of 200 Australians selected from those who had been first to land in the bay. When they and their attendant ambulance men departed, the stores left on the beach were fired, making a bonfire 200 yards long. Nothing serviceable was left for the enemy. The total casualties at Suvla and Anzac during the evacuation included one officer and six men wounded.

### FATAL DELAYS AT SUVLA BAY.

The landing was made successfully on the night of August 6th-7th, although the shore had been mined, and there was some confusion—unavoidable, perhaps—due to the crowded condition of the beach where the thousands of new arrivals were gathered. Orders traveled slowly. Delay followed delay. The advance for which the other divisions were waiting as they clung to their gains with desperate zeal was not being made. The 9th Army Corps were still on their beach, all of the second day. General Hamilton, in alarm, left the post where he could be in communication with all the sections and

Military reputations were lost at Suvla. Moreover, the troops were new and perhaps too much had been expected of them. When they did move forward it was too late. The Turks in great numbers had reached the desired heights, Anafarta Hills, before them. The exhausted fighters on the other side of the heights had made their great and costly struggle in vain. Gallipoli was lost. The Dardanelles, "the pivot of the Orient," was still in the control of the Turk.

### NATURAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE GROUND.

If the attack from Suvla Bay had been on time and accomplished what was expected, there is still a question

whether the campaign could have been completed with success. What individual force and bravery could achieve had been done from the first. Advancing under merciless fire to capture hills that had to be climbed by grappling with hands and feet for a hold in the crumbling surface—hills where the crests bulged mushroom-like—hills ablaze with burning shrubbery—such feats could be done and had been done, but at vast cost of strength and life. The terrain was altogether formidable. Had the forces been far more numerous at the start or had inexhaustible reinforcements of men and supplies fed the attack throughout, results might have been different. But no adequate numbers could be spared. As it was, a little band, with spirit enough for any enterprise but slightly equipped in other respects, had been sent to fight for the possession of a far land which itself resisted them at every step and which was guarded by armies of vigorous warriors, well-officered and close to the base of supplies. London was too remote to perceive these things in time.

### FAILURE IS FINALLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

The rest of the story is brief. The principal activities during the remainder of August and through September were carried on by airplanes, seaplanes, and submarines, though trench warfare continued all through October. Meanwhile British public opinion began to demand withdrawal from the fruitless enterprise. Sir Ian Hamilton again begged for reinforcements, but instead of receiving them he was recalled in October. He was succeeded by General Sir Charles Carmichael Monro. Just as uncertain how to withdraw from the campaign as they had been how to begin it, the Ministry discussed the possible losses to be met in an evacuation and the probable evil

results in India and Egypt. In both cases their fears were not justified by the outcome. The evacuation, recommended by the new commander, and undertaken after a personal visit of observation by Lord Kitchener, was the most skillfully conducted action of the whole expedition. It was accomplished, with almost no loss, at the end of December, 1915, and the beginning of January, 1916. In November, however, great suffering and many deaths had resulted from terrific storms, accompanied by cloud-bursts, gales, and frost. The Australians, unaccustomed to such cold, suffered most.

### COUNTING LOSS AND GAIN AFTER THE GREAT FAILURE.

In defending their venture, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill claimed that the engagements at the Dardanelles had retarded Bulgaria's union with the Central Powers and had withheld 300,000 Turks from activities elsewhere. But the price was a heavy one to pay for so small a return,—nearly 120,000 gallant soldiers of Great Britain's forces alone, killed or wounded; several battleships and various other boats lost, besides heavy expenditures of money. Furthermore, because of the failure of the undertaking, Bulgaria was delivered into the enemy's hands, Austria was encouraged to further aggression in the Balkans, Greece held back from joining the Allies, Russia was discouraged, and Turkey had gained confidence.

Over all the material loss and disaster there shines the light of glorious endeavor and devotion. The battle-grounds of Gallipoli need no monuments. The mere mention of the name quickens the pulse and thrills with inspiration. Wherever undaunted bravery and gallantry are honored, there will be the memorials of the heroes of Gallipoli.

L. MARION LOCKHART.

# DECORATIONS OF THE ALLIED ARMIES



GREAT BRITAIN

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER



VICTORIA CROSS, BRITISH



MILITARY MEDAL, BRITISH



MEDAILLE MILITAIRE, FRENCH



CROSS OF THE LEGION OF HONOR, FRENCH



CROIX DE GUERRE, FRENCH



CROIX DE GUERRE, BELGIAN



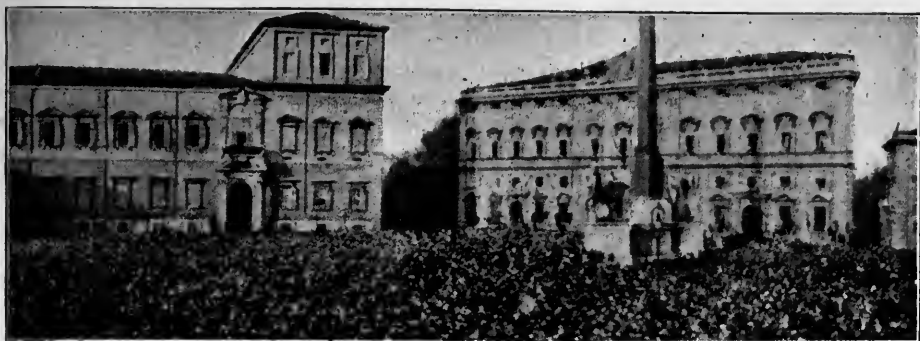
ITALIAN MEDAL FOR MILITARY VALOR



ITALIAN WAR CROSS







In Rome at the Declaration of War

## CHAPTER XXI

# Italy Enters the War

## THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE IS BROKEN BY THE WITHDRAWAL OF ITALY

WHEN, in July, 1914, Germany tore up the scrap of paper which since 1839 had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, and used the bits as tinder, to start the great European conflagration; Italy did not at once catch fire. There were months of suspense, while the world watched to see what would happen. For Italy had a choice to make. On the one hand she was a member of the Triple Alliance, bound to Germany and Austria; on the other, sentiment and tradition, a common race heritage and common cultural interests, held her to France. There were, besides, certain industrial and economic considerations which would incline her to ally herself with France and Great Britain rather than with the Central Powers. Which way would she turn?

### RELATIONS BETWEEN GAUL AND ITALY.

Far back in European history, before a stone had been laid in the structure that grew to be Rome, Celtic tribes from neighboring Gaul had made their way across the Alps into the Italian peninsula. Again in 390 B.C., the mountains failed to restrain the Gallic hordes, and Rome, the young republic beside the Tiber, was overwhelmed for a time by their invasion. Cisalpine Gaul, in the valley of the Po, continued to be their home for centuries afterward. Then Julius Cæsar carried

Roman arms and Latin culture into Gaul beyond the Alps, laying the foundations for that great extension of the Roman world which reached the Belgæ by the sea, far to the northwest.

Roman roads, Roman cities, Roman manners, Latin speech and literature were ineradicably established in the land we know as France. From very early times, then, the people of Italy and France had been brought together in blood and in experience. In ideas of government and political development, the new kingdom of Italy resembled her Gallic sister and Great Britain far more than she did her fellow-members of the Alliance. Colonial and commercial interests in the Mediterranean, too, had brought them into close contact. If she adhered to the Central Powers, the navies of her western neighbors would hardly fail to attack her long sea front and probably her African possessions would be lost. Yet, if she withdrew from the Alliance, great would be the punishment inflicted upon her in case the German forces were victorious. Both sides offered inducements and uttered warnings.

### ITALY'S DECISION AND THE GREAT WAR.

Therefore, in this latest world crisis, France and her allies waited with some anxiety the decision of the Italian Government—a decision which would de-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

termine whether two western frontiers or one must be defended. With Italy in the field as a foe, the Western forces must be divided in order to meet attack from the southeast as well as from the north; whereas, if Italy should join the Western Powers against Central Europe, their efforts could be concentrated upon the German invasion, and that danger be met with greater confidence. Moreover, the advantage of France would be Austria's disadvantage, since the long-disputed frontier between Italy and Austria, a part of *Italia Irredenta* ("unredeemed Italy"), would undoubtedly become a battleground that would require serious attention from the Hapsburg empire and so reduce the support she might give to the German movements.

The Triple Alliance had been regarded from the beginning as an unnatural union, the product of Bismarck's diplomacy and Italy's necessity. There could be little sympathy between the newly-united kingdom in the South, so lately wrested by liberty-loving patriots from the autocratic control of foreign rulers, and the imperial, aristocratic ideals of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs. In order to understand why Italy was included in an alliance so contrary to her feelings and traditions, it is necessary to study certain European situations of the years following the Franco-Prussian War.

### BISMARCK'S ATTITUDE TOWARD FRANCE.

In 1871 Bismarck had succeeded in excluding Austria from the German confederation, had humiliated France, and burdened her with what was considered a crushing indemnity. He had established a new German Empire under the rule of the Prussian Hohenzollerns, and was ready to follow up these brilliant achievements by reducing France still further in order to build up the power of imperial Germany. To these ends, he advocated that Germany be kept armed to the teeth; he discouraged any immediate opposition to the new Republic in France, believing that a restored monarchy there would be more likely to unite internal factions and to secure

support for France from other European monarchies. He sought by careful treatment to divert the other Powers from offering any aid or comfort to France. In particular, he cultivated the good will of Russia and Austria.

Austria had been treated with surprising leniency after the Austro-Prussian War in 1866. Bismarck had made the terms of the treaty as little burdensome as was compatible with his aims, so that there might be the less ill feeling to overcome when it might suit his purpose to seek the friendship of Austria. And now, in the early seventies, he saw fit to draw together the heads of Russia, Austria, and Germany. Friendly visits exchanged among the monarchs, attended by their ministers, resulted in an informal alliance, a sort of "gentlemen's agreement," that is known as the "Dreikaiserbund" or the "League of the Three Emperors."

### THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.

Whether the "Iron Chancellor" really intended to annihilate France in a second war, or whether the "war-scare of 1875" was merely a "newspaper excitement" as was claimed later, the disturbance it awakened started a breach in the friendly relations of Germany and Russia (then cultivating friendly relations with France) which soon widened into a chasm too great to bridge. The Russo-Turkish War in 1878 proved that the interests of Russia and Austria in the Balkan region could not be reconciled. When the Tsar, Alexander II, victorious over the Ottomans, negotiated the Treaty of San Stefano, reconstructing the Balkan States, both Austria and England began to take steps to prevent the establishment of the proposed "big Bulgaria." In response to Bismarck's invitation, the Powers met in the Congress of Berlin. There the Balkan arrangements were remodeled, to the disappointment and wrath of the Tsar and his people; for the German Chancellor had swung his influence to the side of Austria, thus denying the friendship he had professed for Russia.

From that notable assembly of diplo-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

mats in Berlin only Italy went empty-handed away. She, a new nation, who "had got rather into the habit of expecting to profit from each international crisis," had sat among the others and taken part in their deliberations, but had reaped no benefit, while even France, so recently overwhelmed with disaster, had carried off in the pocket of her representative, M. Waddington,

that would aid her return to prosperity. Isolation would be to her disadvantage; therefore, she must be isolated. Italy, too, was in search of support. The two would better be kept apart.

After Napoleon III of France had started with enthusiasm to make Italy free "from the Alps to the Adriatic," his zeal had been cooled by fear of military intervention and by Bismarck's



VENICE, THE QUEEN CITY OF THE ADRIATIC

Immediately upon Italy's declaration of war, in May, 1915, Austria raided the Adriatic coast. At Venice, the Arsenal, oil-tanks, and balloon sheds were bombed. Then the Venetians began protecting the treasures of their famous city, covering sculptures and mosaics with sand-bags, removing the trone horses, and buttressing slender columns.

a plum that was to cause dissension between her and Italy. This was a tacit understanding with both Bismarck and Lord Salisbury that France might count upon the consent of Germany and England if she chose to take possession of Tunis. France was distrustful of her recent enemy's motives, but M. Waddington recorded the interview.

### THE REASONS FOR BISMARCK'S ACTION.

What were the possible motives of the crafty pilot of Hohenzollern interests? France was recovering too quickly from her financial and political distress. She must not gain friends and allies

question as to the expediency of building up a strong neighbor state on the Mediterranean. Napoleon fell short of his promises, thereby disappointing his Italian protégés. Victor Emmanuel, King of Piedmont and Sardinia, however, wisely remained upon friendly terms with France and awaited his opportunity, in spite of Cavour's resignation from the Ministry and much popular dissatisfaction. The fact that Nice, the birthplace of Garibaldi, and Savoy, the home of the reigning dynasty, had been ceded to France by way of compensation for Napoleon III's assistance, gave added cause for annoyance,



furnishing material for Irredentist agitation. Step by step, Italy became unified. Conquests by Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel added Sicily and Naples. Alliance with Prussia in her war against Austria in 1866 brought Venetia by way of reward. At last only Rome remained outside the kingdom—Rome, the heart of Italy. Supported by French troops and by the sympathy of the French Clerical party, the Pope remained secure, until at last France's extremity, in the Prussian conquest of 1870, opened the gates of Rome to Victor Emmanuel and so completed the unification of Italy.

### ITALY AND FRANCE CLASH IN AFRICA.

Before 1878, then, various strains had been put upon the friendship of France and Italy. The next conflict between their interests "cost France the enmity of Italy for twenty years, and the entrance of Italy into an alliance against her which lasted for a generation." Tunis was the rock upon which they split. Extending into the Mediterranean, just to the southwest of Sicily, this corner of the African coast seemed but a step away. Ancient Rome had secured it from the Carthaginians, over two thousand years before. The new kingdom, of which Rome was now the capital, had immediately begun to desire it as ground for extension and colonization. As early as 1871, Mazzini had said: "Tunis, the key to the central Mediterranean — obviously turns toward Italy.—Today the French are making eyes at it, and will soon possess it, if we do not." Indeed, to the French statesmen, who, after years of effort and expense, had made of Algeria a successful colony, Tunis seemed obviously to belong with Algeria.

French influence in Tunis, kept vigorously alive by the activities of French consuls, met keen rivalry on the part of the Italian consuls. Such was the situation when Bismarck and Salisbury let Waddington go from the Berlin Congress with assurances of their leaving France a free hand in Tunis. Several motives lay behind the suggestion. If Italy were to unite Tunis to her Europ-

ean possessions, she would control the narrowest part of the Mediterranean, the passage between the eastern and western seas—a control objectionable to England, whose Asiatic Empire lay beyond. On the other hand, by encouraging France to enlarge her colonial responsibilities and expenditures, Bismarck, who at that time thought of colonies as a nuisance, hoped to turn her attention from Alsace-Lorraine. In the third place, estrangement between France and Italy was sure to follow French occupation of Tunis. The Man of Iron, looking about upon the nations of Europe with the knowledge that "the friends of today had been the enemies of yesterday and might be the enemies of tomorrow," took many precautions for the future.

### FRANCE TAKES POSSESSION OF TUNIS.

Three years went by before the French Government, under the ministry of Jules Ferry, taking advantage of an uprising of the Kroumir tribe, sent a military expedition into Tunis. By the Treaty of Bardo, in 1881, a French protectorate assumed the actual authority, while leaving nominal sovereignty to the native Bey. Italy raged in vain and alone, then turned her attention to finding an alliance that would safeguard her position.

In spite of her humiliation at the hands of Prussia in 1866, Austria was ready to enter into a pact with her conqueror when, in 1879, he sought her as an ally. The arrangement was made by Bismarck and the Austrian prime-minister, Count Andrassy. Emperor William I was with difficulty persuaded to ratify it, because of his personal regard for his nephew, Tsar Alexander II. This Dual Alliance, though defensive in character, was aimed plainly at Russia. When Italy stood at Bismarck's door, seeking to be admitted into this league of Central Europe, she was informed, "the way to Berlin lies through Vienna." So, to Vienna she went. A visit of King Humbert to Emperor Franz Josef was followed by the opening of negotiations for a treaty, which was to separate Italy from her natural friends for a generation.

## ITALY SEEKS AN ALLIANCE TO STRENGTHEN HER POSITION.

Delays and discouragements were calculated to place Italy in a position where she would accept the terms prepared for her. A guarantee of the integrity of her territory, especially assuring her of safety from intervention in behalf of the Papacy, and support for her Mediterranean ambitions, were the demands she presented. Of these, the first aroused opposition in Austria, where general sentiment was in favor of supporting the Papacy; whereas in Germany it met with favor, because reciprocal guarantees would strengthen the hold upon Alsace-Lorraine.

Assured of security in the Trentino and Trieste, the troublesome Austro-Italian borderlands, Austria yielded. Reciprocal territorial guarantees were accepted. With regard to the second demand, neither Germany nor Austria was interested in Italy's aims on the Mediterranean; accordingly, a general promise of mutual support and friendly consultation on questions touching the interests of the allies was substituted for the specific support asked by Italy.

## THE TERMS OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

The treaty creating the Triple Alliance, signed on May 22, 1882, provided for a duration of five years and was to be kept secret. Although its existence was made known in less than a year, the real nature of its terms was never revealed until after Italy's announcement of her decision to make war upon Austria, on May 23, 1915, just thirty-three years from the date of signature of the pact. The treaty consisted of three parts: first, a general treaty between the governments for a definite number of years; second, a confirmatory pact between the sovereigns, to be renewed by their several successors; and, third, a military convention.

Italy's isolation was at an end. She had become a partner, even though but a subordinate partner, in a league of great nations. Her chief gains were: healing for her pride, increased confidence in her position, and security against possible attack by France or Austria. Fear of French interference

was probably without much foundation; but, as a recent writer expresses it, "so deep-seated were the causes of hostility between Austria and Italy that many Italians believed that the only way for the two countries to remain at peace with one another was by becoming allies." What was Italy paying for her increased dignity and safety? She must maintain an army out of proportion to her wealth; she must give up hope of recovering the Italian territory under Austrian rule; she must bring support to her allies in case they should be attacked by "two foreign powers;" and finally she must forfeit freedom of choice in the matter of friendships.

## THE GERMAN GAIN FROM ITALY'S ADHESION.

Again Bismarck had gained his point. France had been alienated from her former friend; Germany, at little cost, had secured an addition to her alliance against Russia; and Austria's southern borders were made safe. The Chancellor had once said that, "it was enough for him that an Italian corporal with the Italian flag and a drummer beside him should array themselves against the West (France) and not against the East (Austria)." In 1915, released from the bonds of her unnatural alliance, Italy arrayed her "corporal" with the "flag" and the "drummer" against the East; but before that, during a whole generation, the Triple Alliance played an important part in the European world. It was a period in which Bismarck's dream of German leadership was fulfilled.

Four times, between 1882 and 1915, the Triple Alliance was renewed, each renewal marking some adjustment of relations between the parties. In the earlier years, Italy submitted to being "treated as a very junior partner;" but as she advanced in importance in international affairs, her attitude became less humble. The Alliance lost value to her as she grew more independent.

## GROWING FRIENDSHIP WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Following the lead of the greater powers, the young kingdom began colonial expansion in Africa. On the shores



of the Red Sea she came into close touch with England, whose grasp upon Egypt was tightening. They soon established cordial relations based upon mutual recognition. Crispi, in power almost steadily from 1887 to 1896, fostered this cordiality. His policy, besides, included friendliness toward Germany and Austria, and animosity toward France. Italy was beginning to form a link between Great Britain and the Central Powers. When the first renewal of the Alliance was made, in 1887, the Italian Foreign Secretary was able to secure improved terms. When it expired again, in 1891, Berlin took the initiative in asking to renew it. Italy made an attempt at that time to introduce a proviso that if Great Britain should be one of the hostile Powers, Italy should be released from the obligations of the treaty. The proviso was not incorporated in the treaty but was recorded and filed as a protocol. It was destroyed at the next renewal, in 1902.

Germany never wished to make Italy an equal partner; while "a lack of sympathy in Italian interests was the normal attitude at Vienna." In Italia Irredenta and in the Balkan lands, Austria was working for the injury of Italian prospects by introducing anti-Italian propaganda and sending in financial agents of her own. Italy retaliated in Albania by spreading propaganda to offset the Austrian. The Mediterranean crisis over Morocco, in 1904, served to draw France, England and Italy more closely together and set them over against the German Powers.

#### ITALY DRAWS AWAY FROM HER ALLIES.

Italy found it more profitable to support France in Morocco, securing in return an open way to Tripoli, than to join in the protests of her German ally. Her attitude at the Algeiras Conference made this clear. In 1908, Franz Josef, without previous warning, announced that Bosnia and Herzegovina had been incorporated in the Austrian Empire. This violation of the arrangements of the Congress of Berlin called forth violent denunciation from the Western nations. And Italy could not

fail to recognize the act as altogether unfriendly to her interests in the Balkans. Great indignation was expressed. Austria was pressing too close to Macedonia and the Dalmatian coast. Some small concessions on her part served to quiet matters for the time, and she retained Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Seeing that Turkey made no successful resistance to this seizure or to the independence claimed by Bulgaria, Italy proceeded to carry out a scheme long planned—the occupation of Tripoli. It proved not so easy as she had hoped, and brought out further antagonism on the part of Germany. When her attack was carried over to the shores of Turkey in Europe, Italy was promptly warned that neither of her allies would countenance hostile action there. The Triple Alliance threatened to fall apart. Italy withdrew her squadron from the Dardanelles, but Turkey gave up Tripoli to her. One of the ambitions of the Germans was overturned by this arrangement, for they, too, had started to open up commercial activities in the Tripolitaine. It is possible that Italy's occupation came none too soon. The term of the third renewal of the Alliance was running out. There was some doubt as to a new signature. The pact was becoming less and less popular.

#### UNEXPECTED DIFFERENCE WITH FRANCE.

A sudden shift in sentiment against France turned the current that was tending to draw Italy away from her allies. French newspapers had been more fair and favorable in their comments on the seizure of Tripoli than those of any other nation, while the British press and public opinion had been somewhat hostile. But, at the beginning of 1912, owing to misunderstandings, and the delay of a telegram, French steamers, bound for Tunis, were captured by Italian cruisers. The result was a dispute that was carried to the Hague tribunal. There Italy was sustained, but the mutual confidence between France and Italy, which had been growing for several years, had been shaken. Distrust had taken its

place. The revulsion of feeling made possible another renewal of the Triple Alliance, without great criticism, if without enthusiasm.

## ITALY'S INTEREST IN THE BALKAN SETTLEMENT.

On the day that saw the treaty signed, whereby Turkey surrendered Tripoli, there was lighted in the Balkans a flame that would spread until it involved

southern boundary, where Serbia was reaching for an outlet on the sea. The thousands of Serbs in the Austrian Empire would naturally be drawn toward a strong Serbian state so near. An added anxiety was that such a Serbia might become a vehicle for extended Russian control. In these fears Italy shared, because of her jealousy in regard to the Dalmatian coast lying across



ITALY'S KING WITH TWO OF HIS GENERALS

King Victor Emmanuel III, when Italy entered the war, assumed active command of the Italian armies. Here he is seen at one of the camps near Rome, in company with two of the chief commanders. The king often appeared without ceremony among the fighters on different parts of the front. © Underwood & Underwood

practically the whole world. For the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 were a direct introduction to the Great War. By surprising military successes, the small states between the Adriatic and the Black Sea drove back their Turkish oppressor almost to the edge of the Bosphorus, increasing their own bounds. Old hatreds among themselves, stirred afresh by the setting up of Albania as an independent state, prolonged the struggle. Austria and Italy were most responsible for the intervention that created Albania. What were their reasons? Austria wished to forestall the increase of Slavic power on her

the Adriatic. Albania, an artificial state, stood for two years between Serbia and the sea, serving to keep alive resentment and indignation.

## AUSTRIA PREPARES TO CONQUER SERBIA.

That Austria's war upon Serbia was deliberately planned is no longer a question. It has been disclosed that, in August, 1913, Italy was tested by having a proposal of such intention presented to her by her ally. It was set forth as a necessary defensive action, in order that Italy might feel obligation to give her support; for, as we now know, the terms of the Alliance called

for active participation by the others in a war where one of the parties should *be attacked*, by one or more great Powers not signatory to the treaty. A decision such as Italy had to make involves a question as to which party is the aggressor—"a question which notoriously is hardly ever capable of an answer." Italy's conclusion, arrived at with little difficulty in 1913, as in 1914, was that Austria's action could not be considered defensive. Already, warning had been given that "The day on which Austria should claim to upset, in any way or to any extent, the equilibrium in the Adriatic, the Triple Alliance would have ceased to exist."

When, at the beginning of hostilities, Italy proclaimed her neutrality, it was not a great surprise to either side. Yet, Italy's neutral attitude was not considered final. There was no great probability of her actively joining the Central Powers, although German agents were busy corrupting politicians and working through financial and industrial agencies, to gain popular sympathy. Over-activity of this kind served eventually to defeat its own end by arousing antagonism against German dictation. The voice of the people was raised—a voice "from the street," as Bülow declared—demanding that neutrality be ended by Italy's joining the Allies in the West. By May 23, 1915, war was declared against Austria.

#### THE DIFFICULT POSITION OF ITALY.

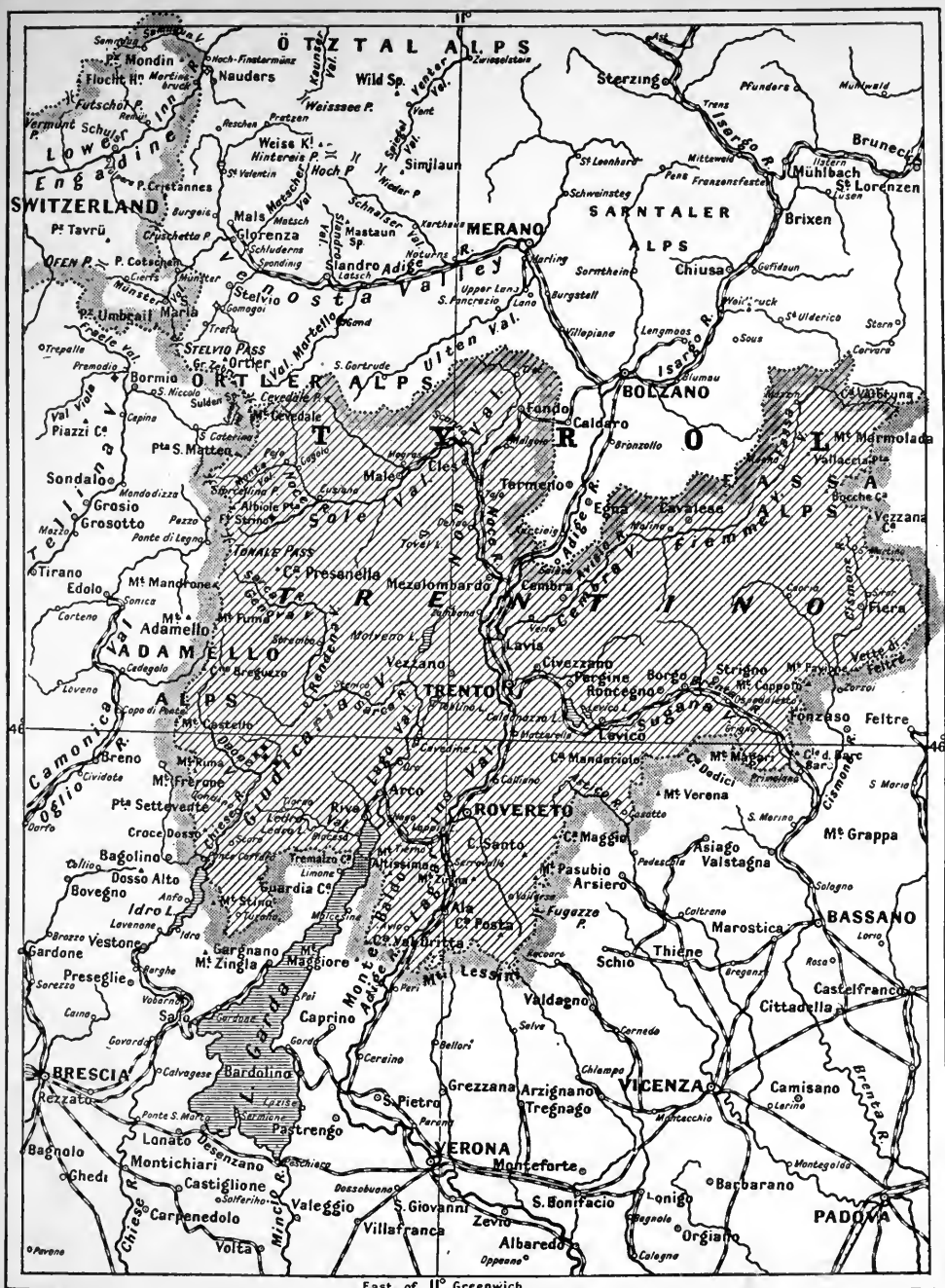
In the interval between July, 1914, and May, 1915, politicians, intellectuals, and the people of the street held many opinions and suffered many fears as the fortunes of war swung uncertainly. Whichever side were victorious, Italy's greatest danger would come from standing aloof. It was necessary that she should have part in the congress that, at the end of the war, would remake Europe more radically than the Congress of Vienna had done in 1815. Only thus could she gather some profit from the great international crisis. Young Italy, dreaming of new empire around the Adriatic, sought to bring together all Italian lands yet "unredeemed." North and east lay

those lands of Italia Irredenta—the Trentino and Trieste, where Hapsburg officials still held Italians under unsympathetic dominion; and Dalmatia (one of old Rome's first provinces) across the Sea, where the Slavs were gaining in numbers and strength. If Austria and her powerful friend should win the war, Mittel Europa would be realized, with German authority mapping out the future of all the lands from the shores of the Baltic to the edge of the Persian Gulf.

On the other hand, a victory for the Allies would surely result in the erection of strong Jugo-Slav states as a barricade in the path of German advance. These would extend from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, with Russia behind them. And Great Britain and France would not fail to see that Greece received a reward of increased territory, in case the Venizelos party were able to secure for them the coöperation of that little land whose ideals included a restoration of the old Byzantine Empire. The building up of German, Slavic, or Hellenic fortunes would mean the restriction of Italian expansion in the East. So complex are the interests represented that Italy's actual decision for war at last brought about the unexpected result of a rush of southern Slavs into the Austrian ranks and retarded the success of the Allied cause in Greece.

#### ITALY'S DEMANDS UPON AUSTRIA WERE EXTENSIVE.

Soon after establishing neutrality, the Italian Government opened a discussion with Austria as to compensation due to Italy according to the terms of their alliance. In the negotiations that followed, Sonnino, an Italian Baron of Jewish blood, with the appearance of a prince and the mind of an old Roman, acted for Italy. He had proven himself of too uncompromising rectitude to become a successful politician; but now he had found his proper field. In the interests of his country's nationalistic aims, he demanded, in return for Italian neutrality, an immediate restoration of northern Italy with the boundaries laid by Napoleon in 1811,—that is, the Trentino complete; the immediate cession of the Cürzolari Islands



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### PART OF THE AUSTRO-ITALIAN BORDERLAND

This map shows that part of *Italia Irredenta*, called the Trentino, a wedge of rocky, mountainous land dominating the plains below. The jagged boundary line is due to the projections formed by desirable heights along the edge of the main wedge. This area was retained by Austria when, in 1866, she gave up Venetia, the last of her possessions in Italy. The boundary established then was this irregular line, which, because of the advantage (from the standpoint of military strategy) it gave to the Austrians, has been called a monument to their foresight. Long valleys furnish the principal openings through the mountain barriers—the Lagarina, which is formed by the Adige River; the Lago, which reaches northward from the head of Lake Garda; the Giudicaria, farther west; and the Sugana, which runs east and west, joining the valley of the Adige in the heart of the Trentino. There is located the city of Trent. On this front the Italians moved immediately into the enemy's territory and before long the gateways there were closed.

off the Dalmatian Coast; and recognition of Italian sovereignty over the port of Valona, in Albania, and the surrounding district. In addition, Trieste and its neighborhood were to be evacuated at once by Austria-Hungary and the region was to become an independent neutral state. Lastly, Austria-Hungary was to renounce all claims to compensation for Italy's occupation of the islands of the Dodecanese. Baron Burian, for the Austrian Government, quibbled and sought to compromise with offers of some part of the Trent region to be ceded at the close of the war. Baron Sonnino stood firm.

Italy's territorial demands were based partly upon historic claims and partly upon the ties of race-brotherhood. In Dalmatia, the coast of which faces the eastern shore of the Italian peninsula, Latin names and Roman monuments are memorials of ancient Roman occupation. For centuries it was held by the Republic of Venice. Of the inhabitants, the more cultured are Italian, although they are in the minority. The disputed area in the Tyrolean Alps, however, is almost wholly Italian in population, with a German element that consists chiefly of government officials and military garrisons. Irredentist enthusiasts had long been looking toward the rescue of their fellow-Latins from Austrian domination. Of course, the diplomats were not indifferent to the strategic importance of the regions in question. We shall note later some great disadvantages in the then existing northern boundary. The character of the western Adriatic coast, with no good harbor between Venice and Brindisi, makes control of the eastern or Dalmatian coast, particularly desirable for Italy.

#### THE TERMS OF THE PACT OF LONDON.

The western Allies had not been inactive while the neutral country stood weighing conclusions. Into the balance they had thrown their offers, first made known to the world in 1917 by the Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs in Russia when he published the secret treaties of the Allies. By the Treaty of London, signed on May 9, 1915, Rus-

sia, Great Britain and France agreed that in the future peace Italy should receive "the Trentino, the whole of southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographic frontier, the Brenner; the city of Trieste and its surroundings, the county of Gorizia and Gradisca, the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian islands"; also the greater part of Dalmatia and its islands, full ownership of Valona and absolute possession of all the islands of the Dodecanese. In case Asiatic Turkey were to be disposed of, Italy's share should be the Adalian Coast region, where she had already established some interests. The frontier line promised should follow the watershed in the Tyrolean Alps of the northern border, and the Dinaric Alps east of Dalmatia. These were the terms destined to become familiar in the controversies attending the final peace settlements.

Finding the Italian statesmen obdurate, Austria made some concessions, but too late. Meanwhile, Germany, to increase the pressure, had sent Prince von Bülow, who bought up newspapers, manipulated schemes, issued propaganda, and finally used an Italian politician, Giolitti, as his tool in an attempt to overthrow the Salandra-Sonnino ministry. Giolitti, a practised demagogue, who could count upon the following of a large majority in Parliament, indeed forced Signor Salandra's resignation; but unprecedented demonstrations by the populace prevented the king from accepting it. Patriotic emotion had been fired by a Garibaldi celebration in the first week of May. The news of the *Lusitania* outrage had driven the flames higher. They were fanned into their final heat by the passion and eloquence of Gabriele d'Annunzio, poet, dramatist, and patriot, who had returned to Italy on the eve of Salandra's resignation. The ministry was saved, and in less than ten days, Italy was at war with Austria.

#### THE UNFAVORABLE NORTHERN BOUNDARY.

What had not been gained by diplomacy had now to be fought for. Aus-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

tria must be defeated and a new line drawn through Tyrol. The existing boundary, arranged in 1866, was "a monument to the foresight of the Austrians." It inserted into northern Italy a wedge of mountainous land, whose inhabitants were chiefly Latin, but whose masters were Austrian. Projecting from the great wedge, smaller wedges jutted out, where heights formed special points of vantage, controlling the valleys below. All along the frontier, as from a high tower, the Austrians could look down upon their Italian neighbors or fire disastrously upon them, if the occasion should arise. On the other hand, in order to defend themselves from such attack or to make offensive war, the Italians must climb precipitous heights to meet the enemy. Strategic aims, even more than considerations of race brotherhood, planned the line indicated in the compensation claim that Baron Sonnino had presented, for that line would have drawn into the Italian dominion a small territory of German speech and customs in addition to the region of Italian speech and manners.

The Trentino wedge is a part of the great mass of rocks which form the Alps. Worn by rushing streams and glacial action into jagged peaks, steep precipices, sharp divides, and valleys of varying altitudes, they present a barrier almost insurmountable. Several valleys provide openings between the walls and pinnacles of rock, the broadest being that of the Adige River, which accommodates two roads and a railway. Halfway up the valley at a point where a lateral opening, Val Sugana, joins that of the Adige, is situated the city of Trent. Farther north, other branches of the main valley have been utilized for railways connecting Tyrol with the eastern and western cities of Austria-Hungary. From the Po basin in northern Italy, then, the chief gateway to the mountain country is through the Adige. Flanking it on the west lies a gap formed by Lake Garda and the Sarca River, and beyond that, another parallel pathway, the Giudicaria Valley. The three are connected by a cross cut

which comes out directly opposite Trent.

### THE BOUNDARY ON THE NORTHEAST.

To the eastward the Piedmont plain stretches between the foothills of the Carnic Alps and the marshes of the Adriatic shore, as far as the Isonzo River valley beyond the Austrian frontier. There it is ended abruptly



GENERAL LUIGI CADORNA

General Count Luigi Cadorna, Piedmontese, formerly commander of the 10th Bersaglieri, noted as a writer on military science, had made particular study of Italian frontiers. © Underwood & Underwood

by the Julian Alps which turn southward to meet the high plateau of Carso, northeast of the Gulf of Trieste. Through the Carnic Alps, only two breaks, the Monte Croce Pass and the Pontebba Pass, are of any considerable importance. They can be approached from the south by the Piave and Tagliamento rivers. The Italian plan of action was to close and hold the entrances on the north, while pushing with all possible effort to the east on the Isonzo front. There stood Gorizia and Tolmino, steps toward Trieste and Laibach and Vienna.

Those who looked for rapid advances



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into the Trentino and across the Carso to Trieste, knew nothing of the natural obstacles piled up in the way of the Italian armies. They must climb ledge after ledge, fighting their way and fortifying each position as it was taken; while the enemy held formidable heights, fortified in time of peaceful alliance and accessible by good strategic roads, bridges, and railways. A distinguished

struggled upward to place their artillery at the same altitude as that of the foe, was a problem of great difficulty. The elevation of the guns was more baffling still. Mules, pack-horses, and at first, even the soldiers themselves, carried supplies of all sorts up the heights; but this was too slow a process. Before long, cars were being hauled on cables stretched from peak to valley



One astonishing feature of modern warfare is the fighting on mountain tops. With the enemy already established on superior heights, the Italians had to lift their artillery to the same altitude. Whether up valleys or up mountain slopes, they were constantly working against gravity, while the Austrians could easily move downstream or downhill. The Italians dragged large guns up incredible steeps and the mountains swarmed with men and batteries.

Italian who took part in the conflict has said to an interested traveler: "You yourself have seen the battle-fields. You have seen that unyielding ground where conflict was no less against unconquerable nature than against man's most unnatural weapons, where we fought our way up and up from hill to hill, always to find another beyond and the enemy still hurling fire upon us from above. You have seen our defenses hacked out of the solid rock which offered neither water to drink nor earth in which to bury our dead."

### THE STUPENDOUS EFFORT OF THE ITALIANS.

To supply the troops with food, water, shelter and ammunition while they

or across chasms, transporting provisions to the men and conveying the wounded down to places of safety. As for the guns, they were dragged, almost incredibly, to positions where their fire could be effective.

Owing to military training and more prosperous conditions of living, the physique of Italy's army had improved considerably in the twentieth century. The men, small but strong, possessed skill and endurance, well-adapted to the rigors of living and fighting among the mountains. Every citizen fit to bear arms was liable to service after reaching his twentieth year. Between the outbreak of the war and Italy's entrance into it, General Cadorna had



#### SOME PERILS OF ALPINE WARFARE

One of the most awful dangers of warfare in the Alps is the risk of annihilation by avalanches. Nature is a more overwhelming, unconquerable opponent than man. When masses of snow and ice become loosened from the slopes and ledges and come pouring down they barred all before them. There was no escape for whatever happened to be in their path. The picture shows Italian troops gazing, from their trenches on the edge of a precipice, upon the spectacle of an Austrian patrol started to win the opposite mountain wall in destruction at the Alps' behest.



#### ALPINE AND BERSAGLIERI AT WORK

Here are some of Italy's picked troops famous for daring and endurance. The Alpini, born and bred in the mountains, have a fine, hardy physique fitted to bear rigors of cold and exposure. Even after the helmet was adopted, they preferred their distinctive gray felt hat with its jaunty black eagle feather. The Bersaglieri, whose organization was founded in the form of the nineteenth century, include some of the best Italian types. They enter battle with a burst of trumpet music, a rapid springing step, and crossing of shining rock primers.

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entirely reorganized the army, and, as far as possible, improved its equipment. Yet, when fighting began, Italy had not sufficient heavy artillery to cover attack, for guns were not easy to procure.

### THE ALPINI AND THE BERSAGLIERI.

If the declaration of war could have followed more promptly upon the denunciation of the Triple Alliance, which was made on May 4, 1915, there might have been some advantage for Italy. It is possible that the Giolittian intrigue, by delaying Gen. Cadorna's plan of sudden attack, gave Austria time to carry forward her preparations in the Alps. As it was, on May 23, four Italian armies were put into the field, —two upon the northern front and two upon the eastern, with an extra force between to seize and hold the Carnic Alps. This latter force was composed chiefly of Alpini and Bersaglieri. The Alpini are sturdy mountain-climbing troops, who lead the way up the cliffs, sometimes driving in iron pegs and rings, or hewing out footholds in the rock. The Bersaglieri are sharpshooters, famous for their shiny black hats with tufts of cock feathers, but more properly distinguished by their rapid marching. Their double march covers a mile in nine minutes.

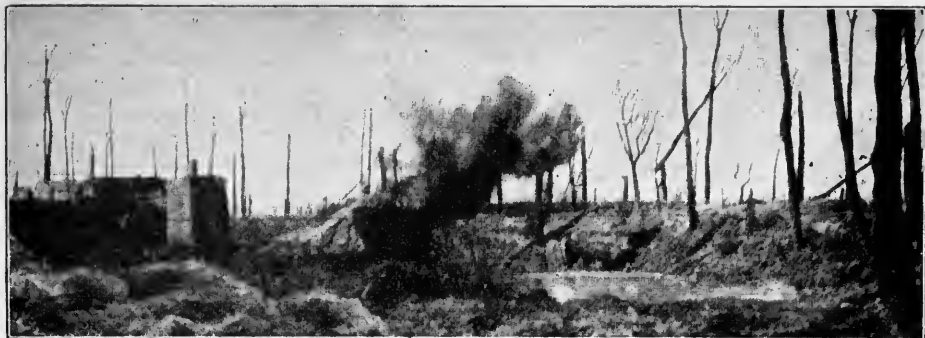
By May 24, on both fronts, the armies were on the soil of the enemy, starting the work of "redemption" by seizing some outposts in the foothills. In the Trentino there was encouraging progress during the first two weeks, with little severe fighting as the enemy fell back to prepare fortifications or lines of defense. On the Carnic frontier, a dash for the passes was made simultaneously by both sides. The Austrians, with the natural advantage of more gradual inclines on the northern slopes, arrived first at Monte Croce. By the middle of June, however, the Italians had driven them back and established their own line, blocking the Tagliamento approach. The start on the east front, in the

Isonzo valley, was less gratifying. A cavalry advance, delayed too long, was prevented from crossing the river by the Austrians' blowing up the bridges at Pieris. The stream was swollen by late-melting snows; a dam in the canal was closed by the enemy, the controlling mechanism destroyed, and the banks of the canal dynamited so as to flood the plains after part of the Italian forces had crossed. In spite of delays of all sorts, the end of June found Italian troops in possession of some points east of the Isonzo.

### PROGRESS IS MADE BUT SLOWLY.

But, to win effective results, points of observation must be obtained, and siege methods put into operation. It was necessary for the Italians to learn many things before they could make much headway against an enemy already supplied with forts, cement intrenchments, and miles of electrified barbed-wire entanglements, beside well-concealed gun positions. The experiences of the fall and winter months were of value as lessons for profit in the future rather than for their actual, immediate gain. Long, slow duels of artillery were kept up, where there were large guns. And infantry battled bravely against determined Hungarian resistance upon the rugged heights. On the whole, there was slight advance. Criticism points out that defects in staff work, inability to get reserves rapidly forward, and lack of technical knowledge of trench warfare caused delay and disaster, giving the Austrians time to strengthen their positions.

At the year's end the situation was not without signs of promise. Italian guns were beginning bombardment of Gorizia; the passes on the north were secured; all three approaches to Trent were in Italian hands. Italy had closed her gateways and taken a step on the road to Vienna. Of more importance to her allies was the fact that she was holding the attention of several hundred thousand enemy troops and helping to reduce enemy resources.



A German Shell at the Moment of Explosion

## CHAPTER XXII

# The Tragedy of Serbia

## THE BULGARIAN AND THE TEUTONIC ARMIES DESTROY SERBIA

**T**HE outstanding event of 1915 in the Balkans was, of course, the fourth and finally successful invasion of Serbia, this time by the combined armies of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Bulgaria. Thus was the tragedy of Belgium repeated in the Balkans, though not until, as previously related, the gallant Serbians had inflicted one of the most humiliating defeats of the war on the armies of Franz Joseph.

During all this period, however, from the very beginning of the war, till the autumn of 1915, when the climax was precipitated, important diplomatic negotiations were attracting the attention of the world in this direction. Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece had very hastily declared their neutrality when hostilities had begun, though Greece was in the very awkward position of being party to a defensive treaty with Serbia.

### **BOTH SIDES SEEK BALKAN SUPPORT.**

Between the diplomats of the Entente Nations on the one hand, and the diplomats of the Central Powers on the other, there began a protracted contest for the support of the Balkan states, more especially for that of Bulgaria, which was undoubtedly superior in her military strength and ability to the other two put together. The governments of these three nations, on their

part, were torn between two contending emotions; fear that they might choose the losing side in the great struggle, and desire for the gains which would come from selecting the winner. That they should postpone the final decision as long as possible was only natural; the longer hostilities continued, the better would be the opportunity to judge which side was winning, and the less sacrifice would be involved.

### **RUMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS WITH BOTH PARTIES.**

Sympathy played little part in Rumania, where the people hated both Austrians and the Russians, with almost equal fervor. Austria misruled a Rumanian population in Transylvania and Bukovina, and Russia was hardly so tender with a Rumanian population in Bessarabia. Claiming to be Latins, the Rumanians had race kinship with neither Teutons nor Russians. While race might incline them toward France, the distance between the two countries raised that relationship into the realms of theory. Thus Rumania borrowed money with a fine impartiality from Germany and England alike. When the Russians under Brussilov gained control of the Carpathian passes, Rumania entered into negotiations with Russia, demanding not only Bessarabia but Transylvania (when it should be conquered), as the price of

her support. Russia thought this demand extortionate, but before the negotiations could be brought to a final conclusion, Hindenburg began driving the Russians back, and Rumania resumed her strict neutrality for yet a while longer.

In Greece popular sympathy did figure as a factor. Because they had been allies in the two Balkan Wars, the Greeks were in sympathy with the Serbians. They also remembered that Russia, England and France had set them up as an independent nation. The Premier, Venizelos, was popular among the masses, and he was pro-Ally. The popular hatred of Bulgaria, of course, would not count until Bulgaria made her decision. On the other hand, Queen Sophia, was the German Kaiser's own sister, and she exerted all her influence in favor of the Central Powers, not only with the King, but with all the members of the governing clique, with considerable success. There can be no doubt that the ruling class of Greece favored Germany in those early days of the war.

### **T**HE BITTER GRIEVANCES OF BULGARIA.

In Bulgaria the situation was more complicated. Racially the Bulgarian people were strongly drawn toward the Russians, not only on account of blood kindred, but because Russian blood had been shed for Bulgaria's freedom, though this sentiment had been considerably modified among the intellectual classes by the intrigues of the Russian Government during the past generation. Moreover, not only did the Bulgars dislike the "Schwabs," as they called the Germans, but they could not forget how Austria had cheated them out of their victory over Serbia in 1884. Finally, the more intelligent classes realized that it was over their backs that Germany would build a bridge over to Asia Minor. But balancing heavily against these tendencies was the Treaty of Bucharest, through which Bulgaria had lost practically all of the spoils of the hard fought First Balkan War, in which she had borne the brunt of the fighting. In 1914 Bulgaria was crowded with

refugees from Macedonia, who had been expatriated by Serbia and Greece because of their Bulgarophile sympathies. While Bulgaria lay prostrate, after the Second Balkan War, Rumania had taken another strip of the Dobrudja in the delta of the Danube almost entirely Bulgarian in population. The Bulgarians were bitter against all their neighbors.

### **P**OPULAR FEELING AGAINST AUSTRIA.

Nevertheless, judging from the attitude of the popular leaders, the people were inclined toward the Allies, if they must take sides. Stambulovski, the leader of the Agrarians, was decidedly pro-Ally, and suffered imprisonment for this opinion. Ghenadiev, former Minister of Agriculture, previously anti-Russian in his politics, also went to jail in preference to supporting the King's pro-German policy. And Sandanski, leader of the Macedonians, more deeply affected by the situation than the Bulgarians, in that it was their home territory which had gone to Serbia and Greece through the Bucharest Treaty, was so decidedly against Ferdinand's policy that it is charged that Ferdinand had him assassinated because of his opposition.

From first to last Ferdinand himself stood for Germany and her Near Eastern policy; he was more Prussian than the Prussians. First of all, he was more than half German by birth, and wholly so by education. Secondly, there was no more far-sighted monarch in all Europe than he. No one realized more clearly than he that Germany stood for Imperialism as an institution, and that only a German victory could stay the oncoming sweep of world democracy. His fight against Sandanski and the Macedonian Committee had been animated by this knowledge, no less than by his personal ambitions. In Sandanski he had seen a manifestation of the coming danger. Like the ancient tyrants who turned to Rome for security against their own peoples, Ferdinand turned to Imperial Germany, seeing in her scheme of world empire his only guarantee of permanency in power.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### KING FERDINAND AND HIS POLICY.

With Ferdinand stood Radoslavov, leader of the so-called Liberal Party, an astute politician, versed in all the trickery of party politics. These two, with the clique supporting them, carried on the negotiations with the Allies merely as a play for time. Their real problem was the manipulation of the cards at home; skillfully to play off one element of the powerful opposition against another.

In a lengthy dispatch from Milan, dated September 24, 1915, a detailed account is given of Ferdinand's last interview with the representatives of the opposition: Stambulovski, representing the Agrarians; Malinov, representing the Democrats; Zanov, representing the Radicals—each bearing a resolution passed at a party caucus—and Gushev and Danev, both former premiers. The King listened to their solemn protests languidly, then, when they had concluded, spoke of the fine weather, which promised good crops.

"Your Majesty," said Stambulovski, sternly, "we have not come here to speak of the crops, but of the dangerous adventure into which you would lead us. Be careful that you do not endanger your dynasty—and lose your head."

"My head is already old," replied the King, sharply. "Look after your own head, which may be in more danger than you are aware of."

"My head matters little," retorted

the peasant leader, looking the King full in the eye. "Only the welfare of my country matters now." But Ferdinand maintained his refusal to discuss relations with Germany.



THE BALKANS IN 1915

On the east the Bulgarian Army cut the railroad line to Salonika, breaking communications with the Allies. In the north and west the Austrians stormed the lines of the Danube and the Drina. Driven in on three sides and unsupported by the Allies, the remnant of the Serbian Army retreated into Albania.

### FERDINAND PLAYS FOR DELAY.

We need not, therefore, follow too closely the negotiations which Ferdinand carried on with the Allies during 1915, for already in January he and his Premier had come to a definite agreement with Berlin, to the effect that they should throw the support of the Bulgarian military forces to the side



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

of the Central Empires when the proper moment should arrive. Ostensibly they offered terms of support to the Allies; that the territory taken from Bulgaria by the Treaty of Bucharest should be restored. This meant sacrifices on the part of Greece, Serbia and



**AN HEROIC RED CROSS WORKER**

Mrs. St. Clair Stobart's field hospital did invaluable work during the period of Serbia's terrible trial. She received the Serbian Order of St. Sava, and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Rumania which would require time to obtain, and that was all the Court at Sofia desired. Nevertheless, the Allied diplomats set assiduously to work to obtain these concessions, but the "proper moment" came before agreement could be reached.

### **T**HE TANGLED SITUATION IN GREECE.

In Greece Venizelos gave his whole-hearted support to the Allies. He exerted all his influence to have Greece join the Allies openly, especially in the Gallipoli campaign. But in this policy he was opposed by the King and the Greek General Staff. On March 6th, Venizelos called at the British legation in Athens to announce that he was powerless to fulfill his promises, and

that evening he resigned, so mortified that he announced he would retire from public life and leave Greece. The King immediately appointed Gounaris as Premier, who announced a policy of strict neutrality. In the following June a general election gave Venizelos's Liberal Party so powerful a majority in the Greek Parliament that the old chief was recalled from his retirement. When the Parliament convened in the following August, the big Venizelist majority compelled the Gounaris government to resign, and a few days later Venizelos was again Premier. But even then, as will be evident later, his pro-Ally policy was not to have full swing.

During all this period the Central Powers also played for the support of the neutral Balkan powers. Bulgaria's they obtained, with very little trouble, through Ferdinand. As late as in July, 1915, they offered Serbia a separate peace, but Serbia, though then realizing that the struggle for her very existence was about to be precipitated, refused even to consider the proposal. At the same time Rumania was approached, with two sets of proposals; one contingent upon a very "friendly" neutrality, which would have included the free passage of troops and munition supplies through Rumanian territory to Bulgaria; the second dependent upon active participation in the war on the side of the Teutons. The first proposal gave Rumania a part of Austrian Bukovina, and other concessions. The second proposal gave Rumania all of Bukovina, up to the Pruth River, and as much of Bessarabia as the Teuton and Rumanian armies should conquer together. But Rumania, while considering these proposals, did not yet dare to come to a decision.

Such was the diplomatic situation, in the middle of September, when again military operations superseded the skilled fencing of the diplomats.

### **T**HE BULGARIAN ARMY IS MOBILIZED.

On September 17, 1915, occurred the interview between King Ferdinand and the opposition leaders, already re-

ferred to, through the report of which the outside world first suspected that Bulgaria's decision was already taken. On September 23, Ferdinand ordered a mobilization of the Bulgarian Army, though at the same time a note to the foreign representatives in Sofia again assured them that Bulgaria would remain neutral. On the same day the Greek Government also issued an order for mobilization, which the credulous believed meant that she would fulfill her obligations to Serbia. On October 3, Russia issued an ultimatum to Bulgaria, demanding that German and Austrian officers, who were arriving in Sofia in great numbers, be expelled within twenty-four hours. To this Bulgaria made no reply within the specified time, and the next day the Russian, French and British ministers asked for their passports.

Just then the big siege guns, stationed within the Austrian lines along the banks of the Danube opposite Belgrade, began raining heavy shells into the Serbian capital. By that time it was known that the Germans and Austrians were mobilizing a large army along the Danube, under the command of Mackensen. This big force was divided into two separate wings. One of these, under General von Gallwitz, who had distinguished himself under Mackensen against the Russians, extended from Orsova, near the Rumanian frontier, up to the neighborhood of Belgrade. The men of this left wing were chiefly German. From Belgrade the other wing extended up the Save and some distance around the Drina on the west. This force was under an Austrian, General Kövess von Kövesshaza, and was composed of both Germans and Austrians. The artillery was German. What the total number of these two armies was remains still a matter of doubt, on account of the conflicting statements, perhaps 250,000. Besides this Mackensen had with him over two thousand pieces of artillery, of medium and heavy calibre, which meant that German tactics were to be tried. In the first three invasions Austria had hurled her infantry up against the Serbian trenches, and been

defeated. Mackensen proposed to pulverize them with explosives first.

#### THE SERBIAN SITUATION IN 1915.

The Serbians had suffered terribly during the winter of 1914-1915. The dread typhus, originating, apparently, in the camps of Austrian prisoners, had swept the country. The few physicians in the country were with the army, and many had been killed in 1914. The civilian population had almost no medical attention until hospital units from France, Russia, Great Britain and the United States arrived. Before June, 1915, the epidemic had been stamped out. How many died is not known precisely, perhaps 200,000, or even more. Serbian spirit never flamed higher, however, and in spite of the fact that they lacked the commonest necessities of life. They had traded chiefly with the Austrian and the German Empires and the single track road which led to Saloniki, their only outlet to the world, could not carry both goods and military supplies.

The Serbian Army now consisted of hardly more than 240,000 men of all ages. Beardless boys were in the ranks, and their fathers and their grandfathers, as well. The short-sighted policy of the Allied governments had failed to send sufficient aid. There were a few batteries of small calibre, French, Russian and British guns, a party of French aviators, and one small boat, "The Terror of the Danube" which was able to sink one of the Austrian monitors and to keep the others at a distance. The Serbians had no heavy guns, but were full of confidence in their ability to repel an invasion from the north. The Bulgarians, however, were already mobilizing upon their flank.

#### SERBIA ASSAILED ON THREE SIDES.

The Bulgarians would number at least another 300,000, but it was not alone this doubling of the numbers against them which made the situation of the Serbians so dangerous. It was the position of the Bulgarian Army which made the Serbian situation so precarious. For the railroad run-

ning from Belgrade down to Saloniki, by way of Nish, passed within a few miles of the Bulgarian frontier, just west of Sofia. And it was along this railroad that Serbia was receiving supplies from the Allies, by way of Saloniki. Realizing this serious danger, Serbia suggested to the Allies that she be allowed to attack the Bulgarians at once, in the hope of disabling them before the Teutons could descend on Serbia. But to this proposal the Allies would not consent, hoping, apparently, that Bulgaria could yet be persuaded to hold off. So now Serbia faced enemies, in three directions.

The one gleam on the horizon was that Venizelos was again in power in Greece, and that he was striving to force his government to keep the treaty with Serbia; to come to her assistance, now that she was threatened by so mortal a danger. "We have a treaty with Serbia," he said, during a stormy meeting of the Greek Chamber of Deputies. "If we are honest we will adhere to it, in spirit as well as to the letter. If we are rogues we will seek for pretexts to avoid fulfilling our obligations." On September 21 he had invited the Allies to land an expeditionary force at Saloniki.

## ALLIED TROOPS LAND AT SALONIKI.

The Allies responded and immediately began despatching transports. And then, on October 6, came the news that Venizelos had again been forced to resign, because of the opposition of the King and his supporters. At once Zaimis was appointed Premier, and proclaimed a policy of "benevolent neutrality." Nevertheless, on October 3 a force of 70,000 French troops had arrived in Saloniki Harbor and, in spite of the formal protests of the Greek Government, landed without any active opposition on the part of the Greek military authorities.

Meanwhile, on September 20, Mackensen's artillery began raging up and down the Danube. Then followed some half dozen attempts on the part of the Teutons to cross the river, at points widely apart, obviously feints to hide the real point of attack. Over-

head whirred German and Austrian aeroplanes, some flying as far south as Nish, then turning eastward over into Bulgaria.

## BELGRADE IS SHATTERED AND OCCUPIED.

On October 6 the Austro-Germans made a very determined effort to cross the Danube at Belgrade, after raking the city with a deadly artillery fire. The first landing party was completely annihilated by the Serbian fire, but more of the enemy forced themselves across the river and finally effected a landing in force. For two days the Teutons held their position on the quay while their heavy guns wrecked the city, and then, with further reinforcements, they penetrated into the northern sections of the city, taking the citadel by storm. Before evening they were in complete control of the Serbian capital.

On that same day the Austro-Germans also succeeded in crossing the Danube between Gradisthe and Semendria, near a small village called Zatagna, and at Ram. From these points they attempted to push southward, into the interior, but the Serbians succeeded in pinning them to the river bank and preventing them from deploying their forces from the bridgeheads, for some time longer. On the Drina, too, the Austrians had been able to effect a crossing in several places.

And now came the moment when Bulgaria was to declare herself irrevocably. On October 11 the Bulgarian forces crossed the Serbian frontier at Kadibogas, northwest of Nish, and delivered an attack against the Serbians stationed in the east to protect the Serbian right flank, though war was not formally declared until October 14.

## THE BULGARIAN PLAN OF ATTACK.

The Bulgarians came on in two large bodies; the First Army threatened the Timok Valley; the Second Army, further south, was advancing into Macedonia toward Uskub. These struck almost simultaneously at eight different points. On October 15 the First Bulgarian Army came in contact with



#### GERMAN SOLDIERS FRATERNIZING WITH A SERBIAN WATER-CARRIER

There are other such survivals of primitive customs remaining among the Serbian mountaineers. Incessant warfare, the inaccessible nature of the country, paucity of communication, and the lack of industrial enterprise due to hostile tariffs in the Austrian and Hungarian markets, have contributed to keep the Serbian peasant poverty-stricken.



#### WHERE THE CONQUERORS EXACTED HEAVY TOLL

The Balkan Relief Commission sent by the Allies in the winter of 1918-19 to help the starving and diseased populations of the various countries reported that Serbia, from Belgrade on the north to Monastir on the south, was an economic and physical ruin. This picture shows German soldiers making a round to confiscate leather. Anything of use to Germany was taken.

Pictures from H. Ruschin

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

the main Serbian forces, and a general engagement began, near Zaichar. Four days later they had pushed the Serbians back at Negotin. All of the opposing forces were made up of men who had fought through the Balkan Wars. Largely the fighting was hand to hand; there was little artillery, and a plenti-

and to protect their rear, but his force was too small. It was only about 33,000 English and French together, and ten times as many were needed. The Allied fleets bombarded the Bulgarian port of Dedeagatch but with no effect on the invasion, which rolled westward remorselessly!



BRITISH SOLDIERS WITH NAVAL GUNS IN SERBIA

When the Austrians stormed Belgrade only six guns were saved which were of valuable assistance in helping to cover the retreat of the Serbian Army. Five of the guns were abandoned, but until November 29, when it was buried, the remaining gun guarded the rear of the retreating army.

International Film Service

ful use of the bayonet. Being outnumbered, the Serbians were driven back.

Further south Todorov's army was equally successful. It drove the Serbians back at Vrnja, entered that town and cut the railroad line which connected the main Serbian Army with Saloniki, thus breaking the backbone of Serbia. Still further south small Bulgarian forces came in contact with Sarraill's Frenchmen, who were advancing up the Vardar. A smaller English force protected the railway to the sea. Not the Bulgarians, but a realization of his own weakness, held the French general back. He had come to effect a junction with the Serbians,

### THE AUSTRO-GERMAN ATTACK IN THE NORTH.

Meanwhile the main Teuton invasion in the north was rising and swelling and overwhelming the doomed warriors of Serbia. Their fighting was not inferior to that of a year before when they hurled the Austrians back, but now they were dealing with forces under a commander who was as scientific as he was skillful, who had and who knew how to use the most modern engines of war in the world. On October 18 Obrenovatz fell. Three days later Shabatatz shared its fate. By October 23 the enemy had crossed the rivers over into Serbia all the way from Orsova on the Danube, to Vishegrad

on the Drina, and the Serbians were half encircled by one continuous line of the invaders. On October 26 the Bulgarian right wing came into cavalry contact with the extreme left wing of the Germans, and the road to Turkey lay open to the Germans.

Meanwhile the Serbians hoped for Allied assistance from the rear. In Nish the houses were decorated with national and Allied flags and the children and the civilian population waited at the station to welcome the Allied military leaders. But they never came. Then it was rumored that Russia would relieve the pressure by an attack on Bulgaria. A Russian ship did, indeed, bombard Varna for a few hours, but no attempt was made to land troops, so that hope faded away as well. Then, gradually, it dawned on the Serbians that they would have to fight by themselves. If only some of the thousands who were being sacrificed at Gallipoli had been in Serbia!

### THE DOOM OF SERBIA APPROACHES.

The feeling that the land was doomed had by this time crept over the whole population, for now black lines of civilian refugees began moving over the rough mountain roads, southward, only to find that the Bulgarians had swept through Macedonia and had cut off their retreat into Greece. Only one way still remained open, and that was through the black, mountain wilderness of Albania, among the craggy ridges of which roamed a semi-barbarian people none too friendly toward any of the Christian races. Through this bleak, unfriendly region headed the vanguard of the retreating population. To add to their misery, a period of steady bad weather settled down, so that the heavy carts stuck in the clay mud of the mountain roads and there remained, abandoned by their owners. Later, as the retreat became more pressing and the weather became cold, hundreds of exhausted women and children and old men sank into the snow by the wayside and died there. In tragic suffering the retreat of the Serbian refugees has few parallels in history.

### THE RELENTLESS ADVANCE FROM THE NORTH.

On the last day of October the Teuton armies in the north had penetrated a considerable distance into the interior of Serbia. A determined stand had been made by the Serbians along the Kolubara, but the enemy artillery smashed down their defenses without giving the Serbians an opportunity



**SERBIAN AND BRITON**

Serbia's heir and Rear Admiral Troubridge accompanied the Staff throughout the retreat, and the latter by request of the Serbian authorities, took charge of Medua.

of engaging in the sort of fighting they liked best, the bayonet charge. On November 1 the Serbians were compelled to evacuate Kragujevatz, in which was located Serbia's chief arsenal. Thus the invaders were now half way on the road to Nish. By this time Mackensen could truly say that he had conquered half of Serbia. But the same was true here that had been true earlier in the year on the Eastern Front; like the Russians, the Serbians were driven steadily back, but no considerable part of their forces had yet been captured. And no army is ever



truly defeated or conquered so long as its units remain intact, no matter how much territory may have been evacuated. Furthermore, the Serbians were inflicting at least as heavy losses on the enemy as they were themselves suffering.

The Bulgarians were also advancing successfully. On October 28 they

this town within a few days after the advance into Macedonia had begun. For a whole week Vasitch held Veles desperately, hoping to be relieved by Sarrail's army advancing up the Vardar, but although he could hear the French guns repelling the Bulgarian attacks, relief never came. So finally, on October 29, he was compelled to



### RETREAT OF SERBIAN SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS

During this retreat of a whole nation, furious storms of sleet and blinding snow broke over the fugitives. The road lay through rugged mountains, often by paths dangerous at any time; and these mountains were peopled by brigands who fell upon all small parties and robbed and murdered wherever they dared.

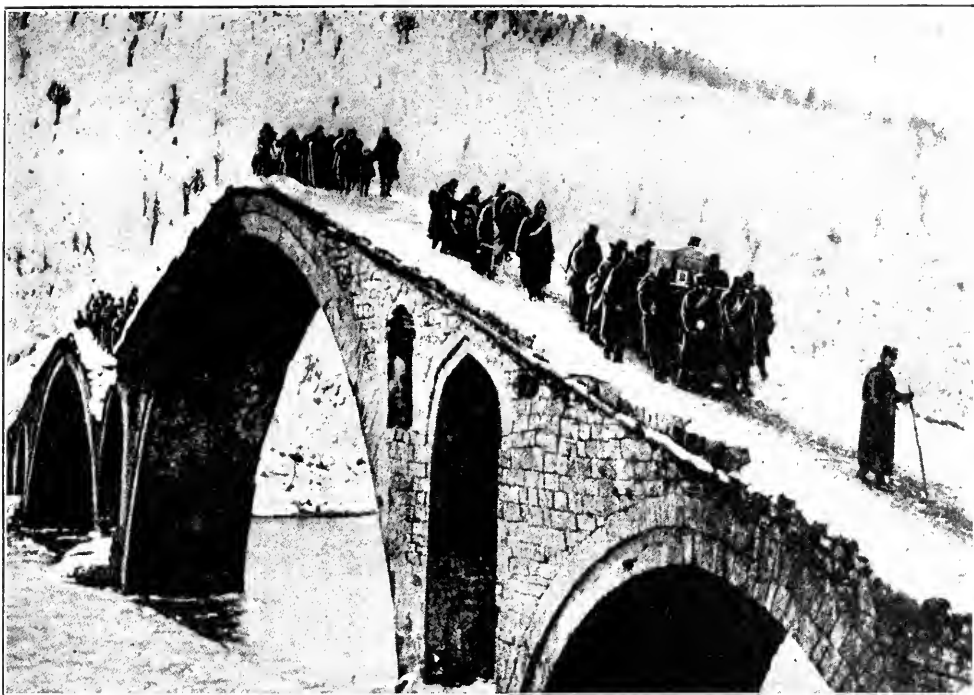
were in possession of Drenova Glava, fifteen miles northwest of Pirot, and on the next day they took that important town after heavy fighting. This brought the line of the invasion into rather dangerous proximity to Nish, so the Serbian Government was now shifted to Kralievo.

### DESPERATE FIGHTING AROUND VELES.

Down in Macedonia the Second Bulgarian Army, after occupying Uskub, advanced to Katshanik Pass, where a very spectacular battle occurred for its possession. At the same time another Serbian force was fighting under Colonel Vasitch still further south, and succeeded in recapturing Veles from the Bulgarians, who had taken

retire into Babuna Pass, through which passed the highway from Veles to Monastir. Here was fought one of the most famous battles of the campaign. Holding the pass, the Serbians succeeded in checking the Bulgarian advance for some days, thus preventing them from driving in that wedge which was to sever the Serbians completely from the Allies in the south.

Greece, had she lived up to her defensive treaty with Serbia, might have saved the situation even at this late moment, but although England attempted to persuade her with the offer of the Island of Cyprus, the Royal party remained in the ascendency. On October 20 Italy signified her moral support by declaring war against



#### THROUGH THE ALBANIAN MOUNTAINS

Some 150,000 refugees collected in the neighborhood of Pristrend, whence the only path of escape lay over the mountains of Albania to Scutari, 100 miles away. Marshal Putnik, who had been ill since mid-summer, arrived here in a motor car and was carried over the mountains in a chair. Here King Peter left his ox-wagon, and with two officers went forward on foot, and the Crown Prince also went on foot.



#### LEFT BEHIND IN SERBIA AFTER THE RETREAT

When the Austrians invaded Serbia they showed themselves extremely cruel. Croats, Dalmatians, Bohemians, Little Russians and Poles who formed a part of the forces of the Empire were Slavs and disposed to be kind to fellow-Slavs in the Balkans. Propaganda to incite these men was started by Austrian authorities, and when Serbia was overrun in 1915, thousands of civilians chose hardships among the mountains rather than to remain under the conquerors.

Bulgaria, but no attempt was made then to send material help. Only the French so far had shed their blood in the attempt to render aid. On October 23 Sarraill's forces had reached as far north as they were destined to advance during that campaign; to Krivolak and Gradsko, where the Tchernia joins the Vardar. Here the French could hear the Serbian rifle fire in Babuna Pass, which was barely ten miles distant, but the French commander lacked the numbers to push his advance any further.

#### GREEK OPPOSITION TO THE ALLIED FORCES.

Much sentiment was aroused in both England and France over this failure to render the Serbians real aid, so much so that the French Cabinet was forced to resign and a new Cabinet, under Briand, was appointed, because of the Balkan policy. Meanwhile the attitude of the Greek Government daily became more unfriendly. More and more numerous became the efforts on the part of the Greek authorities to handicap the operations of Sarraill's forces in Macedonia, and this continued until Serbia had been completely overrun by the enemy and the French general was able to turn toward the Greeks with an attitude so menacing that they were cowed into submission.

Within the first week of November the Teutons were so far advanced that they were threatening the new Serbian capital, Kralievo, almost before the government had had time to establish itself. On they came, along both banks of the Western Morava, and the Serbian headquarters had barely time to move on before Kralievo was taken, on November 5.

#### NISH, THE TEMPORARY CAPITAL, FALLS.

And on that same day Nish fell to the Bulgarians. It was to the Serbians what the fall of Warsaw was to the Russians, a defeat of grave political significance, as the fall of a capital always is. The Austrian, German and Bulgarian press made the most of it, but the Serbian armies continued intact, though they had suffered heavily.

Meanwhile the battle in Babuna Pass was continuing; 5,000 Serbians were there holding up 20,000 Bulgarians, thereby saving the flank of the retiring Serbians from an attack which might easily have endangered its only avenue of withdrawal through Albania. But Vasitch accomplished more than that, for had he not held out so heroically, the Bulgarians might very possibly have cut the communications of the French on the other side of the ridge that surrounded them. It was not till November 16 that the Serbians were finally compelled to relinquish their hold in the pass and fall back on Prilep, some miles north of Monastir. And now the situation of the Serbian armies in the north was truly perilous. On a gigantic scale indeed Mackensen was attempting the Hindenburg tactics. The Bulgarian Macedonian column was driving westward, toward Albania. The Austrian right wing was sweeping down along the banks of the Drina—also toward Albania. Would the ends of the pincers meet, and enclose the whole Serbian Army? Such might possibly have happened, would very probably have happened, but the northern pincer, the Austrians under von Kövesshaza, had struck against a very hard little rock—Montenegro.

#### THE MONTENEGRINS HOLD THEIR OWN.

In number barely equal to a division, the valiant fighters of the Black Forest were holding back the Austrians with no less bravery and determination than the Serbians had shown throughout all their fighting against the Teutonic invaders. True, the nature of the country gave them a tremendous advantage. So long as they held out the Austrian lines could not well pass further southward, for that would have endangered their rear. So they remained there, at the base of the Montenegrin cliffs, angrily pounding the naked crags with their field artillery, hoping to blast a way through. Eventually they were to succeed, but not before Serbia's armies succeeded in making good their escape.

But that last road to safety was an appalling one to consider. Through



#### SERBIAN PRISONERS IN MITROVITZA, AUSTRIA

Something of the misery of captivity among foes may be read upon the faces and in the appearance of these poor Serbians. Ragged, apathetic and miserable, some of them ill, the future promises little. Behind them their homes have been destroyed, their friends and relatives, at best, made fugitives in a foreign land.



#### SERBIANS INTERNED IN A PRISON CAMP

The members of this group of Serbian peasants were characterized by Austrian military authorities as "suspicious" and they were therefore segregated from their fellows and interned in camps set aside for the purpose. Forced to work for their captors, their days were further darkened by uncertainty as to the fate of relatives who had shared in the historic retreat through the mountains.

Pictures from Henry Ruschin

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

those jagged defiles and almost pathless wilds only the strongest could find their way. So on November 10 the Serbians made a very desperate effort to tear a way through the Bulgarian lines by way of Monastir, down over the Greek frontier toward Saloniki. For five days they fought the Bulgarians at Katshanik Pass, and would have succeeded in tearing a hole through the Bulgarian front, but the Bulgarian reserves came up at the critical moment, and the Serbians were shattered and thrown back into the ever-narrowing circle.

### THE LAST DESPERATE FIGHT ON SERBIAN SOIL.

The Serbian armies were now rounded up on the famous Kossovo Plain. Here they must make their last decision. There were two alternatives; a retreat into the Albanian mountains at once, or—surrender. On this same field it was that the last of the ancient Serbian Czars, Lazar, had staked his whole kingdom in one battle against the Turks, and lost. Thus history was about to repeat itself.

"You are about to see the Serbian nation die," said the Serbian commander to an American correspondent, who was present, in the grey of that fateful November morning, when the decision was made that Serbia would go down fighting.

For three days the Serbians battled against the fast encircling Bulgars, Magyars and Teutons. Even nature seemed to be participating in the struggle, for during the greater part of the battle the men fought in a heavy downpour of rain, often up to their hips in slush and water. Through all the three days of the raging conflict, the aged monarch, King Peter, remained with his men, hobbling back and forth in their rear, yet continually under fire. Finally he was taken off his feet by his small bodyguard, lifted up on the back of a horse and carried away into the nearby mountains, toward the Adriatic Coast.

### THE SERBIAN PEOPLE LEAVE THEIR HOME.

On November 23 the end came. The last remnants of the Serbian mili-

tary organization were shattered. Intermingling with the last of the civilian refugees, the Serbian soldiers, some armed, others empty handed, utterly disorganized, fled into the Albanian mountains and made their way westward as best they could. The last patch of Serbian territory had been overrun by the invaders and, so far as Mackensen and his Germans were concerned, at least, Serbia was conquered and the Serbian Army had been eliminated from the war. Berlin and Vienna claimed that 100,000 Serbians had been taken prisoners and fully as many more had been killed. The impression given was that there were very few Serbians left to retreat. This was an exaggeration, but certainly over 100,000 men were lost, perhaps half of the total armed force.

The Germans had, however, succeeded in opening up railroad communications with their allies, the Turks, and early in December through trains were running from Berlin to Constantinople. Having accomplished that much, Germany withdrew her troops from the Balkans, and the Bulgarians were left to defend Macedonia and the Austrians to subdue Montenegro and hold western Serbia as best they could.

### HORRORS OF THE FLIGHT THROUGH ALBANIA.

The flight of the Serbian Army and a great part of the Serbian population through Albania will ever remain one of the most impressive events of the great war, more easily imagined than described. "They say," wrote William G. Shepherd, correspondent of the American United Press, from Monastir, "that nearly the whole route from Pristina to Monastir, ninety miles, is lined with human corpses and the carcasses of horses and mules dead of starvation, while thousands of old men and women and children are lying on the rocks and in the thickets beside the trails, hungry and exhausted, awaiting the end. At night the women and children, ill clad and numbed with cold, struggle pitifully around meagre fires of mountain shrub, to resume in the morning the weary march toward their supposed goal of safety—



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Monastir. But by the time this dispatch is printed, Monastir, too, may be in the hands of the enemy. This will leave them to the mercy of the inhospitable mountain fastnesses, where for the past two days a terrific blizzard has been raging."

### THE AGED LEADERS MAKE THEIR ESCAPE.

The aged Serbian Commander-in-chief, General Putnik, was carried through the mountains by his soldiers

who had landed a small force in Valona almost a year before, and taken aboard Italian ships, which transported them to Corfu, a Greek island of which the Allies had taken possession and where they prepared a hospital camp for the arriving refugees, both military and civilian.

### GENERAL SARRAIL AND THE GREEKS.

Meanwhile the French troops under Sarraill, which were now reinforced by



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SERBIAN WITHDRAWAL

The arrows on this map illustrate the retreat of the Second Serbian Army. A large portion of the army did not go through Montenegro at all, but marched across Albania to Scutari. A small proportion escaped to the south through Monastir. The journey across Serbia, Montenegro and Albania took nearly four months and was made amid the ice and snow of winter which intensified the sufferings of the fugitives.

seated in an ordinary chair, to which poles were attached for handles. King Peter made the journey in a litter slung between two mules. For a whole day he and his scanty escort were lost in a snow storm and wandered aimlessly about the mountain trails. Eventually they reached the coast and were taken across the Adriatic over into Italy. One estimate had it that of the 700,000 refugees who fled into the Albanian mountains, only 500,000 eventually reached safety.

Those that did reach the coast, however, were succored by the Italians,

a number of British regiments which had arrived to swell the expedition, having failed in his effort to open a retreat for the Serbians, decided to withdraw from the mountain regions down into the plain around Saloniki, for a furious blizzard had brought on an early winter, and there was as yet no possibility of making any effective campaign against the Bulgarians. What rendered Sarraill most anxious, however, was the ambiguous attitude of the Greek Government, which had mobilized the Greek Army in this corner of its territory.



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Among the Greeks themselves there was a strong diversity of feeling, for and against the Allies. On November 4 Venizelos denounced the Government policy strongly before the Chamber of Deputies. The Government thereupon demanded a vote of confidence from the Chamber, but failed to get it, by a vote of 147 against 114. The Premier, therefore, was compelled to resign. The King still persisted in his refusal to recognize Venizelos and called upon Skouloudis, one of his own partisans, to form a new Cabinet. A week later the new Premier quashed all opposition to the Government's policy in the Chamber by dissolving that body arbitrarily.

### THE ALLIES THREATEN THE GREEK KING.

These high-handed proceedings created a bad impression in the Allied countries, and a more vigorous attitude against King Constantine and his clique was demanded. A partial embargo was thereupon placed on Greek shipping, in the hope that a certain degree of privation might bring the Greeks to reason. The Greek Government sought and obtained relief from Bulgaria, in the form of a shipment of flour. Then the Allies tightened their grip. Finally the Greek Government made a show of changing its policy.

Meanwhile the Bulgarians in the hills were expediting the Allied decision to withdraw down within Greek Macedonia. Early in December they gathered together strong forces and delivered an attack on the British near Doiran and on the French on the Vardar. The Allies were compelled to retire, in spite of certain initial advantages they gained in the fighting. Finally, in the middle of December, Sarraill withdrew the last of his forces within the Greek frontier.

### INCREASED FORCES AT SALONIKI.

The Allies had by this time decided on the policy of holding Saloniki permanently, so long as the war should last, at any rate. That this was a wise policy later events were to prove, since it was on this front that the first

crushing defeat was eventually to be delivered against the Teutonic allies, bringing about the final catastrophe to their arms. By the end of the year the Allies had retired into the city and its adjacent territory, holding a circle of entrenchments about fifty miles in width, a semi-circle each of whose ends rested on the seashore.

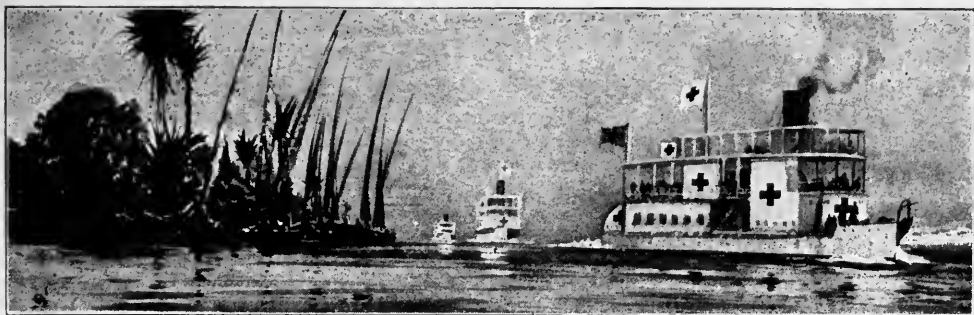
Meanwhile Italy had taken definite action in the Balkans by landing an army on the Albanian coast, occupying Durazzo and Valona, with a force estimated at 50,000. In so far as Albania could be gathered together as an organized unit, this had been done by Essad Pasha, that Albanian chief who had defended Scutari so valiantly against the Montenegrins during the First Balkan War. He now extended the hand of friendship to the Allies and declared war against Austria, welcoming the Italian forces.

### MONTENEGRO CONTINUES TO RESIST.

By the end of the year comparative quiet had settled down over the whole of the Balkans, save for one corner—Montenegro. The soldiers of King Nicholas still held the Austrians at bay. Throughout the invasion of Serbia they had not only held their own against the Austrian right wing, as already stated, but they also held a strip of Austrian territory.

Having conquered Serbia, Austria now was able to turn her whole attention to little Montenegro. Large infantry forces were gathered together on this front and attack after attack was delivered against the Montenegrin lines, but without success. Then the Austrians tried to bombard Mt. Lovcen with siege guns from their naval base at Cattaro. But the Montenegrins only proved the truth of their own proverb: "You cannot kill a hare with a cannon." Twice, once on December 1, and again on December 23, they attacked the Austrian lines and drove them back with heavy losses. Eventually they were to succumb to heavy artillery and overwhelming numbers, but not until January 13, 1916 did Cetinje, the capital, fall.

ALBERT SONNICHSEN.



Cook's Pleasure Boats Used as Hospital Ships on the Nile.

## CHAPTER XXIII

# The Attack on the Suez Canal

## THE TURKISH PLAN TO DIVIDE THE BRITISH EMPIRE FAILS

WHEN Russia on November 3, 1914, and France and Great Britain on November 5, 1914 declared war against Turkey, a situation was created which must have caused the leaders of these nations a great deal of uneasiness. Especially must have this been true in respect to Great Britain, for the British in India and in some of their other colonial possessions, ruled over a much greater number of Mohammedans than the Sultan himself, religious head of all Mohammedans as he claimed to be. By declaring that a state of war existed between the Sultan and Great Britain and all its colonies and dependencies, the foundation was laid for vast possibilities of mischief on the part of the Mohammedan subjects of Great Britain. The fact that after all very little actual mischief was done is a strong testimonial to British sagacity and it indicates more clearly than anything else could have done that British rule over Mohammedans must have established an immense fund of good will.

### THE GERMANS SUCCEED IN TURKEY.

Undesirable as it must have been for Great Britain, Russia and France to have this break occur, it could not have been unexpected. For the best part of a generation, British, Russian and French influence at Constantinople, which once had been predominant, had waned and had been superseded by German influ-

ence. Though in almost every other part of the world German diplomacy and German diplomats had failed; at Constantinople they had succeeded. In another place it has been shown that from the very beginning of the war Turkish sympathies, or at least the sympathies of Turkish leaders, were on the side of the German Empire.

Not until the latter part of November 1914, however, had Germany succeeded in offering sufficient inducements to Turkey to persuade the Sultan's government to declare war against the Allies. This event occurred November 23, 1914. The advantages to the Central Powers in gaining this new ally were evident. Perhaps 800,000 more or less well trained fighting men—and the Turk makes a good fighting man,—became available. The Entente Powers must fight on several new fronts, some of which were of such importance to the future fortunes of Great Britain, France and Russia, that their defense called for large numbers of troops which could then be ill spared.

### SOME ADVANTAGES TO GERMANY OF THE TURKISH ALLIANCE.

The men then responsible for the guidance of the affairs of the Central Powers, must have seen at this moment, glorious visions of the success of some of their fondest dreams. Their "Middle European" idea was one step nearer its realization. Great Britain, towards

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

which Germany, at least at that time, felt more bitter than towards any of her other enemies, was to be seriously threatened in possession of its most important colonial dependency, India. The promise of disturbing or discontinuing free communication between Europe, India and Australia, through the Suez Canal, so essential to the Allies from many points of view, became a matter of reality. Large naval forces needed in European waters must be detached by the Entente Powers to fight their new enemy. A way was opened for attacking Russia from the south. Great oil fields, the possession of which meant to Germany a gain as vast and important as the corresponding loss to the Allies, became involved in the ever expanding struggle. The advantages to be gained by Turkey by going to war, were less evident; but then in these early days of the War comparatively small countries like Turkey were used as pawns only.

### THE TRIPLE PLAN OF THE TURKS.

Turkey was soon ready with plans carefully worked out by the German General Staff. While Bulgaria was neutral, or on the side of the Central Powers, Turkish troops need not be kept in Europe. Therefore, a three-fold campaign against the Allies had been mapped out. Russia was to be attacked in the Caucasus and access to the oil fields adjacent to the Black Sea was to be cut off. From Bagdad another Turkish force was to be sent down south to Basra, at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the Anglo-Persian oil fields, of vast importance to the British Navy, were to be seized. Simultaneously, an expedition against Egypt was to be made.

The first two plans will be treated in another chapter. Of the expeditions against Egypt, we shall now speak. Among the various military undertakings which Germany assigned to her new ally, the Egyptian operations must have appealed most strongly to the Turks. There indeed an opportunity was given to Turkey to regain full possession of one of its former dependencies, which in recent years had

fallen more and more under British influence and control, until its connection with the Turkish Empire was a connection in name only. Ever since Great Britain in 1875, by the purchase for \$20,000,000 of 177,000 shares of the Suez Canal Company from the impecunious Khedive Ismail, had acquired control of this most important waterway, Turkish influence and power had waned, in spite of all attempts to maintain it, and in spite of all intrigues fathered at Constantinople. Egypt was really though not in name a British protectorate, since the British Diplomatic Agent controlled the finances.

### THE KHEDIVE PLOTS AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, the Khedive Abbas Hilmi himself was the principal conspirator against British authority. In him, the so-called Nationalist movement in Egypt, found a willing and liberal supporter and even the fidelity of the Egyptian army had gradually been undermined. There can be no doubt that Abbas Hilmi was in constant communication with Constantinople and Berlin, for the principal purpose of creating conditions which would make it possible to drive Great Britain out of Egypt. German agents were encouraged to plot against British, French and even Italian influence. So sure was he of the results of the work he did at home that he is said to have promised an uprising in Egypt immediately upon the appearance of Turkish troops on the Turko-Egyptian border.

Germany, Turkey and the Khedive, however, soon found that they had misjudged actual conditions. The Khedive himself immediately upon the declaration of war by the Allies against Turkey, fled to Italy, then still a neutral power, and from there by way of Vienna, where he was received with much display, proceeded to Constantinople.

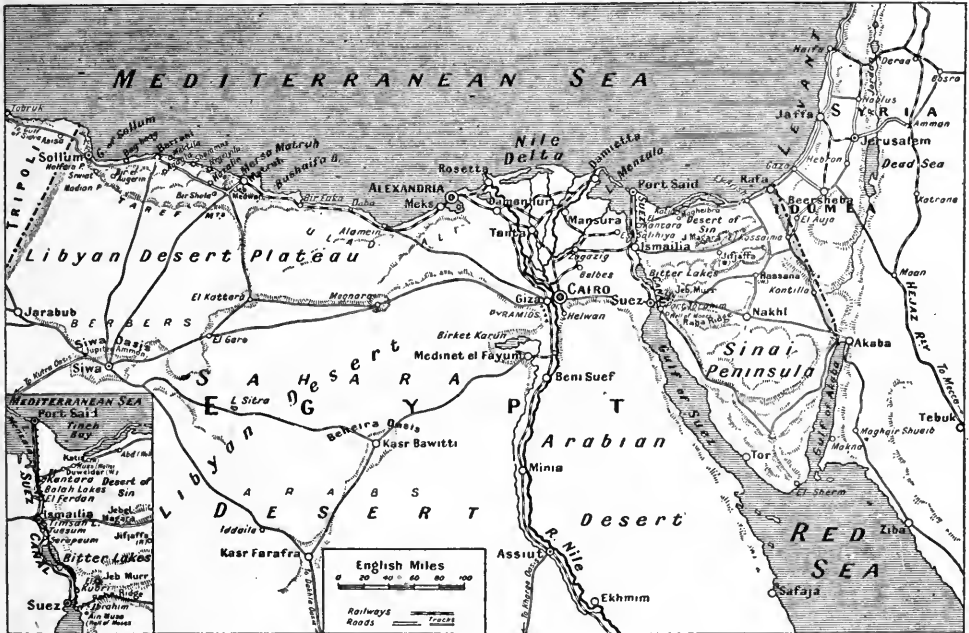
Great Britain, even previous to its declaration of war against Turkey, had taken precautions in Egypt. As early as August 6, 1914, Egypt was declared to be in a state of war. In September,

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

the German and Austro-Hungarian representatives, whose offices were centres of conspiracy, were made to leave Cairo, and German and Austrian ships were required to leave the Canal. After Lord Kitchener had been recalled to England to assume the direction of the War Office, Lieutenant General Sir John Maxwell, a tried soldier and campaigner and known as a strict disciplinarian, was appointed military commander in Egypt. On November 2, martial law was proclaimed.

politicians had entertained high hopes of office when the British should be driven out. Some fanatical Mohammedans objected, but the official spokesmen, the Ulema, well-informed of British justice and toleration toward the Moslem subjects of the Empire, proclaimed their entire loyalty.

The Turks on their part had pushed preparations for the carrying out of



### THE LAND BETWEEN DESERTS, AND THE APPROACH TO THE SUEZ CANAL

The land approach to the canal was through Palestine and across the rocky desert of Sinai Peninsula, scene of the forty years' wandering of Moses and his people. The travel routes are indicated on the map. The principal problem was to find water supply. Only Arab guides knew the pools. West of Egypt, near the border of Tripoli, the fighting with the Senussi took place. The region lies between Sollum and Mersa Matruh.

plinarian, was appointed military commander in Egypt. On November 2, martial law was proclaimed.

### Egypt under British Protection.

Some weeks later (December 17, 1914) Great Britain announced to the world that Egypt had ceased to be a dependency of the Sultan in name as in fact, and had been made a British protectorate. The following day, Abbas Hilmi was deposed and his uncle, Hussein Pasha was proclaimed his successor with the title "Sultan of Egypt." The Egyptian people, so far as they found spokesmen, approved. There was some discontent in the cities where the native

their plans with a rapidity which indicated that they were being urged on and guided by their Teutonic allies. Damascus had been chosen as the point at which the forces to be used in the Egyptian operations, were to be concentrated. Some 140,000 men were assembled there under the command of Djemal Pasha, formerly Minister of Marine, and one of the ablest of the Young Turk leaders.

The difficulties facing the Turks in their advance on the Suez Canal and on Egypt were great. Water was the most essential need of troops advancing through the Sinai Peninsula, which for the greatest part, is little more than

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

a desert, a triangle of sand dune, rock and mountain, with here and there an oasis. The problem of sufficient water for as large a force as the Turks needed to attack the Suez Canal, might easily have discouraged the most sanguine general. Fortunately for the Turks rain fell during November and December, 1914, and several pools had collected in the rocks. Through their Bedouin allies the Turks knew the location of all these.

### GERMAN OFFICERS AFFORD MUCH AID TO TURKEY.

The preparations were under the charge of German engineers, and the Chief of Staff was a Bavarian, Colonel Kress von Kressenstein. Much reliance was placed upon great boats of zinc which were dragged across the desert sands. With these it was intended to construct pontoon bridges across the Canal.

Three possible roads led across the desert. The northern route from Kafa to Kantara, through El Arish close to the Mediterranean had the best water supply, but was difficult for wheeled vehicles. The southern, or Pilgrim's Road from Akaba to Suez was easier to follow but for scarcity of water. Therefore Djemal Pasha decided to send only small forces by these, and to make the main drive across the desert from El Audja to Ismailia on the Canal, particularly as he had learned that there were several rain pools along the route. Six-inch guns were dragged along, thirty-six oxen to the gun, and camel trains were the chief reliance for supplies.

As far as El Arish the northern column encountered no opposition. The small British outpost which had been located there had been withdrawn, and the British generals in Egypt at this time, the latter part of November, 1914, were busy making preparations to meet the much heralded attack of the Turks. Besides the native troops that were at their disposal and some few units that had been sent out from England, native troops from India and the splendid forces raised in Australia and New Zealand, which were later to render such heroic service in Gallipoli, were beginning to arrive in Egypt.

### PLANS TO DEFEND THE CANAL WERE CAREFULLY MADE.

After Great Britain had broken with Turkey, Major General A. Wilson, C.B. was appointed commander of the Suez Canal defenses and landed at Suez on November 16, 1914. The Canal defenses were organized in three sections with headquarters at Kantara in the north, Ismailia Ferry in the center, and Suez to the South. General Wilson's headquarters and the general reserve were placed at Ismailia, with the advanced base at Zagazig, and the base general hospital at Cairo. These arrangements were completed by December 5, 1914, when the last units of the force arrived from India. The rumors of the approach of overwhelming Turkish forces were persistent.

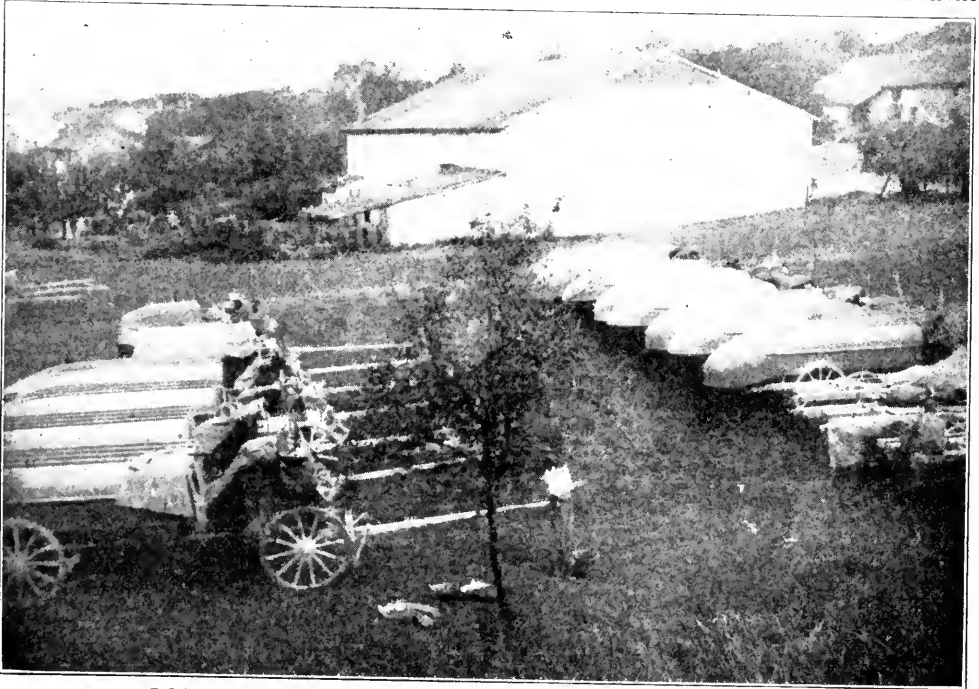
The months of November-December, 1914, and January, 1915, were devoted to strengthening the defenses of the Canal. The length of the Canal from Port Said to Suez is a hundred miles, but the northern part runs through low ground which was made impassable by flooding. So only the central and southern parts were to be defended, and the warships in the southern part were a strong defense. A number of defensive posts were prepared on the east bank, to cover the important ferries and provide facilities for local counter-attacks. Trenches were dug on the west bank to cover the intervals between posts and frustrate attempts at crossing. Communications were improved by the construction of landing stages and removable pontoon bridges for use at important points. A flotilla of armed launches, manned by the Royal Navy, was organized for canal patrols. A complete system of telegraph, telephone, and wireless communication was installed, linking up all the posts with headquarters. A system of defense was established for the protection of the railway, the telegraph lines, and the fresh water canal. A detachment of the Royal Flying Corps was organized, staffed with observers, and equipped with accommodation for its plans. No possible provision was overlooked in the preparation for the expected attack.



#### IN CONSTANTINOPLE AT THE DECLARATION OF WAR

In October, 1914, the Turks broke their pretended neutrality. On November 3-5, Russia, France and England declared war. On November 13, the Sultan issued a proclamation of a Holy War against Christian Powers ruling over the "Faithful." The picture shows a crowd in Constantinople at the time.

International Film Service



#### BOATS WHEELED ACROSS THE DESERT TO THE SUEZ CANAL

The Turks had constructed a number of zinc boats to be used as pontoons after reaching the Suez Canal. These had been hauled on carts and sledges across the Sinai Peninsula. On the night of February 2, 1915, an attempt was made to launch them; but it was not long before they were sunk by gun fire. The effort to cross the canal seems to have been only half-hearted.



### THE FIRST RAID ON THE CANAL MADE NEAR EL KANTARA.

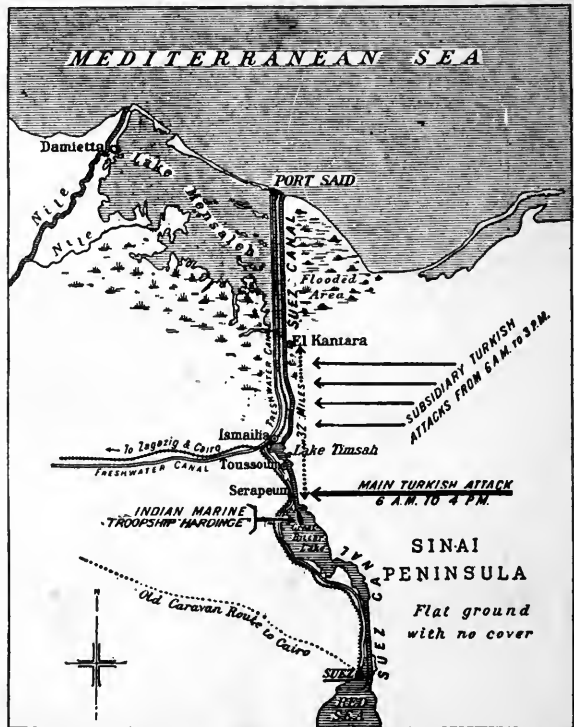
During this period no active operations took place, except a Bedouin raid made by the Turks in the direction of El Kantara. A patrol of the Bikanir Camel Corps encountered a force of some 200 Bedouins and Turks on November 20, 1914, near Bir-el-Nuss, and in spite of the enemy's treacherous attack, due to the abuse of the white flag, extricated itself successfully from a somewhat difficult position. The patrol, which lost one Indian officer and twelve other ranks killed and three Sepoys wounded, inflicted some sixty casualties on the enemy. Meanwhile the Australians and the New Zealanders, tired of the inaction, prayed for a real fight, which did not come.

During the first fortnight in January, 1915, little direct news of the enemy's advance was forthcoming, though reports of considerable preparations in Syria were constant, and information was received to the effect that advanced posts and depots had been formed at Khan Yunis, El Arish, El Audja, and Kos-saima. The country to the east of the canal within the radius of aeroplane reconnaissances remained clear of formed bodies of hostile troops, though frequently visited by Bedouin patrols which, in some cases, were accompanied by German officers in Arab dress. About January 15, 1915, however, it became clear that hostile forces of some strength had entered Sinai.

### THE TURKS ADVANCE IN FORCE TO ATTACK THE CANAL.

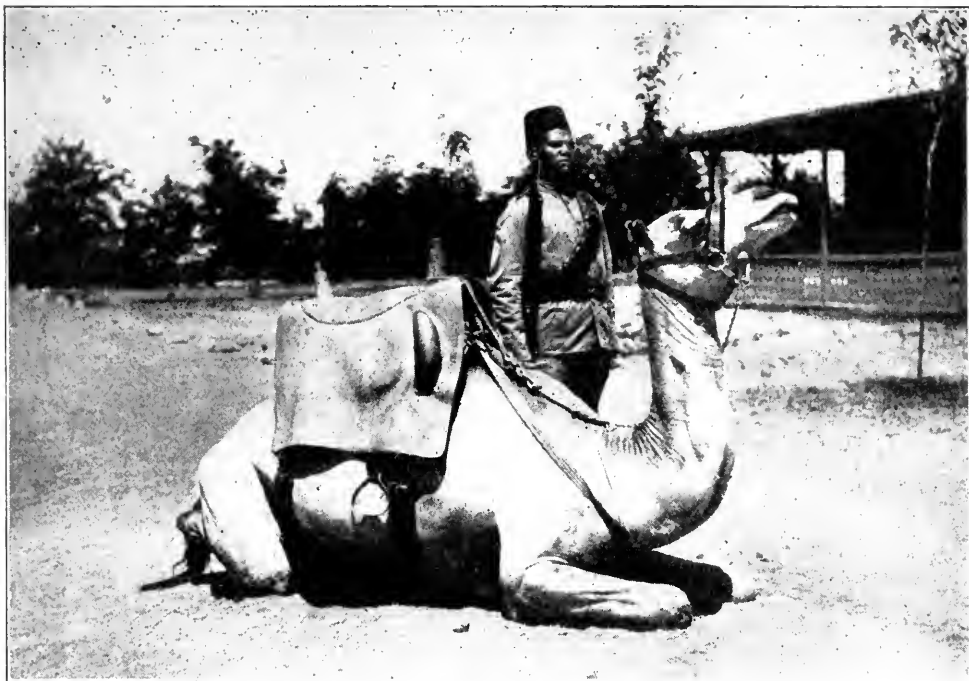
On January 18, 1915, a hostile force of 8,000 to 10,000 was located near Bir-es-Saba (the Beersheba of the Bible) by a French naval hydroplane, and on the 22nd a Turkish force was reported to be at Moiya Harab. This was confirmed by aerial reconnaissance the next day, and about the same time reports of the presence of hostile troops at Ain Sadr were received, and British mount-

ed troops obtained touch with hostile patrols near Bir-el-Diedar. On January 22, 1915, small detachments were told off from the reserves to hold lightly the trenches prepared along the west bank. On the 26th forces of some 2,000 to 3,000 men each were located at Bir Mabeuik, Moiya Harab, and Wadi Muksheib. The enemy advanced and engaged the British covering troops near El Kantara, but were repulsed, and the British ships, Swiftsure, Clio,



In the 100 miles from Port Said to Suez the British had three sections, with headquarters at Kantara, Ismailia Ferry and Suez. On the east bank were defensive posts, with trenches on the west.

Ocean, and Minerva entered the canal and took station near El Kantara, Ballah, El Shatt, and Shalouf respectively. On the morning of the 27th attacks were made on the outposts near Suez, but were beaten off without loss. On the morning of the 28th the outposts at El Kantara were again attacked, but the enemy was again driven off with little difficulty. From January 20-31, 1915, the enemy closed towards the canal. The British in confidence awaited the attack.



AN EGYPTIAN SOLDIER WITH HIS CAMEL MOUNT

Both the camel and his bronze-hued driver seem to exemplify alert attention. The camel corps gave valuable service in Egypt and Palestine where the use of horses was difficult. As the Sudanese remained loyal, the British were able to depend upon them in the fighting in the desert lands.



BEDOUIN WARRIORS, "PEOPLE OF THE TENT" AND THE DESERT

The Bedouins, lawless "dwellers in the open land," claim descent from Ishmael. Aroused by Turk and German propaganda, just before the end of Turkish neutrality, about 2,000 armed Bedouins from Arabia crossed the Egyptian border to water their camels, and before returning stole some camels. Warned by the Sultan of Egypt to uphold civilization some of the Egyptian Bedouin remained loyal but thousands joined the insurrection under the Senussi.

Pictures Henry Ruschin

**DJEMAL PASHA'S PLAN OF BATTLE.**

Djemal Pasha's plan was to make a simultaneous attack at six points. The northern column was to attack El Kantara, while making a demonstration lower down to prevent the troops from reinforcing El Kantara. The southern column was to make a feint at the Kubri outpost and at Shalouf, near Suez. The main column was to attack at Toussoum with a secondary attack on Ismailia. Djemal seemed to have been confident of success. His men had passed through the desert with surprisingly little difficulty; there was abundant water nearby; he believed that the Indians—fellow Mohammedans—were waiting impatiently to come over to his side, and that the Egyptians themselves were anxiously awaiting deliverance from the British yoke.

The Turkish soldiers were told that victory and Paradise were before them, and death and eternal torture would be their fate if they retreated, and religious leaders accompanied every advance exhorting the men to die for their faith. Wild stories of massacres of Mohammedans by the British were spread and every effort made to give a religious aspect to the campaign.

On February 1, 1915, an advance from the north-east towards the Ismailia Ferry post was detected, and that post as well as Bench Mark post, was reinforced. On February 2, 1915, British advanced troops from Ismailia Ferry encountered the enemy at some distance from the post. They had advanced under cover of a sandstorm which prevented the aviators from flying. A desultory action ensued, and the enemy then intrenched himself about two and a half miles south-east of the British defenses. Early in the morning of February 3, 1915, a determined attempt was made to effect a crossing some 2,000 yards south of Toussoum. The enemy brought up a number of their zinc pontoons and rafts made of kerosene tins, several of which they succeeded in launching, while two, if not more, actually crossed the canal. They were easily destroyed when they were discovered.

**THE TURKS ARE EASILY REPULSED BY INDIANS AND EGYPTIANS.**

This attack was covered by heavy rifle and machine-gun fire from the east bank. It was met by Indian and Egyptian troops. Several pontoons were sunk, and all the men who crossed were disposed of, except twenty, who hid under the west bank and surrendered the next morning. At daylight the enemy were found to have closed on the Toussoum post, and a counter-attack pushed forward from Serapeum encountered a large force about half a mile from camp. The Turkish attack was not pushed and retired after shelling the British positions intermittently. Seven officers and 280 men were taken prisoners opposite Toussoum during the course of the fight. A large number of the enemy's dead were found outside Toussoum post and along the east bank of the canal.

The enemy engaged at different points along the canal on February 3, 1915, appeared to number some 12,000 to 15,000 men in the aggregate, and six batteries, with at least one 6-inch gun, were located. It appears from accounts received from prisoners that the attacking force consisted of the VIIIth and portions of the IIIrd, IVth, and VIth Turkish Army Corps, and that Djemal Pasha was in chief command.

**CLEARING THE BANKS OF THE CANAL.**

On February 4, 1915, as some firing had taken place from the east bank during the night, two companies were sent out to clear the bank, and located a body of some 200 to 250 men still intrenched there. On the approach of this detachment the enemy made signs of surrender, but subsequently reopened fire. Supports were dispatched, under the command of Major Maclachlan, 92nd Punjabis, who concentrated his men, opened a heavy fire and then charged. This time the enemy threw away their rifles and surrendered, 6 officers, 251 men and 3 machine-guns. Fifty-nine men, including a German officer (Major von den Hagen), were found killed at this point. In his knapsack was found a white flag in a case.

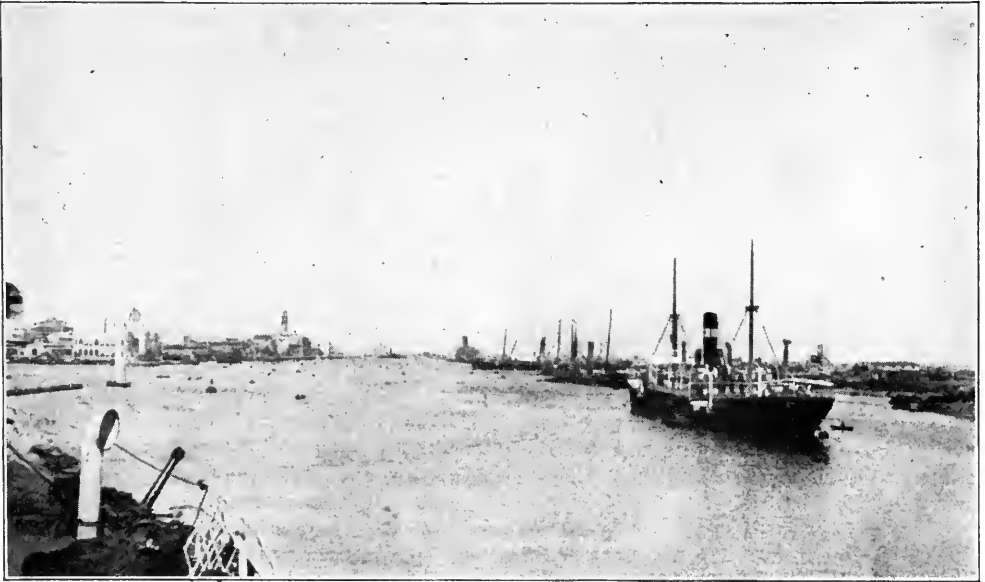
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

The trenches in front of Ismailia and Kantara were found to have been deserted and the Imperial Service Cavalry Brigade, supported by infantry, moved out from the Ismailia Ferry post. A large body of enemy, estimated at three to four brigades, were encountered seven miles east of Tous-soum, and another body some miles to the north. Twenty-five prisoners and ninety camels were captured. No other incident occurred along the front. Reinforcements arrived at Ismailia the same evening.

was also found to have been vacated, and the nearest enemy on the northern line appeared at Bir-El-Abd.

### THE TURKS ABANDON THE ATTACK.

The Turkish force had shot its bolt and was in retreat. The menace to the Canal was over for the present, though the British officers could not realize it. That an army which had made a phenomenally successful march across the desert, should after scattering its forces in a number of skirmishes, retreat before delivering a real



A VIEW OF PORT SAID

The harbor of Port Said at the northern entrance to the Suez Canal became the largest coaling station in the world. It has great piers of concrete and a floating dock capable of lifting 3500 tons. The lighthouse is 174 feet high, throwing its light 24 miles out to sea.

February 5, 1915, British aeroplanes reported that the enemy were retiring towards Katia, while other forces were concentrated about Gebel Habeita. Mabeuik was still occupied. There was no change during the 6th, as the enemy were still in strength near Gebel Habeita. A reconnaissance by a mixed force, which had been contemplated this day, was canceled owing to information gathered from prisoners to the effect that considerable reinforcements of the enemy were expected and might be at hand about this time. On February 7, 1915 however, British aeroplanes found this camp deserted. Mabeuik

attack seemed impossible to believe. If the British had pushed the pursuit, they might have shattered the whole Turkish force. Knowing, however, that considerable reserves were encamped in the desert, no effective pursuit was made, and Djemal Pasha retreated in good order with his main force, though detachments were left at various places in the desert.

The British dispersed a small force near Tor, and then turned to the neighborhood of El Kubri where a thousand men were scattered. The British now patrolled the east bank of the Canal but could find no considerable forces,

though rumors of Turkish concentration were frequent. Back in the desert aeroplane observers occasionally reported Turkish or Bedouin camps. Towards the end of March reports were received of a considerable concentration of the enemy near Es Sirr, some eighty miles due east of Ballah. These reports were verified later by aeroplane observation, which estimated the hostile force as some 4,000 with guns.

### MINES SET IN THE CANAL.

On April 7, 1915, British mounted patrols from Kantara encountered a hostile force, estimated at 1,200 men, which withdrew after shots had been exchanged. The next day owing to suspicious tracks having been noticed on the east bank of the canal between El Kap and Kantara, the canal was dragged and a mine discovered and destroyed. The mine had evidently been placed in the canal under cover of the demonstration of the previous day. Owing to this occurrence it became necessary greatly to increase patrols. Intermediate night pickets were established between posts, and a system of hourly patrols along the east bank instituted.

During the remainder of April and May, 1915, British forces patrolling the east bank of the canal came in contact with small Turkish forces and exchanged shots, but no important engagements occurred, in spite of the reports that considerable Turkish encampments existed back in the desert. At night bodies of light Turkish troops occasionally approached the canal and fired upon dredges or small boats, or attempted to lay mines. The British forces unaccustomed to the heavy sand and the great heat were unable to make effective pursuit.

### WHY DID THE TURKS FAIL?

Up to this time it had appeared from information in the possession of the British forces that these operations might only be a preliminary to further hostilities and that a more determined attack on the canal would be undertaken in the near future. These anticipations were, however, not realized,

and though the enemy continued to hold the Sinai Peninsula in some strength and undertook several minor enterprises, with a view to causing damage to the canal and the shipping using it, no further advances in force took place. This result may be attributed to the fact that the losses suffered by the enemy in the attack on the canal were heavier than had been originally estimated, while the demoralization of the force, consequent on its retreat across the desert, necessitated a considerable pause for reorganization.

By the time the hot season was well established, it was clear that considerable forces of the enemy had been withdrawn to the Gallipoli and other fronts, and it appeared probable that the state of affairs then existing would continue for some months. Owing to the lack of water, climatic conditions and inability to undertake serious campaigns on so many fronts, it was safe to assume that the Turks would be unable to undertake serious operations in this region till the cold weather had arrived and a considerable change in the strategical situation had taken place. At the same time there was no doubt of their intention to detain as many British troops as possible on the defenses of the canal by attempts to endanger navigation, and, if possible, to block the canal by sinking a ship in the fairway. Consequently the chief danger that had to be guarded against, since the main attack in February, 1915, was that of mine-laying in the canal, and, to meet this danger it was necessary to employ a large number of men on night patrol duty, especially along the east bank.

### EGYPT A BASE FOR OPERATIONS.

In the end this was not to the disadvantage of Great Britain. Egypt served as a training ground for Australian, Indian, and British troops. It was the base for the Mediterranean Expeditionary force from which troops might be dispatched to whatever quarter they were needed, France, Gallipoli, or Mesopotamia. The wounded from Gallipoli were brought here. At first health conditions were not altogether satisfactory, as many of the

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

British and Australian troops came wearing heavy uniforms, but measures to counteract the heat were instituted, and great improvement was seen.

Though the much-feared Turkish attack on the canal had proved a fiasco, during 1915, a greater danger appeared in Western Egypt. Though Italy had been able to secure control of the coast towns of Tripoli-Cyrenaica by the Tripolitan War (1911-12) her authority in the interior was not absolute and many Turkish soldiers yet remained in the latter province. These with German aid sought to arouse the Arabs and Berbers against Italian authority with such success that Italy was forced to withdraw her garrisons from the interior at the outbreak of the World War, and even lost control of a bit of the coast of Cyrenaica.

Through this opening large quantities of munitions and supplies flowed in, and many German and Turkish officers also arrived. The German-Turkish plan was first to regain possession of Libya, as the combined provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica were called, and then to incite rebellion in Egypt.

### THE SENUSSI ATTACK EGYPT.

The Senussi are a Mohammedan sect of comparatively recent origin, which acknowledges political allegiance to the religious head. They had come in conflict with the French in the Sudan after 1900, but the relations with the British had been friendly up to 1915. Great Turkish pressure was brought upon Sidi Ahmed, the Senussi leader, and large sums of money and valuable presents came to him from German sources. The success of German submarines in the Mediterranean turned the scale, and in November 1915, the Senussi attacked British outposts, compelled the withdrawal of the western garrisons, and invaded Egypt to a considerable distance. The main force consisting of perhaps 30,000 men was composed of Turkish soldiers, Senussi troops, and irregulars, all under the command of a Turk, Gaafer Pasha, with German and Turkish assistants.

Sharp contests occurred on December 11, 13, and 25, 1915, in which the

Senussi were repulsed. The British army composed of detachments of British, Australian, New Zealand, Indian and Egyptian troops was reinforced by a South African regiment



GENERAL YOUNGHUSBAND

General Sir George J. Younghusband, commanding troops in Egypt, attacked and pursued the Turks in their retreat across the desert from Suez.

early in 1916, and pursuit was attempted. On January 23, a sharp battle ending in the defeat of the Senussi was fought at Holazin, and the irregular forces attached to the Senussi, believing that their hope of loot was gone, began either to disappear into the desert or else to surrender to the British. The Senussi, however, gave battle again at Agagia, February 25-26, 1916, but were defeated and Gaafer Pasha was captured. Raids into the desert compelled the Senussi to withdraw still farther.

The Italian forces were now strong enough to take possession of the whole sea coast, not only preventing the reception of munitions by the Senussi, but also breaking up bases for German U-boats. The danger was past, though Sidi Ahmed in his desert fastnesses kept a considerable number of his men in arms.





#### DETACHMENT OF TURKISH CAVALRY ON PATROL

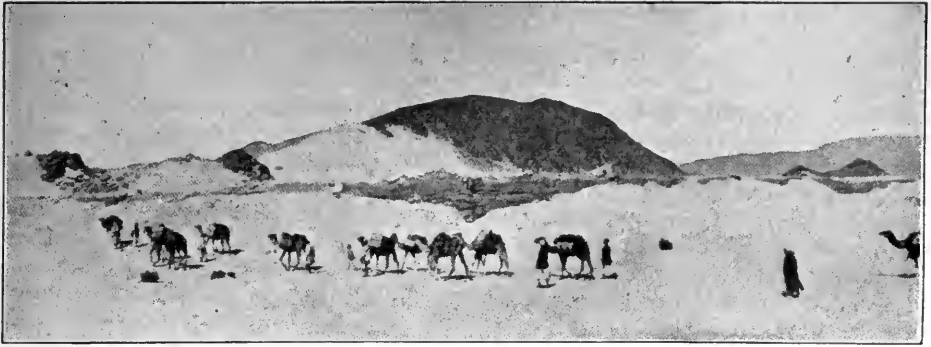
There were many races and tribes in the Turkish army. Some of the subject peoples are fine horsemen, and if well trained make excellent cavalymen. Subjecting them to discipline was difficult however, as they much prefer to fight as individuals, and generally lack steadiness if the battle seems to be going against them.



#### TURKISH TROOPS TRANSPORTING WIRE

We seldom think of the Turks as fighting with all the modern weapons and appliances but they did, in fact, adopt many of them and use them to advantage. They readily adopted barbed wire, and some of their trenches were well protected through its use. They had difficulty with motor vehicles, and here they are carrying their wire in the way to which they are most accustomed.

Pictures Henry Ruschin



A Camel Train on the Eastern Desert

## CHAPTER XXIV

# The War in the Near East

## TURKS AND THE ENTENTE CONTEND IN THE CRADLE OF THE WORLD

**A**FTER some three months of semi-neutrality, Turkey, during the first week of November, 1914, so plainly showed her sympathy with the cause of the Central Powers, that the Allies finally broke off diplomatic relations and, a few days later, declared war on her. The Turkish Empire touched both Russian and British territory in Asia, and all the Allies were deeply concerned with her actions.

### THE INTEREST OF GREAT BRITAIN IN MESOPOTAMIA.

Great Britain was the first of the Allies to begin active operations against the Porte. The scene of this undertaking was to be Mesopotamia, the cradle of the world, including the supposed site of the Garden of Eden. On the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates civilization first developed and the name Mesopotamia means "between the rivers." Once it had been wonderfully fertile, and had supported a great population. Under Turkish rule its economic condition had grown steadily worse and now it was largely a waste of desert and swamp. From the days of Elizabeth, English traders had visited the Persian Gulf, and British interests in the region were considerable. The object of the British expedition was fourfold: British interests in the Persian Gulf were to be safeguarded; the authority of the British flag in the East

was to be maintained; the valuable oil-fields on the river Karun in Persia, only recently acquired by Great Britain, were to be protected; and the continued neutrality of the Arab population was to be secured. Bagdad was to be taken and communication with the Russian armies in the north was to be established, if possible.

To accomplish these purposes a division of the Indian Army, consisting of three brigades, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir Arthur Barrett, was dispatched. In quick succession these troops gained considerable successes. Fort Fao, at the head of the Persian Gulf, was captured on November 6, 1914, by an advanced detachment. A week later the entire division had been landed. By November 23, 1914, Basra, about sixty miles up the Shatt-el-Arab, as the stream formed by the union of the rivers is called, was in British hands. Kurna, just north of the old channel of the Euphrates, and the head of navigation, was attacked in force on December 8, 1914, and surrendered the following day. For the next four months there was little fighting, as the floods of the winter season, the highest for thirty years, had transformed all the region into an inland sea of water and reeds varying from two to six feet deep. Consequently, until the subsidence of the floods at the end of July, 1915, op-

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erations in this area were of an amphibious nature.

### THE RUSSIAN POSITION IN THE CAUCASUS MOUNTAINS.

Now let us turn to the operations in the North where Russia and Turkey clashed. The Caucasus Mountains form a barrier between the Black and the Caspian Seas but the Russian province of Transcaucasia lies to the south of the mountain range. All Transcaucasia, except for a trough to the south of the main ridge, is a wilderness of hills and peaks, through which the boundary runs. The passes are high, easily blocked by snow, and the roads were, and are, atrocious. Military operations are difficult. Germany insisted, however, that the Turks should make a demonstration in this region. The General Staff knew that Russia had none too many men equipped and ready, and any diversion which would weaken the long line in front of Warsaw would be of inestimable value to the Germans. The Caspian oilfields would also be a desirable acquisition.

Towards the end of November, 1914, the war began in the Caucasus. The chief point of concentration of the Turkish armies which were about to give battle to the Russians in the Caucasus was Erzerum, one of the most ancient and important towns in Armenia. There the 9th, 10th and 11th Turkish corps were stationed, and they had been reinforced by a division of Arabs, which had been brought from Bagdad. Two other divisions were at Trebizond, the even more ancient and famous seaport on the Black Sea, to which place they had been sent from Constantinople on transports. The total number of the Turkish forces approximated 150,000. Opposed to these General Woronzov, the Russian commander, had at his disposal slightly over 100,000 men, who had been concentrated in the vicinity of Kars, for centuries an important fortress, frequently besieged, destroyed and rebuilt. The difference in numbers, which apparently favored the Turks, was made up to a certain extent by the fact that the Russians had at their command a railway line, running in that trough between the Black

and Caspian Seas, south of the main mountain range, with a branch to Kars and Sarikamish, while the Turks were about 500 miles from their nearest railroad and had to depend entirely upon roads which were not any too good.

### THE TURKISH CAMPAIGN PLANNED BY THE GERMANS.

The Turkish plan of campaign had been formulated by Enver Pasha under German influence, and, tactically speaking, resembled very much the favorite German offensive plans as put into operation by von Kluck on the Western Front and by von Hindenburg in the East. It consisted of an attempt to induce the Russian main force to advance as far as possible beyond the rail head at Sarikamish. Then while the advancing Russians were held by the 11th Corps, the 9th and 10th were to cross the mountains to the north and strike the Russians along their extended line, taking Kars. Then Tiflis and the Caspian oil wells might be taken. Russia must then protect her southern provinces by drawing men from the West.

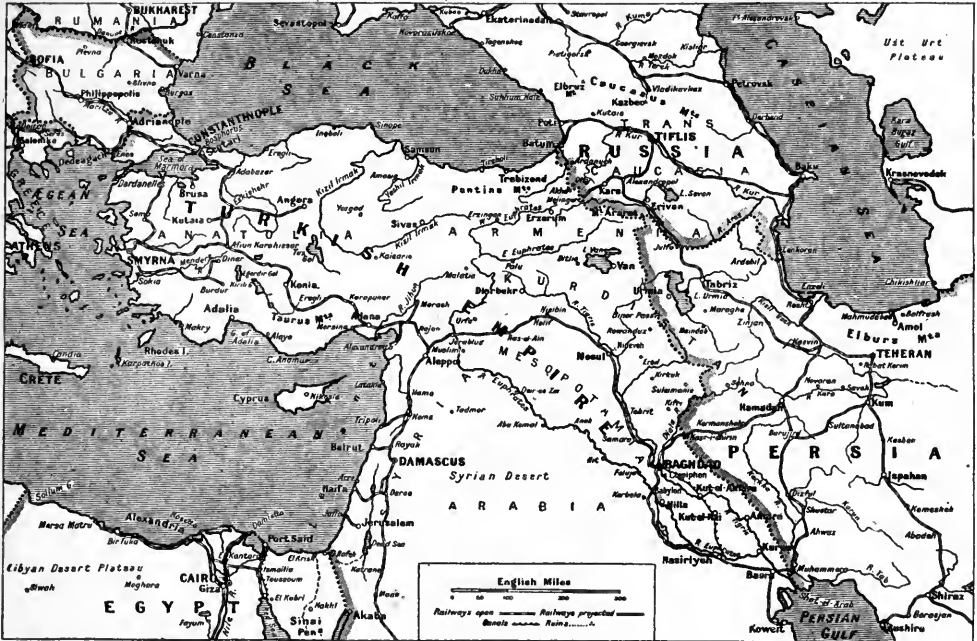
The campaign opened in November, 1914. Crossing the border the Russians advanced from Sarikamish to within 30 miles of Erzerum and occupied Koprikeui on November .20. The Turks, not quite ready yet to carry out their plan, left them in undisturbed possession of this region for some time. About the middle of December, 1914, however, one of the Turkish corps, the 11th, began an offensive movement from Erzerum, attacked the Russians in their recently gained positions and after comparatively little, but very sanguinary fighting, forced them towards Khorasan, some dozen miles away. In the face of terrible winter storms the two other Turkish corps, the 9th and 10th, advanced some 40 miles to the north from Erzerum, crossed the high mountain passes guarding the Russian frontier, and by Christmas Day, 1914, were within sight of the town of Sarikamish and the railway which runs from there towards the East. Overcoming similar climatic conditions, which at times made it seem almost impossible to continue the

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advance, the two Turkish divisions which had been stationed at Trebizond had succeeded in approaching Ardahan.

Although these two advances and the victory gained at Koprikeui had placed the Turks in a position of apparent superiority, they soon found themselves unable to maintain the advantages they had gained. The winter storms, which even under normal conditions are extremely severe in this part of the

tem of intelligence. The difficulties which beset the Turks became known to the Russian commander. As he was threatened from a number of directions he decided first to attempt to defeat that Turkish force which seemed to be the most dangerous. This was the 10th Corps, which was then threatening the railroad east of Sarikamish, which connected the Russian main force with its base at Kars. For the attack against



THE TURKISH EMPIRE

By 1914 Turkey-in-Europe had shrunk to the area indicated by the dotted line. The Dardanelles (the old Hellespont) can be seen connecting the Sea of Marmora with the Aegean, and the little peninsula of Gallipoli (anciently known as the Chersonesus) extending south-westward on the shore of Turkey-in-Europe to form the northern boundary of the strait. Turkey-in-Asia is here shown to have included Anatolia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia and part of Kurdistan.

Caucasus, set in now with unusual fury. Separated from their base of supplies by long stretches of almost uninhabited country, with the few roads available practically impassable, the Turks found great difficulty in keeping up communications between their several corps, and soon were in a precarious position when food began to run low. A considerable proportion of the larger guns and much ammunition and other supplies had been abandoned.

### THE RUSSIAN COMMANDER FOILS THE TURKISH PLAN.

The Russians seemed to have been able to maintain a well developed sys-

tem of intelligence. The difficulties which beset the Turks became known to the Russian commander. As he was threatened from a number of directions he decided first to attempt to defeat that Turkish force which seemed to be the most dangerous. This was the 10th Corps, which was then threatening the railroad east of Sarikamish, which connected the Russian main force with its base at Kars. For the attack against

this corps the Russians brought up all the infantry and artillery forces which they could possibly gather, and in spite of the most tenacious resistance, December 28 to January 1, the Turks were finally thrown back and driven into the mountains to the north. The flank of the 9th Turkish corps was seriously exposed by this defeat. The Russian commander lost no time in taking advantage of this condition and immediately struck. Some 40,000 men had made up the 9th Turkish corps. Fighting in the most intense cold, ten thousand feet and more above sea level, surrounded by snow and ice,

weakened by the lack of food, the Turks fought heroically for a whole week. Many of them froze to death, and out of the 40,000 only some 6,000 managed to fight their way out of the mountains. This comparatively small force succeeded in reaching the vicinity of Sarikamish, which was held by only a small Russian garrison. Struggling day and night the Turks attempted to capture it, but at the end of a week it became apparent that the Russians in overwhelming numbers had succeeded in surrounding them and that they would be unable to hold out until the Turks could send relief forces, and Iskan Pasha, the Turkish commander, finally found himself forced to surrender. Meanwhile the greater part of the 10th corps escaped, owing to the advance of the 11th corps, but this corps was shattered also around Karai Urgan. The 1st corps was driven back on Trebizond, and the Turkish warships which attempted to bring relief were defeated by the Russian Black Sea fleet. For a time the Russian commander made no effort to advance.

### THE BRITISH ADVANCE IN MESOPOTAMIA IN 1915.

We left the British forces in Mesopotamia, at the beginning of 1915, greatly outnumbered but securely intrenched and ready to undertake reconnoitring operations. Near Mezera, and at Ahwaz on the Karun River there were slight clashes. The Turkish force at Ahwaz was too strong for the expedition of 1,000 men which had been sent to protect the pipe line of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and retirement was effected with difficulty.

On April 11, 12, Turkish attacks were made at three points. At Kurna and Ahwaz they were easily repulsed but at Shaiba there was a real battle continuing on April 13, 14. The Turks lost at least 6,000 men and a large quantity of supplies. The Arab allies of the Turks, always ready to take the side of the winner, turned upon them and helped to demoralize them. By the defeat of the Turks the hostile forces in the vicinity of Basra were dispersed and driven to Nasiriyeh. Directly the Turks had been defeated the

concentration of the 12th British Division under General Gorringe up the Karun was commenced. The Turkish force near Ahwaz retreated across the Kharkeh River on hearing of the defeat of their army, and General Gorringe followed in pursuit. By May 7, 1915, the 12th Division and the Cavalry Brigade had reached Illah on the Kharkeh, at this point 250 yards wide and very rapid, which presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of troops. General Gorringe skillfully crossed his troops and guns to the other bank, and forced the Turks to continue their retreat towards Amara. General Gorringe now found himself confronted by a pugnacious branch of the Beni Taruf Arabs, who had adopted the Turkish cause. He advanced down the Kharkeh River, operating on both banks. The successful attack on the Arab stronghold "when the temperature in tents was 120 degrees was a display of dogged gallantry and devotion on the part of the troops engaged." It is almost impossible to make a Westerner realize the difficulties of such fighting.

### GENERAL TOWNSHEND STARTS THE MARCH TOWARD BAGDAD.

While the 12th Division was advancing by the Karun and Kharkeh Rivers, preparations were in progress for an advance up the Tigris by the 6th Division under the command of Major-General Townshend. The amount of river transport available at that time was small, and the movement of troops was a slow and difficult process. The flooded state of the country around Kurna increased the difficulties.

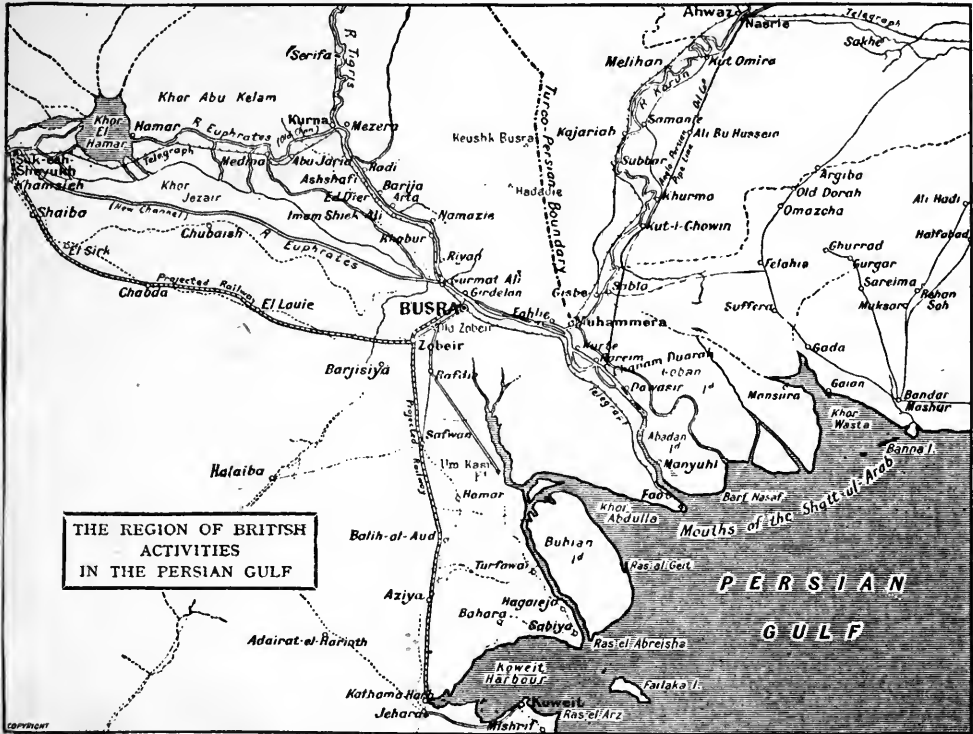
"Bellums"—long narrow boats of the country—were collected and armored with iron plates, to be used for carrying infantry to the assault of the enemy's positions; various types of guns were mounted on rafts, barges, tugs, and paddlers; floating hospitals were improvised, and many other details were considered. By the end of May 1915, preparations for the advance were complete. The Turkish force was intrenched north of Kurna on islands formed by high ground which stood out from the inundation which covered all

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lower lying country. The flooded state of the country rendered the Turkish position rather strong. General Townshend's plan was to capture the advanced position by a frontal attack combined with an attack against the enemy's left flank, supported by the naval flotilla and the artillery afloat and that on land within the Kurna intrenchments.

sition by noon. An aeroplane reconnaissance the next morning showed that the enemy had evacuated his main position during the night and was in full retreat up the Tigris.

The Naval Flotilla pushed on in pursuit, followed by the shipping with troops. On the morning of June 2, 1915, when some ten miles below Qalat Salih, the deeper-draught vessels could



### THE REGION AROUND BASRA (OR BUSRA)

Basra, the port of Bagdad, situated just below the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, is about 60 miles from the Persian Gulf. The single channel, the Shatt-el-Arab, which carries off the waters of the two famous old rivers, flows through land deposited by the streams. To protect India, the British in the autumn of 1914 took Basra and Kurna. In this region floods and heat greatly increased the hardships of war.

### THE AMPHIBIOUS ATTACK ON THE TURKS SUCCEEDS.

In the early morning of May 31, 1915, after a heavy preparatory bombardment, the infantry advanced to the attack in the flotilla of improvised war "bellums," supported by artillery. The minesweepers preceded the naval sloops and the armed tugs and thus enabled the latter to keep pace with the troops. Their fire, combined with that of the Royal Artillery ashore and afloat, brought about the capture of the whole of the enemy's advanced po-

proceed no further owing to shoal water and the pursuit was continued by the naval armed tugs. Up to this time the Espiègle had engaged and sunk the Turkish gunboat Marmaris, and had captured two steamers and a number of lighters laden with munitions and stores. Qalat Salih was reached on the afternoon of June 2, 1915, and after some hostile troops outside the town had been dispersed the pursuit was continued. General Townshend on board the Comet, and accompanied by three armed tugs, occupied Amara in the



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afternoon of June 3, 1915, capturing some 700 troops and 40 officers.

Immediately after the capture of Amara, preparations were made for the capture of Nasiriyeh, near the junction of the Euphrates and the Shatt-el-Hai, a channel connecting that river with the Tigris. The importance of this position lay in the facts that it was the base from which a hostile force threatening Basra must start; it was the centre of the powerful Arab tribes, along the Euphrates; standing at one end of the Shatt-el-Hai, it closed communication between the Tigris and Euphrates, and was thus of strategic value: and, lastly, it was the headquarters of the civil administration of a large part of the Basra Province.

### GENERAL GORRINGE MOVES TO PROTECT THE FLANK.

General Gorringle was given this task. The route from Kurna to Nasiriyeh is by water, through the low lying valley of the Old Euphrates Channel for 30 miles to Chahbaish; across the Hamar Lake for 15 miles to its western side, thence by the Haqiqah—a tortuous channel, some 50 yards wide and 15 miles long—until the main channel of the Euphrates is reached some 25 miles below Nasiriyeh. From Kurna to Chahbaish, deep-draught vessels can go up the Old Euphrates; beyond this, at the time the operations commenced, on June 27, 1915, the Hamar Lake was passable by all river steamers drawing less than five feet, as far as the entrance to the Haqiqah Channel. Two weeks later the channel through the lake held little more than three feet of water and only the smallest steamers could cross. In many cases steamers ran aground, and the men had to push or pull them off while waist deep in mud or water. Flies and mosquitoes added to the discomfort. The small tugs fitted as gunboats could only be taken across by removing guns, ammunition, armor plating, fuel and water, and using light-draught sternwheelers to tow them. Later troops and stores were transported in "bellums," which sometimes had to be dragged over mud and water by the men.

In this section an average width of

the Euphrates is 200 yards. Along the banks are numerous gardens, patches of cultivation, and several small villages within walled enclosures. On the left bank belts of date palms, with an occasional fringe of willow trees, are the prevailing features. On the right bank the country is more open. During July, 1915, except for belts of dry ground along the river banks, a few hundred yards wide, the country was completely under water. Numerous irrigation channels intersect the roadways at right angles to the river, presenting a succession of obstacles to an advance. This was the nature of the country where the Turks offered their main opposition to the advance on Nasiriyeh.

### NASIRIYEH IS FINALLY TAKEN BY GENERAL GORRINGE.

General Gorringle's force had begun to move on June 26, and proceeded across the Hamar Lake, preceded by gunboats. Hostile armed launches above the Haqiqah dam were driven back, and the work of demolishing the dam began. The rush of water through the opening created a strong rapid, almost a cataract, up which parties of men were forced to haul the boats. Finally, in spite of all obstacles, the Euphrates was reached on July 5, and the Turks were found in force protected by a minefield in the river. They were dislodged, the river swept of mines, and the expedition moved on up the river. About five miles below Nasiriyeh the Turks again offered resistance. Their position on both sides of the river was strong, and was protected by marshes on the wings and by deep ditches in front.

For more than two weeks in the intense heat, with men sickening and dying, day by day, General Gorringle continued his preparations for a decisive attack. Guns were brought up, and on July 24 the attack was launched by water and by land. Though the Turks fought bravely they were driven back and forced to retreat across the marshes. Nasiriyeh was occupied on the 25th without further opposition. Few expeditions in British military history were more difficult than this march of General Gorringle.



#### A SHIP OF THE AIR PASSING OVER PLAINS OLD IN HISTORY

This war brought together the ends of time and the ends of the earth. Over plains where chariots of Susa, Nineveh and Babylon once rolled, the swiftest modern engines of travel and destruction have soared. Here is a British airplane above the stores at Sheikh Saad, near Kut.



#### SHIPS OF THE DESERT FILING THROUGH ABANDONED TRENCHES

Century upon century have trains of laden camels passed across the plains of Egypt and Mesopotamia, bearing the treasures of one region to the dwellers in another. In these latter days the long trains of burden-bearers have carried stores of war to men fighting in trenches far from their home lands. The beasts seen in the picture are threading through deserted trenches on the way to Kut-el-Amara.

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The capture of Nasiriyeh established British control on the western side of Basra, but the district lying north of the line Amara-Nasiriyeh still remained outside British control, and strong Turkish forces under Nur-ed-Din Bey were reported to be concentrating at Kut-el-Amara, at the junction of the Shatt-el-Hai with the Tigris. Possession of this strategic centre was necessary for control of the northern part of the Basra district.

### GENERAL TOWNSHEND CONTINUES THE MARCH UP THE TIGRIS.

The defeat of Nur-ed-Din and the occupation of Kut-el-Amara became the next British objectives as soon as Nasiriyeh was secured. After the month of June the Shatt-el-Hai ceases to be navigable for six months, and the only line of advance by water on Kut-el-Amara is by the River Tigris. Advance by land was almost impossible. The transfer of troops from the Euphrates to the Tigris was a slow process, owing to the difficulties in crossing the shallow Hamar Lake during the low-water season.

Though Bagdad and beyond was to be the ultimate aim, the forces at General Nixon's disposal were utterly inadequate for such an undertaking. Garrisons had to be maintained, the oil-fields and the pipe-lines must be guarded, and the Arabs must be kept in order. Acting, however, on orders from London, General Nixon directed General C. V. F. Townshend with one division to advance on Kut-el-Amara, guarded by at least three Turkish divisions which had many German officers.

In September, toward the close of the summer, the expedition began its terrible march along the banks of the Tigris, while the boats moved with them on the water. The temperature ranged from 110 to 116 in the shade, and only a few miles could be covered in a day. A halt was made at Sannai-

yat until September 25th. Nur-ed-Din's forces lay astride the river some seven miles from Kut and eight miles from General Townshend's force at Sannaiyat. It occupied a line naturally favorable for defense, which had been converted into a formidable position.



GENERAL CHARLES V. F. TOWNSHEND

Major-General Charles Vere Ferrers Townshend, C.B., D.S.O., Commander of the British 6th Division, operating on the Tigris, was bottled up in Kut-el-Amara after having taken it from the Turks in September, 1915.

### THE PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON KUT-EL-AMARA.

On the right bank the defenses extended for five miles along some mounds. The river was blocked by a boom composed of barges held by wire cables and protected by guns and trenches. On the left bank the intrenchments extended for seven miles, linking up the gaps between the river and three marshes which stretched away to the north. The defenses were well designed and elaborately constructed. The German engineers had missed no detail which could strengthen

the positions. In front of the trenches were barbed wire entanglements, pits and land mines. There were also miles of communication trenches connecting the various works and providing covered outlets to the river, where ramps and landing-stages had been made to facilitate the transfer of troops to or from ships. Pumping engines and water channels carried water from the river to the trenches.

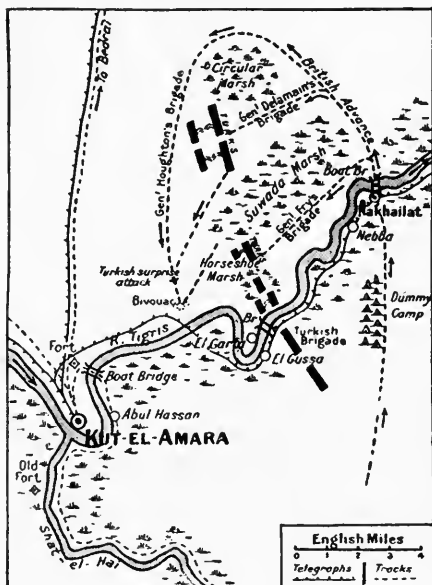
Nur-Ed-Din had placed one division on each bank, with his reserve on the left bank, near a bridge above the main position. A force of Arab horsemen was posted on the Turkish left flank; most of the Turkish regular cavalry were absent during the battle on a raid against the British communications. On September 26, 1915, General Townshend advanced to within four miles of the Turkish position. He had determined to make a decisive attack on the left bank by enveloping the Turkish left with his main force, but in order to deceive the enemy as to the direction of the real attack, pretended attacks were made with the intention of inducing the Turks to expect the principal attack on the right bank.

On the morning of the 27th, the British troops advanced on both banks. The principal force, on the right bank, made a feint attack on the trenches south of the river, while the left bank detachment intrenched itself within 3,000 yards of the enemy. Meanwhile a bridge had been constructed, and under cover of night the main force crossed from the right bank leaving its tents standing and deployed opposite the enemy's left flank. The next morning a general attack was made against the enemy on the left bank. After hard fighting, during which the enemy made several unsuccessful counter-attacks, the whole of the northern part of the Turkish position was in British hands early that afternoon.

#### KUT-EL-AMARA FALLS BUT THE DEFENDERS ESCAPE.

General Delamain who commanded the successful brigades, reorganized his troops on the captured position and gave them a brief rest, as they were exhausted by the great heat, the long

march, the hard fighting and their terrible thirst. After a brief rest he moved his column to assist the 18th Infantry Brigade by attacking the enemy opposed to it in the rear. Suddenly strong hostile reserves appeared from the southwest in the direction of the bridge. General Delamain immediately changed his plan and attacked the new troops, supported by his guns, firing at a range of 1,700 yards. The sight of the new enemy put new life into the infantry, who were suffering from weariness and



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This map shows Kut-el-Amara, in the loop of the Tigris, with its defenses planned by German engineers, and the lines of the British attack in 1915.

exhaustion after their long, and trying exertions under the tropical sun. For the time thirst and fatigue were forgotten. The enemy was routed with one magnificent rush, which captured four guns and inflicted heavy losses on the Turks.

General Delamain's troops, tired and worn, and unable to march further, bivouacked for the night on the scene of their victory about two miles from the river. Both men and horses suffered severely from want of water, as the brackish water of the marshes is undrinkable. In the morning the column reached the river, and the horses got their first water for forty hours.

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The Naval Flotilla co-operated with the land attack from positions on the river. Late in the evening of the 28, led by the Comet, the tiny flotilla advanced upstream and attempted to force a passage through the boom. The ships came under a terrific fire from both banks at close range. The Comet rammed the boom, but it withstood the shock.

### THE ATTEMPT TO OVERTAKE THE TURKS IS NOT SUCCESSFUL.

During the night the Turks evacuated their remaining trenches and fled along the bank of the Tigris. On the morning of September 29 pursuit was organized, the troops moving in ships preceded by cavalry on land. The weak cavalry force overtook the enemy on October 1, 1915, but had to wait for the support of the river column, as the Turks had organized a strong rear-guard with infantry and guns. The progress of the river column was so delayed by the difficulties of navigation, due to the constantly shifting shallows in the winding river, that it could not overtake the retreating enemy. When the ships reached Aziziyeh on October 5, 1915, the enemy had reached their prepared defensive position at Ctesiphon, thirty miles up the river. Here he received considerable reinforcements.

During the next six weeks in spite of terrible difficulties, reinforcements, supplies, and transport animals were brought up to Kut and Aziziyeh in preparation for a further advance up the Tigris. The river was very low and navigation was very slow. Frequent skirmishes with the enemy, who had pushed out advanced detachments, took place during this period. Finally General Townshend completed the concentration of his force and shipping at Kutunieh, ready for the dash upon Bagdad. He must have known that the operation was hopeless, but was ready to go on. On November 19, 1915, the advance was begun up both banks of the river, and the village of Zeur was occupied. Only slight opposition was offered and the enemy withdrew towards Ctesiphon. On November 20 the force on the left bank reached Laj (nine miles from Ctesiphon); the ship-

ping and the right bank detachment arrived the next day.

### THE FAMOUS OLD CITY OF CTESIPHON ATTACKED.

The Turkish position at Ctesiphon lay astride the Tigris, covering the approach to Bagdad, which is situated some eighteen miles up the river. The defenses consisted of two main lines of intrenchments which had been under construction for some months. On the left bank a continuous line of intrenchments and redoubts stretched from the river for six miles to the northeast. On this bank the second line was about two miles behind the front position and parallel to it for three miles from the Tigris, thence it turned northwards to the Diala River. A mile to the rear of the second line of trenches a bridge of boats connected the two wings of the Turkish Army. Further in the rear, the Diala River, near its junction with the Tigris, was bridged at two points, and intrenchments commanded the crossings.

The intelligence officers reported that the enemy had over 13,000 regular troops and thirty-eight guns in the Ctesiphon position. There were reports of the expected arrival of further reinforcements. General Townshend's only chance of success was to attack and defeat Nur-Ed-Din before the arrival of reinforcements. After a march through the moonlight from Laj, on November 21-22 the hostile position on the left bank was attacked. Fighting continued throughout the day and the front position and more than 1,300 prisoners were taken. The British troops pressed on and penetrated to the second line, capturing eight guns and establishing themselves in the enemy's trenches, but were subjected to heavy counter-attacks by fresh troops. The Turks fought desperately and the captured guns changed hands several times. Shortly before nightfall it was decided to order the withdrawal of the British troops from the forward positions to which they had penetrated, and the guns were abandoned. The work of collecting the numerous casualties was continued while awaiting the actions of the Turks who were receiving reinforce-

ments. The wounded and the prisoners were sent from Ctesiphon to Laj, on November 24, but the enemy displayed little activity though some shells were fired. Most of these came from guns on the right bank, and prevented the steamers from advancing upstream from Laj. The remainder of the wounded were sent back to Laj the next day.

under cover of night, withdrew to Laj. Even here he was 300 miles from the sea, with a vulnerable line of communication along a winding shallow river with thousands of fresh troops joining his enemies, and with a hostile native population. It was evidently necessary to withdraw further downstream and General Townshend withdrew unmolested during the night of November



**TURK INFANTRY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the fighting qualities of the Turkish soldier were lessened because of inferior leadership and the breaking down of old religious traditions. German training helped to set up the machine in better form; but Turkish material did not shape well in German hands. While the infantry sustained their reputation for bravery and stubborn defense, they fought without the old spirit and understanding.

### **GENERAL TOWNSHEND REALIZES HIS POSITION.**

Up to this time it had seemed possible from movements reported by air reconnaissance, that the Turks intended to retire from their remaining positions. Apparently, however, they received fresh reinforcements on the 25th and threatened the British right flank, while hostile cavalry threatened their rear.

The position of General Townshend was precarious in the extreme. He was nine miles from his shipping and source of supplies at Laj, and faced by superior forces of fresh troops. He wisely decided to avoid an engagement and,

27-28 to Aziziyeh. Continuing the retirement, the main force halted at Umm-el-Jubail as the ships were in difficulties in shoal water in this vicinity and the enemy's whole force came up during the night. They attacked in great strength at daylight on December 1, 1915.

A fierce fight ensued, in which the Turks lost heavily, but the odds were too great. General Townshend took advantage of a successful counter-attack made by the cavalry brigade against a column which attempted to envelop his right flank, to break off the fight and retire. The retirement was



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carried out in perfect order under heavy shell fire, and by mid-day the enemy had been shaken off. After a terrible march of thirty miles, through the sand under the scorching sun, Shadi was reached on the night of December 1-2, 1915, and on the morning of December 3 General Townshend was installed at Kut-el-Amara, where he had been ordered to end his retirement. The expedition which had started with such high hopes had returned, baffled by its impossible task, and the effect of the defeat was felt all through the Near East in the lessening of British prestige.

### THE BREAKDOWN OF THE MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

After General Townshend had reached Kut on December 3 preparations were made to withstand a siege until the arrival of reinforcements which were expected from overseas. The sick and wounded were sent to Basra, and also the Turkish prisoners (1,350 were captured at Ctesiphon and all were safely brought away in the retreat). Medical officers and supplies were, however, entirely inadequate during the whole expedition and much suffering and many deaths might have been avoided if more foresight had been exercised. The story of the sick and the wounded is a horrible tale. The Mesopotamian Commission severely censured the Indian authorities, Sir John Nixon, and others for the lamentable breakdown. There had been nothing like it since the Crimean War, of unsavory memory.

The cavalry brigade and a convoy of transport animals were marched down to Ali El Gherbi, before the enemy could effect an investment. The cavalry left on December 6. On that day the enemy closed on the northern front, and by December 7, 1915, the investment of Kut was complete. General Townshend and his devoted little force were surrounded, just as Gordon had been in the Sudan years before. The cavalry at Ali El Gherbi was reinforced with infantry and guns from Basra. Behind this advanced detachment a force under the command of Major-General F. J. Aylmer, V.C.,

was to be collected on the line Amara-Ali El Gherbi, for the relief of Kut. The besieged, however, were to wait in vain for the promised help.

### THE BRITISH ARE BESIEGED AT KUT-EL-AMARA.

The intrenched camp at Kut was contained in a "U" shaped loop of the Tigris; the town stands at the most southerly end of the peninsula and is about a mile in width. A detached post was established at a small village on the right bank of the river opposite Kut. East of the town was a bridge of boats protected by a small detachment on the right bank.

On December 8, 1915, the enemy carried out a heavy bombardment from three sides, and Nur-Ed-Din Pasha called upon General Townshend to surrender. During the following days Kut was subjected to a continuous bombardment and several attacks were beaten off. The enemy's losses were heavy; especially in the abortive attacks on December 12, 1915, when, it is estimated, their casualties amounted to 1,000. Regular siege warfare was then begun. A redoubt at the north-east corner of the defenses became the special objective of Turkish shell fire and sapping operations.

### GENERAL TOWNSHEND WAITS IN VAIN FOR SUCCESS.

Heavy fire was concentrated on the redoubt during the night December 23-24, 1915, and through the 24th. The parapet was breached and the Turks effected an entrance, but they were driven out by a counter-attack, leaving 200 dead behind. Attacks were renewed later, and throughout the night of December 24-25, 1915, a fierce struggle took place around the redoubt. The enemy again effected a lodgment, but by morning they had been ejected and the assault was finally defeated. The end of the year saw General Townshend and his brave men still bottled up in Kut, with relief almost in sight, but as yet unable to reach them.

In the meantime, important events had taken place in other parts of Asia. Both the Russians and the Turks had rested for the balance of the winter of 1914-15, and concentrated their efforts

on strengthening their respective positions. With the coming of spring the Turks, however, resumed the offensive which was directed towards the extreme right wing of the Russians in the Azairbijan (or Azerbaijan) province of Persia.

### THE NEW ADVANCE AGAINST THE PERSIANS AND RUSSIANS.

A part of a newly formed Turkish corps under the command of Halil Bey, one of the most successful Turkish generals, left Mosul in March, 1915. His operations were directed against the rich Urumiah plain, with the Russian railroad at Djulfa and, beyond that point, Baku as their objectives. On May 1, 1915, he attacked the Russians on the Dilman plain, west of the northern end of Lake Urumiah. Though the Russians were outnumbered 3 to 1, they held out. Two days' fighting brought no decision and Turkish ammunition was short. In the meantime Halil Bey had received word of the Armenian rebellion at Van which had broken out late in April, 1915. Having counted on Van as his base of support, he now decided to retreat and after many hardships brought his much weakened force safely back to Bitlis.

The revolting Armenians had been promptly besieged at the old city of Van by the Turks. After Halil Bey's retreat from Persia, the Russians decided to advance against Van and by May 19, 1915, they had occupied it without battle having been offered by the retreating Turks.

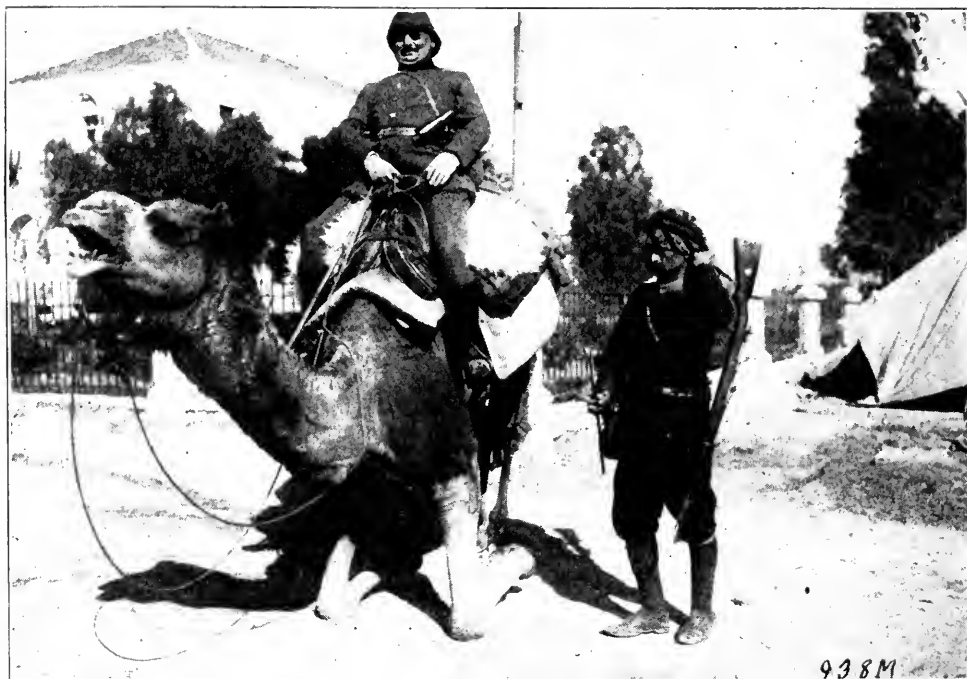
### THE TERRIBLE FATE OF THE ARMENIAN POPULATION.

A few months later, however, Halil Bey was ready again for a new offensive from Bitlis and by July 20, 1915, he was well on his way up the valley of the Eastern Euphrates in the general direction of Kars. Though the Rus-

sians quickly evacuated Van, nothing came of this new Turkish offensive. The Russians promptly threatened Halil Bey's rear and forced him to retire quickly to the safer plain. The chief sufferers were the Armenians: thousands of them lost their lives and whole villages were burned down by the retreating Turks. Other thousands were deported or massacred on the way. Thousands followed the retreating Russians, but to those who remained came pillage, murder, and outrage unspeakable. All this was done not only with the assent but with the encouragement of members of the Turkish government, particularly Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey. The latter frankly said in reply to the protests of the American Ambassador, Mr. Morgenthau, that he wished "to make it impossible for the Armenians to utter the word 'autonomy' during the next fifty years." It is clear, moreover, that the massacres occurred with the consent if not with the encouragement of the German and Austrian ambassadors.

The Russians had possession of some Turkish territory, had cleared northwest Persia of Turks and had prevented the early reinforcement of the forces opposed to the British in Mesopotamia. The possibility of a drive across the Black Sea against Bulgaria, was always present as a threat against the Central Powers while Russia controlled the Black Sea.

Early in September, 1915, however, the Grand Duke Nicholas was relieved of his command upon the Western Front and transferred to the Caucasus. With his arrival came more strenuous operations, but the failure of the Gallipoli Expedition relieved large Turkish forces to oppose him, and the operations on this front never became important in the public eye.



#### GERMAN PHYSICIAN ATTACHED TO TURKISH ARMY

Though the Turks fight well their organization behind the fighting lines has always been bad. Their supply and medical services have always been inefficient. In this war their German Allies aided and directed them in many ways. Here we see a German physician in charge of the medical work about to set out on his daily rounds.



#### GERMAN OFFICERS LEARNING THE TURKISH LANGUAGE

It is quite evident that the Germans never intended to give up their hold upon the Turkish territories. With their usual foresight they set out to establish their influence over the Turkish people. Here we see classes of officers destined for service in Turkey learning the Turkish language. Many such classes were taught in different parts of the German Empire with considerable advantage.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin



Luderitz Bay, Coaling Station of German South-West Africa

## CHAPTER XXV

# The Conquest of German Africa

## THREE OF THE FOUR GERMAN COLONIES ARE EASILY TAKEN

**D**URING the first years of the twentieth century the partition of Africa was completed. Only two independent states were left, Abyssinia and Liberia, and these had no real national life. The Union of South Africa began its existence as a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire in 1910, and the position of Egypt was anomalous in the extreme. The story of the struggle for this country, carrying with it as it did, the control of the Suez Canal, and therefore of commerce in the Mediterranean and the East is told elsewhere.

### THE VALUE OF THE COLONIES TO THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

The remainder of Africa was colonial, French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, Italian and last but not least, German. These German colonies in Africa formed the backbone of the German colonial empire, and embraced, in 1914, an area of more than 930,000 square miles, four and a half times as great as that of the Fatherland. The population was about eleven and a half million of which, however, less than 25,000 were white. These districts, Togoland, Cameroon, South-West Africa, and East Africa, have much fertile soil and considerable mineral wealth, but in general the climate is not favorable to the continued existence of white men.

Many of the natives had been drilled and made into good soldiers, and nearly all the Germans were reservists. The supply of munitions was more than ample and the Germans had believed that the Boer element in South Africa would rejoice at the opportunity to throw off the British connection. These German colonies might also serve as coaling and supply stations for German ships. There were several powerful wireless installations. Obviously it was wise from the standpoint of the Allies that they be captured as soon as possible.

### THE ALLIED ATTACK ON THE CAMEROON PROTECTORATE.

Togo could not be defended. On three sides it was surrounded by British and French territory, and the short seacoast could be commanded by Allied vessels of war. The army consisted of not more than 3,000 natives and 250 whites. A British cruiser secured the surrender of Lome without firing a gun. Early in August, a small British column next entered the colony from the west, in motor cars, and the French advanced across the frontier from Dahomey. On August 27, the government wireless station at Atakpame was taken and destroyed, and the German forces surrendered unconditionally. Within a few weeks little evidence of former German occupation was left.

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The next attack was made upon Cameroon, or the Cameroons, called by the Germans Kamerun. This protectorate was bounded on the west for a distance of some 200 miles by the Atlantic Ocean, forming the Bay of Biafra, on the northwest by British Nigeria, on the north by Lake Chad, and on the east and south by the French Congo. Discovered towards the close of the 15th Century by the Portuguese navigator, Fernando Po, the district was named from the river flowing through it. For many years it was a popular trading point. It became a German Protectorate in 1884, when the Germans signed a treaty with the native King Bell, who had previously begged for a treaty with Great Britain. Both Great Britain and France later recognized the German claims to the Cameroon region, though its exact frontiers were not determined until 1908. German troops and traders gradually penetrated into the interior and both export and import trade grew rapidly. In the early part of the first decade of the 20th century frequent native uprisings occurred in the south, due chiefly to German maladministration. In the northern portion, where many of the people were Moslems the Germans were more successful. Some portions of the protectorate are among the wettest regions in the world.

The general Allied plan was to surround the German colony from all sides. The British were to attack from the sea and from Nigeria, the Belgians from the Belgian Congo, while the French completed the encirclement from the French Congo and the Chad territory. Convergent attacks by specially equipped columns were then to be made on certain selected points so that the German forces could eventually be driven into a suitable area where they then could be compelled to surrender.

### THE GERMAN PROBLEM OF DEFENDING THE REGION.

The total Allied forces never amounted to more than 20,000 including natives. A small majority of these were French; the Belgians supplied 600, and the others were British.

The Germans found in the very beginning considerable difficulty in formulating defensive plans against these concentrated Allied operations because their European forces amounted only to some 3,000 men, though gradually some 20,000 natives were enrolled. About thirty posts, scattered all over the country, were to form centres of defense and it was determined by the Germans to attempt to hold these posts as long as possible and then if compelled by necessity, to escape into neutral territory, Spanish Guinea, otherwise known as Rio Muni, an enclave in German territory.

Three British columns advanced from Nigeria in August and September 14, but met with little success. One was held by the German forces, before Mora, one was almost annihilated, and the third after temporary success was driven back to its base. The column before Mora was joined by a French column operating from Fort Lamy, in the Lake Chad region. French forces from the French Congo had made slight progress up the coast from the south.

Meanwhile, however, a naval and land attack on Duala, the capital (September 27) had been successful. The ships easily forced the surrender of the town, capturing eight German merchantmen and a gunboat, while the German forces retreated into the interior. The whole coast fell into Allied hands within a few days, and Cameroon ceased to be of any benefit to the German cause, except that the use of troops to overrun the interior prevented their use elsewhere.

### DETAILS OF THE CONQUEST OF THE CAMEROON REGION.

The plan of converging columns was not changed. The French in the North continued their advance, leaving Kousseri on October 4, 1914, and advancing through the Mandara against Mora. An outlying position of Mora, Pedikona, was captured by them on October 14, 1914. Gagadima was reached ten days later, October 24, 1914, and six days after this success Debaskoum, close to Mora, was captured. A portion of the Northern column was left in this position for the



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**MAP SHOWING THE FOUR AREAS OF ALLIED AND GERMAN FIGHTING IN AFRICA**

In the centre map the German possessions, Togoland, the Kamerun, (Cameroon), German South-West Africa and German East Africa are left unshaded, together with Italian Tripoli, neutral as yet, and Abyssinia. German South-West Africa had long been regarded by the German authorities as a base for military operations against South Africa. Secured from sea attack by an inhospitable coastline and defended inland by miles of sandy desert, the Germans fed the frontier with a strategic railway and waited their opportunity. In the centre Windhoek, the capital, held the gigantic wireless station that they had built powerful enough to receive messages direct from Berlin, and in daily communication with Togoland. The latter was the smallest of Germany's African possessions and she lost it in the first months of the war. The campaign in the Cameroons lasted eighteen months. The struggle for the possession of German East Africa was the largest and most obstinate of all, lasting until November, 1918.



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purpose of maintaining a blockade of the town while the main force moved on against Maroma. During the ensuing weeks a good deal of fighting took place around Mora, but in spite of numerous attempts on the part of the French it was found impossible to dislodge the Germans. The French main force, which had continued its advance after the siege of Mora had been established, captured Maru on December 12, 1914, after some fighting. The Germans evacuated the position and fell back on Garna.

On January 2, 1915, the main French force then began its march against Garna Nassarao, about four miles from Garna, which was reached January 8, 1915. Two days later, on January 10, 1915, the British force from Nigeria consisting of eight companies, of which one was mounted, a naval 75 mm. gun, three mountain artillery guns and fifteen machine guns, joined the French forces. The warfare here was in miniature much like that on the Western Front.

In the meantime a mixed British and French force, the Dobell-Mayer column, had started on October 4, 1914 from Duala against Edea. The rains were incessant, but in spite of many difficulties of the jungle, which offered excellent opportunities for ambush, the advance was gradually pushed on and its objective, Edea, was reached and occupied on October 26, 1914. A German attempt to recapture Edea was made in January 1915, but the French commander resisted with great skill.

### CONTINUED PROGRESS BUT AT A SLOW RATE

Towards the end of December 1914, another detachment from Duala succeeded in capturing Baré. Through the greater part of January, 1915, no activities of importance occurred in the territory in which the Dobell-Mayer column was operating. On January 27-28, 1915, however, this force did some fighting in the neighborhood of Yaunde. The result of this operation was the capture by the French and British of Bersona. At the same time another detachment of this column

occupied the bridge over the River Kele, and Ngua.

Garna, one of the strongest of the northern fortified positions, became the next objective. From it the Germans had been able to threaten Nigeria, less than 50 miles distant. Early in April 1915 a more or less successful assault against the British frontier post, Gurin, just across the Nigerian border, was made. It was then decided that the combined French and British forces which, in February, had been put under the command of General Cunliffe, should attempt to reduce this position. A 12-pounder from the British warship "Challenger" was taken 700 miles across Africa by way of the Niger and Benue rivers and supported by a French 95 mm. gun which arrived before Garona on May 28, 1915, laid siege to the German stronghold. The fire from these two pieces soon shattered the morale of besieged native troops and the Germans were forced to surrender on June 10, 1915. Ngaundere, about 150 miles south, was cleared of Germans by June 28, 1915.

### THE COMBINED ATTACK ON YAUNDE FINALLY SUCCESSFUL.

Less successful was an attempt by the French and British in the spring of 1915 to take Yaunde, an important town some 20 miles north of the Duala-Eseka railway, and the seat of the German Government, since the fall of Duala. The two forces, the British north and the French south of the railway, succeeded fairly well in keeping step in their respective advances. But other French forces which were attempting to march on Yaunde from the east found more difficulty in co-operating with these two columns and the expedition finally had to be abandoned, but not until the Germans had succeeded in inflicting considerable losses on the Allied troops, especially upon the British at Wurn Biagas, May 3, 1915.

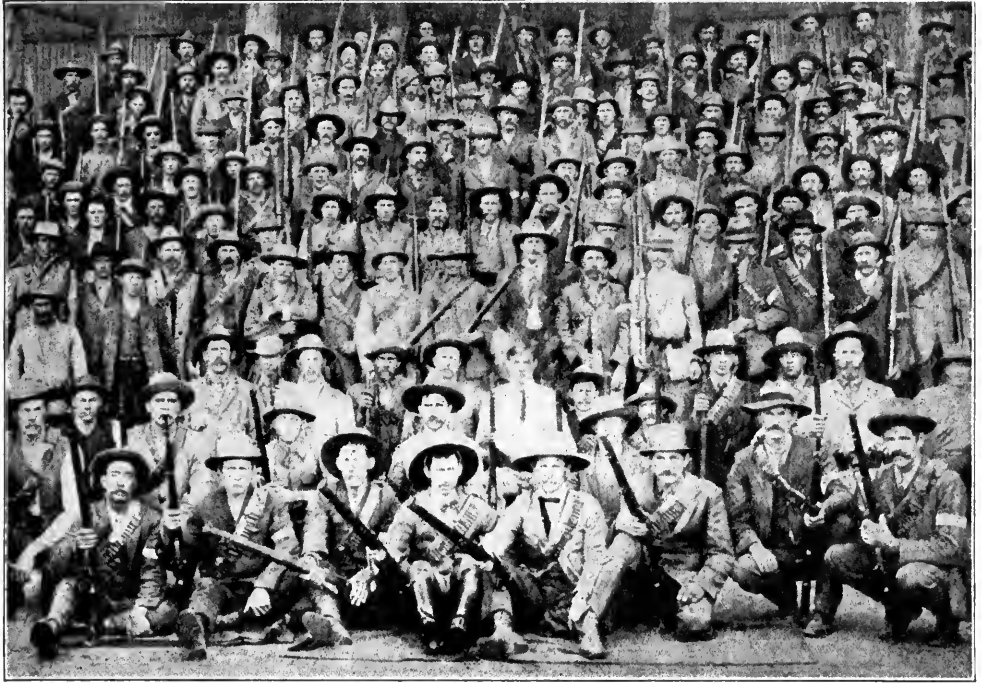
After the capture of Ngaundere the British and French under General Cunliffe gradually fought their way south towards Yaunde. Tibati was taken on November 3, 1915 and Bauyo on November 6, the latter only after

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heavy fighting. Yoko, still further south, fell on December 1, 1915. By January 8, 1916, they were within 40 miles of their objective, only to hear that Yaunde had been taken by the British operating from Duala, on January 1, 1916.

entire world outside of Europe, except in East Africa.

The contest had been difficult. Mountain, forest, jungle, plain and swamp all offered exceptional opportunities for defense. The Germans and their native subjects knew the country



LOYAL BOERS WHO FOUGHT FOR THE UNION

By far the larger part of the army of 40,000 raised by Botha and Smuts consisted of commandos of burghers, who came forth to fight their own kith and kin for the sake of an Empire against which they had been fighting only twelve years previously. If they died, it was so that the two white races of South Africa might grow into one nation, united by a common tradition of self-sacrifice.

### THE GERMAN FORCES INTERNED IN SPANISH TERRITORY.

The Germans, however, had gone. Learning of the combined movements against Yaunde they had left some 800 strong in a southerly direction and before British columns could overtake them they succeeded in reaching neutral territory, Rio Muni, a small Spanish possession, a wedge in the Cameroon. They were later interned in Spain. The only position still held by the Germans was now Mora, in the most northerly corner of the Protectorate. It, too, eventually capitulated, and when the German flag there had been lowered, it disappeared from West Africa and, indeed, from the

which gave excellent chances for ambush. The fighting in other parts of Africa was nowhere so difficult as this. The Germans had confidently expected to be able to hold out until the end of the war.

### THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA DECLARES ITS LOYALTY.

Among the British Dominions which declared their readiness and willingness to assist the Home Government to the utmost of their resources, one of the first was the Union of South Africa. On the very day that Great Britain declared war against Germany, August 4, 1914, the Government of South Africa informed the Home Government that the Union was prepared to employ

its own troops for the defense of South Africa and thus release the Imperial troops for use elsewhere. The Home Government promptly accepted this offer and a few days later suggested that the Union troops might, in addition to any of the usual defensive duties, seize such parts of German South-West Africa as might give them the command of Swakopmund, Lüderitzbucht (bay), and of the wireless stations there or in the interior. Without loss of time the South African government on August 10, 1914, decided to send an expedition against German South-West Africa for these purposes.

A small force landed at Lüderitzbucht and occupied the town without opposition. Slight collisions occurred along the frontier. Another small force, starting from Cape Namaqualand was cut off at Sandfontein and compelled to surrender. Unexpected developments within South African territory, however, were to delay the carrying out of these plans for some time, and it was not until February 1915 that the Union Government found itself in a position to begin operations against the German colony.

### THE BOER REBELLION HALTS OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS.

After the South-African war, Great Britain almost immediately granted self-government to the conquered Boer states of South Africa. With the formation of the Union of South Africa, the moderate Boers secured control of the government and one of their ablest generals, Louis Botha, became premier. There was, however, an irreconcilable element which chafed under even the semblance of British rule and wished for Dutch ascendancy. This party had opposed all the efforts of General Botha to bring about social union. Jealous of their language, manners, and customs, they hoped for an opportunity to break up the Union and to expel the English from the districts in which there was a Boer majority.

As soon as the outbreak of the war became known in South Africa, such Boers and other malcontents in the northern territories — undoubtedly

more or less influenced by German propaganda, objected to any participation on the part of the South African Government in any expedition against German South-West Africa. Almost immediately rebellion broke out, though the great mass of the Dutch never wavered. The principal leaders of this uprising against British authority in South Africa were: General Beyers, Commandant-General of the Citizen Force of the Union; Lieutenant-Colonel Maritz, Commandant of the North-West District of the Cape Province (bordering on German South-West Africa); Major Kemp; and General de Wet. General Herzog, who was usually credited with being the centre of the movement did not come out openly in rebellion. General de la Rey was apparently sympathetic but it is not certain that he had definitely cast his lot with the rebels before his death.

### THE PLANS OF THE REBELS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

It appears that the general plan of operations formulated by the rebels provided that General de Wet was to organize a revolution in the Orange Free State; Beyers was to rouse the Transvaal; Lieutenant-Colonel Maritz, who was found to be in communication with the Germans all of the time, was to start a revolt in his district to the south of the German colony; and Major Kemp was to organize a similar outbreak at Potchefstroom, where he was in charge of a training camp. Other leaders were to supply whatever forces they could raise. A new republic was to be proclaimed with General Beyers as its president and General de la Rey was to be commander-in-chief of its military forces. Potchefstroom was to be seized and the republican flag raised there. General Beyers was to march on Krugersdorp while Major Kemp and General de la Rey were to seize Lichtenberg. After all this was accomplished the various forces were to reassemble at Krugersdorp, march on Pretoria and overthrow the government, hoist the republican flag and release German war prisoners.

Strenuous attempts on the part of the Union Government to prevent the



**GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA**

General Botha made a strong stand against German aggression and back-veldt disaffection, claiming that disloyalty to the Empire would blacken South Africa in the eyes of the world.

outbreak of this rebellion failed. The rebel leaders, of course, had many friends, former comrades-in-arms against Great Britain during the Boer War, among South Africans loyal to the Union Government. The most earnest efforts on the part of these to make the rebels listen to reason proved unsuccessful. Although the actual outbreak of the rebellion was somewhat delayed the rebel leaders finally broke off all negotiations and set their forces in motion.

### **THE REBELLION FLAMES OUT INTO ACTION.**

The first of the leaders to pay for his defection from the Union Government was General de la Rey, who was accidentally shot on September 28, 1914, while trying to pass through the police cordon which had been thrown around Johannesburg. On October 2, 1914, Lieutenant-Colonel Maritz left, or rather deserted, with all of his force which would follow, and moved from Upington toward the German border,

intending, of course, to get in touch as quickly as possible with the German forces in South-West Africa. Not until October 22, 1914, however, did it become clear that the fires of rebellion were in full flame both in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State. From then on the South African Government lost no time in attempting to suppress the rebellion by force.

General Botha in the latter part of October 1914, assumed command in the field against the rebels. His name and influence were weighty, and the great mass of the Boers rallied to him fighting as valiantly for Great Britain, as they had fought against her. General de Wet suffered a serious defeat on November 15, 1914, at Mushroom Valley. General Beyers, then in the vicinity of Upington, at about the same time attempted to reach the German border; while Major Kemp, after considerable fighting, succeeded in the latter part of November, 1914, in escaping across the border. In spite of these setbacks



**GENERAL JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS**

General Smuts fought brilliantly in the Boer War, and loyally accepted the settlement at the Peace of Vereeniging. In August, 1914, by his eloquence he rallied many Boers to the Imperial cause.

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the rebels proclaimed the new republic both at Reitz and Bethlehem on November 30, 1914.

### **T**HE REBEL FORCES ARE SOON BEATEN EVERYWHERE.

During December, 1914, and January, 1915, other rebel leaders suffered defeats. Wessels, with some 1,200 rebels, on December 8, 1914, was forced to surrender near Reitz, while another large party of rebels under Major Fourie suffered a similar defeat on December 16, 1914 at Nooitgedacht. On January 24, 1915, the united rebel forces under Maritz and Kemp were beaten by the Union forces under Van der Venter near Upington.

This succession of defeats and surrenders practically ended the rebellion. De la Rey was dead; Maritz had fled into German territory; Beyers had been drowned while trying to escape; De Wet had been captured and was sentenced to six years imprisonment and a fine of ten thousand dollars; Fourie, tried by court martial after his surrender, had been found guilty of rebellion and had been shot. The only other rebel leader of importance, Kemp, on February 3, 1915, finally surrendered with his small force of some 500 rebels at Upington and the Union government was now in a position to give its attention to the conquest of German South West Africa.

### **T**HE CAMPAIGN TO TAKE GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA.

German South-West Africa, almost equal in area to the entire former German Empire and the United Kingdom together, was entirely surrounded by hostile territory, except on the north, where it adjoined the Portuguese colony of Angola, up to March 1916, still neutral territory. On the east it was fronted by Rhodesia and Bechuanaland, and on the south by the Union of South Africa. Though under German control since 1884 it had never paid its way. But, possessing valuable copper and diamond mines, it held vast possibilities, awaiting only their development. Of all her colonies Germany found South-West Africa the most difficult and costly to maintain. From 1903 to 1907 native revolts necessitated

the expenditure of large sums of money and caused the loss of some 5,000 lives amongst German soldiers and settlers.

At the outbreak of the war the German forces in South-West Africa numbered about 8,000, of whom approximately 2,000 were natives. They were at first under the command of Colonel von Heydebreck, who was succeeded by Colonel von Franke in February, 1915, when the former was killed accidentally by an explosion. The Union forces numbered about 50,000 men when they were at their highest strength. An enveloping movement was obviously the part of wisdom, since approach could be had from both sea and land. The Germans were to be herded together and then defeated.

### **T**HE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION FORCES.

The Union forces were formed into two armies — the Northern Army under General Botha, who also held the chief command of all the Union forces, and the Southern army under General Smuts. The Southern army, for purposes of active operations, was split up into three columns under the respective command of Brigadier-General Sir D. Mackenzie, Colonel Van der Venter, and Colonel Berrange. They consisted of regiments and other units coming from the Transvaal, Rhodesia, Natal, Bechuanaland, and other South African territories.

The Union plan of operation provided for the following offensive movements: The Northern army was to land at Swakopmund and from there was to advance against Windhoek, the capital of German South-West Africa, by the railway line and the Swakop river. The Southern army was to concentrate at Koetmansdorp and then move on Windhoek. After the capture of the capital the German forces were to be pursued until they surrendered. It can not be said that there was any definite plan of operations on the part of the Germans. The small number of men at their disposal prevented any offensive movement. They decided to restrict themselves to defensive operations, unless it became possible to extend a

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helping hand to any rebels in the Transvaal and the Free State.

### THE PLAN IS READY FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS.

In accordance with the Union plan of operations Lüderitz Bay was occupied by Number 1 column on September 19, 1914, Walfisch Bay by advanced troops of the Northern army on December 25, 1914, Raman's Drift on January 12, 1915, and Swakopmund on January 14, 1915. Everything was now ready for the advance.

General Botha, the commander-in-chief, arrived at Lüderitz Bay on February 8, 1915, and on the following day reached Swakopmund. Preparations for the advance were immediately set afoot. On February 22, 1915, the Northern army marched out of Swakopmund and after slight fighting occupied Husab and two other German positions. By March 19, 1915, they had reached a position opposite the Germans on the line Pforte-Jakalswater-Riet. The next day they attacked and after fighting throughout the day the Germans evacuated the entire position and retired toward the northwest. During the balance of March and April the three columns of the Southern army likewise succeeded in carrying out the operations assigned to them. Column Number 1 on March 22, 1915, occupied Garub, Aus on March 31, 1915 (where it was found that the wells had been poisoned by arsenic), Bethany on April 13, 1915, and Aritetis on April 24, 1915. Column Number 2 on April 3, 1915, occupied Warmbad and on April 5, Kalfontein. This column was separated now into two parties moving respectively east and west of the Karas mountains.

By April 18, 1915, the Western party had reached Seeheim where it joined forces with Column Number 1. The Eastern party by April 20, 1915, reached Koetmenshoop where it met Column Number 3, which on the first of that month had captured Hasuaar and from there gradually advanced towards the meeting point with Column Number 2. By April 29, 1915, Column Number 1, as well as the two parties which had been made by Column Number 2, combined forces on an attack on the

Germans which resulted in the occupation of Gibeon.

### THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE DESERT.

By May 1, 1915, the general position was as follows: The Northern army was stationed around Kubas; the Southern army was in possession of all the country south of Gibeon. On May 5, 1915, the Northern army captured



**BRIGADIER-GENERAL LUKIN**

Brigadier-General Lukin, D.S.O., C.M.G., an experienced lieutenant of General Botha's, who was afterwards appointed to the command of the 1st Brigade of the South African Infantry for the European campaign.

Karibib. One week later, on May 12, 1915, the chief objective of the entire operations of both the Southern and Northern armies, was reached. On that day Windhoek, the capital of German South-West Africa surrendered after the Germans had previously withdrawn to Grootfontein in the north of the colony, where they established a provisional capital. The important wireless station at Windhoek was found undamaged. Immediately after the capture of the capital all Germans found there were ordered interned. Having accomplished the main objective of their operations it



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was decided that the Union forces should now enjoy well-earned rest.

The campaign had been very difficult. All the supplies, even much of the water, had been brought by sea, about 500 miles from Cape Town. Along the sea there is a belt of desert eighty to one hundred miles to be crossed. The temperature in the summer (our winter) was always over 100° in the shade, sometimes much higher, and dust storms lasting for hours occurred almost daily. Many men required medical attention on account of the quantity of sand they ate from necessity. Daily the sand, sometimes as much as four feet, was shoveled from the railway line in order that trains might pass. At the end of the campaign, since the region is in the Southern Hemisphere, the nights during July and August were bitterly cold.

### THE GERMAN FORCES ARE UNABLE TO MAKE THEIR ESCAPE.

By June 15, 1915, the plans for these operations had been worked out. It was evident that the campaign was ending and some of the troops were sent home. The main objective now was the new German capital at Grootfontein. The force which was to undertake these operations was organized at Karibib and consisted of three columns — the Western, Central and Eastern columns, respectively. The Central column was to move along the railway while the two flanking columns were to advance and clear the country to the east and west of the line. During the balance of June and the early part of July, 1915, the Union forces continued to drive the Germans before them. The Central column on June 21, 1915, occupied Omaruru and Objiwarango on June 26, 1915. By July 1, 1915, this column had so steadily advanced that the Germans evacuated Otavifontein after some fighting and took up positions between this place and Korabia.

The German Governor, Dr. Seitz, asked for terms and on July 9, surrendered unconditionally. The troops were interned, but General Botha was generous. He had captured over 300,000 square miles of territory and 5,000

men at small cost of life. Both British and Boer had fought well. The Boer cavalry showed its old skill and endurance, making almost incredible marches,



DOCTOR SEITZ, THE GERMAN GOVERNOR

Doctor Seitz was governor of German South West Africa when war broke out, and after a contest he surrendered the colony to General Manie Botha's army July 9, 1915.

but the infantry, largely made up of British born or of British descent, had done its part no less valiantly.

General Botha himself received the congratulations of the King and the British Parliament, for his great services to the Empire. His instinctive loyalty and his steadfastness made successful rebellion in the South impossible, and the capture of South-West Africa was important. A captured German map showed the German dream. All Africa south of the Equator was to have been German except a tiny reservation for the Boers.

The campaigns in East Africa form an entirely separate chapter. They began later, were more desperately fought and lasted longer than those in any other part of Africa. In fact there were Germans still in arms when the Armistice came.



View of Steenstraate, near Ypres, 1915

## CHAPTER XXVI

# The War During 1915

### ALLIED HOPES OF AN EARLY VICTORY ARE DISAPPOINTED

**T**HE close of 1915 showed no signs of an immediate end of the war. There had been fierce battles and many casualties, but the armies were larger than ever. The supply and the expenditure of munitions were greater, but no decisive result had been attained. Italy had joined the Entente Allies, and had advanced into the territory she coveted, "unredeemed Italy." On account of her strategic position in the Balkans the decision of Bulgaria to join the Central powers largely balanced the addition of Italy to the forces of the Entente. Together, Austria, Germany and Bulgaria had completed the conquest of Serbia in December, and a Serbian army no longer existed. The disorganized remnants had fled west into Albania from whence they were to be removed to Corfu for reorganization.

#### **THE ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE UNITED STATES.**

The other nations of Europe were still neutral, but the increasing activity of the submarine campaign was straining the patience of the northern powers. Backed by the people of Greece, Venizelos had permitted the Allies to establish a base at Saloniki in October, but King Constantine was still firm in opposition. The United States was neutral in name, but with increasing difficulty. Immense supplies of food and munitions of war were going to the Entente Allies and the Central Powers had been striving with all their

might to check this stream on the ground that, since they could not receive such supplies on account of the British blockade, it was unneutral to furnish them to their opponents. This naïve suggestion of an amendment to international practice of long standing had been decisively rebuffed by President Wilson who pointed out that munitions of war had been one of Germany's important exports, and that such a policy would inevitably result in always giving the decision to that nation which had most thoroughly prepared for war.

Attempts to foment strikes in American factories, and to destroy them by fire or explosions had some success. The cause of several mysterious fires and explosions upon ships at sea was discovered to be due to bombs placed among their cargoes by agents of the Central Powers. Intercepted papers and correspondence led to the demand on the part of the United States for the recall of Doctor Constantin Dumba, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, and Captains Boy-Ed and von Papen, attachés to the German Embassy. These were proved to have abused the hospitality of the United States, and to have been active in infringing the laws of neutrality.

#### **THE SUBMARINE DRIVES THE UNITED STATES TOWARD WAR.**

The announcement by Germany of a submarine blockade of the British

Isles and the French coast, threatening to sink all ships found within the "war zone," to take effect on February 18, led to further trouble. President Wilson at once protested, refusing to accept the validity of the decree and declaring that Germany would be held to "strict accountability" for American lives or property lost. The American merchantman, William P. Frye, had already been sunk, and the Cushing and the Gulfight were also attacked. An American citizen lost his life when the British steamer, Falaba, was torpedoed.

All these, however, faded into insignificance in comparison with the sinking of the Cunard Liner, Lusitania, off the coast of Ireland, May 7, 1915, with the loss of 1154 lives, of which 114 were Americans. The exchange of diplomatic notes led to the German promise, September 1, that liners would not, in the future, be sunk without warning; but this pledge was not strictly kept. The sinking of the Lusitania, the Arabic and the Ancona lost to Germany the greater part of what sympathy for her cause still existed among the native born population of the United States. Some, however, were willing to waive the question of American rights for the time and to hope for a speedy end of the struggle. The people of the United States as a whole were beginning to understand that this was more than a European quarrel, and many wished the United States to declare war. President Wilson, apparently feeling that the country was not yet ready, held back.

### **THE CENTRAL POWERS GAIN THE MILITARY ADVANTAGE.**

From a military standpoint the advantage in the struggle was with the Central Powers; The German plan had been to hold the western line while the main forces were devoted to the destruction of Russia. If this were accomplished according to programme in winter and early spring, there might still be time for a decisive attack in the West before the autumn rains put an end to movement. A part of the plan was successful. The Germans held the line in the West with inferior forces. Kitchener's million was not yet all

ready, and for this reason the French must hold the greater part of the line. They were also hampered by the fact that so much of their industrial district was in German hands. Neither French nor British were prepared to push an attack home.

The British attack at Neuve Chapelle in March failed to gain appreciably because of lack of proper ammunition, because the attack was delivered on too narrow a front, and because reserves failed to come up in time. Any one of these reasons is enough to account for failure though the British fought magnificently. The German attack at Second Ypres, in April, saw the introduction of a new weapon, poison gas. The Canadians here gained immortal fame by their desperate resistance but the net result was a loss of territory. The Germans however, had underestimated their new weapon. It seems certain that if they had been prepared to push the attack home Calais might have been taken.

### **GENERAL JOFFRE'S PLAN TO WEAKEN GERMANY.**

General Joffre realizing that he could not make a decisive attack adopted the policy of "nibbling," striking here and there with the design of preventing the transfer of men to Russia, and also of causing the Germans to spend men and munitions. There were local successes in Alsace and in Champagne in January. Later operations in Champagne in February resulted in a deadlock with great losses.

In September, continuing into October another French attack in Champagne and a combined French and British attack centering around Loos, Hill 70, and Vimy Ridge were made. Both attacks gained some ground, and the British even broke through at Loos, but were unable to follow up their advantage. The cost of the British operations had been altogether out of proportion to the gain. Many of the best of Britain had fallen, and their sacrifice had not succeeded in saving Russia from defeat. As a result of this battle, Sir John French, the British commander, was relieved and replaced by his lieutenant, Sir Douglas Haig.

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### THE CENTRAL POWERS SUCCESSFUL IN THE EAST.

In the East the German arms were likewise successful. Another Russian invasion of the Masurian Lake region in East Prussia had been thrown back with heavy losses. In Galicia were initial Russian successes including the capture of Przemyśl, but the reorganized Austrian armies with German commanders drove the Russians out of Galicia. The German lines advanced across Poland from the Baltic to the Carpathians, capturing fortress after fortress. Warsaw was taken in August and Brest Litovsk was soon occupied, after which the Russian defense stiffened as opposing troops were withdrawn for the conquest of Serbia which has been mentioned above. The Grand Duke Nicholas was deposed and the Tsar took command in person. One estimate places the Russian losses at 1,200,000 killed and wounded and 900,000 prisoners, but this is probably excessive.

These were not the only misfortunes of the Entente Allies. The badly planned and poorly supported attempt to take the Gallipoli Peninsula and thus capture Constantinople was obviously a failure, and evacuation had begun. The British forces, including a large proportion of Anzacs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps), had struggled valiantly but the odds were too great. An inferior force badly equipped had attempted to take almost impregnable positions held by much greater numbers with abundant reserves. The naval bombardment of fortifications had been shown to be ineffective.

### OTHER MISFORTUNES OVERTAKE THE ALLIED PLANS.

Another forlorn hope had also failed. Early in the year the British armies in Mesopotamia had been successful in a series of difficult operations. A force under General Townshend had ascended the Tigris, and taken Kut-el-Amara. Ordered to advance on Bagdad he had obeyed until checked at Ctesiphon in November by overwhelming numbers, difficulties of transportation and faulty medical service. Forced to retire upon Kut-el-Amara, the end of

the year saw him besieged in the city, but holding on and hoping for reinforcements which never came.

In the Caucasus the Russian armies had rather more than held their own in a number of battles of which little was heard in the West. With the accession of the Grand Duke Nicholas to the Russian command in this region the Turkish forces were strengthened to such an extent that he did not immediately take the offensive. During this year occurred the terrible Armenian massacres by which the Turkish leaders, without opposition from the German and Austrian ambassadors, if not with their approbation, attempted to wipe out the Armenian people. The capture of German South-West Africa by the forces of the Union of South Africa and the repulse of the attack on the Suez Canal were almost the only bright spots in the dark picture. No determined attempt to take German East Africa had yet been made.

### THE WORK OF THE SUBMARINES NOT YET IMPORTANT.

At sea there is little to report. In January a German squadron was intercepted when approaching the east coast of England. It was pursued by Admiral Beatty, but escaped with considerable damage including the loss of the *Blücher*. The Russians won a naval battle in the Gulf of Riga in July. The submarine campaign had greater successes to report against merchant ships, but measures to combat the menace were being devised and many submarines were captured or sunk. Great Britain had not yet suffered seriously.

The war in the air was just beginning to take the form it later assumed. So far the chief use of airplanes had been in scouting, though some heavier bombing planes had been built. Machine guns had been mounted on a few planes and aerial combats had occurred, but common use of bombing and combat planes was in the future. Airplanes had dropped bombs on the cities of France and England, and nineteen Zeppelin raids on England had been made with several hundred casualties, almost entirely civilians. London was

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first reached on May 31. Little damage was done to any military establishment.

**W**HY THE GERMANS THOUGHT THE WAR WAS WON.

Viewing the whole field of operations, German success had been almost unbroken. Not even the campaigns of Napoleon can show such a succession of victories. The German armies in the West had withstood the assault of the

**T**HE ALLIED NATIONS DETERMINED TO WIN IN THE END.

France and Great Britain, however, stubbornly refused to acknowledge that they were beaten, in spite of the map. The Belgians were no more tractable than before and Italy continued to keep her eyes on the Alpine peaks. The remnant of the Serbians was anxious to try again. Considering the Allied

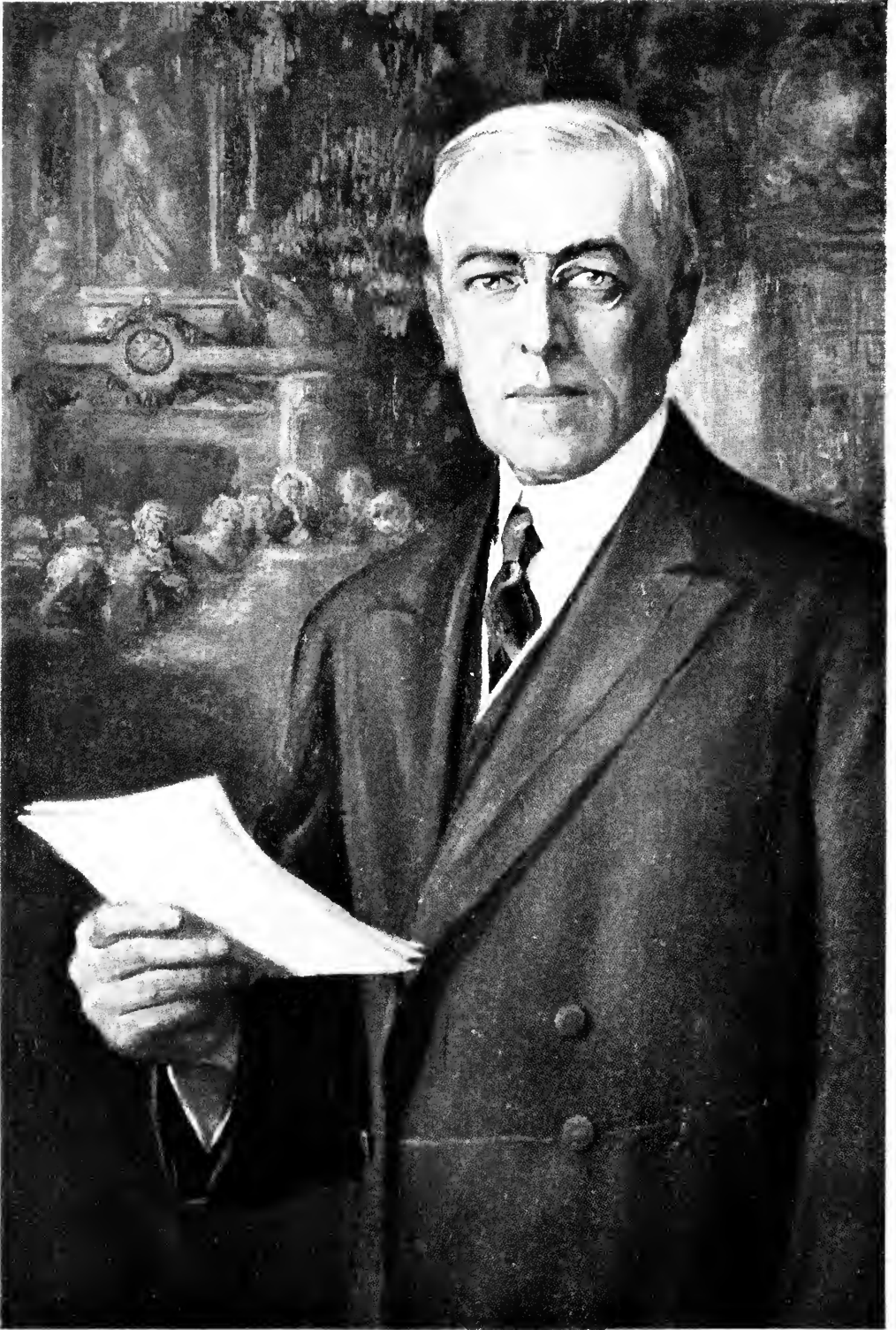


KAISER STRASSE, FRANKFURT-ON-MAIN

By the time of Charlemagne, Frankfurt was already a town, and later it became the capital of the East Frankish Kingdom. From the middle of the sixteenth century the German emperors were crowned here, and May 10, 1871, the treaty of peace ending the Franco-Prussian War was also signed here. Picture from Henry Ruschin

British and the French. Russia had been eliminated as a factor for a long time. Serbia had been destroyed, and the road to the East was open. Great Britain was not yet ready. Only France was left and the Germans believed that she was "bled white." From the German view point, the war was ended, except for the necessary adjustments, and discussion of annexations and indemnities was the order of the day. The people of Germany had suffered some privations, but they had not been starved and so far there had been no real scarcity of war material as the whole supply of metal in the country had been requisitioned.

losses and the gloomy outlook for the future the Germans had reason to expect overtures for peace. In any ordinary war, the losers would probably have sought peace. Such however, had been the German behavior in Belgium, in Northern France and in Poland, so cruel and lawless had been the incidents of the submarine campaign that the people of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Serbia were willing to be destroyed rather than to live under German rule. Great Britain was beginning to awake to the magnitude of the task, and the French and Belgians grimly set themselves to endure until the full force of their ally could be felt.



WOODROW WILSON  
President of the United States, 1913-1921







President Wilson Addressing the United States Congress

## CHAPTER XXVII

# The United States and the World War

## THE PEOPLE BEGIN TO REALIZE THAT THE STRUGGLE CONCERNS THEM

IT is perhaps, not an exaggeration to say that the two years following the outbreak of the Great War, brought about more fundamental and far-reaching changes in the economic and social conditions in the United States than had been witnessed in the fifty years which had preceded the war. The foreign trade was at first disrupted and then completely recast; the revenue system was reorganized—government receipts and expenditures were no longer expressed in millions but in billions; government control of private business was indulged in on an unheard of scale; semi-socialistic measures, which would not have been dreamt of a decade before, were accepted without protest; new industries grew up like mushrooms in the night, money flowed into the country in unprecedented amounts. The nation changed from a debtor to a creditor country. Underlying all of these tremendous changes there was going on a fundamental recasting of the relations between capital and labor. Labor found itself more powerful than it had ever been before and it was not slow to wield this power. These changes were an eloquent commentary to the comfortable illusion of American isolation from the affairs of Europe.

### THE FIRST EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON BUSINESS.

The first reaction of the war upon the business interests of the country

was certain to be unfavorable. The intricate mechanism of international trade was for the moment completely disrupted. American manufacturers found many of their accustomed foreign markets suddenly cut off. Shipping facilities were greatly curtailed by the transfer of merchant shipping to military uses. The European stock exchanges closed either immediately before or after the outbreak of hostilities. The London exchange closed on July 31 for the first time in its history, and left the New York Stock Exchange the only important exchange remaining open. Brokers were deluged with selling orders from abroad and a scene of confusion approaching panic resulted. To relieve the situation the governors determined to close the exchange temporarily. The rate of foreign exchange, at first, ran heavily against the United States, especially in England, due to the large amounts owed by American business interests. At one time the rate reached seven dollars to the pound sterling.

It was not long, however, before the situation improved materially. Early in 1915, the Entente Allies began placing orders for large quantities of munitions and foodstuffs in the United States. A feeling of confidence was restored. Trading on the Stock Exchange was gradually resumed. The exchange rate on London rapidly declined until

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it once more touched par and then began to run against London as the amount of foreign purchases in the United States steadily mounted. To check this unfavorable balance of trade, large quantities of American securities held abroad were sent to the United States. It was estimated that during the years 1915 and 1916 more than \$2,000,000,000 of such securities were transferred to American investors. Even this proved adequate but for a short time and the Entente powers and many neutral powers resorted to loans in the United States to sustain their credit.

### FOREIGN BONDS SOLD TO INVESTORS IN THE UNITED STATES.

During 1915 and 1916 more than \$2,000,000,000 of such loans were made to Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Russia, Italy and Argentina. In addition, \$10,000,000 of German Treasury notes were sold to American investors. The greater part of this sum was used to finance German propaganda in the United States and Mexico. These loans marked a new era in American finance. Never before had foreign bonds appeared in the American market in any considerable amounts. This tremendous transfer of capital profoundly affected world trade and finance. In two years the United States had been transformed from a debtor to a creditor nation.

The immense increase in the volume of American foreign trade created a critical situation in the shipping industry. More than ninety per cent of the export trade of the United States at the beginning of the war was carried in merchant ships of foreign nations, chiefly British and German. In the first weeks of the war German shipping was driven from the seas and British tonnage available for American commerce was greatly reduced. By the fall of 1915 it was almost impossible to obtain cargo space despite the fact that every type of sailing and steam vessel was pressed into service. Freight rates went to four times the pre-war level, or even higher. In some cases a vessel would earn its entire cost on one round

trip. To meet this critical situation the Administration proposed the establishment of government steamship lines. Congress did not finally act on this recommendation until September, 1916, when a ship-purchase law was passed.

### THE GOVERNMENT GOES INTO THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY.

This act provided for a Shipping Board of five members which was empowered (1) to form one or more corporations for the purchase, lease, and operation of merchant vessels with a maximum capital of fifty million dollars, (2) to acquire vessels suitable for naval auxiliaries, (3) to regulate commerce on the Great Lakes and the high seas including the fixing of rates, (4) to cancel or modify any agreement among carriers that was found to be unfair as between carriers and exporters, or which operated to the detriment of United States commerce, (5) to sanction pooling agreements among shippers which were exempted from the operations of the Sherman Act. Vessels were to be operated by the board, however, only if it was unable to sell, lease or charter such vessels to citizens of the United States and government ownership was limited to five years after the close of the war. The effects of this act did not begin to be felt until after the entrance of the United States into the war.

While the struggle in Europe brought a large measure of prosperity to the United States it also brought a heavy financial burden. Measures to protect neutrality together with legislation providing for a greater degree of military preparedness called for increased appropriations. In three years Congressional appropriations increased from \$1,089,408,777 for 1914, to \$1,626,439,209 for 1917. To meet this increase the fiscal system, or lack of system, was poorly adapted. Repeated efforts to have Congress adopt a budget system had met with no success. One of the chief items of national revenue, custom receipts, was materially reduced on account of greatly diminished imports. It was necessary to find new sources of revenue.

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### THE WAR REVENUE ACT INCREASES TAXATION.

To meet this situation the President urged upon Congress the raising of additional revenue by increased taxation, rather than by borrowing. In response Congress passed the first War Revenue Act, which was to remain in force one

urged that the additional revenue should be obtained from taxation rather than borrowing. The new revenue law passed by Congress doubled the normal rate of the income tax and materially increased the surtaxes on incomes. A progressive inheritance tax was placed on estates in excess of \$50,000 and an



### FUNERAL SERVICE FOR THE LUSITANIA VICTIMS

In the churchyard at Queenstown a service was held over the remains of the victims of the tragedy that shocked Christendom in May, 1915. The story of horror and heroism is familiar:—the warning issued by the German Embassy, the torpedoing of the ship on May 7, the noble behavior of officers and men, the suffering and exposure and death of innocent victims, the protest by the United States, and the exultation in Germany.

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year and was expected to produce fifty-four million dollars. The excise tax on liquors and tobacco was increased and license taxes were levied on bankers, brokers and theatres. Stamp taxes were placed on promissory notes and legal documents, insurance policies, bills of lading, telegraph and telephone messages.

During 1915 the Administration presented a program calling for large expenditures for national defense. To meet these expenditures fresh revenue had to be found. The President again

excise tax of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the net profits of munition manufacturers. These new taxes showed a distinct tendency to place the added burden of taxation upon persons of wealth and upon those deriving profits from war industries. This policy was continued and expanded after the entrance of the United States into the war.

### THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD WAR.

It was inevitable that the people of the United States would be profoundly affected by the great struggle in Europe

though this fact was not realized at first. Nearly a century before President Monroe had laid down the principle that the affairs of Europe did not concern us, and the statement became a part of the mental attitude of most citizens. Though challenged by the Spanish War, nevertheless in 1914, the great majority of American citizens did not dream that their country had any vital interest in the struggle beginning in Europe. A few, chiefly in the Eastern States, wished the United States to take a strong position from the beginning.

Few Americans, however, had any accurate knowledge of foreign affairs, and did not understand the reasons why Europe was an armed camp. The reaction from the Civil War had produced a distaste for war. The efficient navy of that period had been allowed to rot and only slowly had the advocates of a greater navy gained followers. For a short time the navy of the United States was second in strength, but it had lost this position in 1914. Until the Spanish War the tiny regular army was hardly large enough for defense against the Indians, and it was still small in 1914. The American people, engrossed in internal development, had come to believe that a real war on this continent was improbable. For a hundred years not a gun had been fired along the 3,000 miles of frontier with Canada. Relations with Mexico had been less peaceful but the people of the United States were not belligerent. This attitude had been even strengthened by the trifling contest with Spain.

### THE EFFECT OF IMMIGRANTS ON PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

The United States, however, is to a great extent an immigrant nation. Of the hundred million people in the country, about one-third are of foreign birth, or have at least one parent foreign born. About one-fourth of this foreign element was of German origin. Ties of blood, race and former nationality soon asserted themselves. British or French immigrants naturally took the side of the Entente Allies, though a part of the Irish and the French Canadians were, to say the least,

lukewarm. The part of the population classed as Russian was very largely of Jewish birth, who had fled from bitter persecution. It was difficult for many of these to feel that any alliance which included Russia could be fighting upon the side of civilization. They were not so much pro-German as anti-Russian. As the war went on the sentiments of this group changed.

### GERMAN EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES.

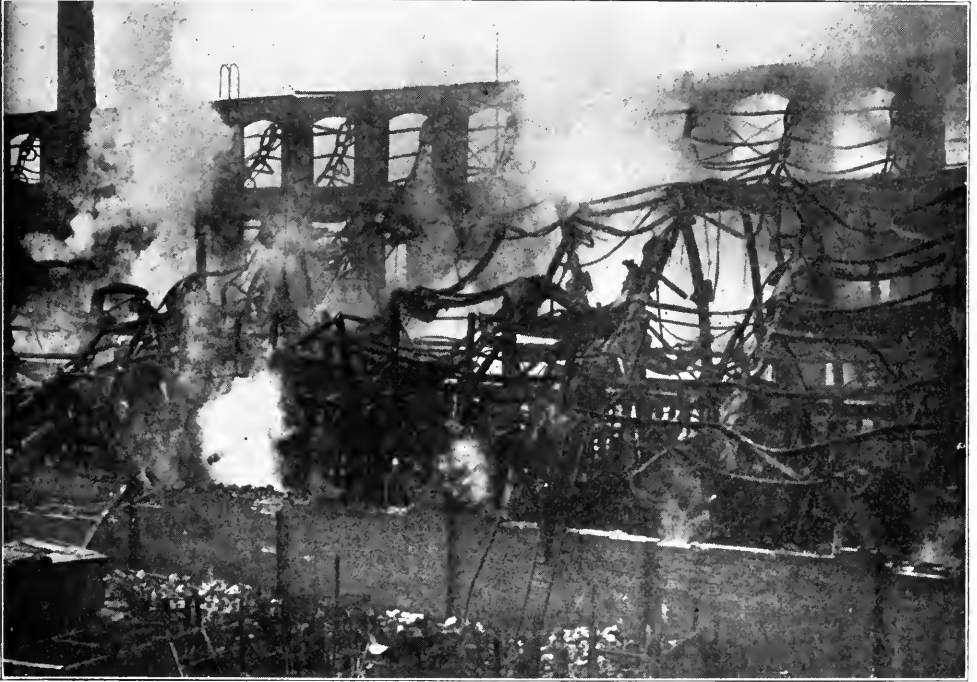
Of all the belligerent powers, Germany made the most persistent efforts to influence opinion in the United States. Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly Colonial Secretary of the German Empire, was sent to convince Americans of the justice of the German cause. A Press Bureau was established in New York and newspapers and magazines were subsidized throughout the country. This agitation became so widespread that President Wilson deemed it wise to issue an appeal to all Americans to be "neutral in speech as well as in action." He pointed out that the spirit of the nation would depend on what was said at public meetings and in the pulpit, and what was printed in the papers. He "ventured therefore to speak a word of warning against partisanship in order that the country would be free to do what is honest and truly serviceable for the peace of the world."

The open and avowed pro-German propaganda in the United States received a serious set-back as a result of the Lusitania outrage. The horror which this barbarous act aroused brought to an end the easy-going tolerance of German agitators throughout the country. Thereafter the German agents and their American sympathizers were forced to adopt different methods. In urging an embargo on munitions they appealed to humane sentiments against the prolongation of the war. They sought to stimulate and capitalize American resentment against the British restraints on American commerce. Every effort was made to take advantage of Irish-American antipathy to Great Britain. Organizations with appealing names such as

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the American Independence Union, American Truth Society, Friends of Truth, Friends of Peace, Organization of American Women for Strict Neutrality, American Peaceful Embargo Society and Labor's National Peace Council sprang up throughout the country. While all of these societies disclaimed any connection with German propaganda there was a suspicious

national bridge at Vanceboro, Maine. From the confession which he made to the authorities of the Department of Justice it was clear that Captain Franz von Papen, the German military attaché, was involved in the plot. Fires in factories engaged in the production of war materials for the Allies occurred with remarkable frequency. Within twenty-four hours on November 10-



HAVOC BY FIRE AT THE ROEBLING WORKS

The first of many incendiary fires in industrial plants, in the year 1915, caused destruction to the amount of \$1,500,000 in the works of the John A. Roebling's Sons Company at Trenton, N. J. This happened in January. In November, the Roebling plant was again damaged by fire, the loss being estimated at \$1,000,000. This was one of a series of disasters which occurred within twenty-four hours in several different establishments. © International Film Service

unanimity in their methods and aims. Later it was proved that some at least had received German funds. Finding themselves unable to carry through the program for declaring an embargo on arms and ammunition, German and Austrian agents began a concerted move to cripple the production of munitions by fomenting strikes in munition factories, causing explosions in such factories, placing bombs on munition ships and by other similar methods.

### GERMAN EFFORTS TO DESTROY FACTORIES AND SHIPS.

On February 3, 1915, one Werner Horn attempted to blow up the inter-

national bridge at Vanceboro, Maine. From the confession which he made to the authorities of the Department of Justice it was clear that Captain Franz von Papen, the German military attaché, was involved in the plot. Fires in factories engaged in the production of war materials for the Allies occurred with remarkable frequency. Within twenty-four hours on November 10-

11, 1915, fires broke out in the works of the John A. Roebling's Sons Co., the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co. and the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Bombs were discovered on steamships carrying supplies to the Allies and a suspiciously large number of fires broke out on such steamships while at sea. For some months the government was unable to fix responsibility for these acts. But on October 24, 1915, the secret service agents arrested one Robert Fay who claimed to be a lieutenant in the German army. In a confession made to the police Fay admitted that he had



been engaged in making bombs to be placed on munition ships.

There was more than a suspicion that the activities of these German agents were being directed by persons closely identified with the German diplomatic representatives in the United States. Confirmation of this feeling was shortly furnished. Dr. Heinrich Albert, Financial Adviser of the German Embassy, while traveling on the Elevated Railway in New York, lost a portfolio filled with documents. These documents came into the possession of the *New York World* and were published by that paper. Some of the letters bore the signatures of Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, Captain von Papen, Dr. Albert, and Hugo Schmidt, representative of the *Deutsche Bank* of Berlin. From these documents it appeared that the German representatives in the United States were financing efforts to influence the press of the United States, to establish news services, moving picture shows and to subsidize lecturers. Further it was shown that the German Government was negotiating for the manufacture of munitions for itself in the United States at the same time that it was protesting against the sale of such munitions to the Entente Allies.

### THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR IS DISMISSED.

More direct and more serious was the evidence of Teutonic activities obtained as a result of the arrest of an American newspaper correspondent, Mr. James J. F. Archibald, by the British authorities at Falmouth. Among the letters found in Archibald's possession was one written by Dr. Theodor Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States, to Baron Burián, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. In this letter Dr. Dumba said "It is my impression that we can disorganize and hold up for months, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West, which, in the opinion of the German Military Attache is of great importance and amply outweighs the expenditure of money involved."

When this letter was brought to the attention of Dr. Dumba he admitted its authenticity and defended it on the ground that it was his duty "to bring before our races employed in the big steel works the fact that they are engaged in enterprises which are unfriendly to their Fatherland and that the Imperial Government would hold the workers in munition plants where contracts are being filled for the Allies, as being guilty of a serious crime against their country." This explanation was not accepted by the United States Government and the Austrian Government was notified that "by reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Dr. Dumba to conspire to cripple legitimate industries of the people of the United States and to interrupt their legitimate trade, and by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in 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 Government of the United States as the Ambassador of Austria Hungary.

Another of the Archibald letters was one written by Captain von Papen to his wife. In referring to the German victories on the Eastern front, he said;—"How splendid on the Eastern front. I always tell these idiotic Yankees they had better hold their tongues—it's better to look at all this heroism full of admiration. My friends in the army are quite different in this way."

The names of Captain Franz von Papen and Captain Karl Boy-Ed, the German military and naval attaches at Washington constantly recurred in connection with the investigation of various plots and after an inquiry made by the State Department the German Ambassador was notified that these two officers were no longer acceptable to the United States and their immediate recall was demanded.

### GERMAN EFFORTS TO CREATE TROUBLE WITH MEXICO.

Through the enterprising activities of the *Providence Journal* the Government was furnished with evidence

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which led to the arrest of Victoriana Huerta, erstwhile President of Mexico. After his departure from Mexico in 1914, Huerta went to Spain but later came to the United States and located on Long Island. In June, 1915, he started on what he said was a visit to the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco. When he left the train near El Paso, Texas, he was arrested by the American authorities and charged with conspiracy to foment a revolution against a friendly country, Mexico. Huerta's death shortly after removed him from the scene. The *Journal* then published a mass of evidence gathered by its agents which showed that Huerta was the tool of Germany and was being used to foment trouble in Mexico in the hope of diverting public attention in the United States from the European war to more pressing problems at home.

Protest was made by the British Ambassador that German agents had sent a number of vessels laden with coal and supplies for German cruisers in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. As a result five men connected with the Hamburg American Steamship Company were indicted for obtaining false clearances of vessels from United States ports. The German Ambassador asserted that it was not a violation of international law or of the statutes of the United States to send vessels from neutral ports to supply war ships on the high seas or in other neutral ports. This contention was upheld by the court but the men were convicted for defrauding the government by obtaining false clearance papers.

### SOME FURTHER DOCUMENTS COME TO LIGHT.

The confessions of Major von der Goltz disclosed a conspiracy to destroy the Welland Canal. After his activities in the United States von der Goltz went to England where he was arrested as a spy. To escape prosecution he made a full confession. His testimony led to the indictment of the former German military attache, Franz von Papen; of Wolf von Igel, von Papen's secretary, and of Captain Hans Tauscher, American agent of

the Krupp corporation. Von Igel was arrested in the New York office formerly occupied by von Papen and a mass of papers was seized by the authorities. Von Igel claimed diplomatic immunity and was supported in his contention by Ambassador von Bernstorff who demanded that the seized documents should be returned. Captain Tauscher was tried but the jury failed to convict. Another German official to fall into the clutches of the law was Franz Bopp, the consul-general at San Francisco, who, with several others, was charged with conspiracy to restrain the foreign commerce of the United States in munitions of war and to organize an expedition to destroy British property in Canada, and was later convicted.

Dr. Walter Scheele, head of a chemical company, and eight Germans connected with the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg American lines were indicted for manufacturing bombs to be placed on munition vessels. One of these men, Captain Charles von Kleist, confessed that more than 200 such bombs had been made, and that the funds had been supplied by von Papen, Boy-Ed and von Rintelen, a German agent imprisoned in the Tower of London.

### THE QUESTION OF UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION ARISES.

One result of the intrigues of foreign born citizens in the United States was to direct attention to the policy of the country toward immigration. Many Americans had been seriously disturbed at the demonstrations of disloyalty and serious doubts were expressed as to the effectiveness with which the foreign born had been incorporated into the American body politic. As a result demands were made in the public press for the modification of the traditional policy of the United States towards immigration. In 1913, President Taft and in 1915, President Wilson vetoed bills establishing a literacy test for immigrants on the ground that they were tests not of selection but of restriction and that the bills contemplated a reversal of a traditional American policy.

Finally, in February, 1917, Congress passed a similar restrictive measure over the President's veto.

The European conflagration was certain to call forth in America a discussion of the country's policy toward military preparedness. It was obvious that the American military establishment in 1914 was hopelessly inadequate for war with any first class power. Indeed the recent experience in Mexico had shown that it was not prepared for even a minor national crisis. At the outbreak of the European War the regular army of the United States consisted of 85,965 enlisted men and 4,823 officers. In addition there was the organized militia of the different states amounting to 128,000. This latter was, however, in most of the states, far from being in first class condition, either from the standpoint of training or of military equipment.

### THE POLICY OF ISOLATION GENERALLY ACCEPTED.

There still existed throughout the country a strong popular feeling that our political and geographical isolation would always preserve the nation from foreign attack, and that we had little interest in foreign quarrels. So long as adequate provision was made for the navy, there seemed to be little need of a large army. That the country would ever be called upon to send a large military force to foreign countries was an idea which few had ever thought possible before 1914.

In his message to Congress on December 8, 1914, President Wilson clearly stated this traditional feeling of the country concerning military preparedness as follows:—"It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms. Of course we are not ready to do that, and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested that we be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that and shall

find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace. . . . From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked, are you ready to defend yourselves? We reply, most assuredly, to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. . . . We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms."

### ADVOCATES OF PREPAREDNESS INCREASE IN NUMBERS.

But there were many persons who saw a real national danger in the lack of military preparedness. Ex-President Roosevelt with characteristic energy urged the need of action in this matter. The National Security League and the Navy League were organized by persons who advocated measures for strengthening the army and navy. The crisis with Germany arising out of the submarine campaign greatly strengthened the movement. Advocates of preparedness pointed out that our protests against the violation of neutral rights were futile so long as we were unable to back up our protests with adequate military force. In a speech delivered at New York, November 4, 1915, President Wilson frankly stated that his views on the subject of preparedness had undergone a marked change and he pledged the administration to a policy of military preparedness "to vindicate our right to independent and unmolested action by making the force that is in us ready for assertion." In his annual message to Congress in 1915 the President said that the dominant desire of our people was for peace; that we regard war merely as a means of asserting our rights against aggression. "At the same

time if we are to fight effectively we must know how modern fighting is done and what to do when the summons comes. He therefore proposed to lay before Congress plans for a more adequate national defense. These plans contemplated increasing the regular army from 108,013 to 141,843 officers and men to be supplemented by "a force of 400,000 disciplined citizens raised in increments of 133,000 a year throughout a period of three years." This volunteer force was to be trained for three years. For the navy, which the President characterized as "our first line of defense," the Administration proposed the building within five years of ten battleships, six battle cruisers, ten scout cruisers, fifty destroyers, fifteen fleet submarines, eighty-five coast submarines, four gunboats, one hospital, two ammunition, two fuel oil ships, and one repair ship. The personnel of the navy should be increased by 11,500.

### VARIOUS PLANS TO INCREASE THE ARMY.

In Congress various opinions were expressed as to method of carrying into effect the President's proposals for increasing the military establishment. One plan supported by the Secretary of War, Mr. Lindley M. Garrison, and General Scott, the Chief of Staff of the army, advocated the creation of a continental army entirely under the control of the Federal Government. A second plan supported by Mr. Hay, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, proposed the utilization of the National Guard of the various states as the basis of the new army, by placing the Guard under federal control. Mr. Garrison was unwilling to agree to this suggestion and asked the President to support his plan for a continental army. The President replied that he did not desire to commit himself irrevocably to any one proposal but was prepared to accept any plan which would accomplish the end in view. Under these circumstances Mr. Garrison felt that he could not remain in the Cabinet and he tendered his resignation to the President. In his place Mr. Newton D. Baker was

appointed Secretary of War. Congress finally agreed upon a military bill providing for a regular army of 186,000; a federalized National Guard of 425,000; an officers' reserve corps for the regular army; an enlisted reserve corps for the engineer, signal and quartermaster corps, medical and ordnance departments; and reserve officers' training corps at schools, colleges and universities.

Coincident with this movement for military preparedness, there was widespread feeling that the United States should not only use its influence to bring to an end the terrible struggle in Europe but also at the same time to discover and present to the world some means of preventing the recurrence of such a catastrophe. Many plans were suggested, and every one, no matter how chimerical, found supporters.

### THE "PEACE SHIP" AND ITS VARIED PASSENGERS.

Of the various pacifist schemes the one to attract the greatest attention was that undertaken by Henry Ford. In the fall of 1915 he announced his intention of taking a party of American peace advocates to Europe to discover some means of ending the war, "to get the soldiers out of the trenches before Christmas." An Atlantic liner was chartered to carry 150 men and women who constituted the party to Europe. They represented many varieties of opinion, some of them irreconcilable. The expedition had no official sanction from the government and the European belligerents showed no inclination to welcome the adventure. The party arrived in Norway December 18, 1915. What slight possibilities the movement had of accomplishing anything were destroyed by internal dissensions, and after a short stay at Copenhagen and The Hague, the pilgrims returned to the United States, and the war went on more vigorously than ever.

### OTHER SCHEMES TO BRING ABOUT FUTURE PEACE.

Much more significant were the organized efforts directed toward finding some means of preventing future wars. The movement for international peace

was, of course, not new. During the latter part of the nineteenth century noteworthy progress had been made in this direction, as evidenced by the creation of the Hague Tribunal and the signing of a large number of arbitration treaties. But these instrumentalities had proved insufficient to prevent the great catastrophe in Europe. Advocates of peace therefore began to search for more effective safeguards. Various organizations came forward with different programs. Of these the one to attract greatest attention was presented by the League to Enforce Peace.

The program of the League provided, (1) that justiciable questions arising between nations, which are not settled by negotiation, should be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, (2) other questions should be submitted to a council of conciliation for "hearing, consideration and recommendation," (3) that the signatory powers should use their economic and military forces against any one of their number going to war without submitting the matter in dispute to arbitration, (4) that periodic conferences should be held to formulate rules of international law. The new idea which this plan proposed was the creation of an international force which would command respect for international agreements.

### **P**RESIDENT WILSON ADVOCATES A LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

President Wilson evidenced a lively interest in this new movement and in a memorable speech on May 27, 1916, he declared that "the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations" formed to preserve certain fundamental objects. These objects were (1) that every people shall have the right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live, (2) that small states shall enjoy the same rights as large states, (3) that the world shall be free from disturbance of its peace caused by aggression and disregard of popular rights. In conclusion he advocated "a universal association of nations to maintain the inviolate security of the high way of

the seas for the common and unhindered use of the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world,—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence."

This declaration aroused considerable adverse criticism throughout the country by those who felt that such a program would entail an abandonment of America's traditional policy of isolation from European affairs. To his critics the President said "I shall never myself consent to an entangling alliance, but I would gladly assent to a disentangling alliance, an alliance which would disentangle the people of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests, and unite with the people of the world to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and justice."

### **T**HE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1916 APPROACHES.

These views of the President gave a striking illustration of the remarkable change which had taken place in American political thought after two years of the European war. The expression of such opinions on the eve of a presidential election, in which he was certain to be the nominee of the Democratic party, showed the confidence of the President in the desire of the American people for a wider participation in the affairs of the world.

The presidential election of 1916 was anticipated with lively interest, in Europe as well as in America, for it gave the first real opportunity to test the public opinion of the country on the conduct of our foreign relations by the Democratic party. That Mr. Wilson would be renominated was a foregone conclusion. The nomination of Mr. Hughes by the Republicans was received with general approval. The Republican platform affirmed that the Administration had failed to protect the fundamental rights of American citizens and by its "phrase-making and shifty expedients" had "destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us

in our own eyes." It advocated military preparedness without being specific. It called for "a strict and honest neutrality in the European War." The Democratic platform called for the protection of "the sacred rights of American citizenship" both at home and abroad; it condemned the efforts of every organization "that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power"; it advocated an army and navy "fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights"; it stated the belief that "the time had come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association" to preserve the peace of the world.

### THE CANDIDATES BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

In the campaign which followed Mr. Hughes devoted much attention to criticising the Administration for its Mexican policy and for its handling of the European situation, but he failed to give any clear statement as to how he would have acted differently under the circumstances. Much interest was manifested as to how the large German American vote would be cast. It was felt that President Wilson had alienated a large part of this vote by his policy toward the submarine campaign and the shipment of munitions to the Allies. Mr. Wilson won approval for a sharp rebuke which he administered to an anti-British agitator named Jeremiah O'Leary who wrote an offensive letter to the President predicting his defeat. In his reply the President said: "I would feel deeply mortified to have you or anybody like you vote for me. Since you have access to many disloyal Americans and I have not, I will ask you to convey this message to them." It was not until a week before the election that Mr. Hughes was willing to state frankly his attitude on the embargo question and on the right of Americans to travel on belligerent ships. This hesitancy gave some people the impression that the Republican candidate was trying to conciliate the German vote.

The results of the election gave no

conclusive evidence of the attitude of the country on the great problems confronting it. Mr. Wilson was re-elected by 277 electoral votes to 254 for Mr. Hughes. It was the closest presidential contest since 1876. Broadly speaking the South and the Far West supported Wilson while the East and the Middle West supported Hughes. Though unauthorized, the slogan, "He kept us out of the war" undoubtedly won votes for Mr. Wilson in the West. Of the seven states containing the largest German-American population Mr. Wilson carried three and Mr. Hughes four. It is apparent that the issues which were decisive in the election were domestic and not foreign issues.

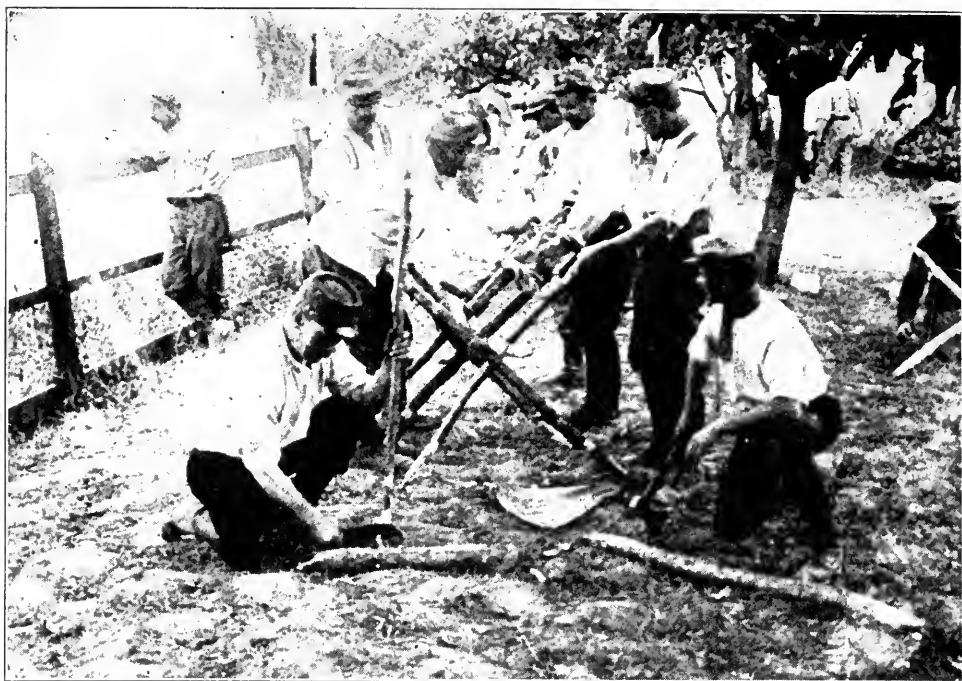
### THE PROVINCIAL ISOLATION OF THE UNITED STATES IS SHOCKED.

For more than two years the people of the United States had watched the great European drama with absorbing interest. In those two years American public opinion had undergone a slow but fundamental transformation. In 1914 the United States was still a provincial nation. The people of this country, as a whole, knew little and cared less about the great problems of world politics. To the majority of Americans the European war was only another one of the many struggles for European leadership.

Those critics who condemn the Administration for not breaking with Germany in May 1915, after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, do not realize how deep-seated was this American provincialism. Slowly, however, Americans began to see the great struggle in a new light. People began to realize that American interests were vitally bound up with the interests of the rest of the world. Submarine ruthlessness and German crimes in Belgium alienated such sympathy as there was for Germany among Americans of the old stock. Instinctively the American people came to feel that the success of the Allies meant the preservation of American ideals. It had taken two years of experience and education to prepare America for the part she was destined to play in the world drama.

NELSON P. MEAD.





#### OBSTACLES TO IMPEDE THE PROGRESS OF THE ENEMY

Many years ago the French called arrangements like these, intended to block up a road or an opening, "chevaux-de-frise" or Friesland horses. In this war, like so many other half-forgotten instruments, they were revived and thousands were constructed and used, though barbed wire took the place of iron spikes set in a beam.



#### FRENCH TRENCH DEFENSES IN RESERVE AT VERDUN

In different places barbed wire entanglements in place before trenches have been shown. Here is a French reserve station behind Verdun. Stakes have been cut and sharpened and lengths of barbed wire fastened a number of them together, making a section of fence. The section is then rolled up for transfer to the front, where it will be unrolled and the stakes driven into the ground before the trenches, usually at night. French Official



French Quick-Firer Approaching Verdun

## CHAPTER XXVIII

# They Shall Not Pass; The Story of Verdun I

## THE STORY OF ONE OF THE GREATEST BATTLES IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

THE word Verdun has passed into world currency, and posterity will rank its soldiers with those that fought at Thermopylae, at Châlons and at Tours. The story survives of a Russian soldier who encountered French troops in Siberia but was unable to communicate with his western allies. He solved the difficulty in characteristic fashion: "Verdun!", he said, saluting, and immediately the gap was bridged.

### VERDUN ONE OF THE GREATEST BATTLES OF THE WORLD.

Psychologically, the battle was a revelation of hitherto unsuspected endurance in the make-up of the French. "*Ils ne passeront pas!*" repeated the *poilu*, doggedly confident through all the horror and misery that prevailed at Verdun, and only changing with the fortunes of battle into the quiet but still more determined "*On les aura!*" Comparisons are always invidious, but it is indisputable that this struggle witnessed one of the most signal triumphs of spirit over material things that the world has ever known. That so much beauty of courage, of suffering, of bearing, and of hoping could have flowered and survived amidst the hideous inferno of bombardment and torturing thirst, "makes one to think" as the suggestive French idiom would say. Militarily also, the battle is

extraordinary for the mass of metal used on both sides, the number of troops employed, and the dramatic change in fortune on the Douaumont Plateau,—no less sudden indeed, than the Battle of the Marne.

### GENERAL FALKENHAYN STRIVES FOR A DECISION.

In 1915 German arms had sought success and gained it—against the Russians and in the Balkans. But decision was lacking, and that only could be attained in the west, and in the west it was sought by the two general staffs. General von Falkenhayn in his book "The German General Staff and its Decisions," published after the war, says: "The strain on the French has almost reached a breaking point. If we succeed in opening the eyes of her people to the fact that in a military sense they have nothing more to hope for, that breaking point would be reached and England's best sword knocked out of her hand. To achieve that object, the uncertain method of a mass break—though in any case beyond our means, is unnecessary. We can probably do enough for our purposes with limited resources. Within our reach, behind the French sector of the Western Front, there are objectives, for the retention of which the French General Staff would be compelled to throw in every

man they have. If they do so, the forces of France will bleed to death—as there can be no question of a voluntary withdrawal—whether we reach our goal or not. If they do not do so, and we reach our objectives, the moral effect on France will be enormous. For an operation limited to a narrow front, Germany will not be compelled to spend herself so freely that all other fronts are practically drained.

“The French lines at that point are barely 20 kilometres distant from German railway communications. Verdun is, therefore, the most powerful *point d'appui* for an attempt, with a relatively small expenditure of effort, to make the whole French front in France and Belgium intolerable. The removal of the danger as a secondary aim would be so valuable on military grounds, that, compared with it, the so-to-speak ‘incidental’ political victory of the ‘purification’ of Alsace by an attack on Belfort, is a small matter.”

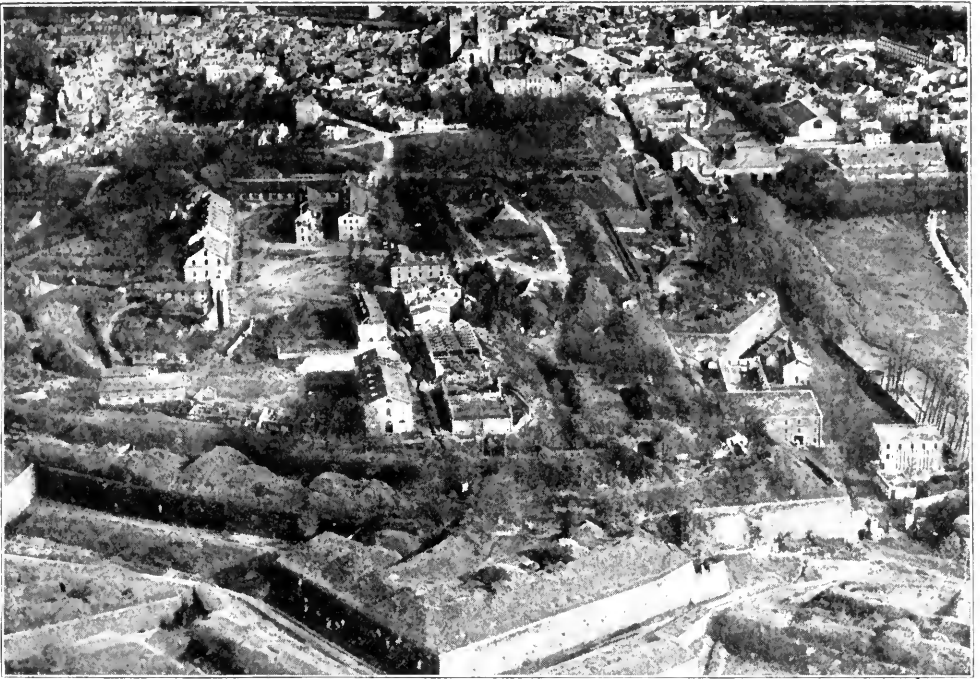
## THE ATTEMPT TO WOUND FRANCE MORTALLY.

The German command, then, was to attack at Verdun, while the Austro-Hungarian command was to invade Italy from the Tyrol. Verdun was selected as a spot in the Allied line where it was believed possible to inflict a mortal wound upon France, and furthermore drive Britain into a premature offensive. This at least was Germany's first aim, though as the attack fell short, it became modified in like degree. When she failed in the first few weeks to capture Verdun, and Joffre forbade the beginning of the offensive on the Somme until its appointed time, German aims then were merely to pin the French down on the Meuse so that their assistance in the British drive would be very slight. Thus the two great battles on the western front, during 1916, are closely interwoven—French defense of Verdun providing needful time for the training of the British professional army; the British offensive on the Somme affording necessary relief for the French corps that had been so hardly engaged on the Meuse. Both of these objects were attained.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VERDUN SALIENT.

What were the German grounds for choosing the fortress of Verdun for their point of assault? Strategically, they were sound. Ever since September, 1914, Verdun, with its outworks, had stood as a salient in the German line—as a salient, moreover, which had lost its railway communications—for of the two main railroads, the Lérrouville line was cut off at St. Mihiel and the second, through Châlons, was under ceaseless German fire. Only the narrow gauge line connecting Verdun with Bar-le-Duc remained, in addition to road communication. Nevertheless, von Ludendorff in his Memoirs writes that the fortress was considered by the German Staff as a particularly dangerous sally-port, which seriously threatened their rear-communications, a premonition fully justified by the events of the autumn of 1918. If then the defenses on the right bank of the Meuse could have been gained, the enemy's strategic positions on the Western Front, as well as the tactical situation of his troops in the St. Mihiel salient would have been materially improved.

There were other reasons: Verdun was only a short distance from Metz, the centre of great military activity and the source of such supplies. It was dangerously near the valuable deposits of iron ore in Lorraine, which the Germans meant to hold whenever peace might come. The moral factor involved in the capture of the “Eastern Gate of France,” the “Key to Paris” was enormous. From a military point of view, the Germans wished to profit by certain failures on the part of the French, who, relying on the nature of the country, had neglected to strengthen the fortified positions to the west of the Meuse, and were known to be holding the fortress with second line troops. Lastly, in the examples of Liège and Namur, the weakness of the fortress before modern artillery had been clearly shown. The French in their defense of Verdun would be holding a position that had grave dangers in the event of a forced retreat;



#### VERDUN AND SOME OF ITS DEFENSES

This view looks upon Verdun from the direction directly opposite the one below. In the foreground are some of the forts and defenses of the city; in the background the twin towers of the cathedral, and to the left a part of the city destroyed by artillery.

Photograph, N. Y. Times



#### VERDUN THE UNCONQUERABLE

Verdun lies on both sides of the Meuse in a pocket of plain. A famous city since the days of the Romans, it became the seat of a bishop in the Middle Ages. Under Louis XIV it was fortified by Vauban, and at the French Revolution showed itself royalist in sympathy. In 1870 Verdun offered stout resistance to the Prussians and after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine was made, along with Toul and Épinal, one of the eastern bulwarks of France.

for the Meuse in their rear, wide and deep and liable to flood, was impassable save by the Verdun bridges which could be shell-swept from the heights on the east. This same river, too, divided their line in two and made the question of reinforcements at all times, a serious problem.

#### THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE VERDUN REGION.

The topography of the country determined the character of the fighting. On both sides of the Meuse, two plateaux stand in relief. That on the west falls towards the river in gentle slopes: from it rise such famous hills as *Le Mort Homme* and Hill 304. The plateau on the east has sharper edges, both to the Meuse, and to its eastern limit—the plain of the Woëvre, over which the hills tower some 300 metres, as cliffs above the sea. Innumerable streams, falling east and west, have cut deep into the clayey soil and broken up the eastern mass, especially, into a tangled mass of little hills and sharp ravines. These "*Côtes de Meuse*" formed the strength of the defense of the Verdun line, for each hill dominated the ravine to the north of it, through which the enemy must advance. The vegetation is sparse on the somewhat sterile soil, yet thick woods clothe the hill-sides and fringe the tops of the ravines. For the most part, the villages cluster on the tops of the *côtes* (as their names Douaumont, Beaumont, Haudromont indicate), and were easily transformed into small fortresses.

It was on this comparatively narrow line of the plateau between Woëvre and Meuse, over the hills, across the ridges, and around the ravines, that the Germans planned to drive down upon the Douaumont plateau which commanded Verdun. Their right wing was to assault the French wing on the west of the river, and their left wing the forts to the east of the *côtes*, and thus bring about an encircling movement which would drive the French army with its back up against the river. Attacks from the east, from the plain of the Woëvre, were important during the struggle; but the nature of the terrain forbade decision in that

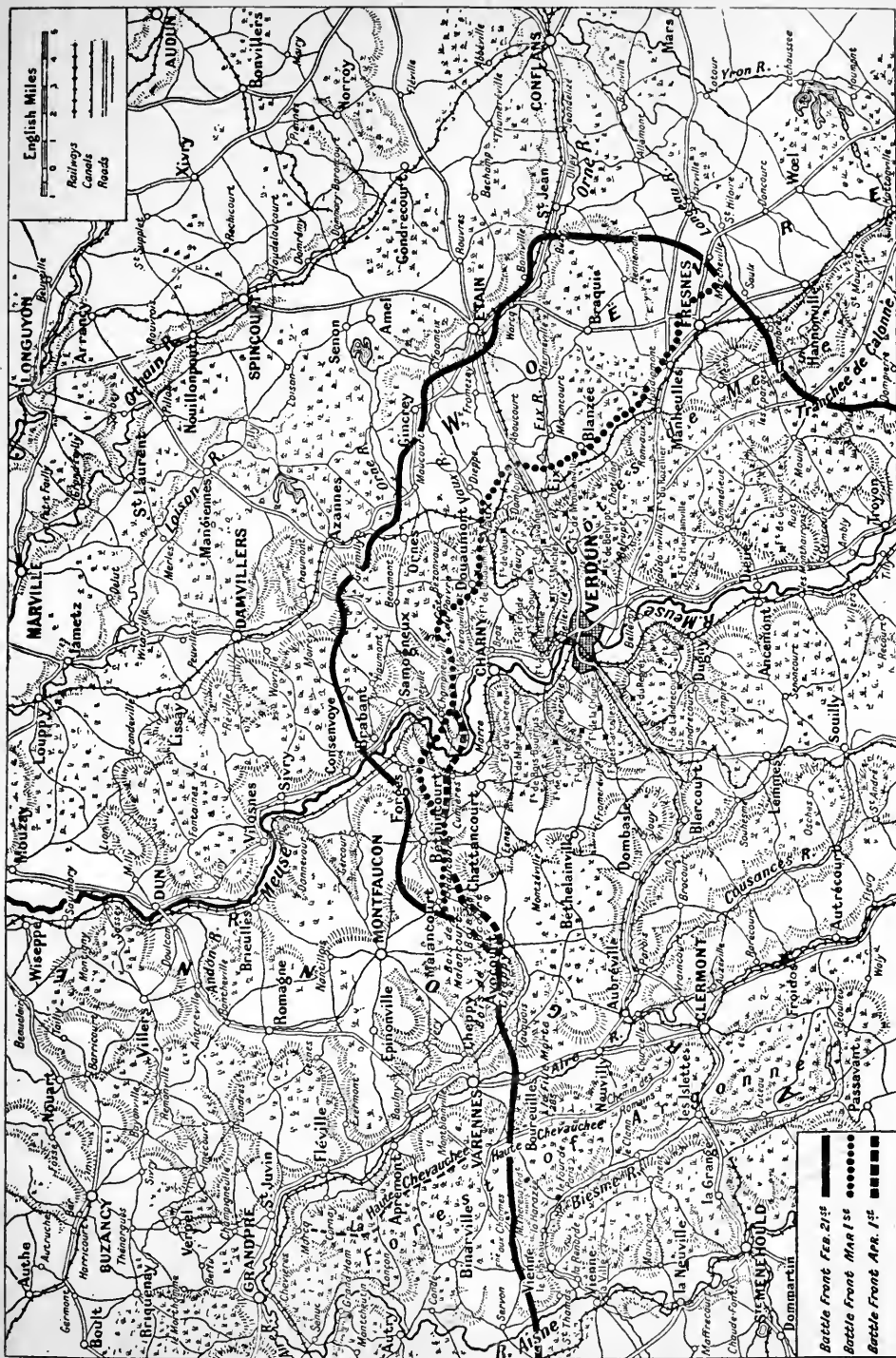
quarter. The Battle of Nancy, in 1914, had already demonstrated the steepness of the plateau scarp. Moreover, at the time of year when the German attack began, the surface of the plateau is impassable for large bodies of troops, as its clayey soil retains the winter rains. On the west ran the river; and the Germans perhaps did not take sufficient account of the defensive value of the Meuse to the French. Dominating its continuous curves, are projecting spurs; and from at least three of these, the French could not only control the crossings of the river, but also the German position on the upland beyond.

#### THE VERDUN OPERATIONS NOT REALLY A SIEGE.

There is a popular misunderstanding of the nature of the Verdun operations, which arises, perhaps, from the use of the term siege, and the ten months' duration of the fighting. Actually, Verdun was never beleaguered, never cut off from the outside world (although some of its forts were, for a while), and the fighting for its possession was as much a battle as that which took place on the Marne or on the Somme. Verdun was an immense intrenched camp, surrounded by an outer ring of detached forts and batteries, situated on both banks of the Meuse. The forts were in commanding positions, from five to ten miles distant from the town, according to the nature of the country; those on the south more distant than those on north and east. They were built in masonry in 1880, rebuilt in concrete in 1885, and again reconstructed in improved material, which the French call *beton armée*, in 1911. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, Verdun was raised to the rank of a first-class fortress and formed part of the fortification of the otherwise open eastern frontier of France. German violation of the neutrality of Belgium in order to avoid it, is testimony to the skill with which it was built. The French line in February, 1916, completely protected the fortress, passing some nine miles to the north and east of it, until it re-crossed or touched the Meuse again



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR



THE SALIENT OF VERDUN, THE SCENE OF GERMANY'S COSTLIEST FAILURE

Copyright



at St. Mihiel, twenty miles south of Verdun.

## THREE DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE BATTLE.

The phases, or periods, of the battle of Verdun, fall into three separate divisions: the first, beginning at the end of February and lasting until April 9, covers the German attacks upon the centre and on both wings,



GENERAL VON FALKENHAYN

When the struggle began von Falkenhayn was Minister for War; he succeeded the younger Moltke as Chief-of-Staff, planning the offensive against Russia (1915) and France (1916).

which in the early days reaped great harvest, but later were brought to a standstill, short of the fort. This period of German attack was followed by a time when the enemy sought to pin the French down upon the Meuse so as to prevent their aiding British preparations upon the Somme, and lasted from April to the middle of July. The third phase ran to December 13, the period of French fixation, when the French, in their turn, were keeping the Germans from reinforcing their armies upon the Somme; and ends with the French successes in October and December, which practical-

ly regained all that the Germans had captured in their first onslaught.

Many correspondents, observers, and strategists have attempted to tell the story of Verdun. It is universally agreed that none has succeeded better, either in grasp of all the factors of the situation or in vividness of narrative, than Lord Northcliffe. We are permitted to use his thrilling account which follows.

## LORD NORTHCLIFFE'S THRILLING ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE.

The enemy began by massing a surprising force on the Western Front. It was usually reckoned that the Germans maintained on all fronts a field army of about seventy-four and a half army corps, which at full strength number three million men. Yet, while holding the Russians from Riga to the south of the Pripet Marshes, and maintaining a show of force in the Balkans, Germany seems to have succeeded in bringing up nearly two millions and a half of men for her grand spring offensive in the west. Troops and guns were withdrawn in increasing numbers from Russia and Serbia in December, 1915, until there were, it is estimated, a hundred and eighteen divisions on the Franco-British-Belgian front. A large number of 6 in. and 12 in. Austrian howitzers were added to the enormous Krupp batteries. Then a large proportion of new recruits of the 1916 class were removed into Rhineland depôts to serve as drafts for the fifty-nine army corps, and it is thought that nearly all the huge shell output, that had accumulated during the winter, was transported westward.

## THE FIRST GERMAN PLAN OF ATTACK. NOT A SURPRISE.

All this gigantic work of preparation could not be hidden. But I do not think the Allied Staffs, in spite of their various and wide sources of information, penetrated deeply into the German plan; for the hostile Chief of Staff, General von Falkenhayn, made his dispositions in a very skillful manner. Out of his available total of one hundred and eighteen divisions, he massed his principal striking force of thirty-two divisions against the

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

British army. Verdun was apparently only a secondary objective, against which fourteen, and later, thirty, divisions were concentrated.

One effect of this massing of German troops against the new and longer British line was that the French commander at Verdun, General Herr, scarcely expected the overwhelming attack made upon him on February 21,

### THE GERMAN ADVANTAGE IN THE AIR FOR THE FIRST WEEKS.

It is true that one Zeppelin was brought down by gun fire while trying to bombard the French railway line of communication, and two German aeroplanes were destroyed out of a squadron of fifteen that bombed Révigny. But the triumph over the Zeppelin did not in any way alter the



THE WAR-TORTURED HEIGHTS ABOVE THE MEUSE

In the distance can be seen a shell bursting on the summit of Froide-Terre, a hill surmounted by a fort immediately to the east of the Meuse and opposite to Charny. It was a particularly strong defensive position because the French had guns posted on the high land on the west of the river, which swept the German attack with enflading fire.

1916. General Herr's Staff knew—though he himself obstinately declined to believe it—that the enemy was preparing a formidable assault in the woods north of the old French frontier fort. But though the German airmen were very active throughout January and February, a good deal could be seen by the French aerial observers of the vast work going on amid the misty tracks of woodland. Lieutenant Immelmann, and other crack Fokker pilots, joined the Crown Prince's army, and for some weeks our allies at Verdun almost lost the command of the air above their lines.

effective situation. Our allies were at a very serious disadvantage in regard to aircraft during the critical periods of the German preparations and the enemy's main attacks. It was not until the middle of March that the French recovered fully, at Verdun, the power of reconnoitring the enemy's positions and bombing his distant lines of communication.

The French Staff reckoned that Verdun would be attacked when the ground had dried somewhat in the March winds. It was thought that the first enemy movement would take place against the British front in some

of the sectors in which there were chalk undulations, through which the rains of winter quickly drained. The Germans skillfully encouraged this idea by making an apparent preliminary attack at Lihons, with rolling gas-clouds and successive waves of infantry. During this feint, the veritable offensive movement softly began on Saturday, February 19, 1916, when the enormous masses of hostile artillery west, east, and north of the Verdun salient started registering on the French positions. Only in small numbers did the German guns fire, in order not to alarm their opponents. But even this trial bombardment was a terrible display of power, calling forth all the energies of the outnumbered French gunners to maintain the artillery duels that continued day and night until Monday morning, February 21st.

### THE VERDUN REGION SOMEWHAT LIKE SCOTLAND.

Looking at the country from the observation point east of Verdun, one can see why it was chosen by the German Staff for a grand surprise attack. As I stood, with the flooded Meuse and its high western banks behind me, and before me the famous plateau crowned by the ruins of Douaumont Fort; I was reminded of Scotland. Perth on the Tay, amid its fir-wooded heights, is rather like Verdun in the basin of the Meuse. It was the evergreen fir-woods that attracted the German Staff, as splendid cover for their vast artillery preparations. As their aircraft at last almost dominated the French aeroplanes, they completed their concentration of guns by an arrogantly daring return to old-fashioned methods. Instead of digging any more gun-pits, they placed hundreds of pieces of artillery side by side above ground, confident that the French artillery would be overwhelmed before it could do any damage. A French airman, sent to count the batteries in the small wood of Gremilly, gave up his task in despair, saying there were more guns than trees.

The method of handling these great parks of artillery was a development

of the phalanx tactics used by von Mackensen in breaking the Russian lines at Gorlice; and according to a rumor, von Mackensen was at Verdun, with his chief, General von Falkenhayn, superintending the disposition of guns and men. The commander nominally in charge, however, was Field-Marshal von Haeseler, a tall, thin man of eighty, of the type of von der Goltz—excellent at drawing up schemes on paper, and accounted, before the test of war, the best military leader in Germany. He had, therefore, been placed in command of the Crown Prince's army, so that by his genius he might win personal glory for the Hohenzollern dynasty. In any case, it is clear that von Haeseler either adopted and developed von Mackensen's new system of attack, or that von Mackensen in person directed the movement, with von Haeseler in nominal command, in order to mislead the French Staff as to the way in which the movement was likely to develop. Certainly, General Herr did not anticipate the character or the tremendous violence of the assault that opened at dawn on February 21, 1916.

### THE TERRIFIC FORCE OF THE GERMAN ARTILLERY.

For two days the German heavy howitzers had been battering at the twenty-five miles of defensive earth-works round Verdun, in order to make so large a gap that the hostile long range guns of defense behind the third line could not close the rent by means of curtain fire. General Herr, and his Staff, had only two army corps to hold back the seven army corps that the Germans first brought forward; but the high, broken, difficult ground about Verdun favored the defending forces. Moreover, the French engineers had worked in an astonishing fashion to perfect the natural difficulties of the terrain. In the low ground, such as that round the two Ornes heights, held by the Germans, the French had tunnels running to a depth at which no shell could penetrate. In the three important woodlands between Ornes and the Meuse—Haumont Wood, Caures Wood, and Herbebois Wood—there

was all the intensive system of protection that had been developed in the Argonne fighting.

General Sarrail had only extended his lines to the woodlands in the plain between the Meuse and Ornes in the spring of 1915, snatching the ground from the enemy bit by bit, when the German forces at Verdun were weakened through sending reinforcements to the Champagne and Lille fields of conflict. General Sarrail, however, seems to have extended his lines into the low-lying northern woodlands with considerable reluctance. He liked hill positions himself, and there was a dispute between him and the High Command regarding his manner of fortifying the newly-won ground. As a result he was sent to Saloniki, and the defense of Verdun in the new style was given to a new man, little known to the public—General Herr.

## THE FIRST LINE TRENCHES ARE OBLITERATED.

But the phalanx tactics of the von Mackensen school were calculated to overwhelm any system of defensive works, new or old, in forests or on hillsides. The German attack was irresistible, and it was only the large space of country available for retreat between the Meuse and Ornes line and the Douaumont Plateau that saved Verdun from rapid capture.

The enemy seems to have maintained a bombardment all round General Herr's lines on February 21, 1916, but this general battering was done with a thousand pieces of field-artillery. The grand masses of heavy howitzers were used in a different way. At a quarter past seven in the morning they concentrated on the small sector of advanced intrenchments near Brabant and the Meuse; twelve-inch shells fell with terrible precision every few yards. The trenches were obliterated. In

each small sector of the six-mile northward bulge of the Verdun salient, the work of destruction was done with surprising quickness. After the line from Brabant to Haumont was smashed, the main fire power was directed against the other end of the bow at Herbebois, Ornes, and Mau-



FIELD-MARSHAL VON HAESELER

Field-Marshal von Haeseler, the veteran commander who accompanied the Crown Prince's forces against Verdun, had a brilliant reputation before the war, and for this reason, although eighty years of age, was appointed to bring glory to the house of Hohenzollern.

court. Then when both ends of the bow were severely hammered, the central point of the Verdun salient, Caures Wood, was smothered in shells of all sizes. In this manner, almost the whole enormous force of heavy artillery was centred upon mile after mile of the French front. When the great guns lifted over the lines of craters, the lighter field-artillery, placed row

after row in front of the wreckage, maintained an unending fire curtain over the communicating saps and support intrenchments. (See maps on pages 437 and 452.)

### **THE GERMANS ATTEMPT TO ECONOMIZE IN MEN.**

Then came the second surprising feature in the new German system of attack. No waves of storming infantry swept into the shattered works. Only strong patrols at first came forward, to discover if it were safe for the main body of troops to advance and reorganize the French line so as to allow the artillery to move onward. The German commanders thought it would be possible to do all the fighting with long-range artillery, leaving the infantry to act as squatters to the great guns, and occupy and rebuild line after line of the French defenses without any serious hand-to-hand struggles. All they had to do was to protect the gunners from surprise attack, while the guns made an easy path for them, and also beat back any counter-attack in force.

But, ingenious as was this scheme for saving the man-power of Germany by an unparalleled expenditure of shell, it required for full success the co-operation of the French troops. But the French did not co-operate. Their High Command had continually improved their system of trench defense in accordance with the experiences of their own hurricane bombardments in Champagne and the Carençy sector. General de Castelnau, the acting Commander-in-Chief on the French front, was, indeed, the inventor of hurricane fire tactics, which he had used for the first time in February, 1915, in Champagne. When General Joffre took over the conduct of all French operations, leaving to General de Castelnau the immediate control of the front in France, the victor of the Battle of Nancy weakened his advance lines and then his support lines, until his troops actually engaged in fighting were very little more than a thin covering body, such as is thrown out towards the frontier while the main forces connect well behind.

### **THE FRENCH WITHDRAW THE GREATER PART OF THEIR MEN.**

The tactical effect of this extraordinary measure was to leave remarkably few French troops exposed to the appalling tempest of German and Austrian shells. The fire-trench was almost empty, and in many cases the real defenders of the French line were men with machine-guns, hidden at some distance from the positions at which the German gunners aimed. The batteries of light guns, which the French handled with the flexibility and continuity of fire of maxims, were also concealed in widely-scattered positions. The main damage caused by the first intense bombardment was the destruction of all the telephone wires along the French front. Communications could only be slowly re-established by messengers, so that many parties of men had to fight on their own initiative, with little or no combination of effort with their comrades.

Yet, desperate as were their circumstances, they broke down the German plan for capturing trenches without an infantry attack. They caught the patrols and annihilated them, and then swept back the disillusioned and reluctant main bodies of German troops. The small French garrison of every centre of resistance, fought with cool, deadly courage and often to the death.

### **THE CAURES WOOD IS SOLD AT A HIGH PRICE.**

The organization of the French Machine-gun Corps was a fine factor in the eventual success. One gun fired ten thousand rounds daily for a week, most of the positions selected being spots from which each German infantry advance would be enfiladed and shattered. Then the French "75's" which had been masked during the overwhelming fire of the enemy's howitzers, came unexpectedly into action when the German infantry attacks increased in strength. Near Haumont, for example, eight successive furious attacks were repulsed by three batteries of "75's."

Some of the Haumont guns got through the German fire curtain, and

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helped in the defense of the Caures Wood. Here there occurred some memorable exploits. First of all, the wood was lost by the smashing effect of the German heavy shell fire. The position was almost as strong as the famous German Labyrinth near Arras, and, knowing this, the enemy used his 16.8 in. Berthas in addition to the 12 in. Skoda guns. The deep roofs were driven down upon the men sheltering beneath, and the wood had to be

air, and the Germans suffered very badly.

**A PART OF THE WOOD TEMPORARILY RECOVERED.**

Soon afterwards, Lieutenant-Colonel Driant, with two fine battalions of Chasseurs, recovered by a counter-attack the southern part of Caures Wood. Driant was a magnificent soldier. His heroic end saddened the French people, and yet inspired them with fresh courage. The day after



**SOLDIERS ON THE WAY TO VERDUN**

This picture shows a roadside halt of a "fleet" of motor omnibuses. German guns commanded the principal railway communications, but a special committee had charge of the problem of road transport, and during the first fortnight of the German offensive the traffic handled represented the capacity of fifteen trains a day in each direction. Many of the omnibuses used were taken from the streets of Paris and other cities of France.

abandoned. But the survivors of the garrison held the enemy back, while a lieutenant of engineers with his men laid a large number of mines with electrical firing wires. The German general, after his skirmishers and bombing-parties had been beaten off, went back to the old Prussian method of a mass attack, and launched a division against the wood. By arrangement, the French covering troops fled in apparent panic, and were hotly chased down the trenches and communication saps to the southern outskirts. As the last man left the wood, the lieutenant of engineers who was near Beaumont waiting the signal, pressed a button. Many of the trees rose in the

his fine victory, the forces on either side of him were compelled to withdraw, and the Germans closed round him on both sides. Arranging his two battalions in five columns, he made a splendid fighting retreat between the two German divisions which almost enveloped his force. With only a hundred men he rearguarded the retirement, and was found dead by the Germans on the battlefield. He was buried beside one of his captains close to the wood.

In spite of the vast forces employed by the enemy, the Germans achieved but little on the first day of battle, February 21st. They won a footing in the first-line trenches and in



some of the supporting trenches—a thing any army could have done with a large expenditure of shell. The French still held Brabant and Haumont, with Colonel Driant in Caures Wood and the garrisons of Herbebois Wood and Ornes holding their own. But on the morning of February 22, the Germans worked up a ravine between Brabant and Haumont by means of burning liquids spurted from flame-projectors. At the same time the German artillery renewed its smashing, intensive fire, wrecking and flattening out Haumont village and breaking up the French works for a depth of three or four miles. Fortified farms were bombarded south of Haumont Wood and transformed into volcanoes by the huge German shells, and when night fell trench warfare had come to an end, so far as the northern part of the Verdun garrison was concerned.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE GERMAN ARTILLERY.

All their earthworks had been swept out of existence, and the troops fought and worked in the open in a tragic darkness lighted by the enemy's wonderful star-shells. They had been hammered out of Brabant, on the edge of the Meuse, and their centre had been driven in. On the right, however, the garrison of Herbebois Wood still clung on to part of their original position, under an intermittent hurricane of heavy shell, the intervals of which were filled by infantry attacks. Under the enemy's fire the French troops linked their Herbebois line with Hill 351, digging all night in a rain of death to connect the two positions for a fresh defense against an enfilading attack on Beaumont. When morning broke, the Germans began the attack on this new French line. After a desperate struggle lasting twelve hours, in which the enemy commander continually brought up fresh regiments, the French retired from Herbebois and another wood below it, but still held on to the hill.

All along this side of the salient hand-to-hand fighting went on, from Ornes to Bezonvaux and the advanced

position of the Hill of Vaux. Small French garrisons held advanced positions in the plain stretching towards the enemy's base of Étain. There was terrible fighting at Maucourt, where the French had some quick-firing guns posted only five yards apart, and unmasked against German columns charging twenty men abreast in close ranks. The French soldiers themselves sickened at the slaughter they wrought. From Ornes to Vaux the ground was covered with dead or maimed men. The French gunners suffered more in proportion than their infantry, especially in the centre and the left wing, where the guns had to fight a continual rearguard action in the open. Though they often caught German columns at short range, they were in turn smitten by the heavy German guns; enemy airmen circling over them and directing the fire.

#### THE ZOUAVES AND THE AFRICANS HOLD FAST.

Ornes held out until the afternoon of February 24, when the garrison retreated to Bezonvaux, from which a ravine ran up to Douaumont. Covering the country north of Douaumont was a superb set of fighters composed of Zouaves and African sharpshooters. They recaptured part of the wood between Herbebois and Hill 351, and then withstood a prolonged bombardment of terrific intensity. The din and concussion of the heavy shells were appalling; the blood at times poured from the men's ears under the shock of the pressure of air, and yet they stuck to their job. They were pushed out of Beaumont and out of the wood they had recaptured, and they lost Fosses Wood a little way below the Douaumont Plateau, towards which they retired.

Meanwhile, the centre and left of the French salient were hammered back with increasing rapidity. The division close to the Meuse, which had withdrawn from Brabant and Haumont, tried in vain to counter-attack from their second line at Samogneux, Hill 344, and a fortified farm near by. The enemy massed his guns against them across the Meuse,

northward, and north-westward. They could not move out to attack, and by the evening of February 23, their position was untenable. In the night they withdrew from Samogneux towards Pepper Hill (*Côte du Poivre*), which was practically their last dominating position. Pepper Hill was, indeed, the critical position of the entire defense of Verdun. Had the enemy won it, he would have been able to advance along the Meuse and cut off a large part of the French forces in the salient.

were thus shattered, their front was hammered from the Pepper Hill position. At Vacherauville, a village just below Pepper Hill, the enemy's advance was definitely checked on February 25. In one ravine near the village, as day was breaking, some French gunners on Pepper Hill espied a grey mass of hostile forces, and shelled it furiously. The Germans did not move. When the light was clear, it was seen that the figures were dead, though many still stood upright. They had been caught the evening before



THE KAISER AND HIS ADVISERS AT HEADQUARTERS

In the rear, standing, from left to right are: von Bülow, von Mackensen, von Moltke, the Crown Prince, von François, Ludendorff, von Falkenhayn, von Einem, von Beseler, von Bethmann-Hollweg, and von Heeringen. Seated from right to left: von Tirpitz, von Hindenburg, von Haeseler, von Emmich, von Kluck, the Duke of Württemberg, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and in front, the Kaiser.

## THE DEADLY DEFENSE OF PEPPER HILL.

General Herr and his Staff, however, devised a deadly system of defense for Pepper Hill. Across the river at this point the French held several lines of dominating heights, from which they poured a flanking fire into every hostile force advancing from Brabant and Haumont. The nearer the Germans came to Verdun, on the Pepper Hill sector, the more terribly they suffered from the fire across the Meuse. They came within range of rifles, machine-guns, and light field-pieces, as well as heavy howitzers, and while their flanks

were thus shattered, their front was hammered from the Pepper Hill position. At Vacherauville, a village just below Pepper Hill, the enemy's advance was definitely checked on February 25. In one ravine near the village, as day was breaking, some French gunners on Pepper Hill espied a grey mass of hostile forces, and shelled it furiously. The Germans did not move. When the light was clear, it was seen that the figures were dead, though many still stood upright. They had been caught the evening before

by the guns across the river and slain wholesale, more by shell-blast, apparently, than by shell fragments. Von Haeseler had made a costly mistake in driving up the Meuse towards Pepper Hill before he cleared the French from Goose Crest (*Côte de l'Oie*), Dead Man Hill (*Mort Homme*) and Charny Ridge across the river. He afterwards tried to remedy his error by bringing his main artillery forces against Goose Crest and Dead Man Hill. But before thus widening the scope of his attack, he tried to preserve the intensive, narrow method of assault in the von Mackensen style,

by thrusting into the centre of the flattened Verdun salient. That is to say, he shifted the point of the phalanx from Pepper Hill to the middle of the Douaumont Plateau. This was the right and plain course, for it removed the attacking masses and their immediate artillery supports from the French flanking fire across the Meuse, and brought them nearly within reach of victory.

#### **THE SNOWSTORMS HINDER THE GERMAN ATTACK.**

The great thrust into the French centre also cleared the French out of the eastern edges of the Heights of the Meuse overlooking the Woëvre Plain, for the Zouaves and Moroccans and the former garrisons of Herbebois and Ornes were farthest from Verdun, and most in danger of being cut off. The Zouaves and Moroccans fell back on Douaumont, while the troops from Bezonvaux intrenched by the Douaumont Ravine and the Vaux Ravine.

Then the great snowstorm of February swept over the hilly battlefield and the lowland marshes of the Woëvre. The storm was a disaster to the Germans. It robbed them in the crisis of the struggle of their tremendous power of artillery. Gunners and aerial observers were blinded, and from their point of view matters were not much improved by the mist that followed the snow. Snowdrifts in the valley paths delayed the forward movement of the guns and the bringing up of ammunition and supplies to the firing-line. This was when the original German plan for economy in men went all to pieces. The High Command could not wait for its guns to resume full action. The infantry had to undertake, with diminished artillery support, the terrible work of breaking the French front by hand-to-hand fighting. Verdun, after all, was to be purchased with German blood and not with German shells.

#### **NEW FRENCH DEFENSES ARE HASTILY PREPARED.**

The great arc of artillery was still able to work by the map and by observers in the firing-line. It could pound villages, farms, and old forts,

in which French troops might be sheltering, but it could not aim at the manœuvring columns and discern all the paths of communication. On the Plateau of Douaumont, some four hundred feet above the Meuse, the garrison of Verdun had the old intrenchments prepared at the outbreak of the war and improved by long labor. Then there were many improvised new defenses—masked batteries of quick-firers, to be unmasked only against mass infantry attacks, hundreds of machine-guns detached from battalion service and acting as a sort of secondary artillery corps. And far behind the flaming, smoking plateau there was a superhuman outburst of activity in France, veiled from enemy air scouts by the falling snow.

General Joffre, General de Castelnau, and their Staffs were now convinced that Verdun was the enemy's first objective. The British army took over all the line where the second grand German offensive was expected, thus liberating important French reinforcements for the battle on the Heights of the Meuse. All lines and roads leading, round-about or direct, towards Verdun, were crowded with men and material. The main French force was driving towards the enemy. The only matter of doubt was whether it would arrive in time to hold Verdun, or whether the supreme contest between French and German would take place on the western side of the Meuse.

#### **THE ORIGINAL GARRISON OF VERDUN HOLDS FAST.**

This depended upon the staying power of the small original garrison of Verdun. At heroic sacrifice they had to cover the massing of the great new forces. The situation had become very critical on the afternoon of February 24, when large enemy forces debouched between Louvemont village and the hill in front of the Douaumont Plateau. General Herr flung all his remaining reserves into the fight, with the order that the line between Douaumont and Haudromont was to be held at any cost. Von Haeseler in turn, brought all his available infantry and employed them in

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mass attacks of great ferocity and persistence. His aim was to wear down the physical power of endurance of the French. On February 25, the Germans, after a long hand-to-hand wrestle, took all the village of Louvemont at the slope of the plateau, and climbed up the ridge, but were thrown down.

defenses. Meanwhile, before General Pétain could get to work, there was the immediate task of checking the massed infantry attacks which the enemy was employing until the air cleared and his guns were sited on the new Beaumont position. General de Castelnau could not bring up a large force—time and means were lacking. A picked body



### FRENCH FIGHTING IN IMPROVISED DEFENSES

Around Verdun the German heavy artillery pounded the strongest forts into fragments, but in shell-holes, in tunnels dug into the sides and strengthened by sandbags, the French outposts took refuge and held on grimly. The unconquerable tenacity exhibited by the French soldier has never been surpassed in the annals of warfare.

About this time General de Castelnau came to Verdun to see how things were going on. He was not contented with what he saw. The Germans had won a magnificent artillery position on the high land at Beaumont, towards which they were dragging the main group of their heavy guns. The command of the air had been almost lost, and there were not enough pontoon bridges, across the flooded Meuse, to bring up quickly the needed reinforcements. General Herr was relieved of his command, and a very fine engineer, who was also a specialist in handling heavy artillery, General Pétain, was entrusted with the reorganization of the Verdun

of fighters was needed, and the General wired for the Bretons who had won the Battle of Nancy for him—the Bretons of the Twentieth Army Corps, under General Balfourier.

### THE KAISER ARRIVES TO SEE THE VICTORY.

They arrived just in time on the plateau on February 26. As was the case at Nancy, the Kaiser was present, watching the development of a "grand German victory." He stood on one of the hills near Ornes, with the Crown Prince by his side, and von Falkenhayn and von Haeseler. For reasons of domestic politics, a purely Prussian force—the Brandenburgers—had been chosen to deal the decisive

stroke. All the previous day and the previous night ordinary German divisions carried out the real work of smashing against the Zouaves and Moroccans, and bringing them to the limit of human endurance.

The Zouaves were perfect. They were in front of Douaumont village, with the Moroccan Division and two infantry regiments; they fought for two days and two nights without eating or sleeping. On February 26, when Douaumont Fort was lost, the Zouaves and their comrades still held the village, and on February 27, without help, they broke the long prepared attack by part of the German Fifteenth Army Corps. They let their foes come within two hundred yards and then put a shrapnel curtain behind them to prevent retreat or reinforcement, and smote them down with "75's", machine-guns, and rifles. The struggle for the village went on to the end of the month, by which time the Germans had made eighteen attacks in force, all of which were broken. When the approaches to Douaumont were covered with dead and wounded, the French made a counter-attack, and won a footing in a redoubt north-west of the village, from which the enemy had been pouring an uncomfortable machine-gun fire.

#### THE BRETON CORPS SAVES THE DAY.

Stubborn, however, as was the stand made by the Zouaves, they would have perished on the critical day of the Douaumont fight but for the arrival of Balfourier's Bretons. On the afternoon of that day they were in extreme peril of being enveloped on their right. The dismantled fort had been taken by three thousand Brandenburgers during the heavy fog. Still working by the map, the gunners of the long-range German and Austrian artillery massed with remarkable precision against the fortress works, and then poured great shells about it, in a blind profusion which was expensive but effective. After this bombardment had made the trenches of the troops untenable, the Brandenburgers, who had come in the night up the ravine

from Bezonvaux and gathered in a wood, charged under cover of the fog, and won a footing on the plateau. Reaching the dismantled fort, that crowns a swell of ground some 1,200 feet above sea-level, the men of the Brandenburg Mark tried to break through the French rearguard. But after withdrawing for a mile and a quarter, the French line remained unbroken, bent away from the fort, but still curving round the village.

Friday night (the 25th), and Saturday morning, were a period of extreme crisis. Open field fighting of the most desperate nature went on continuously. The Germans fought with great bravery, according to the best tradition of Prussian discipline. But the French, French Colonial, and African troops still bore up against the superior numbers of fresh enemy forces. Fighting and working, our allies strove to establish themselves solidly on their new line of defense, while the Germans, with victory apparently well within their reach, tried to break through by overwhelming weight and unfaltering driving power. They took, without breaking, heavier punishment than their own theorists before the war expected modern national armies to stand. But firm as they were, the outnumbered French soldiers were firmer, and as twilight was falling, Balfourier, with the famous Twentieth Army Corps, came into action.

#### THE BRANDENBURGERS FAIL TO BREAK THROUGH.

The vehemence of attack of the fresh French force was terrific. The men went forward with such speed that the enemy was surprised. The Bretons smashed onwards for more than a mile, joining on to the Zouaves at Douaumont village, and enclosing part of a Brandenburg regiment in the fort. The Germans on the slope of the ravine, however, managed to hold on to a sap running through a coppice and connecting with the fort. The enemy thus retained a valuable observation station on the plateau, from which he could direct his main batteries at Beaumont. But for the rest he was trapped.

The Kaiser, in person, had sustained

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a more disastrous defeat than he had received at Nancy, for at Verdun he could not retire. He had telegraphed to Berlin news of his great victory over the "hereditary enemy"; his officials had filled the German and neutral press with glorious anticipations of the capture of Verdun, of which the principal fort was alleged to have fallen. Rumania, according to Teutonic opinion, was only being restrained from following the example of Italy by the tremendous energy with which the Germans were renewing their drive in France. The Kaiser's telegram concerning the conquest of Douaumont had been sent to Berlin as a transmitting station; its true destination was Bucharest.

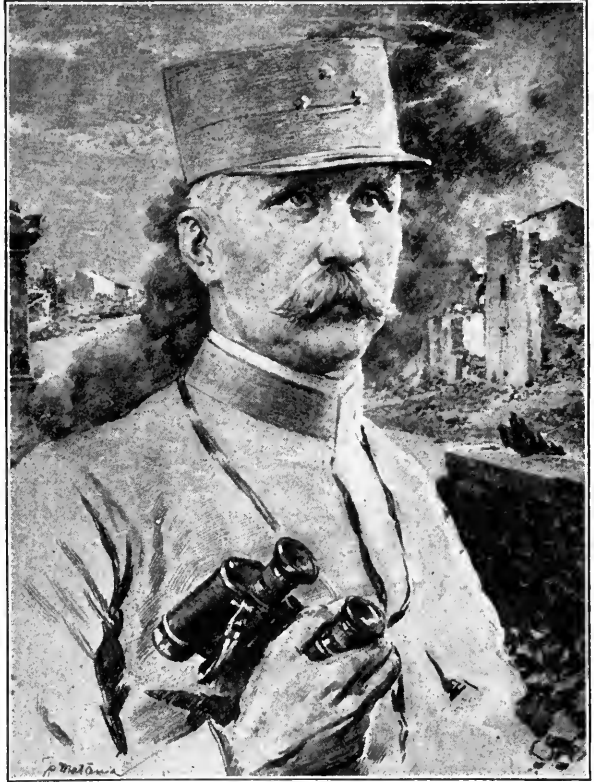
### THE KAISER ORDERS VERDUN TAKEN AT ANY COST.

I cannot think of any parallel in history to this phase of the situation at Verdun. The War Lord of Germany was entangled in the web of his own prestige. To General de Castelnau and General Joffre the operations at Verdun assumed a new complexion. If they could bring up and organize their forces in time, they had the enemy so fixed that they could bleed white one of his largest armies. They might also sap the strength of movements he was preparing in other directions, by compelling him continually to reinforce at all costs his Verdun army. Only so long as they kept the Crown Prince out of Verdun could they hold the Kaiser trapped in his own boasts, with all his people waiting for the fulfillment of their high hopes, in an intensity of spirit that might be an important moral factor if cheated of success. Verdun had become more than a military objective. For Germany, its political and moral value had become even greater than its strategical importance. It was worth capturing at a cost of life that made the capture equivalent

to a defeat. Two hundred thousand German casualties are alleged to have been the Kaiser's estimate of the worth of Verdun.

### GENERAL PÉTAIN, A MASTER OF ARTILLERY.

All this, however, greatly aggravated the burden on the mind of the



GENERAL HENRI PHILIPPE PÉTAIN

Though only a colonel at the outbreak of war, in April 1917 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the French armies in France. During the three years' interval the most brilliant page in his career was the defense of Verdun.

new defender of the French frontier town, General Pétain, who, nevertheless, carried his burden easily. Tall, fair, blue-eyed, of the northern stock of France that has absorbed much Flemish blood, Pétain was radiant with energy of both character and mind. He was only a colonel of the engineers in August, 1914, but while developing his own special branch of knowledge and showing a fine gift of leadership in the handling of infantry, he became also a master-gunner—the new French heavy howitzers



being his favorite weapon. It was as the master-gunner of France that he was brought by General de Castelnau to Verdun to fight against the two thousand guns of the German phalanx, the largest pieces of which carried farther than the French heavy howitzer immediately available.

General Pétain, however, had a method of getting more out of his howitzers than the manufacturers expected. Even with his medium pieces he could often overpower heavy enemy guns. He had, besides, worked out a method by which he could use these medium pieces with the flexibility of light field-artillery. But until he had constructed his telephone service, recovered the command of the air, and got his guns into the special positions required by his system, he had a desperately hard struggle to maintain his line and win time for completing his preparations.

### **T**HE LULL AFTER THE GREAT STORM.

After breaking against the Douaumont Ridge on February 26, the German attack seemed to weaken. Fierce infantry fighting continued at Douaumont village till the end of the month. Then came an ominous period of calm, lasting three days. The enemy was moving his enormous parks of guns closer to Verdun. But the time thus spent by the Germans was like a gift from heaven to General Pétain. He threw bridges over the Meuse; he augmented his gun power on the western heights at Dead Man Hill and Charny Ridge, making his flanking fire from this direction more deadly and far-reaching; he strengthened the Douaumont Plateau defenses, and poured in guns, ammunition, and fresh troops.

General Pétain did not, however, pack his infantry into the restricted Verdun area. Under fire his men were scattered but fresh; the main force being well out of range of the German artillery, and used in short shifts at the front. On the other hand, no German within five miles of the French guns was safe. As the new French commander's shell supply quickened,

by his constant improvement of his lines of communication, and as newly-rifled guns arrived regularly to replace those worn by firing, he gradually dominated the German artillery.

### **T**HE GERMANS ARE INDUCED TO WASTE SHELLS.

In continual drum-fire bombardments it was not only shell stores that were spent, but the life of the heavy ordnance. The wasting of shell accumulation and the wearing out of the guns cripple the immediate offensive power of a nation in a manner that no reserve of man-power could supply. General Pétain, therefore, had to provoke the hostile artillery into constant action, as well as induce the German infantry to fling itself against the quick-firers and machine-guns. Thus, even if he could have done so at once, it might not have been sound policy to overwhelm the enemy with a large part of the French accumulation of shell. Considerable subtlety in playing upon the mind of the German commander was needed in order to induce him to exhaust all his resources thoroughly, while not doing any grievous damage to France.

General Pétain was always willing to sell at a good price the pieces of ground he did not want. On the first day of his command he withdrew all French posts in the Woëvre Plain and placed them upon the high ground. But afterwards he was not so sternly scientific in his concentrations of force. Instead of evacuating his weak points, he concealed machine-guns around them with observers at the end of a telephone wire, which ran to a central exchange, from which heavy guns by the hundred could be aimed. This gave the Germans something strenuous to achieve, and, going on the principle that the struggle was greater than the prize, they had, after accomplishing their object, something to celebrate in their *communiqués*.

### **G**ENERAL PÉTAÏN REARRANGES HIS ARTILLERY.

In the first days of March they resumed their bombardment and infantry attacks upon the Douaumont Plateau, losing heavily, but not

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shifting General Balfourier's corps; but Douaumont had then become a place of secondary importance. General Pétain had not waited for bridging material to transport his big guns across the Meuse. Instead of concentrating round the spot at which the enemy was striking, he ran his new heavy ordnance more quickly up the Argonne Forest to the hills above Verdun, on the opposite

swung round to westward to make a flanking bombardment on the French positions across the Meuse, and east of these positions another mass of heavy German artillery near Montfaucon opened a hurricane fire. Then on March 6 infantry assaults began. Forges was taken at great cost, but the enemy could not debouch from the hamlet on to the northern slopes of



FRENCH REVICTUALING TRANSPORT

Not only did motor transport have to bear all the burden of reinforcements for the Army of Verdun, but also all its supplies, food for men, guns, trench material and repair outfits, hospital and air-service requirements. In spite of the heavy strain put upon them the roads were kept in excellent repair by soldiers engaged unceasingly upon the task.

Picture, Henry Ruschin

side of the stream. There, with a range of five miles, he could sweep all the reserve, support, and firing lines of the enemy's forces engaged on the front of three and a half miles between Pepper Hill and Douaumont.

This abruptly changed the situation, as the Germans viewed it. They had to take the hills across the Meuse—Dead Man Hill and Charny Ridge especially—in order to recover fully the power of making mass attacks on the Douaumont Plateau. So the tide of battle shifted—but at the masterly direction of General Pétain. The great batteries at Beaumont

the Goose Crest. The force that attempted to do so was shattered. But the next day a fresh German division reached part of the crest, and worked down the railway to Regnéville, lying over against Samogneux, with the river between. Again new forces were deployed on March 7, and by another day of hard and good fighting the German commander made a brilliant stroke. He captured Crows' Wood (*Bois des Corbeaux*) and Cumières Wood, from which a decisive advance could be made on Dead Man Hill. If Dead Man Hill fell, General Pétain's power over the enemy's ground across

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

the Meuse would be seriously reduced, and his more southerly position on Charny Wood would be menaced.

### THE FRENCH NEED TIME TO PREPARE.

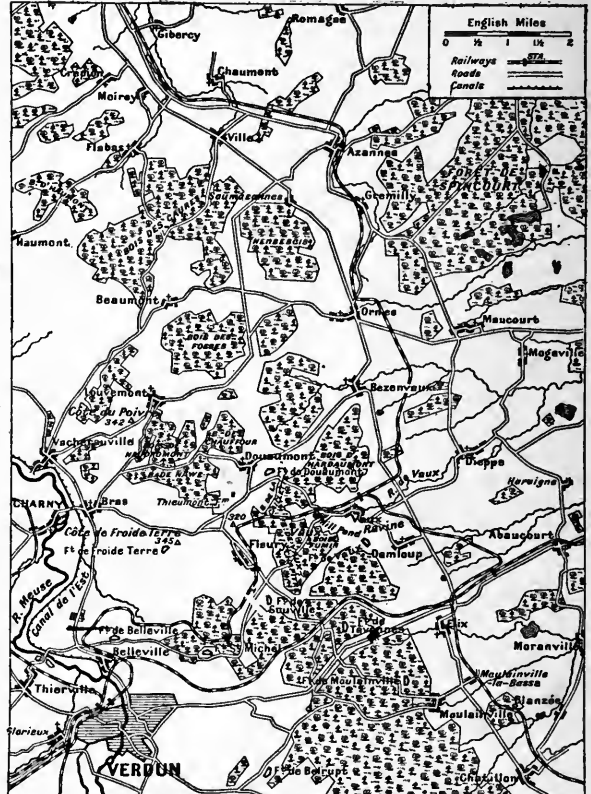
He at once threw reinforcements towards Dead Man Hill, and by an attack quite as fine as that of Balfour's corps at Douaumont, the division recovered the greater part of the two woods. All the next day it withstood frontal and flank attacks, with the enemy's guns pounding it from the north, east, and south; the reverse fire coming from German batteries across the river, near Pepper Hill. On March 10, another fresh, large enemy force of some 20,000 infantry worked again through part of Crows' Wood and Cumières Wood, suffering frightful losses and achieving no great result; for all that General Pétain had fought for was time. He had gained more than forty-eight hours in which to organize the works on and round Dead Man Hill in the way he wanted. This important advanced position had now become safe—for the crucial time at least.

The enemy commander also needed time to bring up his guns to cover the ground he had won in the woodlands and by the river. So there was a lull round Dead Man. But on the distant eastern side of the Verdun salient, the German offensive was resumed with extreme violence. The new objective was the Fort of Vaux, southeast of Douaumont Fort, and connecting with it in the old system of defense, before the structures of armored concrete were emptied of guns. The fort on the plateau was approached by a ravine in which lay the village of Vaux. Supported by their heavy artillery in the Woëvre Plain, the Germans attacked round the mouth of the ravine on March 9, and at night some 6,000 Poles got into the village, but were

scattered by a bayonet charge. (See map of western section on page 457.)

### FALSE REPORTS OF SUCCESS SENT TO GERMANY.

But, to the amazement of General Pétain and his Staff, the Berlin wireless spread the news that the Posen Brigade had stormed not only the



### DEFENSES OF VERDUN ON THE EASTERN BANK OF THE MEUSE

From the forests of Spincourt and Gremilly in the north, German hordes fell upon the French first lines in the woods between Haumont and Ornes. In five days they reached the plateau of Douaumont commanding Verdun. In June Vaux fell but between Fleury and Souville the advance was stayed.

hamlet in the hollow but the fort on the plateau. Paris was perturbed, and General Pétain had to send one of his Staff officers to Vaux. He found the garrison in merry mood, with the soldiers off duty playing cards. They had neither won nor lost any battle; the enemy had not come near them. Meanwhile, the German Staff discovered it had made a ridiculous misstatement, and tried to palliate its blunder by ordering the fort to be taken. But General Pétain now knew

that the Vaux sector had become important, and that if he massed an unusual number of guns and men there, and improved his means of bringing up shells, his labor would not be wasted. Thus opened another general butchery of Germans, slaughtered for the sake of Prussian prestige. Vaux Fort had become Verdun in little. It had to be captured to save the reputation of a race of braggarts.

### GERMAN EXCUSES FOR INACCURATE REPORTS.

The Germans began to show definite signs of "grogginess." The chief among these signs was their tendency to lies of a gross and childish nature. Their claim to the capture of Vaux Fort was possibly a bad mistake, due to some eager Staff subordinate's misunderstanding. But in the middle of March, when the Vaux attacks



**VIEW OF FRENCH FIELD-KITCHENS AROUND VERDUN**

Situated in a sheltered spot in the rear of the lines, as the comparatively undamaged trees show, it was far easier to prepare the meals than it was to get the food up to the men, and there were many times during the fighting when hunger and thirst augmented the horrors of war.

But it was not captured just then, though the struggle for it went on for weeks with increasing fury. Even by the middle of March the ground below the fort was heaped with greyish forms, where the dead and dying had rolled down the slopes. In the ravine below, the Germans, by the end of March, won the eastern houses of the villages, but could not for long advance farther. Vaux Fort still remained untaken, and the neighboring Caillette Wood was recovered early in April, thus strengthening both the Douaumont and Vaux positions.

looked like failing, the German Staff claimed the capture of Dead Man Hill. They stormed the Dead Man by conveying the name to a lower ridge of no decisive importance which they had occupied. Challenged on the matter by the French Staff, they tried to evade the charge of falsehood by stating that the words "*Mort Homme*" as lettered on the French map they used, extended to the lower ground. As though the best-informed War Staff in the world did not know every acre of ground near its own frontiers! Most likely it was an attempt to soothe the

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German people, whose anxiety in regard to Verdun was turning into angry despondency.

Von Falkenhayn had increased the Crown Prince's army to twenty-five divisions. In April he added five more divisions to the forces around Verdun by weakening the effectives in other sectors and drawing more troops from the Russian front. It was rumored that von Hindenburg was growing restive, and complaining that the wastage at Verdun would tell against the success of the campaign on the Riga-Dvinsk front, which was to open when the Baltic ice melted.

**SHELLS ARE USED FASTER THAN THEY ARE MADE.**

Great as was the wastage of life, it was in no way immediately decisive. But when the expenditure of shells almost outran the highest speed of production of the German munition factories, and the wear on the guns was more than Krupp and Skoda could make good, there was danger to the enemy in beginning another great offensive likely to overtax his shell-makers and gun-makers. Von Falkenhayn's great concentration against the British army, for example, remained perhaps, only a silent demonstration because of the shell and gun difficulty.

There was, of course, ample munition for a most violent and sustained attack, but if after another operation like that at Verdun the British line was unbroken and its artillery power undiminished, it would be difficult for the enemy to turn against re-armed Russia.

The attacks continued on the Heights of the Meuse and especially around Dead Man Hill, to the middle of April. Victorious Verdun was still being blown up in flaming ruin like Rheims and Ypres. Whenever an infantry assault failed, the Germans hurled incendiary shells into the unattainable town. The price at which the Crown Prince was to be allowed to ride by Vauban's citadel was much higher in April than it was in February. General Pétain was a hard bargainer. And he could not be left alone. He had forcibly to be kept in the position he occupied, for if the force against him weakened he might in turn employ his enormous artillery power to blast a path right through the German lines. His position, at the eastern corner of the long German line stretching to the sea, was very menacing. Far from the Battle of Verdun being ended, there were possibilities in it of a decisive development.

NORTHCLIFFE.



AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN ON A FIXED MOUNT



Camouflaged German Artillery Advancing

## CHAPTER XXIX

# The Battle of Verdun II

## THE GERMANS NOW STRIVE TO REDUCE THE MAN POWER OF FRANCE

"THE 9th of April," said General Pétain to his men, "is a day of glory for your arms. The fierce assaults of the Crown Prince's soldiers have everywhere been thrown back. Infantry, artillery, sappers and aviators of the Second Army have vied with one another in heroism. Courage, men. *On les aura!*" So in a key of quiet confidence for France, the first phase of the great battle of Verdun had come to an end, and with it all hope of sweeping German victory. After two months of fighting the attack had gained little more than on the first days in February. On the right bank of the Meuse it had reached the last line of the defenses of Verdun, on the left bank it had destroyed the whole of the first line on the Forges, but had failed to capture Hill 304 and le Mort Homme.

**V**ERDUN BECOMES A SYMBOL BOTH TO FRANCE AND TO GERMANY.

Only a brief resting space that lasted until the end of the month, and the second phase of the battle of Verdun—the battle of German "fixation"—began and lasted until mid-July. The enemy had thrown in thirty divisions where they meant to have used eight, and Verdun in future must cost less; must serve to bleed France's strength rather than open the gateway to her capital. Furthermore, the battle had

passed out of the realms of strategy into politics, where the High Command was spending German reserves because its reputation was at stake, because having thrown so much upon the venture it could not retire without at least some return. So the press was gagged and deceived, and *communiqués* falsified, and the Fatherland continued to glory in the enterprise, while all the time the Great Headquarters knew that by May the campaign "bore the stamp of the first great battle of attrition, in which the struggle for victory meant feeding a stationary fighting line with a continuous mass of men and materials," in the words of General Ludendorff.

### **T**HREE PHASES OF THE FIGHTING IN THIS SECOND BATTLE.

As before the opening attacks in February, so in April the Germans made feints to deceive French opinion. Hints of new activity in the North Sea, of fresh air-raids over Britain, and of enemy-fostered rebellion in Ireland, seemed to point to the fact that England and not France was about to receive the Teuton onslaught. But in the first week of May fighting broke out fiercely on the left bank of the Meuse and gradually spread east across the river, and the *côtes* to the level Wœvre once more. This later fighting may be divided into three



parts. First of all, the German right wing sought to capture Hill 304 and Mort Homme and drive the French back upon their final defenses. Simultaneously the French counter-attacked on the right bank and regained Douaumont Fort for a brief space. Then the Germans in concentrated attack from Douaumont threw themselves upon the last line of the right bank defenses covering Verdun and won the Fort of Vaux, the work of Thiaumont, and the village of Fleury for a short while, and brought their armies within four miles of the walls of Verdun itself.

The French first line on the left bank ran along the northern edge of the plateau sloping south from Forges river, somewhat in the shape of an S lying upon its side. Its strongest points were the Mort Homme and Hill 304, separated from each other by the little Esnes, a branch of the Forges. Mort Homme in its turn is made up of two hills, Hill 265 on the northwest, and Hill 295 on the southwest. The capture of the lower Hill 265 had been claimed by the Germans as Mort Homme proper. These hills formed the outworks of the main French position lying farther to the south on Charny ridge. In his attempts to break through, the enemy spread the battle line ever towards the west, as he tried first to take Mort Homme by frontal assault, then to turn the position by attacking it from Hill 304, and lastly failing this he endeavored to turn Hill 304 by an attack from the Avocourt wood.

## THE GERMAN ATTACK ON HILL 304 IS BEGUN.

On May 3, after three weeks of desultory fighting the artillery began a tremendous bombardment of the French first trenches on Hill 304. For three days and three nights the ridge was swept by a storm of steel and high explosive, and none dared show himself on its expanse. Then the German infantry attacks began and because the artillery had practically obliterated the French front lines, the enemy got a footing on the ridge and endeavored to develop it. His efforts were fruitless and he turned now to attacking

Avocourt Wood in an attempt to turn Hill 304 from there.

## THE FIERCE GERMAN ATTACK ON DEAD MAN'S HILL.

The Germans pounded the French artillery in the wood, May 17, and the battle spread east and all along the line to the Meuse. The thunder of the guns filled the air and the May days were obscured under a thick pall of smoke, so dense that it often rendered aerial reconnaissance impossible. Fiercest and most severe were the attacks on Mort Homme, from northeast and northwest. In the east the attack failed, but in the west it gained possession of some French trenches, so that no longer was the summit dominated by the French guns but swept by the gunners of both sides. Nevertheless, the French defense was taking heavy toll of the enemy whose dead encumbered the ravines and raised the level of the ground several metres. "It is absolutely impossible," wrote a French officer, "to convey what losses the Germans suffer in these attacks. Nothing can give an idea of it. Whole ranks are mowed down and those that follow them suffer the same fate. Imagine if you can what it would be like to rake water. Those gaps filled up again at once. That is enough to show with what disdain of life the German attacks are planned and carried out." Sometimes the enemy used the mounds of dead as shelter before making the next rush.

## THE FRENCH PREPARE TO RETAKE FORT DOUAUMONT.

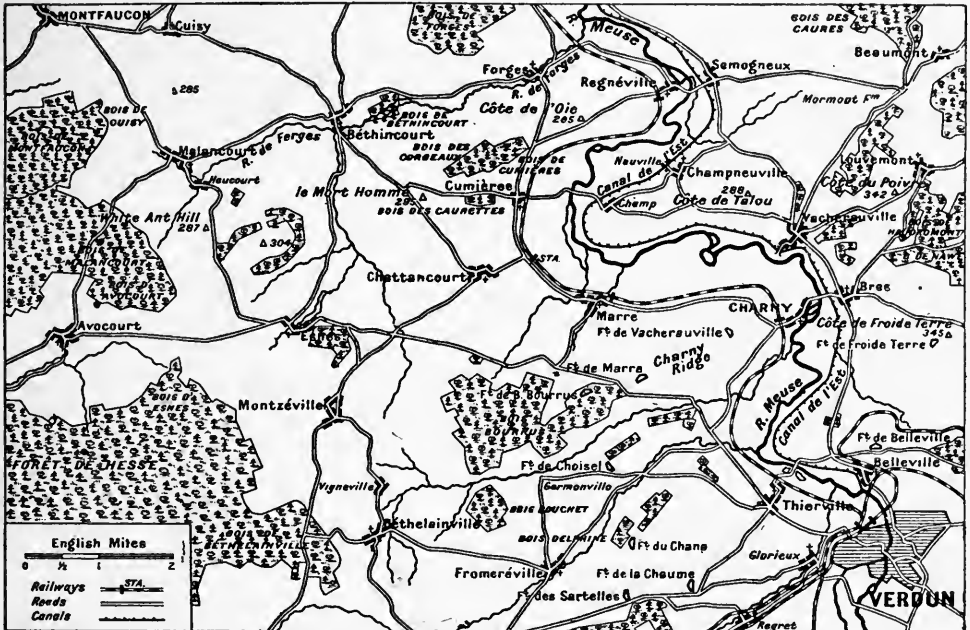
By this time the French command, in order to relieve the pressure on Mort Homme, gave orders for a counter-attack upon the right bank. Fort Douaumont, which had been entered by the Brandenburgers in the dark days of February, was the objective chosen. The Germans had strengthened their hold upon the fort, and held east, west and north of it very strongly. Only on the south could they make no headway, and there their artillery poured a daily flood of curtain fire. Nivelle had now succeeded Pétain in the defense of Verdun, when the latter superseded Langle de Cary

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

in command of the Central Group of the French armies. Preparations for the retaking of Douaumont were patient and thorough. Since the fort had fallen, its place had been taken by Fort Vaux and working from this base during the months of April and May the French had advanced and captured Caillette Wood and Harcourt.

The Fifth Division of the Third Corps had been chosen, among picked troops, to deliver the attack on

selves for further battles, in which you will have the absolute certainty of your superiority over an enemy whom you have seen so often flee or raise his hands before your bayonets and grenades. You are certain of that now. Any German who gets into a trench of the Fifth Division is dead or captured. Any position methodically attacked by the Fifth Division is a captured position. You march under the wings of Victory."



## THE DEFENSES OF VERDUN TO THE WEST OF THE MEUSE

The first French line ran north of Forges Brook in a salient whose arc rested on Avocourt and Forges. Behind this lay strong positions on Hill 304, le Mort Homme and Cumières. The main line to the south, on Charny ridge between Bois de Bourrus and Meuse, was never reached by the enemy who achieved his farthest advance at Châtantcourt. The maps on pages 437 and 452 should also be consulted in this connection.

Douaumont, and in mid-April had been sent to the rear to refit and rest. Before they went their commander, General Mangin, thus addressed them: "You are going to reform your depleted ranks. Many among you will return to your homes and will bear with you to your families the warlike ardor and thirst for vengeance which inspires you. There is no rest for any Frenchman as long as the barbarous enemy treads the hallowed ground of our country; there can be no peace for the world so long as the monster of Prussian militarism has not been laid low. You will therefore prepare your-

## THE GERMAN OBSERVATION BALLOONS ARE DESTROYED.

Within a month the Fifth were back, burning for the fray. The German flanking and communication trenches were strongly held. In the French plan of attack, upon the 129th Regiment in the centre devolved the task of capturing the fort itself, the 36th and 74th were to take the positions respectively west and east of the fort. Nor were the men of the Fifth Division deceived as to the kind of fighting that would follow, and all knew that German counter-attacks of the fiercest kind might be expected. At 8 o'clock on the morning

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of the 22nd of May a French aeroplane squadron went up and flew above the German sausage-balloons doing observation work. The fortunes of war had given Mangin the use of a new invention, as auspicious preface to his attack upon the fort. Whilst the watchers gazed, dark objects fell from the bombing squadron and in a moment six of the enemy balloons went

they were strengthening their hold upon Douaumont, the left and right wings of the attacking force were meeting with fierce resistance. The 36th succeeded in dislodging the Germans from their positions, but on the right the resistance was more formidable as the artillery preparation had been less effective, and the enemy still held communication trenches whence he



WHAT WAS LEFT OF FORT DOUAUMONT

This is ground consecrated to the deathless heroism of the French troops. Douaumont was entered by the Third Brandenburgers February 26, 1916; a brilliant counter-attack led by General Mangin recaptured it for France May 22. Two days later again it fell to the Germans but was finally recaptured by the French, October 24.

up in a puff of smoke and fell flaming to the ground. The new French bomb of high explosive force was made up of a large body which as it fell split up into smaller bombs each composed of minute particles of burning chemical. Soon the German artillery fire began to fall wide of the mark and a French poilu remarked, "We have put a bandage around the Boches' eyes."

### **D**OUAUMONT IS GALLANTLY TAKEN BUT NOT HELD.

At ten minutes to twelve after preliminary bombardment the men of the 129th Regiment leaped forward in open order. At twelve a Bengal light upon the fort showed that in the short space of time the Normans had gone through three lines of intrenchments and gained the southwest angle of the fort. While

could serve the French infantry with enfilading fire. The German counter-attack was not long delayed. That night when darkness fell, and the mists were climbing from the Wöevre, heavy bombardment swept down upon the 129th Regiment in the fort. At dawn in hideous crescendo every available piece concentrated upon the ruins, infantry attacks followed, and alternated with bombardment all through one hectic day. Nevertheless, the 129th held fast, and were able to boast that they had not yielded an inch of ground when they in turn were relieved. For two days the fort held; it took two fresh divisions before it was again wrested from the French; and the heroic little episode had only heightened the endurance and stiffened

the morale of the defenders of Verdun, besides losing the Germans some trenches east and west of the position.

### THE VIOLENT GERMAN ASSAULTS ON THE TWO HILLS.

As if in concert with the volume of the guns across the Meuse, so now German onslaughts upon Mort Homme and Hill 304 grew in fury, and the French were forced from the summits but not from the slopes. On May 23, debouching from the positions they had gained upon the northern slopes of Mort Homme the Germans strove to push their left wing between the Meuse and the hill into the village of Cumières, while their right wing advancing up the Esnes ravine fell once more upon Hill 304. Foiled time and again by French curtain fire, they nevertheless persisted and amid a smoky pall that shut out the daylight and even obscured the flashes of the guns, they entered what had once been the village and in fierce fighting pushed their way on the 24th to the railway at Chattancourt. It was a desperate stroke aimed at reaching the main left bank defenses of Verdun. Upon the right by using liquid fire their infantry had worked up the Esnes ravine between the two hills. French counter-attacks that same night caused them to evacuate the slopes, whose crater-pocked surface, strewn with their own dead, offered mocking testimony to the futility of the attack. So in Esnes ravine, where there was space among the human débris to manoeuvre, and over the ruins of Cumières the tide of battle surged back and forth.

Upon the 28th, the hundredth day of battle, a fierce blow aimed at the civilian morale of bereaved France fell between Mort Homme and Cumières. In automatic alternation artillery and infantry worked, until, under twelve hours' bombardment and the impetus of the assaults of five fresh divisions, the French lines were obliterated. Still the infantry could not advance and take the fruits of victory, for they were still far from the Bourrus-Esnes line and the road to Verdun was firmly held, and so remained until the thundering of guns on the Somme gave

warning that German offensive must cease.

### THE BATTLE NOW SHIFTS ACROSS THE RIVER.

Again the battle shifted across the river. When Douaumont had fallen, the French had fallen back on Fort Vaux which stood as an outward bastion to the great fort of Souville in the last line of the Verdun defense. M. Henri Bordeaux, the French historian, writes: "In the great squadron of forts which shield Verdun from a distance like a fleet marshalled on the open sea in front of a harbor, Fort Vaux might claim the rank of a cruiser. More modern than Souville and Tavannes, which are caponier forts, not so vast or so fully equipped as Douaumont, whose girdle contains a vast quantity of turrets, cupolas, casemates, barracks and strongholds, it plants its levelled walls more firmly in the soil. Built of masonry about 1880, it was reconstructed in concrete after the invention of the torpedo-shaped shell (1885), then in reinforced concrete, and was not finished till 1911."

In the ravine beneath it and commanded by its guns runs the road to Verdun, and the railway to Fleury. This country with its "soil so well-wooded and so uneven is eminently suited to a war of surprises, of traps, of ambushades, of bold strokes, of slow and treacherous penetration. It lends itself admirably to the ebb and flow of hand-grenade duels." With Douaumont, Vaux had mounted guard before Verdun. In the early days of the war when the German armies had halted before Verdun the forts had shared the same perils, in the long stagnation that had followed had signaled each other the news of the battle line. Now Vaux stood alone to bar the German way to Souville, Souville before Verdun!

### THE BAVARIAN INFANTRY IS MOWN DOWN BEFORE VAUX.

From February 21 onwards Vaux received its daily ration of shells: ten thousand on an average for the district and of all calibres, but chiefly of the heaviest, the 210 mm., the 305 mm.,

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and even the 380 mm. The enemy had laid siege to it on March 9 and the following day announced its capture. It was eighty-eight days before that *communiqué* was verified: eighty-eight days of bombardment and assault, of thirst, and suffering and sleeplessness. By the end of May all superstructure had vanished under a tornado of fire, even the wire entanglements were in

German fire that it fought on independently, cut off from all communication with the fort, not knowing whether it had fallen, or still stood. Even by night there was no peace, for starshells lighted up the tortured slopes where trees and birds had once been. The men were tormented by thirst, and thankful when it rained so that they might lay out canvas and drink-



FRENCH SCOUTS NEAR FORT VAUX

A scene among the cotes of the Meuse, where scarred and spectral trees replaced once luxuriant forests. In this fighting both sides utilized the broken timber for parapets and shelters. As the artillery destroyed the trees, matters improved for the airmen who had at first found it impossible to pierce their thick screen.

fragments or buried in shell-holes. The position was entirely isolated. The commander of the fort, Major Raynal, had a distinguished record: twice seriously wounded he had asked for a post where there would be plenty of danger,—and so had been sent to Vaux. The normal regulation number of the garrison was from 250–300 men, but this was added to by companies taking refuge, so that by June it had swelled to nearly 600—a force for which it was impossible to provide water under the German hail of fire.

### WATER TO BE HAD ONLY UNDER FIRE.

By June 1 the strangle-hold began to tighten around the fort. One of the redoubts, R1, was besieged from that evening on, and so intense was the

ing-mugs. Through uninterrupted bombardment, daily onslaughts, lack of provisions, water and sleep, amid the smell of the corpses and asphyxiating shells, the redoubt lasted on until the night of June 8–9, the day after Vaux itself had fallen.

On June 2, the Germans reached two open breaches in the fort and tried to force their way through. Soon there were two masters in Fort Vaux—a German above and the gallant Raynal beneath. By means of carriers and signals news was flashed to the watchers outside. Thus at 3 P.M. on the 3rd the fort issued a bulletin: "The enemy has gained possession of the north-eastern and northwestern transverse galleries. I am pursuing the struggle in the inner passages. A large number



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of wounded and fugitives. Officers and men are all doing their duty. We shall fight to the bitter end."

### THE LAST MESSAGES FROM THE GALLANT DEFENDERS.

On the 4th, about midday, a poor wounded pigeon dragged itself laboriously up to its resting place. Its dis-

inside it. The garrison step by step defended the passage ways, and foot by foot the stairways. Then the Germans attacked with jets of fire and liquid flame, and gases whose heavy fumes filled the echoing vaults. "An unspeakable horror stalked through these dim vaults," writes the author



SOUVILLE FORT BEFORE VERDUN

The last thrust for Verdun was directed against the line on which stood Souville Fort and Thiaumont village and work, and it reached within half a mile of the fort before it could be stayed. Souville and Tavannes were caponiere forts, less modern and less powerful than Vaux and Douaumont. If they had fallen, only St. Michel and Belleville remained to defend Verdun itself.

patch ran, "We are still holding out, but are subjected to a very dangerous gas and smoke attack. It is urgent that we should be extricated; let us have immediate visual signaling communication by way of Souville which does not answer. This is my last pigeon." Two messengers escaped from Vaux the following day and restored communication with the fort which ever through the days that followed signaled more and more urgently for relief and water. The enemy in Vaux was around the fort, above it,

quoted above, "where, in a thick pestilent atmosphere, a sleepless, nerve-racked, thirst-maddened garrison, crowded into a narrow space, refused to abandon the struggle."

The effort to extricate Vaux was not relaxed for a moment but made no progress. On the evening of June 6, Raynal in a message resembling a last will musters the names of his comrades-in-arms, pays a tribute to his men, and offers them to the High Command. After that Vaux is silent to all signaling, silent until at daybreak on the



7th the fort issues its last appeal. The signaling posts make out these words "*Ne nous quittez pas!*" Fort Vaux did not speak again. Nevertheless General Nivelle sent a special message to the contingent entrusted with a final effort for its relief. But Vaux was lost. When Major Raynal was captured he was allowed to retain his sword—for his gallantry moved even the Germans to admiration. From his captors he learned also that he had been promoted to the rank of commander in the Legion of Honor and that the insignia of his rank had been conferred upon his wife in a special review at the Invalides.

## THE GERMANS NOW MAKE THE LAST THRUST FOR VERDUN.

The fall of Vaux registers the end of the battle of the wings. While this had raged on left and right banks of the Meuse, the line in the centre had changed very little, save when for a brief space the French had held Fort Douaumont. The last German thrust for Verdun now came. No longer were the enemy attacking from the north, but from the west, endeavoring to advance from Douaumont Plateau downhill towards Verdun and the Meuse valley. De Souville Fort, the village of Fleury and the work of Thiaumont opposed their progress. If these were taken, Tannenberg, isolated, must fall; three valley routes were open to the Germans leading down to the river meadows; and the light railway from Vaux, the tunnel of the main Paris-Verdun-Metz railway, and the Metz-Verdun highway, all allow of bringing up a tremendous wave of reinforcements against Fort St. Michel and Belleville, the last and least important of the Verdun forts.

There was not much time, for air-men reported that Allied preparations on the Somme were well-nigh complete, and on the first day of July the Franco-British offensive opened. Before it became dangerous, the enemy began his attack July 11, along the

Thiaumont-Vaux front, where if he could capture the little village of Fleury-devant-Douaumont, easy access might be had to the inner defense lines. The attack succeeded and the enemy got within a kilometre of Souville fort before he could be stayed.



**GENERAL CHARLES MANGIN**

General Mangin was in command at Verdun of the Fifth Division of the Third Corps. In May he recaptured Douaumont from the Germans and later commanded the offensive in October which regained both Vaux and Douaumont.

## GENERAL MANGIN NOW TAKES THE OFFENSIVE.

In four days came the French counter-attack. General Charles Mangin, whose Normans had retaken Douaumont, began a series of hammer-strokes along the whole line upon the right bank of the Meuse which completely altered the character of the fighting, for the Germans now were forced to stand upon the defensive on their new and hard-won positions. Fleury and Thiaumont position changed hands several times during August, and at the beginning of

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

September the Verdun front lapsed into a period of stagnation which lasted for over six weeks and during which the French line ran from Thiaumont to Vaux-Chapitre. The second phase of the Verdun battle was over. In the third the French themselves were to take the offensive.

That offensive was taken in order that the Germans might be driven back from the circle of forts which they had

Mangin proposed to use only three divisions in his operations against the German eight that were occupying the line of the coveted French objectives.

### HOW THE ATTACKING TROOPS WERE TRAINED.

Preparations were exact and methodical. The men selected were sent to the rear in August and September and practiced in the detail of the terrain of the coming battle. An exact



FORT ST. MICHEL, BEFORE VERDUN

After the fall of Vaux early in June things looked very dark for Verdun, for of all her circle of forts on the western bank of the Meuse only de Souville and Tavannes still stood outside St. Michel and Belleville, the smallest and least important. Surprisingly firm resistance developed along the Fleury-Thiaumont line, however, and the German line advanced no nearer to the city.

captured, whose proximity gave Verdun too little breathing space. In Douaumont, Vaux, and the heights about them, the Germans had a good position for a final drive against the fortress, whenever they were free to make it. The Somme engagement was now draining off German reserves of men and machines, and before the winter's immobility fell upon the *côtes*, Nivelle determined to make his thrust. General Mangin, who had led the Fifth Division when it had recaptured Douaumont in May, was renowned for the vigor of his attacks, as well as for his knowledge of the Colonial troops gained through arduous service in Africa.

replica of Fort Douaumont itself was used in training the troops, and served good purpose when the day came, for thick fog obliterated all landmarks. The month of October was wet and the attack therefore put off, but airmen were aloft observing and mapping the maze of enemy trenches and his battery sites. Never so far in the history of the war had this been done with greater exactitude. Men and guns came pouring up behind the lines, and in the thick mud, preparation troops dug new support trenches and field stations, and built light railways so that the new heavy French artillery might be adequately munitioned.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

The main objectives were Douaumont and Vaux forts with their commanding heights. For their capture the High Command planned a two-fold operation. Upon the French left, General Guyot de Salins with Zouaves, Tirailleurs and famous Moroccan regiments was to advance and capture Haudromont quarries, the ridge to the north of the Ravin de la Dame and Thiaumont Farm and fort. In the centre, General Passaga with the Chasseurs was to advance upon the Caillette wood. On the right General de Lardemelle's division of *fantassins* had before it the Fumin, Chapitre and Chenois woods and the Damloup battery. When this advance had been consolidated, the troops were to push on to their final objectives, Douaumont and Vaux forts and their outflanking eastern and western positions. As events turned out, however, the vehemence of the French attack and its speedy success merged both operations into one.

### THE MOROCCANS TAKE DOUAUMONT IN THE FOG.

After three weeks' continuous rains, Saturday, October 21, dawned clear and cold, and at once the French seized the chance. The front to be attacked was only four miles in width, and owing to French aerial superiority in the district, and to the enormous number of great guns concentrated, the artillery preparation was intense and effective. For two whole days the fretted countryside was pounded and distorted as the German lines went up in fragments and smoke. By Tuesday, the 24th, the guns began to vary their range; it was time for the infantry to make use of their curtain. But a damp thick fog was rising from the cold Meuse and the clayey Wœvre, and blanketing the outlines of the *côtes*. If the men had not been so thoroughly trained in the topography of the enemy defenses, the attack could not have proceeded. As it was it was twelve before it started. Success came at once, and the left reached Douaumont fort itself. It was well that the two Moroccan regiments were familiar with its features for its outlines were swathed in mist,

so that even the points of the compass were lost. Three hours after the Colonial troops had left their parapets they carried the fort!

Major Nicolay's report thus describes its capture: "The Marsouins, dragging one foot after another from the mud, pushed forward to try their luck. There was no gunfire on their line, no infantry resistance. It was close upon three o'clock. Dorey's detachment had entered the fort without firing a shot, and was installed to the southwest of the quarters and turrets, in excellent condition, neither firing nor being fired upon. We could no longer think of methodically adopting the order of battle which had been originally foreseen. The Boches, without any doubt, were aware of our arrival, and we had to attack them as quickly as possible, before they had recovered from their panic. The men, moving forward under a low-flying aeroplane showing the three colors of France, advanced to the ditch and then climbed up the steep slope of the rampart through the gorge. When they reached the top of this rampart they saw before them the gaping openings of the lower casemates, and in front of them the courtyard in extraordinary upheaval. Before the chaos which had fallen upon the great fort, a symbol of will and of power, the fort which had been so marvelously retaken, the leading sections of the columns came to a halt, and gazed. The battalion leader, who had stayed behind for a moment at the bottom of the moat in order to control the movement, reached the head of the battalion at this moment, and while acknowledging to the full the sanctity of this unforgettable sight gave the order to attack the machine-guns which were beginning to get into action from the casemates. The resistance put up by the Germans was brief, and the grenadiers soon cleared out the last of the garrison from the underground caverns of the fort." The attack in the centre was equally successful, and in fifty-eight minutes won its objectives and held a line east of Fort Douaumont to the slopes north of Fausse Côte Ravine and Vaux pond.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### **M**ORE RESISTANCE IS OFFERED AROUND FORT VAUX.

The right division under de Lardemelle had the fiercest of the fighting, for Vaux hill had been carefully defended and the German lines here were very strong. When darkness fell only the front line trenches had been carried, and the battle raged all through the first night and the second day as

noted: "As fighting on the French sector of the Somme battlefield died down the position before Verdun became again critical. The French attacked on the 24th, we lost Fort Douaumont and on November 1 were obliged to evacuate Fort Vaux also. The loss was grievous but still more grievous was the totally unexpected decimation of some of our divisions."



DISTANT VIEW OF BELLEVILLE ON THE MEUSE

This picture, taken within the sheltering ring of Verdun's forts, shows Belleville in the distance. The Germans were confident that if they could advance beyond Souville and Tavannes neither the garrison in Belleville nor St. Michel would offer protracted resistance for their retreat would be cut off by the river in the rear.

the French line crept around the fort that Raynal had been forced to surrender. Throughout the 26th, the men in the German second line trenches, Gotha, Siegen, de Saales and Damloup village, defended them fiercely. It was thought wisest to renew the gun preparation once more against the fort. The bombardment continued at intervals for several days and on the second Vaux was entered by the French who found that the garrison had hurriedly evacuated it, and left large military supplies behind. The tide had now certainly turned.

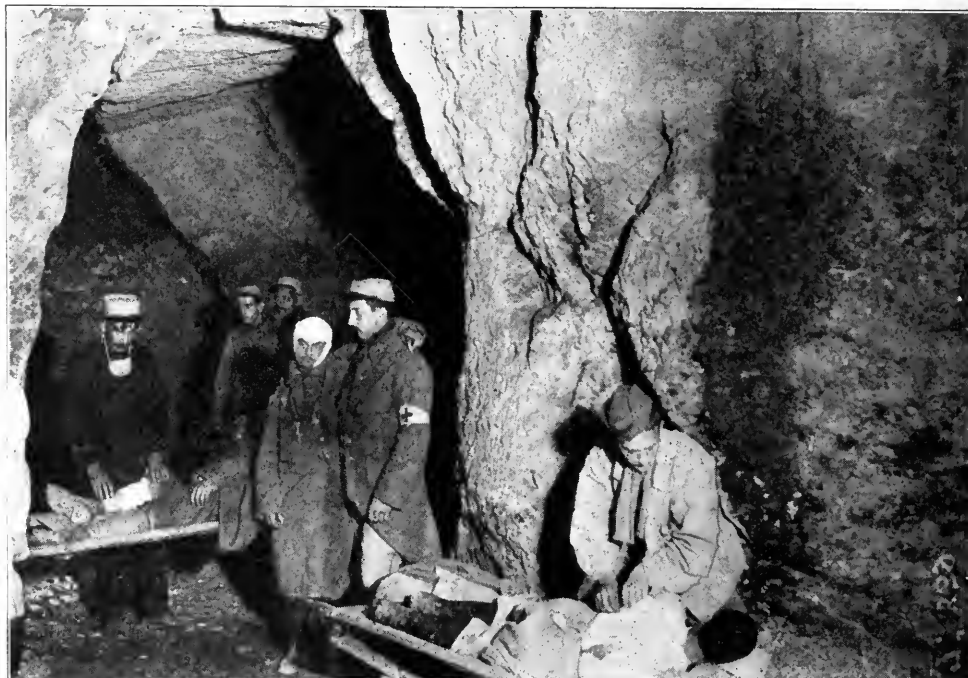
In Ludendorff's story of the war the results of the October fighting are thus

### **N**IVELLE PREPARES TO MAKE A FURTHER ADVANCE.

Douaumont and Vaux had been retaken, but the enemy was still in possession of the high ground around Louvemont and the Côte du Poivre, and was able from these positions to bombard the city and sheli its communications. The French Command therefore made preparations throughout November and early December to seize these points. Mangin, as before, was in charge of operations, with four divisions. Results of the October thrust had fully justified the careful training given to the men who captured Douaumont, and it was repeated for

the new troops. As one pushed north from Verdun into the *côtes*, the more broken and tortuous became the outline of the country. The time of year, and the fact that so many tides of battle had churned the hillsides into caverns and cliffs, and ploughed the ravines into the semblance of a lunar desert, made preparations more arduous. The difficulties of bringing up

swept out of Vacherauville, his strong positions on the Côte du Poivre, Louvement, Hill 378, Bezonvaux and the Hardaumont position between Douaumont and the Wœvre. Thus the French main positions outside the circle of forts were once more in their own hands. More than 11,000 prisoners, 115 guns, 44 mine throwers, 107 machine-guns and great quantities of



AN UNDERGROUND DRESSING STATION ON THE FRENCH FRONT

Where possible the surgeons were glad to establish themselves in caverns like this. Here they could work undisturbed by shells which sometimes exploded in tents or buildings which they were using as field hospitals, disturbing or injuring patients and surgeons. Some parts of Eastern France are honeycombed with great caves which occasionally are used as storage rooms for wines. Often these caverns are old quarries.

heavy artillery which the British were experiencing on the Somme were felt in exaggerated degree in the Verdun area.

On December 15, just after the Kaiser's peace proposal, and as if in answer to it, French guns echoed once more across the bare hillsides and through the dreary Meuse valley. The French were striving to push the Germans back from the strong positions on which they themselves had made their strongest stand in February. Infantry attacks began at 10 o'clock in the morning, and were successful beyond measure. By the 18th, the enemy had been

stores were captured. France's answer to German peace overtures was given through the mouth of the gun and at the point of the bayonet.

#### LUDENDORFF'S MOURNFUL REVIEW OF THESE OPERATIONS.

Of this fighting Ludendorff says: "On December 14, 15, and 16, there was again very hard fighting round Verdun. The French attacked so as to limit still further, before the end of the year, the German gains of 1916 before this fortress. They achieved their object. The blow they dealt us was particularly heavy. We not only suffered heavy casualties, but also lost





FRENCH INFANTRY AT DOUAUMONT ADVANCING THROUGH COMMUNICATION TRENCHES





#### THE RUINS OF VERDUN

Verdun had suffered several alarms of bombardment, but these had been at long intervals and in fancied immunity the citizens grew secure. When heavy bombardment began at the end of February, orders for civilians to evacuate the city were published at once, and a weary stream of fugitives wandered west through the by-ways of France, avoiding the main roads where the hordes of soldiers were hastening in the opposite direction.

important positions. The strain during this year had been too great. The endurance of the troops had been weakened by long spells of defense under the powerful enemy artillery fire and their own losses. We were completely exhausted on the Western front."

Some measure of what Verdun meant to France,—and to all the Allies—may be gathered from the following paragraph written by the editor of the *Gaulois* at the end of 1916: "Only a few hours, and 1916 will be finished, the year that we may, that we ought, henceforth, to call 'the year of Verdun.' In spite of the griefs brought by so many disappointments succeeding to so many hopes; in spite of the sufferings of today and the trials of tomorrow, Verdun has thrown over the year which is ending such a light that gloom, anxiety and anguish dis-

appear and leave only in our imagination the two towers of Verdun, the inaccessible and the inviolable. Verdun, where Castelnau and Pétain have done their splendid work, where Nivelle was revealed!"

#### THE REMAINDER OF THE GROUND IS REGAINED IN 1917.

The real battle of Verdun ended in December, 1916, yet the enemy still held Hill 304, le Mort Homme and French positions south of the Forges stream on the west bank, and the Côte de Talon, and the villages of Samogneux and Champneuville on the east. When Pétain came to the post of Commander-in-Chief in the following summer, he organized a third limited offensive which threw the Germans off the dominating hills and restored to the French the positions they had held in February, 1916. Verdun stood as a symbol of French invincibility.

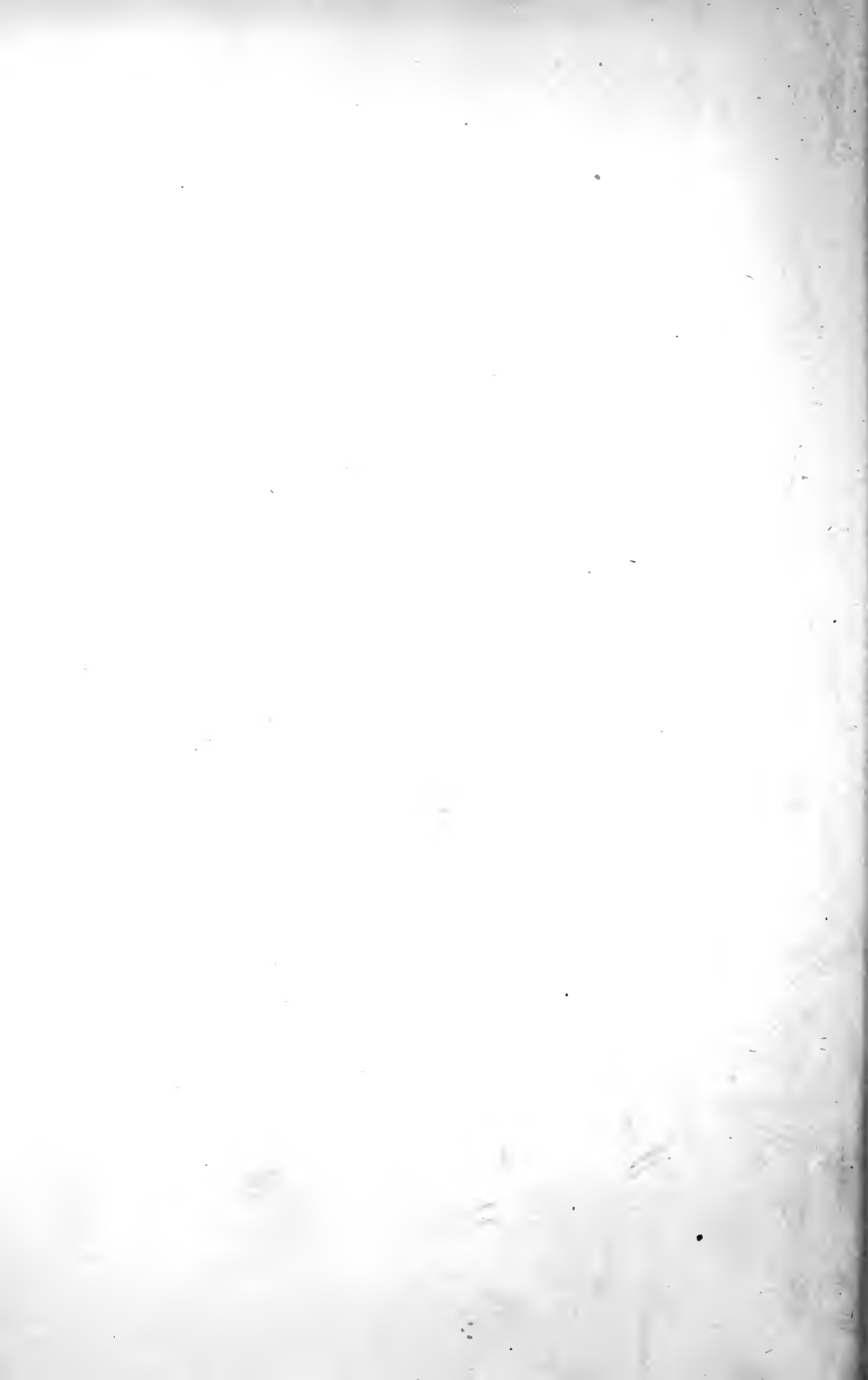


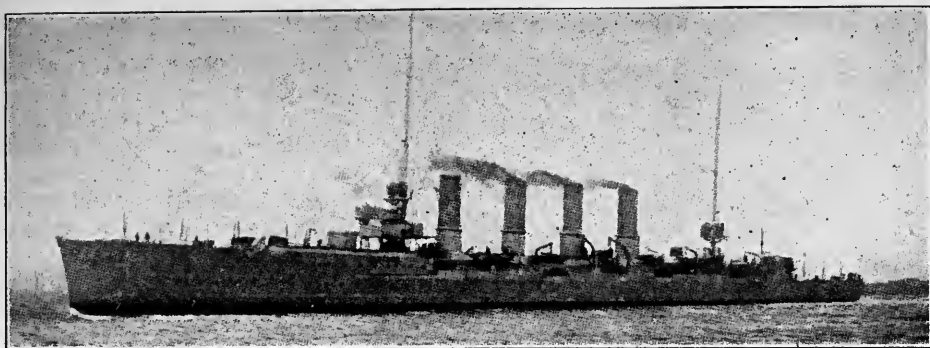
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VICE-ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., D.S.O.

When in Command of the Battle Cruiser Fleet





The German Cruiser Rostock Lost in the Jutland Battle

## CHAPTER XXX

# The British Navy and the Jutland Fight

## WEEKS AND MONTHS OF PATROL DUTY AND ONE GREAT ENGAGEMENT

**B**EFORE reviewing the story of naval warfare 1915-1916, it is well to compare the conflicting claims of the rival maritime powers as to their achievements during the first year of fighting. Count zu Reventlow, pointing out the impossibility of preventing Germany's isolation from the oceans because of the commanding geographical position of the British Isles lying "like a long mole before the North Sea," continues: "The losses of the German Fleet in the first year of the war were very small. It looks to the future with confidence, and even though it has carried on a strategy of reserve and of waiting it has on the other hand, repeatedly shown that it possesses full freedom of action in the North Sea. . . . The German Fleet has coursed about in the North Sea a great number of times, and at times, as it is known, has even advanced to the English coasts in order to bombard English coast defenses and marine stations. The past twelve months have demonstrated that the days of absolute British supremacy are at an end."

### WHAT ARE THE DUTIES OF A FLEET IN TIME OF WAR?

Contrast this claim with that of Mr. Balfour for the same period of time. "The British Navy has," he wrote, "performed the only seven functions which a fleet can perform.

It may drive the enemy's commerce off the sea.

Protect its own commerce.

It may render the enemy's fleet impotent.

It may make the transfer of enemy's troops across the seas impossible, whether for attack or defense.

It may transport its own troops where it will.

It may secure their supplies, and (in fitting circumstances) may assist in their operations."

Which of the two claims do the following facts support?

### THE WORK OF THE BRITISH NAVY IN THE WAR.

The communications of the Grand Alliance were sea communications, stretching from Archangel to Gibraltar, Gibraltar to Suez or the Cape, the Cape to Colombo, Colombo to Melbourne, and Melbourne to Vladivostok. These communications extending round the globe were kept open all the time, and the figures for 1916 in transport of war material alone read eight millions of men, ten million tons of supplies and explosives, over a million sick and wounded, over a million horses and mules, and fifty million gallons of gasoline. In addition to these, the ordinary import and export trade went on. Such trifles as 100,000,000 cwts. of wheat, 7,000,000 tons of iron



ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELlicoe

Admiral Sir John Rushworth Jellicoe was in command of the Grand Fleet until November, 1916, when he became First Sea Lord and was succeeded in his former office by Sir David Beatty.

ore came into the British Isles, and exports to the value of \$2,500,000,000 were sent out. The Allies assisted in these vast undertakings. France had, in addition to her Navy, 360 ocean-going vessels, Italy about the same, Russia 174, and Belgium 67. Yet these nations were borrowers, and not lenders. To France, Britain lent 600 ships, to Italy 400. Sir John Jellicoe in the second year of the war remarked, "Without our Merchant Marine the Navy,—and indeed the Nation,—could not exist." To add to the Navy's reconnaissance, over 100 merchant ships were commandeered as auxiliary cruisers.

#### ONLY ONE GREAT ENGAGEMENT TO RECORD.

The character of this year of naval warfare is, then, one of watching and waiting. There is only one great engagement, and no large offensive move-

ments except the co-operation with the Allied military forces in Belgium and at the Dardanelles; and the Russian fleet's work in conjunction with Grand-Duke Nicholas in the Black Sea; in all these cases the ships were engaged not against ships but against forts and land intrenchments. The warfare, save at Jutland, was waged with the sea's lighter troops. While the German High Sea Fleet lay inactive, protected by a barrier of submarines, mines, sandbanks and land-fortifications, British armed auxiliaries controlled traffic, mine sweepers labored ceaselessly in the North Sea and adjacent waters, gun and patrol boats hunted submarines and the cruiser squadrons kept tireless watch. British battleships in the northern mists like German battleships in the Kiel Canal were condemned to watchful inaction.

The policy which gave to naval fighting such a character was conceived by Admirals von Tirpitz and von Pohl. Behind the fighters they struck at the fighters' supplies. If the Allied shipping could be crippled, Britain must either reduce her military operations or find her population in serious economic distress. For once English and German opinion tallied in a striking particular. Sir Percy Scott early in 1914 had prophesied the advent of the submarine in war and foretold that it would create a panic in merchant shipping, and von Tirpitz and von Pohl believed that the mine and submarine would have this effect and that the British Navy would be slow to discover means of defense and reprisal. They were mistaken; von Tirpitz himself in his Memoirs acknowledges the latter fact: "I am certain there was still a possibility of attaining a tolerable peace if Germany had concentrated all her powers in the submarine war as England did in combating it." Germany, by submarine

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

attacks in 1916, had not created a panic, but by the end of the year she had destroyed 1000 ships which could not be easily replaced, and by extensive mine-laying at the end of 1915 and in the early months of 1916, was preparing to reduce ships of war also. Details of the submarine campaign will be found in another chapter.

### THE DIFFICULTIES RAISED BY THE BRITISH BLOCKADE.

One of the chief weapons used by England to make Germany's attack costly was a blockade of the enemy's territory by sea. This blockade raised difficulties with America, and was strongly criticised in England itself as not being sufficiently effective in preventing foodstuffs passing into Germany through neutral shipping. Britain could not at first easily discriminate between neutral imports intended for neutral use and those which might be passed on to the enemy, until central distributing agencies were arranged in neutral states which governed the destination of all consignments. A special ministry in the Cabinet was created to deal with the question. Lord Robert Cecil was the first to hold it and in his answer to criticism of the scheme, he said: "We could stop up the holes in the dam as they appeared, but it was inevitable that a good deal of water should run through while the repairs were being made." By this blockade then, no ships except submarines or an occasional commerce raider could penetrate into the Atlantic. The whole of the North Sea was declared a military area, and by means of certain regulations such as reducing lights, stopping fishing in certain areas, and closing the East coast ports to trawlers of foreign registry, Sir John Jellicoe was enabled to regulate traffic and check suspicious movement.

Who maintained the blockade? The auxiliary craft. It will be recalled that in May, 1915, a change in the British Admiralty had occurred. Lord Fisher and Mr. Winston Churchill had both resigned and their places had been taken by Sir Henry Jackson and Mr. A. J. Balfour. Lord Fisher had, during his tenure of power, set in progress

vast schemes of ship construction of every kind, with new designs and improvements on the old designs, so that the new ministry found itself "upborne upon an ever-swelling tide of deliveries of crafts of all kinds and of a kind best fitted to the purposes of the war," according to Mr. Winston Churchill's speech in the House of Commons, March, 1916. Similar ship-



VICE-ADMIRAL SIR R. H. S. BACON

Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald H. S. Bacon, K. C. B., succeeded Rear-Admiral Hood in command of the Dover Patrol in April, 1915, and in the autumn assisted the land forces in Belgium.

building activities had been undertaken also in France and Russia. The vessels as they had come in had been drafted into various units according to function. One of the chief units was the Dover Patrol, a section of the fleet stationed in home waters with bases at Dover and Dunkirk and a sphere of influence extending for a considerable distance on either hand. Coming up Channel or down the North Sea all vessels would take their final stages along sea-roads policed by fighting ships of the Patrol and its attendant cruisers. Its beat made it into the front line trench of the war by sea, and



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

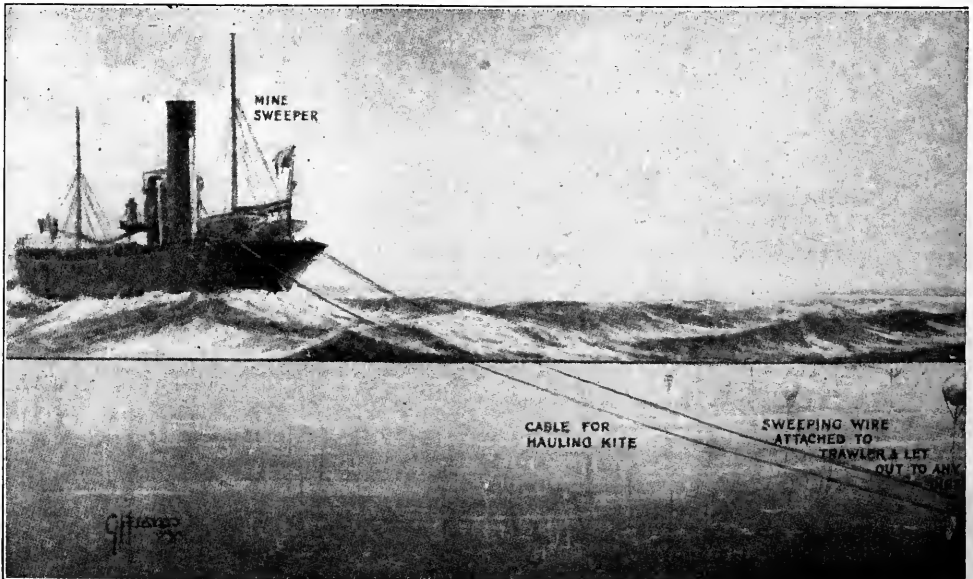
every day somewhere it came into touch with the Germans or their hand-work. Fighting of a similar type was going on at the same time in the Upper Adriatic and in places in the Baltic Sea.

### THE GALLANT OPERATIONS OF THE DOVER PATROL.

From the early months of fighting the activities of the Dover Patrol were both defensive and offensive. The enemy had brought down and concentrated strong flotillas of destroyers behind their mine-fields at Zeebrugge, but these were powerless to prey upon the merchantmen who came and went between London and the world at large because the "keeper of the gate" was in the way. Offensively, the patrol co-operated with the Allies against the German lines in Flanders. Vice-Admiral R. H. S. Bacon had succeeded Rear-Admiral Hood in command of the Patrol in April, 1915, and at the end of August he left England with a fleet of eighty vessels, including several new monitors and a new class of fleet messengers, fast motor boats. His ships were manned partly by trained naval ratings, but more largely by men of the Naval Reserve, and by men who

hitherto had been deep-sea fishermen. They were assisted in their work by the French Second Light Cruiser Squadron which operated against submarine attack.

Cruising in company by day and night under war conditions the Patrol made some attacks (some of them lasting for four days) through September, October and November, upon the enemy coast. "Out from Dunkirk with slow ungainly gait trudges a batch of monitors accompanied by motor launches and other satellites making smoke screens. At a chosen spot the smoke-makers put up their screens and from behind this cover the monitors train their big guns shoreward." Aircraft directed the fall of the shot and commonly the Germans got it three ways, from the air-craft bombing overhead, the monitor shelling from the sea and the siege-guns bombarding along the coast. Batteries, military factories, locks, guns, ammunition depots, wharves and stations were the targets for their fire so that (states the official account) "the whole coast during our passage was showing signs of considerable alarm and unrest as a result of our previous operations."



BRITISH MINE SWEEPERS AT THE DANGEROUS

Nothing is more dangerous than the work of mine-sweeping. The men engaged incur tremendous risk of disaster to their ships and of swift destruction for themselves. A large number of trawlers, ships of about 150 tons, were employed in this task. They worked in pairs with a strong steel hawser stretched between them, which is weighted

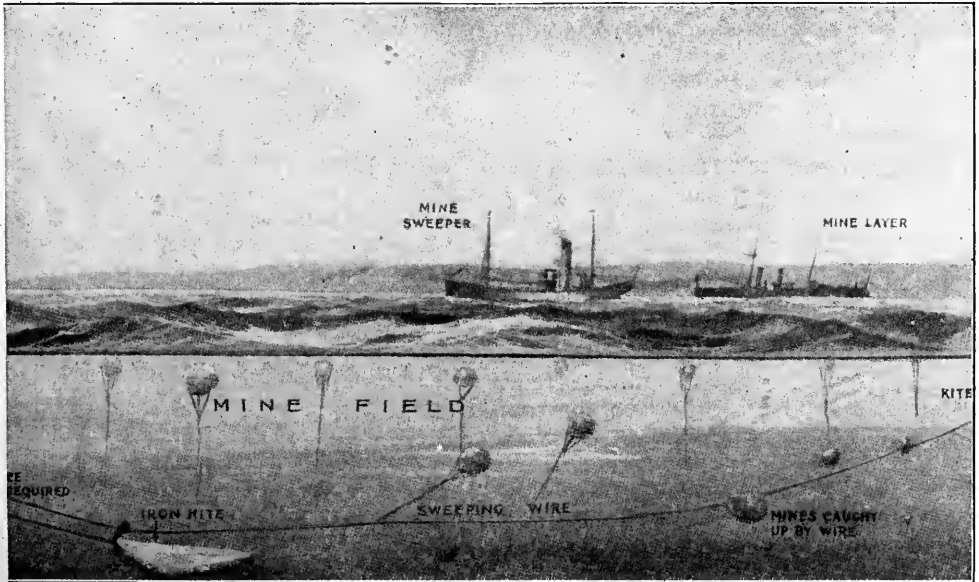
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### THE STRAITS OF DOVER ARE FINALLY CLOSED.

As winter came on, the shortness of daylight and bad weather impeded the Patrol's work but gave cover to the enemy for laying mines and escaping its vigilance. In six months over 21,000 merchant ships, apart from men-of-war and auxiliaries, passed through the Patrol with a loss of less than one per thousand, although the Patrol itself showed a casualty list of over four per cent. Besides this policing of the trade route the Patrol assisted in the protection of the flanks of all sea transports to and from the armies in France, and not a single life was lost in the passage. Finally, in a later year, 1918, the Patrol succeeded in closing the Straits of Dover against enemy submarines by a gate, and triumphantly passed from defense to aggression when they attacked and destroyed Zeebrugge and Ostend.

A second defensive measure which German activity in this respect rendered continuous and strenuous in all weathers was mine-sweeping. There was considerable speculation early in 1916 as to new German naval plans, for, like Great Britain, France and Russia,

she was busy in new construction. The British Admiralty had evidence of considerable mine-laying at the end of 1915 and during the early months of 1916, and heard rumors of a new type of U-boat which had been devised. Whatever the uncertainty as to novelties in warfare, however, the mine was certainly known to be present in large areas and prompt measures were needed to deal with it. Before war broke out there was the nucleus of a mine-sweeping fleet and in four years of war this grew to enormous proportions. The fisherman, especially the toiler from the deep sea, mainly supplied the personnel of this fleet, and in the beginning of 1917, Admiral Jellicoe announced that 2500 skippers from the fishing fleets were employed as skippers with the R. N. R., 100,000 fishermen were serving with the navy, and three-quarters of the first-class fishing vessels were in the Admiralty Service. These kept the seas the year round in mine-infested regions. Trawlers working in pairs towed a sweeping wire which was kept at the required depth by a contrivance called a kite. The sweeping wire would catch and hold the steel moving wire of the mine and



### WORK OF CLEARING THE SEA OF GERMAN MINES

with two heavy kites or sinkers as seen in the picture. As the hawser is dragged along it comes into contact with the ropes holding the mines to their anchors and pulls these along so that the mines explode by contact with each other, or are harmlessly exploded by fire from light guns if they come to the surface.

bring the infernal machine to the surface where it was exploded by rifle-fire.

### **D**IFFERENT SORTS OF MINES IN USE.

The mines they sought were of all descriptions. Says the author of "In the Northern Mists:" "There are some kinds that have horns—like a dilemma—some are arranged to come up to the surface long after they are hidden in the depths and at unexpected times like regrettable incidents from a hectic past. Others are constructed with fiendish ingenuity to wait after touching a ship until they have felt out its most vulnerable spot before exploding. Some are made to float about at random. . . . And others, more dangerous still, drift when they were meant to remain anchored. . . . There are frequently found near the surface above the big mines laid deep to catch large vessels, smaller ones designed with special forethought to entrap the mine-sweepers engaged in clearing the field."

In addition to this perilous work, the fishermen although not keeping the seas for such a service rendered valuable service to survivors from torpedoed vessels like the Cressy, Aboukir, Hogue, and Hawke and others in like case, and a certain percentage of their total continued the very hazardous task of fishing the mine-sown depths for food for the nations they served.

### **T**HE HARSHIPS OF THE MEN OF THE PATROL FLEET.

The Dover Patrol formed only one division of a general cordon of defense kept by cruiser squadrons and destroyer flotillas upon the outlets to the North Sea, and in all the waters around France and the British Isles where enemy activity was to be feared. It meant a good deal, this keeping the seas in all weathers through all seasons. It meant, for example, says the writer quoted above (a chaplain serving in these waters), "a pitch-black night, with the temperature well below freezing; there is half a gale of wind blowing and a heavy sea running; a blinding snowstorm stings the faces of the look-outs and makes it impossible to see

more than a foot ahead. And through all this the Fleet is steaming at fast speed, without lights. The officer of the watch knows that there is a ship ahead of him, and another astern, and he must keep his exact distance if he would avoid a calamity which might mean not alone the loss of hundreds of lives and of a \$10,000,000 ship but the weakening of Britain's first line of defense."

### **A** FEW COMMERCE RAIDERS BREAK THROUGH THE LINES.

But the cordon was kept unbroken and such vessels as the Meteor and later the Möwe and Greif which broke through the North Sea guard are exceptions, like the Emden or Königsberg of a previous year. The Meteor had been a commerce raider in the Baltic in June and on the night of August 7, 1915, she broke through the British lines. Her first encounter was with the Ramsey, which she sank together with half her crew and her commander. The Germans hailed the exploit as a splendid manœuvre but in reality the Meteor had masqueraded as an ordinary merchant ship, flying the Russian colors and carrying masked guns and torpedo tubes. She then burned the Dutch vessel Jason off Horn's Reef, and transferred her survivors together with those from the Ramsey to a Norwegian ship. Having a little idle time she laid new mines, and these on August 9 were struck by the British destroyer Lynx which sank with a loss of seventy officers and men. At length a squadron of British auxiliary cruisers got on her track but her commander took his ship within fifteen miles of the German coast, ordered the crew to take to the boats, and blew up his vessel by detonating the remaining mines. The crew made good their escape and upon their return home received a great ovation.

The Möwe had an even more sensational career. She left a German base in December, 1915, and under a snowstorm eluded the cordon, and for the next six weeks made many captures around the Canary Islands. At least fifteen Allied vessels fell to her "bag" and her captures began to exceed even



## HEROIC DEEDS IN ROUGH SEAS

An R. N. V. R. lieutenant swam to a drifting mine and fastened a line to its ringbolt. It was then towed to smooth water and destroyed.



## KEEPERS OF THE SEAS

A mine-sweeping officer and an engine-man boarded a deserted trawler and, at imminent risk, cut away two mines fouled in her tackle.

those of the Emden. In the middle of January she intercepted the Elder-Dempster liner, Appam, on her homeward voyage from West Africa. Placing a prize crew upon her, the Möwe sent the ship to the United States where she made a dramatic appearance at Norfolk on February 1, and presented a curious problem for the government to solve. Early in March the Möwe under her commander, Captain Count von und zu Dohna-Schlodien, returned safely to Germany. She had had many encounters, and not the least that with the Australian merchant vessel, Clan MacTavish, which put up one of the pluckiest fights on record. By false signals the Möwe had approached the Clan MacTavish, and when abaft her beam threw off her disguise, lowered her canvas screen and disclosed her battery of guns opening fire. The Clan MacTavish held on her way, returning fire from her little 2-pounder till further resistance was hopeless.

## THE GREIF IS DESTROYED BY A LUCKY SHOT.

At last came the day of reckoning. On the last day of February, 1916, the Alcantara on patrol duty in the

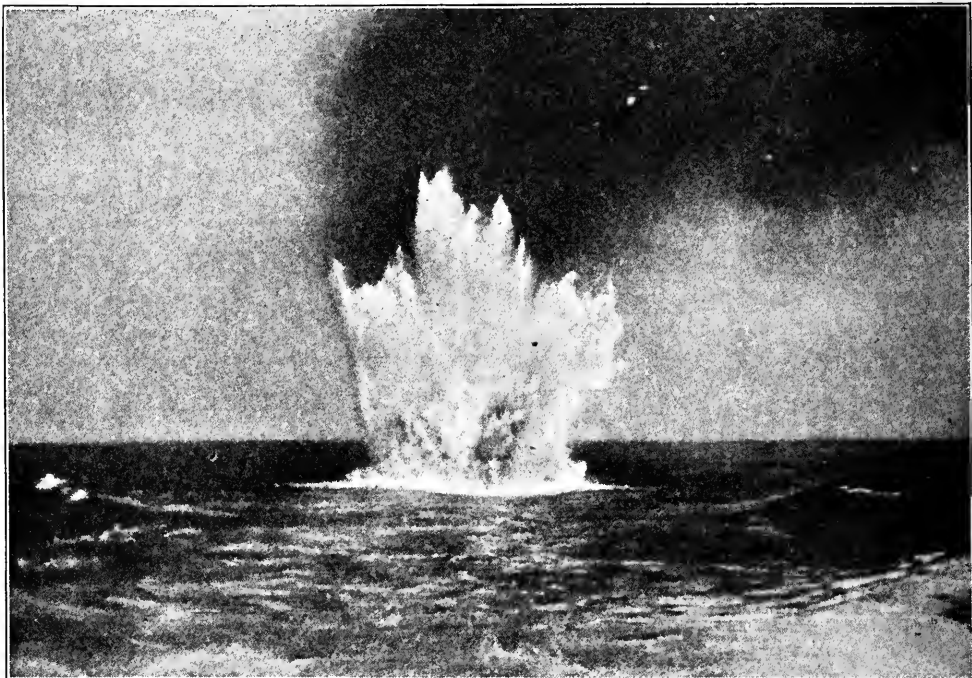
North Sea sighted a large steamer flying Norwegian colors. She ran down the stranger and asked name and destination. Obtaining no answer she lowered a boat, whereupon the merchantman dropped her false bulwarks and opened fire. Both were large ships of over 15,000 tonnage, and with a will the Alcantara returned the raider's fire, and badly mauled the German cruiser which fled. A little later, the Andes, another armed merchantman, came up and with very pretty gun-practice drove the Germans from their guns as she swung on her helm to avoid the torpedoes which the escaping Greif was firing. Just as the inevitable end seemed near another light cruiser appeared and joined in the fray. At some distance her gunlayers picked up the range and presently the German ship blew up with a terrific explosion.

As the year progressed, the attack on Verdun halted on the Western Front. It seemed as though the issue of the struggle might be forced upon the sea; perhaps the steadfast watchers in the northern wastes felt their hopes rise at the thought of forcing the Ger-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

man High Sea Fleet to decisive battle. Certainly some sort of demonstration was needed to reassure the German people that all was well with them. Reasons there were in plenty; Russia might be checked by a naval offensive in the Baltic, or the Allied shipping losses increased by the placing of swift commerce-destroying cruisers upon the Atlantic, the home people encouraged,

Admirals Scheer and Hipper put out from its bases on what the German Admiralty characterized "an enterprise directed northward." The previous day by arrangement—we can not call it chance or coincidence—the British fleet left its bases for the purpose of carrying out one of its periodical sweeps in the North Sea. The fleet was divided into two parts; an advance



AN ARTIFICIAL WATERSPOUT

This volume of water shot high into the air is the result of the explosion of a submarine bomb from a patrol which had located a U-boat at this spot. Modern mines contain from 200 to 1000 pounds of gun cotton or trinitrotoluol. When a mine is exploded in contact with the bottom or side of a ship the result is destruction of the adjacent part of the hull.

and neutrals impressed, or the import of munitions into Archangel checked. Whether it was the British challenge which lured the lurker out, or German Naval pageantry which invited attack does not matter. Certain it is that after two long years of waiting the German High Seas Fleet was brought to an engagement off the Coast of Denmark on May 31, 1916. The combat which ensued lasted till darkness fell, and even spat forth viciously during the night.

### HOW THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND CAME ABOUT.

Early on the morning of the fateful day the German fleet under Vice-

or shock fleet of battle cruisers supported by the Fifth Battle Squadron under command of Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty went ahead. Because of its superior speed its function was reconnaissance, and when this was accomplished Beatty was to repair to a rendezvous in the North Sea where the Battle Fleet under Admiral Sir John Jellicoe would meet him. Beatty's force was not all cruisers, nor Jellicoe's all battleships. The former had with him two battle-cruiser squadrons, three light-cruiser squadrons, and units of four flotillas of destroyers. In addition he was supported by the Fifth Battle Squadron under Rear-Admiral Evan

Thomas who had four fast battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class, the Valiant, Barham, Warspite and Malaya. Jellicoe's rear or main body of the fleet was accompanied by one battle-cruiser squadron, two cruiser squadrons, one light cruiser squadron and three destroyer flotillas.

This was the situation at the start: the Germans were coming out from Wilhelmshaven and Kiel, and the British Grand Fleet from Scotch ports, and both bodies were approaching one another in mutual ignorance. When Beatty had completed his reconnaissance on the morning of May 31, he was turning north to his rendezvous when the Galatea, the flagship of the First Light Cruiser Squadron, at 2:20 P.M. sighted two enemy vessels to the E. S. E., apparently stopped and engaged in boarding a neutral vessel. Recognizing the possibilities of the situation the British admiral turned his fleet to the E. S. E. so as to get between the enemy and his base. Fifteen minutes later the Galatea descried a large amount of smoke such as might come from a fleet steering north. Beatty sent a seaplane up to scout and as the clouds were lying low the daring navigator flew beneath their screen and clearly made out five enemy armored ships with attendant cruisers and destroyers who directed heavy fire at him.

## BEATTY'S FLEET PURSUES THE RETREATING CRUISERS.

Although the sea was calm and the wind fair there was much haze upon the water, a fact that would both destroy the advantage of powerful guns in shortening the range and also aid the hunted in his flight. Other than this the odds were in Beatty's favor at the moment, for he had six cruisers to the German five, besides the Battle Squadron of four ships. He knew that probably the Germans would try to lead him back on to their main Battle Fleet, that with this he must engage at terrible odds, or in turn himself enact the rôle of fugitive and decoy the High Seas Fleet back into touch with Jellicoe's battleships.

There was no time for hesitation, so

prompt decision was made and line of battle formed at once though the two forces were thirteen miles apart. When the distance fell to ten and a half the action opened. At its commencement the fire from the German vessels was exceptionally rapid and accurate; the Lion was hit twice three minutes after fire was opened, and within twelve minutes the Lion, Tiger and Princess



ADMIRAL SIR CECIL BURNEY

Admiral Sir Cecil Burney was Second-in-Command of the Grand Fleet at the Battle of Jutland and became Second Sea Lord, December 1916.

Royal had all received several hits. Shortly after 4 P.M. the Indefatigable under the weight of two salvos fell out of line and sank by the stern. Still Admiral Hipper refused to close, and turned his ships to southwards so that both squadrons were steering a parallel course S. S. E. with a distance of 14,500—18,000 yards between them.

## BEATTY RISKS AN ENCOUNTER WITH THE MAIN FLEET.

At 4:08 P.M. the battleships were near enough to come into action, and they caused the German fire to slacken. Well aware that he was being drawn on towards the German battle fleet Beatty nevertheless clung tenaciously



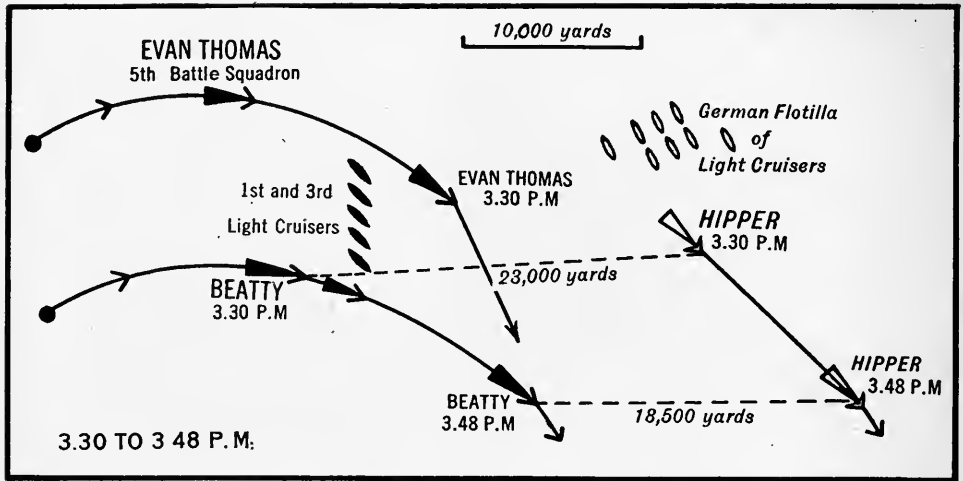
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

to his foe for he hoped now to dispose of Hipper before Scheer could help him, and he knew that in no other way could the main fleets be brought into action. He had sent wireless messages to Sir John Jellicoe advising him of the engagement and of the course that he was pursuing, and so for an hour ran on towards the heart of the foe, while in his trail the main British fleet came on in expectancy of the moment when Beatty would double back on the track with his pursuers hot upon him. A naval engagement has as many phases

explosion there was nothing to be seen of the ship. Afterwards, a few survivors were picked up by the destroyers. The loss of two destroyers and two cruisers reduced the odds in Beatty's favor.

### SIR DAVID BEATTY'S REPORT OF NEW CONDITIONS.

Let Sir David Beatty continue the narrative. "At 4:38 P.M. Southampton reported the enemy's Battle Fleet ahead. The destroyers were recalled and at 4:42 P.M. the enemy's Battle Fleet was sighted S. E. Course was



### BEATTY FORMS LINE OF BATTLE

3:30-3:48 P. M. Beatty forms line of battle at 3:30 P. M. and turns E. S. E. At 3:48 P. M. the battle begins, when he turns S. S. E. and closes a little. Jellicoe is far to the north. Hipper turned on seeing Beatty, returning to where he knows von Scheer with the Battle Fleet may be found.

of fighting as a land battle, for its units are as varied as the troops on terra firma. Fierce brushes took place between opposing flotillas of destroyers, the sea's light troops; stern conflicts raged between the battle-cruisers, the heavy forces. In one of the former, three British destroyers, out of a flotilla pressing an advantage to get within torpedo range of the foe, were isolated and two of them, the Nestor and Nomad, were sunk by the enemy. Meanwhile in the battle-cruiser engagement where heavy guns thundered continuously a second serious casualty had occurred. The Queen Mary received a hit in her magazine, and when the Tiger following close astern of the victim emerged from the smoke of the

altered 16 points in succession to starboard and I proceeded on a northerly course to lead them towards the Battle Fleet. The enemy battle-cruisers altered their course shortly afterwards, and the action continued." Thus, like the German ships following in Beatty's lead, we enter upon the second phase of the battle of Jutland with the British in retreat from 4:45 to 6 P.M.

Where in the meantime was the main British Battle Fleet? The move of Beatty's force to the southward at a speed considerably greater than the battleships could manage had opened a large gap between the two forces, and when Beatty turned, Jellicoe was fifty miles to the north. The distance how-

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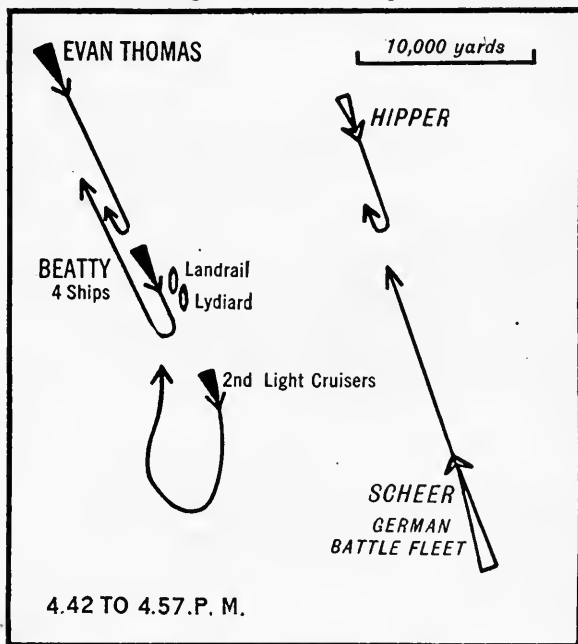
ever was closing at the rate of 45 miles an hour, and Jellicoe believed that the German battleships would be unable to catch either Beatty's cruisers or the Fifth Battle Squadron. "No doubt," he says, "existed in my mind that both our battleships and our battle-cruisers would keep well out of the range of the enemy's Battle Fleet if necessary until I was able to reinforce them." Later the gallant admiral learned that he had been underrating the speed of the German ships, and that the Fifth Battle Squadron when going at its utmost speed had found considerable difficulty in keeping the lead.

### THE HUNTER NOW BECOMES THE HUNTED.

As Beatty ran before the Germans he was indeed their quarry. Eight ships now against nineteen. Nevertheless, the Germans were unable because of weather conditions to use aerial reconnaissance and were in complete ignorance of Jellicoe's approach. Moreover, when the surprise came Beatty reckoned that the German ships would be able to turn only very gradually or else be exposed to enfilade fire from the leading British cruisers. Thus he was in a sense master of the situation. The action between the battle cruisers continued but the British fire was only intermittent, for from shortly after 5:00 P.M. the light was against them, as they stood silhouetted against a clear sky in the west, while the German ships were obscured in the eastern haze. So uncertain became the target that for half an hour Beatty ceased firing altogether. Now and again a great shape would loom up substantial in the mist, and when the light grew better the Lion, alone, true to her name, roared some fifteen times. Just then one of the enemy's battle-cruisers, perhaps the Lützow, quitted the line in a considerably damaged condition and others showed signs of increasing injury.

### BEATTY NOW ATTEMPTS TO CUT OFF THE GERMAN SHIPS.

About 5 P.M. Beatty, sure of the proximity of the battleships and using all his speed, drew ahead of the enemy, pressing in and curving round their T shaped line. Then he drove across it straight to the east, bringing down the range to 12,000 yards. His object was twofold: first, he wished to bring the leading German ships under con-

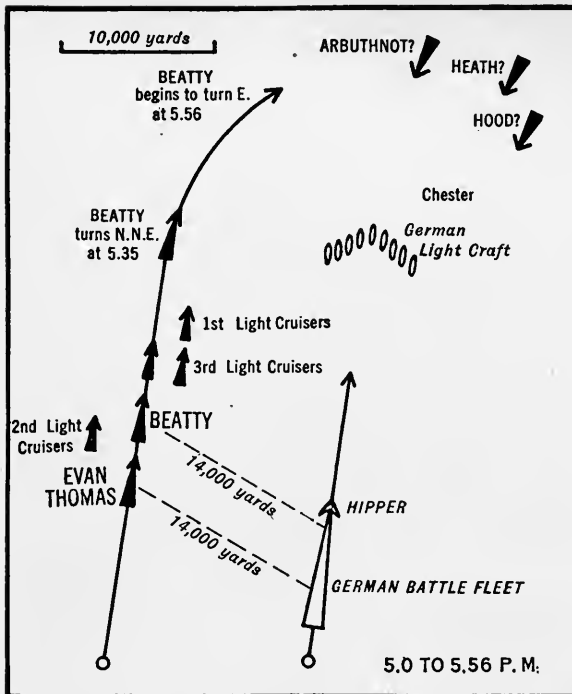


### BEATTY SIGHTS VON SCHEER

4:42-4:57 P. M. Beatty sights Scheer with the German Battle Fleet at 4:42 and swiftly turns. Evan-Thomas, with the Fifth Battle Squadron, does not turn at once, but falls in astern of Beatty. The Second Light Cruisers reconnoitre before turning.

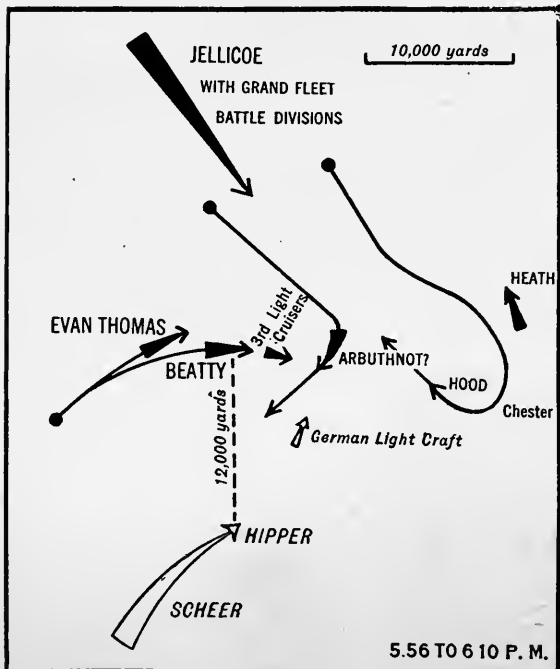
centrated fire; secondly, he strove to clear a space for Jellicoe to come down to complete their destruction. While the battle-cruisers were thus turning the German van, the four battleships fought the whole High Seas Fleet. The gap between Beatty and the battleships steadily widened, for Beatty was allowing sufficient space between himself and Evan-Thomas for Jellicoe to deploy his Battle Fleet between them. It would involve a deployment in the midst of battle of a delicacy and accuracy only possible to a tactician of high order, but it was skillfully accomplished when the time came.

At 6 o'clock the leading vessels of



#### BEATTY MOVES TO HEAD THE GERMANS OFF

5:00-5:56 P. M. Just before the junction with Jellicoe. Beatty is steaming northward and begins to work east, to join Jellicoe and head the Germans off. The enemy at this stage is being slowly forced east away from his bases.



Jellicoe's Grand Fleet had been sighted five miles to the north, and his Third Battle Squadron under Rear-Admiral Hood had been sent to the help of Beatty. The ships came into action, steaming hard to south, and took their places at the head of the cruiser line, and by thus lengthening Beatty's line allowed a complete envelopment of the German cruisers who turned some 12 points to the starboard to get out of the trap, and were in their turn followed by the battleships which for over an hour had been faithfully battered by Evan-Thomas's battleships. Hood's action had brought him within 8,000 yards of the enemy and exposed him to desperate fire. His flagship, the *Invincible*, was sunk and with it perished an admiral who in faithfulness and courage must rank with the heroic figures of British naval history.

#### MANŒUVRES AND FIGHTING IN THE TWILIGHT.

It is interesting to note that after 6 P. M. though the vision became reduced, it was undoubtedly more favorable to the British than to the enemy. At intervals the German ships, —now to the westward of the British,—showed up clearly and received severe punishment, battle-cruisers and battleships alike.

From a quarter to six to 6:50 while the two British Fleets were coming into line the situation was delicate and the fighting confused. First the close divisions of the Grand Fleet spread out and melted gracefully into lines—to all appearance as easily as if they were battalions of infantry—then they swung round to the east, the foremost vessel reaching out to join up with Beatty's battle-cruisers. As the Grand Fleet deployed, Evan-Thomas

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swung in his four battleships so that the Barham (leading the line) fell in behind the aftermost of Jellicoe's battleships, and the remainder of the Fifth Battle Squadron completed the line which stretched now in one long curve to the west and north and east of the Germans. Shortly before 7 o'clock the British Fleets were united, the German line was headed off on the east and Beatty and Jellicoe were working their way between the enemy and his home ports. But the fog was deepening and already the light was failing.

### WHY WAS NOT THE GERMAN FLEET DESTROYED?

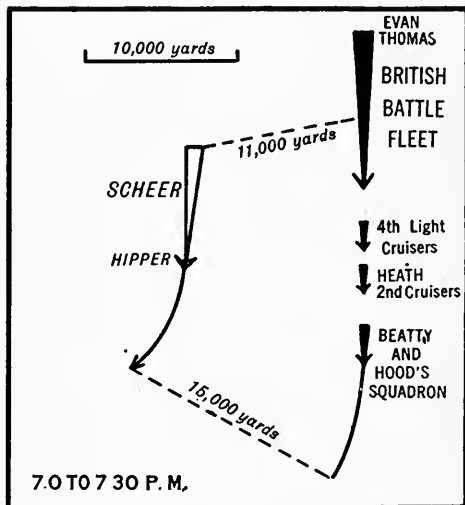
The two phases of the Battle of Jutland that follow are the ones that have given rise to all the controversy, confusion, hopelessly irreconcilable official German and British dispatches that exist. Writers will be explaining these engagements, old men theorizing upon them, for generations to come. So far what happened is perfectly clear and simple—a pursuit by Beatty, followed by a retreat. Two groups of shell-emitting gun-platforms that had now in succession chased each other up and down the North Sea. Given the English favorable position between the enemy and his base, his superiority in ships and guns and speed, and his advantage in whatever daylight was left, how is one to explain the fact that the British Fleet did not complete the destruction of the German High Seas Fleet upon that May night?

That the Germans realized their imminent peril is clear if one reads the end of Scheer's dispatch in which the note of deliverance rather than the pæan of victory sounds. "Whoever had the fortune to take part in the battle will joyfully recognize with a thankful heart that the protection of the Most High was with us. It is an old historical truth that fortune favors the brave."

### THE GERMAN FLEET IS CUT OFF FROM ITS BASE.

Let us review the happenings before seeking to account for them. It was already 6:15 when Jellicoe's deployment was complete; the visibility was becoming greatly reduced all the time;

often the targets disappeared altogether. Admiral Scheer was moving away south and west, with the British farther to the east in pursuit, so that in effect the German High Sea Fleet was turning slowly inside the British Fleet, which had formed in an enormous line and was turning outside the Germans on a longer radius. The interior curve of the Germans neutralized the British advantage in speed, but if mist and darkness had not settled



### ENEMY CUT OFF FROM HIS BASES

7:00-7:30 P. M. The Germans have been forced to stand out against the sunset sky. The British after effecting a junction steam south about 7 P. M., and haul westwards in their endeavor to close with the Germans; the enemy turned away, allowing the British to cut him off from his bases. At 7:15 the British Battle Fleet makes a turn away from the Germans.

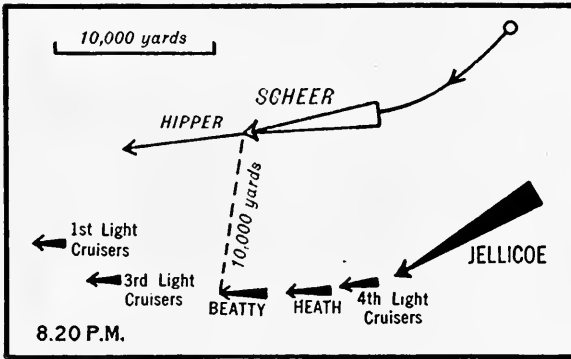
down Jellicoe could have kept them revolving in a circle and have prevented them from reaching port. To defend his withdrawal and to delay Beatty and Jellicoe, Scheer seized the one chance of safety left to him, namely the delivering of repeated torpedo attacks which would prevent the Battle Fleet from closing in and destroying the German Fleet by gun fire while the light lasted.

At 7:12 Admiral Jellicoe for the second time began to move his battleships in line of battle nearer to the enemy, but the vehemence of a torpedo attack from a number of destroyers caused him to make a second turn away from the enemy, and thus the battle cruisers were left nearer to the

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enemy than the battle fleet. In these conditions the action between the fleets lasted intermittently from 6:17 to 8:20 P.M. The enemy constantly turned away and opened the range under cover of destroyer attacks, and smoke screens as the effect of the British fire was felt. The marks were usually not the hulls of the enemy's ships, but the elusive flashes of his guns. Thus this third phase of the battle, which from the English point of view was an attacking phase, could also in the sense of torpedo attack be so claimed by the enemy. If to the low visibility and the

firing; their searchlights were more powerful and better controlled and they had more torpedo-tubes to a ship than the British. The seas were swarming with torpedo craft, and accordingly Jellicoe felt compelled to consider the safety of his ships till the action could be renewed at dawn. He says, "In view of the gathering darkness, and the fact that our strategical position was such as to make it appear certain that we should locate the enemy at daylight under most favorable circumstances, I did not consider it desirable or proper to close the enemy



### THE MIST COMES DOWN

8:20 P. M. Last moments of the battle between the big ships. Beatty alters course to support his light cruisers and attack the head of the German fleet; just after this he is heavily engaged at 10,000 yards. Then the mist comes down, and at 8:28 p. m., the German Fleet is last seen from the big ships steaming west.

sunset be added the long range of the torpedo, it is possible to understand why Beatty and Jellicoe did not close with the enemy and wipe him off the seas.

### WHY ADMIRAL JELICOE DID NOT CLOSE WITH THE ENEMY.

By 9 o'clock the enemy had completely disappeared and darkness was falling fast. The Admiral had now to make a difficult decision. The British fleet was the mainstay of the Allies. If its superiority was lost the whole Allied cause was lost. He was aware that in the event of a night engagement some German equipment was superior to the British. Their ships were provided with star shells which would light up the waters and reveal the enemy without disclosing their own whereabouts. The lighter guns were fitted with a system of director

Battle Fleet during the dark hours. . . . At 9 P.M. the enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo-boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary for me to dispose the fleet for the night with a view to its safety from such attacks, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manoeuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they would afford protection to the fleet from destroyer attack, and at the same time be favorably situated for attacking the enemy's ships."

### SMALLER CRAFT CONTEND DURING THE NIGHT.

This fourth phase, from about 9 o'clock to dawn, can hardly be called an engagement, for it was mostly a series of scrimmages between the smaller craft as the British destroyers sought for the enemy in the darkness. The British heavy ships were not attacked, but throughout the night the destroyer flotillas delivered gallant and successful attacks upon the scattered German units, although with heavy losses. When the enemy fleet ran for home it seems to have scattered, and the British destroyers were strung out far and wide in pursuit, each commander acting on his own initiative. Rudyard Kipling in his "Destroyers off Jutland" (Fringes of the Fleet) thus describes the fight: "In that flotilla

alone there was every variety of fight, from the ordered attacks of squadrons under control, to single ship affairs, every turn of which depended on the second's decision of the men concerned; endurance to the hopeless end; bluff and cunning; reckless advance and red-hot flight; clear vision and as much of blank bewilderment as the Senior Service permits its children to indulge in. That is not much. When a destroyer who has been dodging enemy torpedoes and gun-fire in the dark realizes about midnight that she is 'following a strange British flotilla, having lost sight of my own,' she 'decides to remain with them' and shares their fortunes and whatever language is going." In more measured tone the High Commander thus reported their work: "It is impossible to state with certainty which of our destroyers were entirely successful in their attack. The work of the flotillas as a whole, was characterized by the splendid dash, skill and gallantry for which our destroyers had been conspicuous throughout the war. They were most ably led and achieved magnificent work under very difficult conditions." Even the Germans give due credit for this phase of the fighting. Von Tirpitz in his Memoirs says: "The mass of English torpedo boats (destroyers), supported by cruisers were thus presented with an incredibly favorable opportunity to attack our fleet. . . . The attack was carried out with courage, but little skill."

### **THE GERMAN FLEET DISAPPEARS BEFORE THE MORNING.**

The morning revealed no foe, only the wide, open, glassy sea, empty save for the sorrowful litter of gallant ships floating aimlessly. Scheer had worked through and around the British ships and sped away homewards in the dark, passing behind the shelter of the German minefields in the early morning on his way to home ports. Von Tirpitz explains: "Admiral Scheer and our whole fleet regarded a renewal of the fight on the following morning as a certainty. They preferred, however, to face this fight at a less distance from the mine-fire fairway, and accordingly

decided to move thither in the night, and take station close to Horn's Reef." Only a Zeppelin which passed over the British fleet at 3:30 A.M. was seen of all the great enemy host. The pursuit of the Germans by the destroyers in the night had been so widely scattered that it was late before a final concentration was effected. Jellicoe remained on the spot cruising about until 1 o'clock when



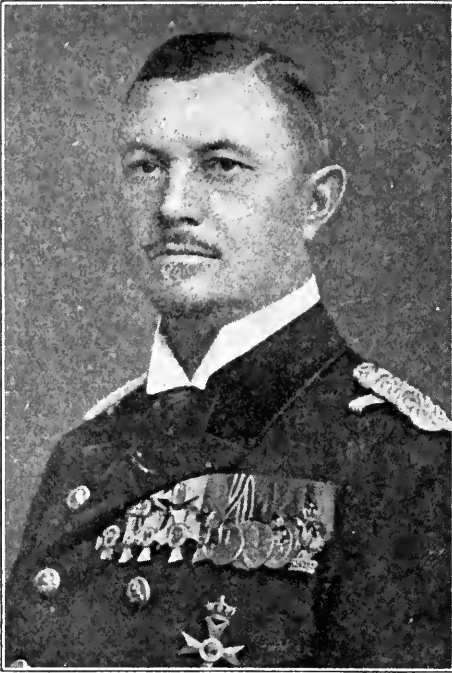
**REAR ADMIRAL HOOD**

Rear-Admiral Hood commanded the Dover Patrol until April, 1915. In the Battle of Jutland in coming to the help of Sir David Beatty, he was lost with his flagship the *Invincible*.

he decided to return to his northern station. The British Fleet arrived at its bases June 2, fuelled and was reported ready at 9:45 P.M. on that date.

These are the facts of the engagement. What follows is its reflection in public opinion. When the officers and men of the British Navy went joyfully ashore, they were greeted with dismay and commiseration as survivors of an awful disaster. The battle which they had just fought, and in which they were conscious of having sustained no mean part was, because of the clumsy statement of the English Admiralty, looked upon in England as a reverse.





**VICE-ADMIRAL SCHEER**

Admiral Scheer was chief-in-command of the German High Sea Fleet. For his services in effecting the escape of his ships off Jutland he received the order "Pour le Merite."

The Admiralty's first installment of news had been the publication, bald and almost unedited, of the serious list of English losses. Panic not unnaturally followed, and the Kaiser seized the occasion to congratulate Scheer upon a victory which he asserted "destroyed forever British mastery of the seas." The German official dispatches—as admitted later—were deliberately falsified "for strategic purposes," and their published losses both in men and ships looked small beside the English disasters, which though grave, were frankly conceded.

## THE GERMANS CLAIM TO HAVE WON A GREAT VICTORY.

Time passed and the so-called "victorious fleet" still stayed close within its fastnesses behind a cordon of mystery and silence. Wilhelmshaven was seven-sealed and no citizen, however loyal, was allowed to view the forces of the Fatherland. Through neutral channels the tale of loss and injury began to come in and as the fruits of the

engagement fell all to the English, public opinion swung to the other side.

The following specimen of the other side of the picture as represented by German dispatches, gives some reason for Allied and Neutral anxiety as to the issue of Jutland: "As the dawn colored the eastern sky on the historic first of June, everyone expected that the rising sun would illuminate the British line deployed in readiness to renew the battle. This expectation was not realized. As far as the eye could reach the horizon was clear. Not until the late morning did our airships, which had gone up in the meantime, announce that a Battle Squadron consisting of twelve ships, was approaching from the southern part of the North Sea, going at full speed on a northerly course. To the great regret of all concerned, it was too late to overtake and attack this." As things really were at this time, the German High Seas Fleet was close to the Horn Lighthouse steering for home behind the minefields; the British Grand Fleet was



**VICE-ADMIRAL HIPPER**

Vice-Admiral Hipper commanded the German scouting squadron which was sighted and followed up by Admiral Beatty in the Battle off Jutland.

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where it had been when darkness fell, waiting for the enemy; the "airships of late morning" represented the "Zeppelin of 3:30 A.M." which steered the retiring fleet through the British disposition. If there were twelve ships steering for home, what a chance for Germany to come out and destroy them! Why did she not take it?

with his foe and there fought to a finish at even odds. Although the German fleet emerged from the "wet triangle" several times during succeeding months, yet it never sought another engagement, and continued to hide until that day more than two years later when it left its base and sailed for the British coast there to



H.M.S. IRON DUKE

The Iron Duke was the flagship of Admiral Jellicoe, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet in the battle of Jutland. A super-Dreadnought, laid down in 1912, the Iron Duke has a displacement of 25,000 tons and a speed of 21 knots. She carries ten 13.5-inch guns, twelve 6-inch guns, and five torpedo tubes.

### **BOTH PARTICIPANTS FAIL TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR PURPOSE.**

The true test of a fight, whether on land or sea, lies in its results. The issues of Jutland—had the engagement been fought to a finish—would have been enormous. It seems clear in view of the evidence, that it was a conflict of encounter and manoeuvre and no deliberate forcing of a Trafalgar. Nevertheless, Germany when she fought was seeking to reduce the disparity between the rival fleets, and trying to break the British blockade. England on the other hand sought to annihilate the German High Seas Fleet. Scheer failed in his first aim or he would have sought another conflict

strike its flag and intern. Neither did Scheer's victory raise the blockade; not a single raider found its way through in the Mediterranean or Atlantic Seas, only such as were at large in the Baltic there continued.

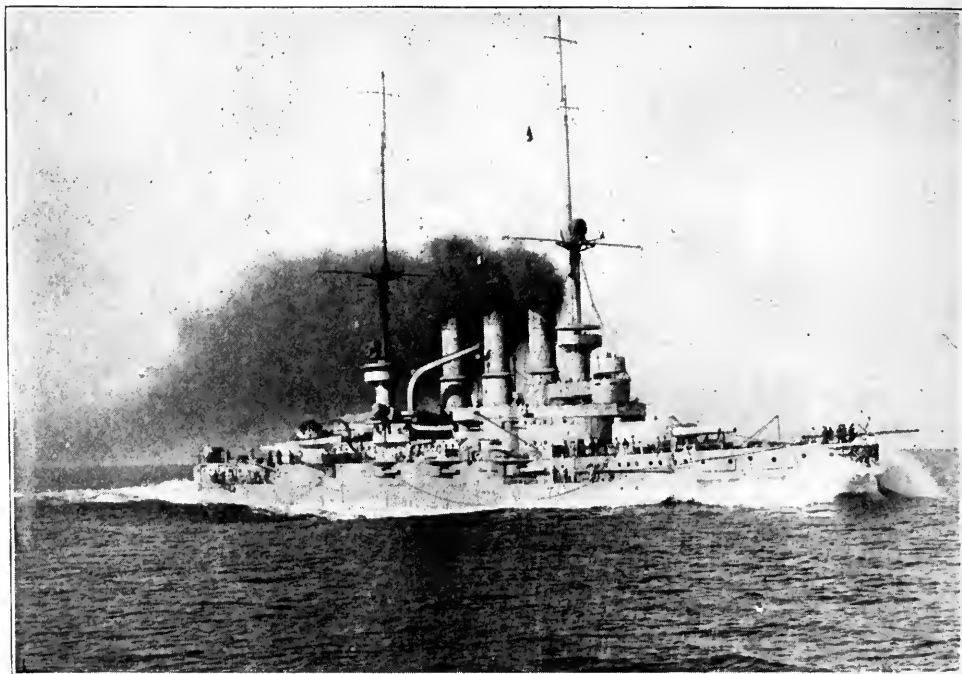
Jellicoe did *not* annihilate the German High Sea Fleet. Scheer escaped from a situation of desperate danger, but nevertheless the fleet that the Kaiser described as "defeated" was ready to resume wonted watch and guard after a very brief interval. Unchecked and unhindered her transport of men and tons of artillery continued, and freed from threat of German aggression, the Russian offensive in the Baltic went forward.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### CONFLICTING AND IRRECONCILABLE STORIES OF THE LOSSES.

The British losses, published by the Admiralty, were: three battle cruisers, three armored cruisers, and eight destroyers, the total tonnage amounting to 114,100 while the officers and men who perished numbered 5,613. The Germans only admitted one battleship, one battle cruiser, four armored

The heavy loss in British battle cruisers was seemingly due both to good marksmanship, on the part of the Germans and to the superiority of the German armor-piercing shells according to Admiral Jellicoe. Insufficient precautions had also been taken to guard against the ignition of the magazine by flashes from exploding shells which entered the turret.



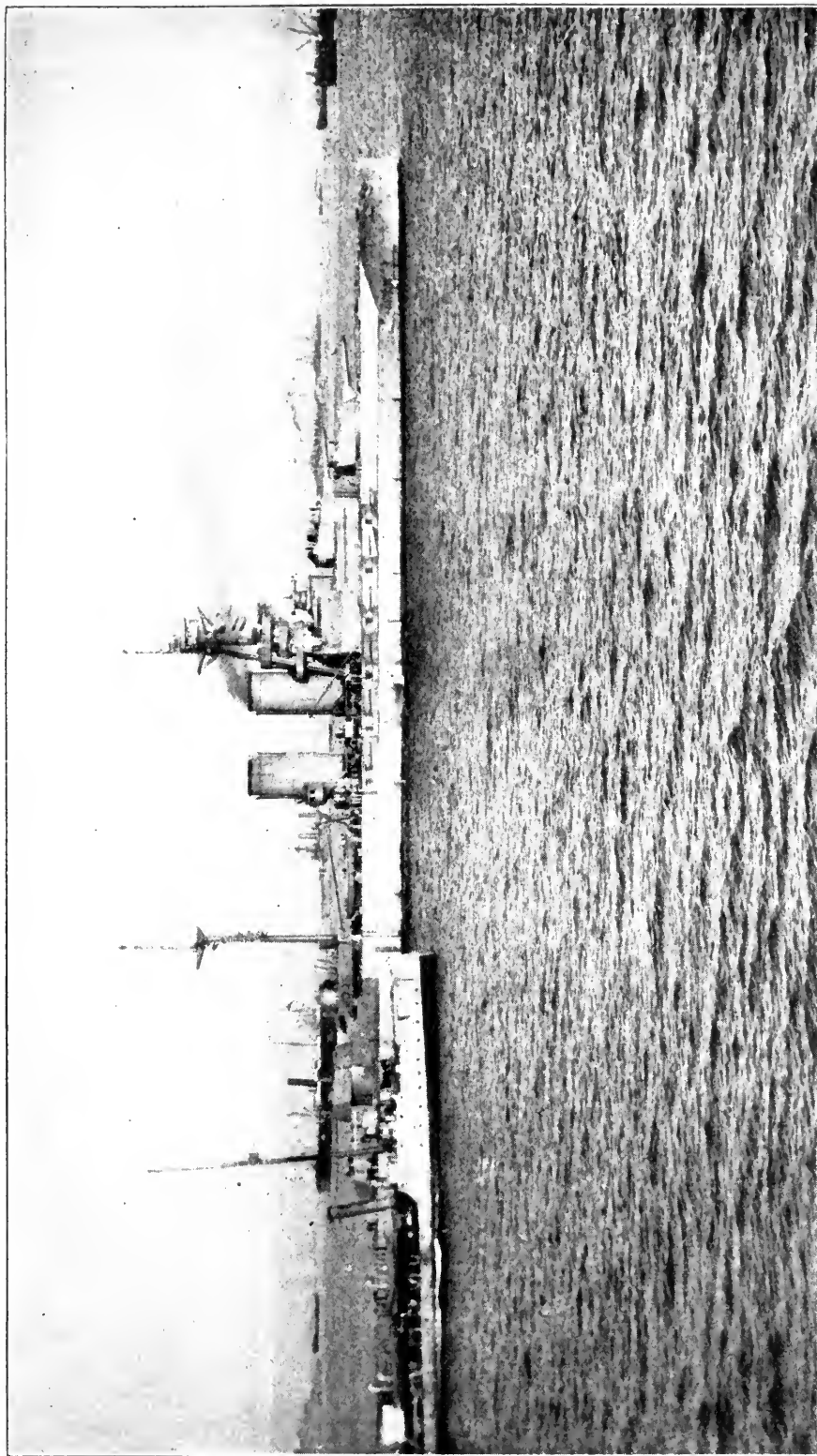
THE GERMAN CRUISER POMMERN

The Germans did not admit their losses in full in the Battle of Jutland, and their reserve was deemed necessary, it was stated, for "strategic reasons." They could not conceal the sinking of their fine cruiser Pommern, which built in 1905 had a displacement of 13,200 tons, and carried some of the best of the Kaiser's gunners.

cruisers, and five destroyers, with a total of 63,015 tons, and 3,966 officers and men. Reports from British Commanders sent in after the fight raise the figures to four battleships, one battle cruiser, five armored cruisers, six destroyers and one submarine, or a total of 113,435 tons. Von Capelle in his testimony before the War Investigation Committee was asked why only 90 U-boats were built in 1916, and 269 and 220 in 1917 and 1918. He replied "The Skagerack battle (as the Germans call the battle of Jutland) caused serious damage to our boats. Their repair held up the construction of other boats."

### THE BATTLE SHOWS NOTHING NEW IN STRATEGY.

Considered strategically the battle offers nothing new or startling. Conventional and accepted tactics were used with usual and expected results, and as the engagement progressed, the Chief of Staff remarked to Jellicoe, "This is all going according to expectation." The principal changes in the battle orders were the large amount of discretionary power invested in Flag officers commanding squadrons, since over that wide expanse, funnel-smoked and gun-befogged, a central command could not always see or be seen, and a freedom of initiative was



**H.M.S. QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE ALLIED FRENCH AND BRITISH FLEETS IN THE DARDANELLES**

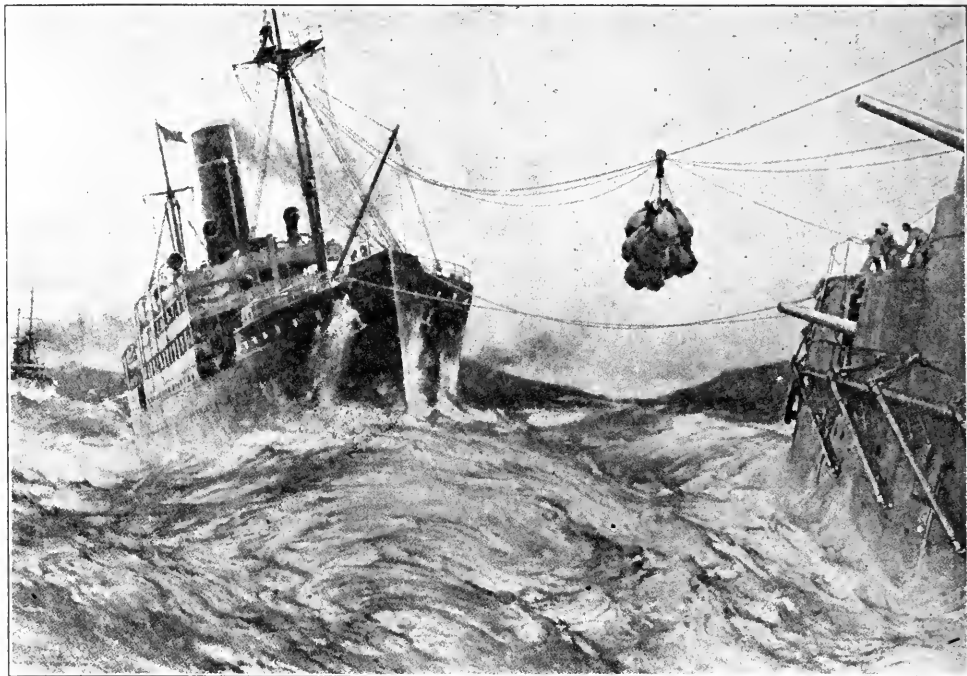
The Queen Elizabeth, one of the largest of the British super-Dreadnoughts, was laid down in 1912. She has a displacement of 27,500 tons, and her main armament consists of eight 15-inch guns and twelve 6-inch guns, while she has a speed of 25 knots an hour. Sent down with the Allied French and British Fleets to the Dardanelles to cover the landing forces at Gallipoli, her guns on one occasion fired across the peninsula at Chanak. Later the Queen Elizabeth was stationed off Scapa Flow with the British Grand Fleet. She was not present in the fight off Jutland, but the Valiant, Warspite, Barham and Malaya of Beatty's squadron were of her class.

Picture, N.Y. Times

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

encouraged in dealing with torpedo attacks. Scheer's torpedoes delayed the British Fleet's attack, but little prey fell to them, and in the long run this fact seemed established by the "Battle of the Giants": the big battleship rules the sea. A submarine or a destroyer is a raider that achieves striking local successes, but every raider must have refuge and asylum

toum had always had. It had been arranged that Lord Kitchener should go to Russia to confer with the government upon the question of the Allied drive that was impending, and to arrange some details of the munition supply. He left England June 5 intending to land at Archangel, visit Petrograd and be back by the 20th of the month. The cruiser in which he



COALING A WARSHIP AT SEA

The warship in the picture was steaming at twelve knots an hour, towing a collier astern, from which sacks of coal were hoisted to a platform at the masthead, and sent by cable to the warship. From the masthead to the deck a net was suspended to shield the collier's men from falling fragments. In this manner sixty tons of coal were transhipped within an hour.

ports and these can only lie secure behind the might of great ships.

Before the echoes of the Battle of the Giants had died away the world received the news of the death of Lord Kitchener. There is something fitting in this setting for the last scene in the life of the great soldier. The Norsemen of old believed that their heroes in order to attain Valhalla must die upon the field of battle or upon the "path of the whale," and the elements of unreality and stunning surprise in the loss of the Hampshire accorded well with the mysterious appeal to the imagination that the hero of Khar-

sailed was the Hampshire, which had returned only three days before from the Jutland fight. Before he left, Lord Kitchener saw Sir John Jellicoe and his staff upon the deck of the Lion, and the latter used some little persuasion to induce him to defer his journey, as the weather boded ill. Lord Kitchener was accompanied by Mr. H. J. O'Beirne, former counselor of the British Embassy at Petrograd, Mr. O. A. Fitzgerald, his personal secretary, General Ellershaw and Sir Frederick Donaldson. Time was precious and Lord Kitchener decided that he could not afford to wait for better weather.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

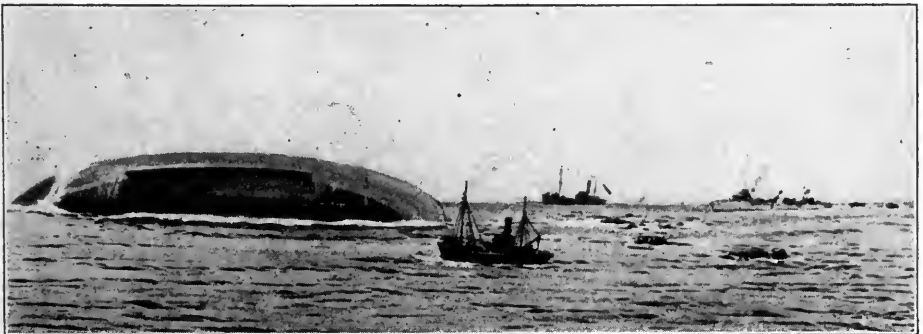
### THE DEATH OF LORD KITCHENER AT SEA.

The Hampshire was convoyed by two destroyers, which, when the gale increased, the captain unfortunately ordered back to port. Between 7:30 and 7:45 P.M., as she was proceeding along the west coast of the Orkneys, the vessel struck a mine and began at once to settle by the bows, keeling over to starboard before she finally went down about fifteen minutes later. The seas were too rough to admit of any of the boats getting away; in the effort to launch them one was broken and its occupants thrown into the water. It was evident that the Hampshire was doomed, and accordingly the captain ordered the men to their posts for abandoning the ship. In all some three or four rafts got safely away with some fifty to seventy men on each. Yet such was the force of the seas as it beat upon them that many were thus battered to death, others relinquished their hold and just slipped into the depths, or died of cold or exposure, and yet more were thrown senseless on the cruel rocks that guarded the coast. Though it was daylight until about 11 o'clock only 11 men and one warrant officer of all the company were saved. Nothing more was heard of Lord Kitchener and his colleagues, though wild rumors that he was in a German prison camp arose.

The Admiralty published the following statement on June 15:

"From the report of the twelve survivors of the Hampshire the following conclusions were reached. As the men were going to their stations before abandoning the ship, Lord Kitchener, accompanied by a naval officer, appeared. The latter said: 'Make way for Lord Kitchener.' Both ascended to the quarterdeck. Subsequently, four military officers were seen there, walking aft on the port side. The Captain called Lord Kitchener to the fore bridge near where the Captain's boat was hoisted. The Captain also called Lord Kitchener to enter the boat. It is unknown if Lord Kitchener entered it or what happened to any boat."

To perish without seeing the results one has wrought for is hard. Kitchener died upon the eve of the great Allied offensive, for which he had labored so intensely to build up a vast British force. Yet in a sense his task was done, just as was that of the heroes of Jutland who lay beneath the same treacherous waters of the North Sea. In the early dark days of the war he had been the one man to whom Britain turned. And his loss was only yet another call to the Empire to strengthen those that stood, and establish the weak-hearted to "carry on" the work which he had begun.



THE FRENCH BATTLESHIP GAULOIS SERIOUSLY DAMAGED IN THE DARDANELLES





#### A PITIFUL EXAMPLE OF THE TOLL OF WAR

One of the innocent and defenseless victims of the far-reaching cruelty of war—an old woman and her only remaining possession, a cow. Bombed out of her home by German shells, she has no refuge but the street, no protection save public charity. Yet no bitterness distorts her features which are stamped rather with patience.



#### AMID THE DÉBRIS OF CRUEL WAR

There is no class in life upon which the horrors of war have fallen more heavily than upon the aged. Helpless before violence and bereft of the support of the young, or homeless in the face of invasion and bombardment, they have suffered further cruel agonies of bewilderment and nostalgia amid the strange surroundings whither for safety they have wandered.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin



The Palace of Louis XV at Compiègne

## CHAPTER XXXI

# France in War-Time

## THE MARVELOUS STORY OF FRENCH DETERMINATION, FORTITUDE AND ENDURANCE.

"I HAVE lived through unforgettable hours, and I understand now, how much there is of beauty and nobility in France to fight for," wrote a lad of twenty from the trenches. Joan of Arc in the forests and meadows around Domremy dreamed through unforgettable hours and came, a girl of seventeen, to that same full knowledge. Roland, in the gloomy depths of the Pyrenees, sacrificed a life which had flowered freely in knightly service and died, murmuring, "Terre de France mult estes dulz pays!" Unless we accept the young soldier's and the peasant girl's and the paladin's point of view and strive to see with their vision, we cannot really understand the spirit which inspired the heroic resistance of Frenchmen in this great war.

### FRANCE ON THE DAY OF MOBILIZATION, AUGUST 1, 1914.

It is August 1, 1914, and the general order of mobilization has been posted in the streets of Paris, in the cities of the provinces, at the seaside, throughout the country. See the cabmen, *concièrges*, *boulevardiers*, fishermen, peasants, diplomats, merchants reading it. How quietly, seriously, and yet gladly each turns away, intent upon making the most of the short hours before he entrains at the nearest station and reports at his headquarters. And

the women: is there a tear, a sigh, a groan? Not for now, nor for this cause; there may be, hereafter, when none shall see and none be weakened in fulfilling the task. Quite naturally, and with a smile, Madame L—— lifts up the baby as Sergeant L——, early on Sunday morning, sets forth from the *Gare des Invalides*.

From midnight on Saturday, August 2—and for fifteen successive days—mobilization proceeded. A hundred, a thousand, a million, and more, came to their nearest station and took the waiting train, and reached their headquarters on scheduled time, where each man found a uniform, coat, boots and field-knapsack. Nowhere was there confusion; not in any place even hesitation. All went according to plans made years before, and all went smoothly and with the utmost precision and quietness. There was no singing, no shouting, no hysteria. Where was the Frenchman that the Berlin press represented as fear-pressed, or revenge-intoxicated? Quiet, disciplined conduct covering tremendous moral determination was the keynote of every company and regiment, every station and barracks and square.

### MEN TO THE WAR, AND WOMEN TO WORK.

The trains roll in, mile after mile of them, and the men are equipped and

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counted, and then the train takes them again and bears them this time north and east to the fronts. "I am for the Ardennes, where I shall see some service." "And I for Nancy, I!" are the exchanges flung as the long silent monsters pull out from shed and siding, once more. The country-side was bare and deserted, for tools and implements were flung on wayside and field as the news came in. Soon—it may be in an hour—these groups of peasant women, gathered to watch the trains go off, will break up and the wives and mothers go silently and unquestioningly back to the fields. Through that hot afternoon they bend to the work, and through all the long silent days to come; their thoughts with the men who have gone, who with other weapons and in other fields are reaping the harvest of savagery. And the fisherman's boats are pulled up upon the shore and his nets lie idle. In the city one reads over the little cobbler's shop, "Absent from the first day of mobilization."

### THE HISTORIC MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

It is Paris again, and the fourth of August in the Chamber of Deputies. In complete silence the deputies are seating themselves, and one notices, yet hardly with surprise, a few handshakes between those who yesterday were enemies. The president rises and pronounces amidst the silence, his oration upon Jaurés, killed by insensate folly the day after war was declared, and the words of the national liturgy, honored in century-old use, roll forth "la justice sociale, la fraternité humaine, la conscience humaine . . . . . " with the response, "Du cercueil de cet homme sort une pensée d'union, de ses lèvres glacées, un cri d'espérance!" Silence falls again, until the President of the Council, M. Viviani, already deep-engrossed in multifarious cares, arrives. He who was yesterday a partisan is now the government of France. Amidst pregnant silence he reads the message from the President of the Republic and ends "Keep we high our hearts. *Vive la France!*" The causes of war are reviewed, France's case stated, and a

long series of laws relative to defense passed; and for a brief interval the deputies adjourn to pace the corridors while they wait the vote of the Senate. No long interval and Viviani is with them again, to announce that in agreement with the Chamber, the Senate has given its consent to the war measures and grants of moneys.

One more scene: it is St. Cyr on the last night of July, and in place of the historic *fête du Triomphe* that generally graces the occasion, word has gone forth for general mobilization. In the midst of a scene of intense fervor and enthusiasm, one of the young officers, Gaston Vorzard, springs to his feet and makes all the officers of his class swear that they will not go into battle except in white gloves and with their *képi* adorned with the casoar, the red and white plume. "*Ce serment, bien français, est aussi élégant que léméraire,*" he cries. And, with acclamation, his comrades take the oath. They kept it and were some of the first French officers to die in battle at the head of their regiments. Days passed, and the recruiting offices were besieged by long queues of men, pleading to be taken. "I have seen weeping among those who may not go first," writes Clemenceau of those days, but it was the only sign of weeping that France gave.

### WEARY WAITING FOR THE NEWS OF BATTLES.

Then the soldiers have gone, and to eager hours of preparation and days of quick discussion, succeeds a weary time of waiting, for the hand of the Government is upon the Press and little news filters through when every *communiqué* may be read by the enemy. "What use to speculate now," say the women, "do we not know where they have gone, have we not stated and restated our good reasons for hoping, but we cannot tell what victories they may have won." There is no depression, only a sense of emptiness and of tortured waiting.

In the early days of August, uncertain at first, but growing clearer, came news of the barbarity with which the German march through Belgium was attended. With violent recoil, the



#### "CARRYING ON" ACROSS THE HOME FIELDS OF FRANCE

With the men filling trenches and manning guns upon the far-stretching battlefield, and the horses devoted to the necessities of warfare, women found their tasks multiplied. Mouths must be filled that national vigor might not fail. In France, as in other lands, women sturdily shouldered the burden.

Central News Photo Serv.



#### FRENCH PEASANTS LAYING IN A STOCK OF FIREWOOD

There was great shortage of coal in war-time in France because of the tremendously increased demand for the industrial purposes of war, and also because of the complete stoppage of supplies from the invaded coalfields of northern and eastern France. In addition to these causes there was scarcity of labor due to mobilization, as well as difficulties in transportation.

Picture, H. Ruschin

French mind springs aside from such savagery. Von der Goltz's "Nation in Arms" may vainly advocate such measures as shortening the war in the interests of humanity. "It is thus," comments the French Press, "that so many religions have resulted in bloody sacrifices, glorifications of our native cruelty, and that the Christian doctrine of love came to accommodate itself to an eternal hell. . . . Well, let the experiment in bloody philanthropy follow its course. As for us, we shall not dispatch the wounded. On the contrary, our women will proudly make all efforts to save them; and when we are on enemy territory we shall aid the weak instead of shooting them. Only on the field of battle do we accept the war of extermination imposed upon us."

#### VAGUE RUMORS CIRCULATE AMONG THE WAITING THROG.

There were some who made harvest of rumor amid this dearth of news. The *monsieur bien-informé* of boulevard café, whose brother-in-law's sister was a cleaner at the war office, dealt in certainties as to the Russian troops and the last attack and terrorized the men who knew nothing. But Paris and France stood firm. It was glorious weather, yet in the capital the great avenues were deserted, soulless, and at night half-lighted and void. No interest here, it all lay upon the horizon. French life ceased, it seemed, save for the army, for in imagination, in mind and heart, all were in Dieuze, in the Vosges, in Belgium. What a horriblesimplification of life—this sunshine, this ennui, this waiting!

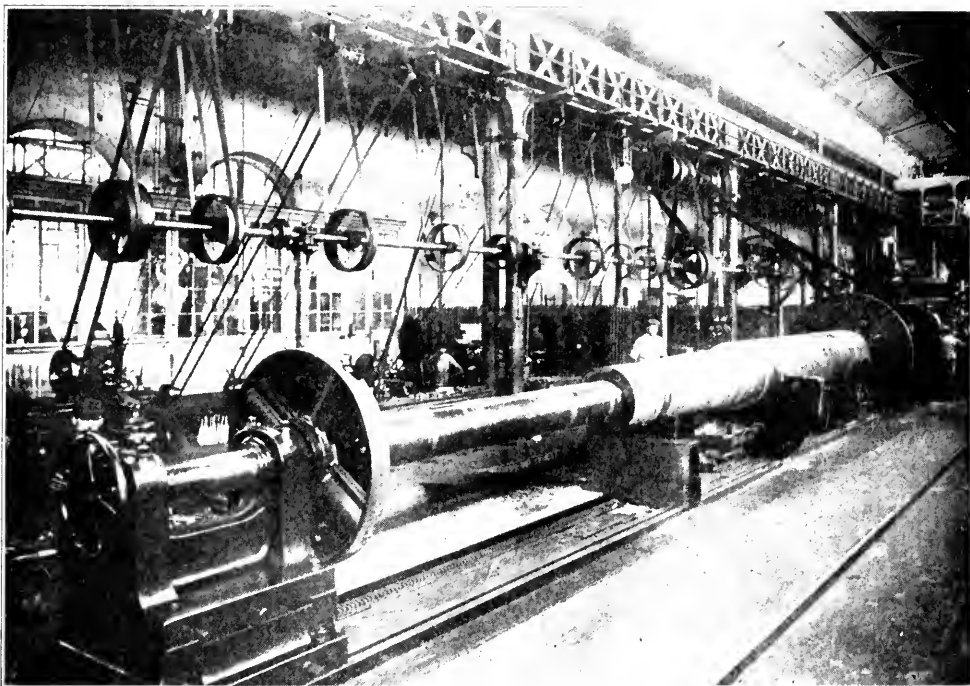
Meantime, what was happening with the army at the frontier? France, respecting the neutrality of Belgium, had placed her strongest armies upon the eastern, not the north-eastern border, and in the early days of August, the British troops had not yet been landed. When they came, the Belgian sacrifices at Liège and Namur held up the German onrush, but still did not give time to allow efficient concentration of the Allies. The foe, after heading his way through Belgium, spread out in a great circle down the left bank of the Meuse

and found the way clear. He met only on his right, the British Army still very small, and on his left, French territorials but recently recruited from counting-house and shop. These French and British troops opposed the German attack, but the disasters of Charleroi and Mons and Le Cateau demonstrated their fruitless effort, and von Kluck's army came on irresistibly at 30 to 35 miles a day, till it lay at the nearest point a cannon shot from Paris. By this time brief official *communiqués* indicated the retreat, but no panic followed. "Although the disappointment is great, we must not exaggerate it," wrote M. Clemenceau. "Though the task that rests upon us is so manifest, so difficult, so long, so incomparably agonizing, who will dare to say that we must not accept it? And it is not enough to accept the infliction; we invoke it, we run to meet it, we offer ourselves to its blows, we pray that they may be redoubled, in order that the day may be hastened when fortune, weary of scourging us, will come to know that there is a soul in us that nothing can force to yield." Fortune weary of scourging did come to know—and at no long day. The German advance, on September 5, lay at one point near the northern forts of Paris. On September 6, General Joffre issued this order to the troops, "Now that a battle begins upon which the fate of the country depends, all must remember this, the time is gone for looking behind; every endeavor must be aimed at attacking and throwing back the enemy; troops unable to continue advancing, will at all costs keep the ground won, and must die rather than yield. In this juncture there can be no mercy for any shortcoming."

#### THE GERMAN TIDE IS TURNED BACK FROM THE GATES OF PARIS.

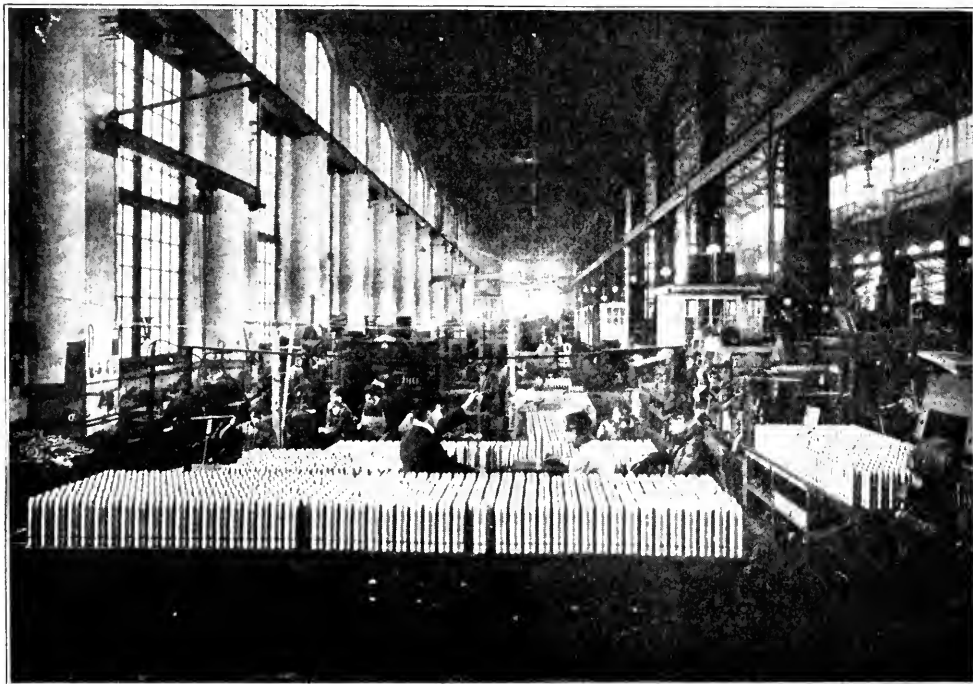
The day before, September 5, von Kluck had turned east in order that he might better encompass Paris. On the sixth, Joffre ordered the attack; and suddenly the German right found an army before it under General Manoury, whose strength it had never even suspected. General von Kluck ma-





#### DRILLING THE BORE OF A CANNON AT THE CREUSOT WORKS

When the enormous mass of steel has been cast and then forged by heavy hammers, it is ready to be transformed into the barrel of a great cannon. Here we see the powerful drill slowly eating its way into the steel. The bore of the gun must be exactly true through the whole length of the barrel.



#### INSPECTING SHELLS FOR "SEVENTY-FIVES" AT LE CREUSOT

The steel for the French shells came in large measure from England and the United States. The completed shells, stamped from the steel by powerful hydraulic presses, are here being carefully inspected for any possible defects or irregularities which might interfere with accuracy of fire or certainty of explosion. No difference greater than one one-thousandth of an inch could be permitted.



noëuvred magnificently and retreated 50 miles to a good position; the Crown Prince on the German left was in difficulties and retreated less magnificently. But the wave was rolled back and Paris was saved. This in brief was the battle of the Marne—a supreme and a great retrieval.

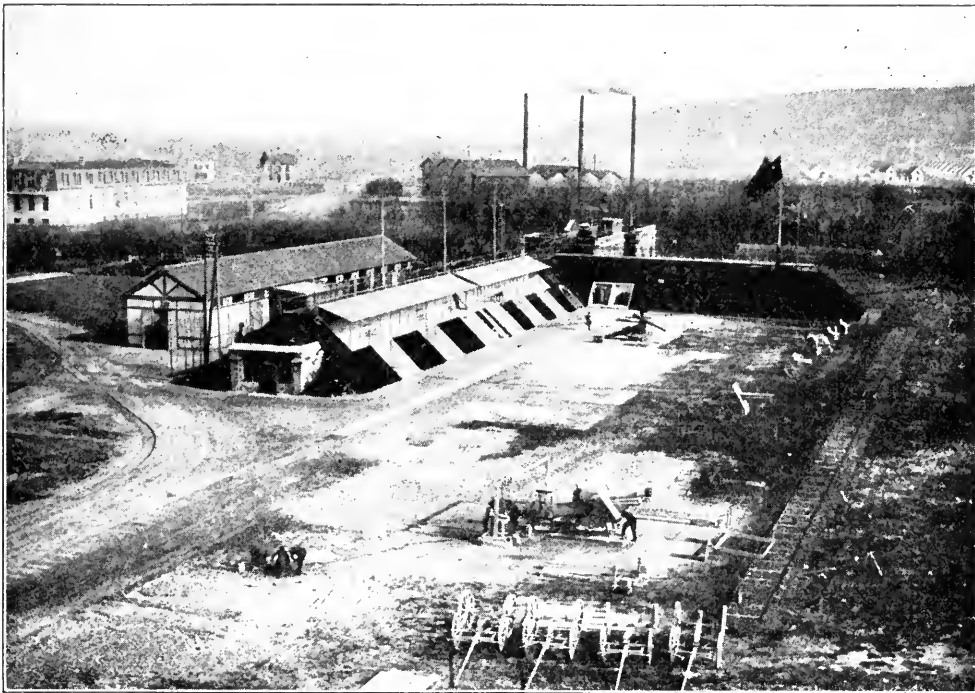
And Paris? Had she trembled with the foe at her gate? Not for an hour. There had been no time for adequate defenses, earthworks, wire-entanglements, intrenchments, that alone could have helped her. On the 30th of August it was deemed prudent for the government, the banks, and such people whose position placed them upon Germany's prepared list of hostages, to repair to Bordeaux and thither they went, in orderly retreat. Under the notice of the government proclamation announcing its departure, was posted a small notice from General Gallieni, the new governor of Paris, "I have been ordered to defend Paris. I shall obey this command to the end." But Paris that remained, that heard the guns, that knew not which way the tide was flowing, remained calm until the news of deliverance. And then—with the question "Shall we celebrate?" and General Joffre's reply "No—for our losses have been too great," the new key of Paris was safely struck again; and this time with hopes firm-founded she waited for the next news.

### **TRENCH WARFARE IS THE NEXT TEST OF BRAVERY.**

The Germans fell back upon prepared positions on the heights of the Aisne and the French and British followed and attacked. Paris under General Gallieni perfected her fortifications, and by the time the Germans were ready to attack again, she had become impregnable. Then the objective of the Teutonic High Command shifted, the race for the sea began, and was finally won by the Allies; with the result that trench warfare between North Sea and Vosges became the rule. Now came the test. Could French fire and gallantry survive a war of waiting? Would tenacity be found side by side with impetuous ardor? Might endurance be added to enthusiasm?

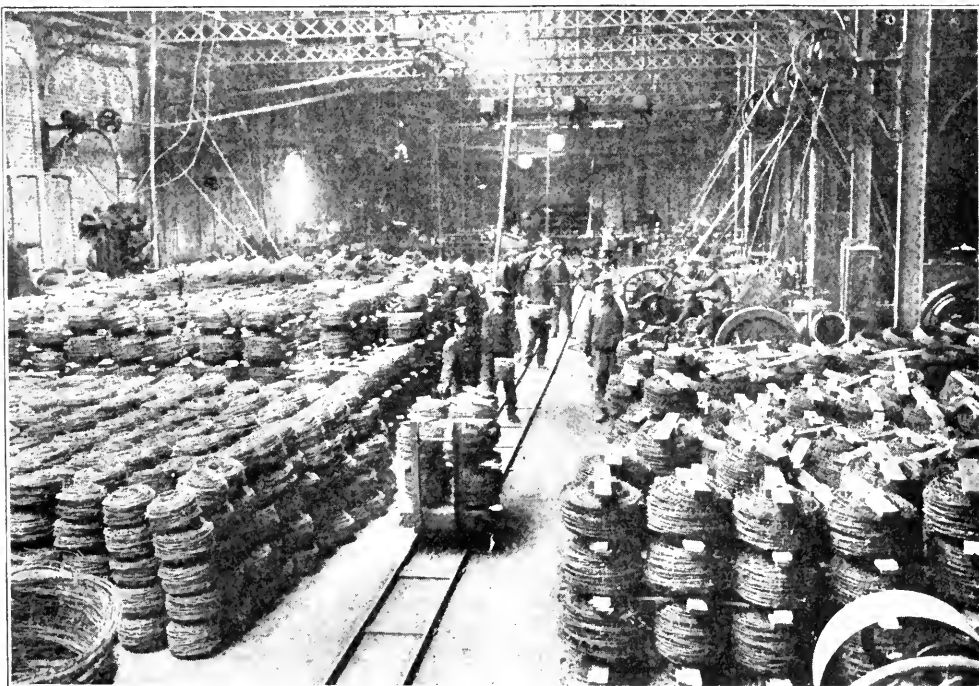
The world has the answer. "Until the end—we cannot be vanquished, for we shall never accept defeat." On a line from North Sea to Vosges, night and day the French troops burrowed in mud-holes, shivering, benumbed, but with hearts armored with ardent bravery that made them smile at cold, or hunger, or death;—at one moment heroes and in the next but children amused among perils that have aspects of romance in them. Never was the spirit of Paris so gay as they were. "What letters our children send us from the army," writes M. Barrés in "*L'Ame Française*;" "A perpetual burst of laughter—brave boys—they wish to prevent us from becoming lovingly anxious. Then they have too, a health of soul, a quality of sensibility...."

From the beginning of August to late October such was the hurried march of events that there was no time for France to reflect upon her causes for fighting. She knew she must fight, and therefore she fought as she did—fought in retreat, fought in attack, fought in waiting. But in the weary winter campaign, all through its dark short days and lurid long nights, Frenchmen could reflect upon their cause, and the more approve it. They knew that they were fighting, first because on the 3rd of August at a quarter to seven war had been declared upon them, their country had been invaded, their cities destroyed, their fields laid waste. But the Frenchman hates war as the German loves it, and he fought fiercely to destroy it, to have "that plague of mankind, war, banished off the earth." France fought moreover, for the cause of 1870—fought to vindicate her defeated arms, to reconquer her natural frontier, to make French again a region that Germany had not been able to make German in forty-three years. She fought for her place in the world first of all, but she fought also, for her place in the world's thought. She fought Germany because she was attacked, she fought also for French intelligence and taste, for French measure and culture, for the cause of liberty peculiarly sacred to her tradition.



#### TESTING SIEGE MORTARS AT THE SCHNEIDER WORKS

Though the name sounds as if it were German the Schneider works at Le Creusot, Harfleur, and Champagne-sur-Seine are the chief French sources of artillery and munitions. During the war they had over 25,000 workers, and produced weapons of marvelous precision. Here is the final test of siege mortars soon to go to the front.



#### GERMAN BARBED WIRE MILLS

The interior of a French factory in the iron and steel region of Northern France, occupied by the Germans, who have converted the building into a barbed-wire mill, and can be seen in the picture storing the finished product until it is called for. Barbed wire formed one of the strongest outworks of the "war of positions." The number of miles used is almost incredible.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### THE MORAL BASIS OF THE FRENCH DE-TERMINATION.

This war of all wars has demonstrated the superiority of moral to material values. The costliest mistake that Germany made—and a mistake that was to cancel forty years of organized preparation—was to misread the French spirit. She believed France decadent and exhausted, forgot that France of all countries is the land of new beginnings, of fresh waves working up from underneath. Because France had submitted to every insult and provocation for forty years, Germany believed that it was because she dared not, rather than that she would not, resent. Certain surface signs of corruption, lack of political unity, absence of great undertakings in militarism, were responsible for Germany's misconception—which to be sure was shared by some Frenchmen even, who, when they saw their country's effort, believed her born again. But this is not so; it is a mistake to say that France had a new beginning in the war. For France cannot die; she is of those who cannot and will not disappear.

France fought with unity. Never at any period of French history had the waves of party strife risen higher or beaten more furiously than in the years immediately preceding the war. *Révanhard*, *Internationalist*, *Dreyfusard*, Catholic, Socialist, Syndicalist, and a myriad others break off, and redivide, and mingle. Cast a glance over the groups that have made up the French Chamber of recent years, and endeavor to comprehend the kaleidoscopic swiftly-changing mosaic of French political parties. Reduce the manifold divisions and subdivisions of these parties to the lowest possible figure and even now you will still have to recognize at least seven among them. In the Chamber of Deputies before the seat of the presiding officer rises a semi-circular amphitheatre rising to the galleries, and in this well the deputies group themselves according to parties and to wings of parties—somewhat variously named. Beginning on the left come the Unified Socialists, the

Independent Socialists, the Radical Socialists and the Radicals. After an invisible line which divides the left from the right come the Progressists, Nationalists, and finally ending up at the President's right hand the Royalist-Imperialists. From the parties which temporarily combine to form a majority in the Chamber, the ministry is formed. That the combinations do not endure for any length of time is because they are entered upon with perhaps only a single end or two in common: the parties themselves live on because they rest on a basis of general principles and work towards many distinct goals in all branches of the national life. The premier attempts to keep a majority in the Chamber by combining now with one and now with another party. Yet the term "*l'union sacrée*" is no empty figure of speech even when applied to French political life during the years of the war.

### FRENCH UNITY OF SPIRIT AND ACTION ESTABLISHED.

Conflicting opinions as to the conduct of the war existed, and ministries fell, yet though political divisions cut deep in France they do not cut deep enough to sever the roots of "*La patrie*," and Barrés, the leader of the Nationalist party, writing of the historic meeting of the French Chamber on August 5, 1914, exclaimed, "We knew that there would be no wide divergencies of opinion among us, but this prodigious union of hearts and minds transcends all our hopes." *L'Union sacrée* as inaugurated by the National Cabinet formed in August, 1914, was the political answer to the trench query, "If only the civilians will stick it!" It was a ministry which aimed at representing all the groups of the Chamber, rather than at mobilizing its best talent, and soon after the historic session of early August parliament adjourned and a practical dictatorship was vested in the President acting through his Cabinet. Laws were passed and money raised or borrowed by decree, free speech and the liberty of the press were abolished, the liberty even of the subject abolished. The control of parliament and public opin-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

ion over the acts of the government was swept away, every law and every right made subservient to public safety. In twelve hours the constitution of the Third Republic was transformed into an autocracy. When Parliament re-assembled at the end of 1914 nothing was really changed, although having by

military commands broke the calm. The Socialists in particular demanded secret sessions and full discussion, and the discord came to a head in July. The government had good grounds of defense on the first charge. Heavy cannon and other weapons could not have been furnished more rapidly



THE MEN BEHIND THE GUNS

M. Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions, Sir Douglas Haig, General Joffre and Mr. Lloyd George in consultation. Ministers and war leaders met for the first time in Allied Council in Paris, November 1915, and similar conferences became frequent.

this time become accustomed to the war it made spasmodic attempts to reassert itself. Nevertheless an autocracy in the name of public safety continued. The rock-like figure of General Joffre was enthroned in the confidence of his countrymen.

### THE FIRST SUGGESTIONS OF DISSATISFACTION.

With the opening months of 1915 well-sustained attacks on the Viviani Ministry over alleged inefficiency in handling the munitions problem, and accusations of favoritism in awarding

because hitherto fully nine-tenths of the total iron output of France had been derived from sections occupied by the enemy since the first weeks of the war, especially the department of Meurthe-and-Moselle. This explanation, together with assurances of reconstruction and adaptation of the iron industry, called forth a wave of enthusiasm and the president on the occasion of the transfer of the body of Rouget de Lisle to the Pantheon expressed the attitude of the nation when he said, "Since we have been forced to draw the sword we have not the right to sheathe it again until the day when we have avenged our dead, when the common victory of the Allies shall allow us to rebuild our ruins, to make France whole again, to protect her effectively against the periodic renewal of provocation."

In October unhappy developments in the Balkans, where M. Venizelos was turned out of office and Greece openly refused to support her one-time ally, Serbia, reflected upon Allied diplomacy and caused a resolution to be passed by the Finance Committee that "the committee is convinced of the necessity of a complete and immediate explanation on the part of the Government." The Socialist groups took a similar resolution and discontent broke out again. M. Delcassé, Minister for Foreign Affairs, resigned, to be followed by his chief, Viviani, October 28. The next day a new Ministry was formed with Aristide Briand as Premier, and a Coalition Cabinet which called upon the talents and experience of the nation, and represented

an effort to secure the highest administrative efficiency combined with the advisory value of men who were most experienced in public life. In this blend of experts and elder statesmen were MM. Jules Cambon as General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, de Freycinet as Secretary of State, General Gallieni for War, Viviani for Justice, Malvy for the Interior, Ribot for Finance, and Painlevé for Public Instruction and War Inventions.

### THE WAR COUNCIL OF THE ALLIES IS FORMED.

That autumn definite steps were taken to achieve real military and strategic co-operation between the Allies. In November the first meeting of the Joint War Council of France and Britain attended by Asquith, Lloyd George, Balfour, Grey, Briand, Gallieni, Lacaze and Joffre took place in Paris, and on the 7th of December the first War Council of the Allies in Paris under the presidency of Joffre saw representatives of France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia meet together. In the last week of November a permanent organization for the conduct of the munition business of the Allies was announced, and an Allied Board of Strategy having critical and deliberative functions was formed.

So the winter passed and with the spring of 1916 the political situation grew dark again. The Radical Socialists were suspicious of M. Briand's tendency to govern without much parliamentary assistance and began to assail his ministry. That the movement was purely internal, and French Socialists thoroughly patriotic was shown by the vote of the National Council of the party, April 9, when a motion was adopted which condemned the resumption of relations with the Socialists of enemy countries by a two to one majority. In May, General Gallieni was compelled through ill-health to leave the Ministry of War, and died much regretted, on the 27th of the month. At the end of the summer France was keyed to a high pitch by her achievements at Verdun, and little disposed to find fault with her

leaders. But the government had never an easy seat and during the winter of 1916 had to face a series of petty crises. The apparent futility of Allied diplomacy in the Near East fanned discontent which, increased by the scarcity of coal and the heavy losses in the Somme campaign, came to a head in late November and early December. A number of stormy secret sessions in which the parties re-grouped themselves took place, and finally the premier was ordered to defend his policy. He did so in full session but his majority continued to dwindle, and finally he was told to reconstruct both Cabinet and High Command.

### CHANGES IN THE CABINET AND IN THE FIELD.

Under the new arrangement, an inner Cabinet was created which like the British one was exclusively for war. In the High Command sweeping changes were made. General Joffre relinquished the office of Generalissimo and became military adviser to the new War Committee. In his place General Nivelle of Verdun renowned became Generalissimo in the West. So the government ran for a few more months. In March, 1917, M. Ribot succeeded M. Briand in office. M. Briand had not lost his majority but his prestige had suffered from his handling of the Greek question. It is characteristic of the French Parliamentary situation that a change of Ministry does not imply great change of *personnel*, and under the Ribot leadership, Briand's colleagues continued their work. But the government had never been popular with the Socialists, and was not greatly trusted by the army.

At the beginning of September came realization of the meaning of much of the obscure disquiet that throughout the summer had been afflicting France. German money had succeeded in buying over a portion of the French press, and such men as Louis J. Malvy, Minister of the Interior, Joseph Caillaux, the leader of the Radical Socialist Party, and Paul Bolo, who was in financial charge of Germany's underhand propaganda, were discovered to be in league with the enemy. The Ribot





A GERMAN SAW-MILL IN FRANCE

French timber was exploited by the enemy for the thousand and one needs of a great army in wartime. In addition, when the Germans were forced to retreat, whole forests were denuded, thousands of stately trees which lined the country highways laid low, and orchards of valuable fruit-bearing trees wantonly destroyed.



"ELEPHANTS A PILIN' TEAK"

The German General Staff was insistent that every citizen of the Fatherland should bear his share of the war. It could not always obtain the co-operation of the government in making the Auxiliary Service Acts sufficiently extreme, but in this case where "Hathi, the elephant" is seen employed in drawing heavy timber in France, the Staff must have been fully satisfied with his co-operation.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Ministry was severely censured for not suppressing "Boloism," as it was called, and on September 7, 1917, placed its resignation in the President's hands. On the 12th M. Painlevé, formerly Minister of War, became Premier with a Cabinet largely formed from the old. The Socialists stood outside but they announced they would support the government if it showed it deserved their doing so. The Unified Socialists under Albert Thomas distrusted Painlevé for his imperialistic views and were dissatisfied with the government's war aims, and only two uneasy months ran through until in November the Ministry fell once more. This time the President entrusted to M. Clemenceau the formation of a government and on November 16, 1917, in the fourth year of the war and the seventy-sixth of his life, this remarkable man took office and defied the malcontent Socialists by going on his way without them.

### THE DIFFICULTIES AND TRIALS SEEM TO INCREASE.

The times were gloomy; the collapse of Russia had set free German divisions for service on the western front. American soldiers were not yet trained. Caporetto had occurred and Germany, in anticipation of the moral effect of long months of trench warfare and the burden of heavy battles seemingly without result, had set on foot a very active pacifist and "défaitist" propaganda. A dangerous crop of treason seemed to be springing up all over France, among the press and the baser politicians. German agents had done their worst and successfully fostered the pacificism of the extreme Socialists. Against all this M. Clemenceau waged ruthless war. "Boloism," "defeatism" and other underground forces which were sapping the nation's vitality were at once attacked ruthlessly and the premier pledged himself to conduct the war to a victorious end.

No French government had hitherto dared to attack M. Caillaux, the leading spirit in the councils of one of the largest and most influential political parties in the state, but M. Clemenceau dared. On January 14, 1918, M. Caillaux was brought before a court-

martial charged with having endangered the security of France. The case was transferred to the Senate of which M. Caillaux was a member, but because of his illness the trial was postponed until 1920. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment, and banishment from Paris for a term of years, and to loss of political rights. Bolo Pasha's trial meantime was proceeding, and on February 14 he and Filippo Cavallino were sentenced to death. Later, other Boloists were given various terms of imprisonment, and Duval, director of the suppressed newspaper, *Bonnet Rouge*, was condemned to death as a traitor in May, while M. Malvy, convicted of holding communication with the enemy, was sentenced to banishment for five years. Premier Clemenceau carried the Chamber of Deputies with him by an overwhelming majority. He, who in his forty years of political life had destroyed by pen and word more ministries than any other man of his day, eighteen, it is said, now restored "*l'union sacrée*" and carried France over her dark days to final victory.

### THE QUESTION OF SUPPLIES FOR THE ARMY.

It has been noted that modern war conditions, and the occupation of the French iron districts brought about a serious deficiency in cannon and ammunition during the early part of 1915 and exposed the Viviani Ministry to charges of incompetency in dealing with the situation. A nation in arms besides having in readiness its millions of men to fight must have also hundreds of thousands of workmen in workshops and factories to supply the wherewithal to wage war. After the battle of the Marne, things were serious in France. The expenditure in munitions had been much greater than was anticipated, and supplies believed adequate were already running short. Heavy artillery was of paramount importance and France had far too little. How to construct heavy artillery as rapidly as possible, and produce munitions and explosives in sufficient quantity to satisfy the demand? Neither state workshops and factories nor private concerns were equal to these acute



#### FRENCH FLOCKS GUARDED BY GERMAN SHEPHERDS

Early in August 1914 there was established in Germany a Bureau of Raw Materials for the War. This was made part of the Ministry of War and, after the occupation of Belgium and northern France and parts of Russia, seized the raw material from the occupied regions including the flocks of sheep.



#### HARVESTING IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY

The German Army in northern France and Belgium grew, with the assistance of the peasants, the grain required for themselves and their horses, and even sent some back home. Sixty per cent of all plowable soil was cultivated by the army itself, twenty per cent by peasants and army together and the remainder by the peasants themselves.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

needs. Mobilization had left in the factories barely enough men for the expected output. These estimates were wrong, and the need three or four times as great. The problem was solved, however, in two ways: first, by intensive state manufacturing; secondly, by private enterprise. For the latter France was divided into regions, each having at its head a man who had previously been director of some great industrial, metallurgic or railway company. These men were authorized by the state to estimate the industrial resources in their regions, so that they might make use of even the smallest firms and thus obtain the greatest number of men and machines.

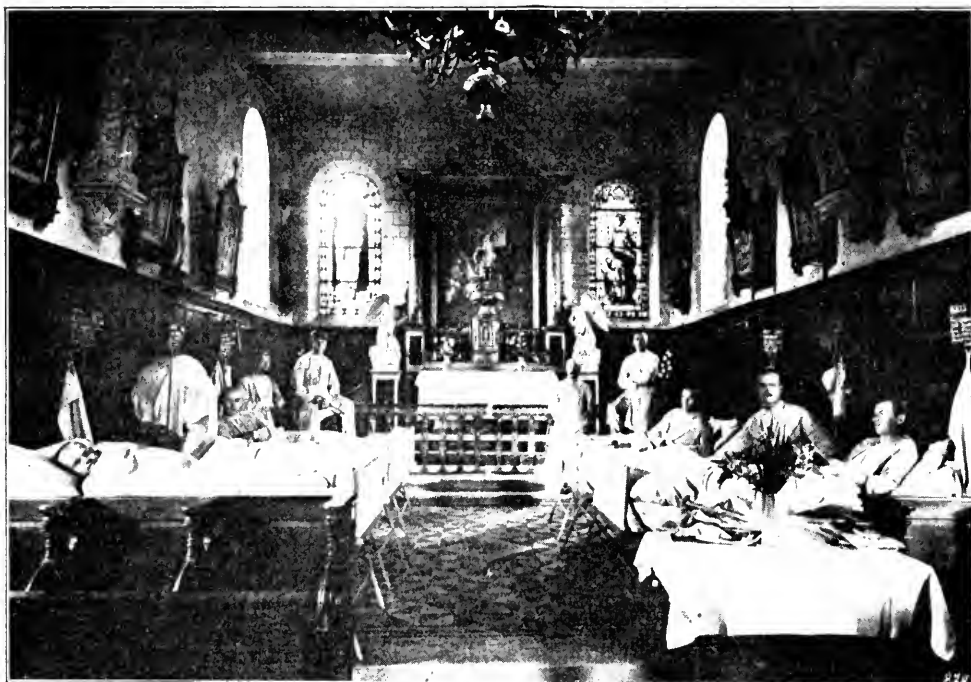
#### HOW THE DEFICIENCY WAS MET AND OVERCOME.

At first there were eight such divisions, later the number developed to fifteen. The men at the head had fullest powers and dealt with the Minister of War. They were responsible for quick deliveries as for delays. They could pass over some of their authority to superintendents who owned factories in the district. Here was a scheme then for intensive production; it remained to assure three things: the necessary material, the plant and the manual labor. As regards material, the situation was critical; most of the steel mills of the North and East which in normal times produced an important quantity of the metal used for artillery were in the hands of the enemy—so that about 70% of the normal production in metallurgy was lacking when most needed. Fortunately the metallurgic factories in the centre of France whose output is much inferior in quantity to that of the East and North, have specialized for the past twenty years in the output of fine steel and other accessories for army and navy. Thanks, then, to these, in spite of the occupation of the coal and mining districts of North and East by the Germans the production of Martin steel (most needed by artillery factories) was reduced by only 44% while that of Thomas steel was reduced by about 95%. The deficit, however, was serious enough.

Metallurgic factories which could produce the necessary material were reorganized, other factories brought into use, all the Martin furnaces (dead since the beginning of the war) rekindled, and large contracts for raw material placed in America, in England, and Italy. The government met the need for machines in two ways: by adapting machines that had been used for other things, and by importation from America. The question of man-power was even more vital. A large proportion of the men had been mobilized. The directors began by advising manufacturers to recruit all available civil labor. The result of this fell far short of the need, and it then became necessary to recall to the factories skilled laborers and mechanics who were with the colors. By a rigorous and efficient state-control, supply and demand were thus co-ordinated. The creation of an under-secretary of state for artillery and munitions in May, 1915, shortened early hesitancy and delay, and production rose enormously. In August, 1914, large shells were being made at the rate of 100 per day; in February, 1916, at the rate of 3,040. Production of the *mitrailleuse* or machine gun for the same period of time rose from 100 to 8,800 and other output correspondingly. Early in 1916 France supplied the refugee Serbians with rifles and ammunition, and later in the year sent heavy guns to Rumania. All trench weapons had to be created, for only some old mortars and grenades existed at the beginning of the war. In aerial production the demand at first largely outran resources but by degrees all the new types were built and France began to furnish the Allies with airships and with artillery. She was woefully ill-provided with automobiles, trucks, tractors, etc., but in this respect also caught up and by the second year of the struggle was even supplying Russia. But except for mobilization, French defense, though united, was impromptu.

#### THE SPIRIT OF THE MAN IN THE TRENCHES.

To politician and industrial worker add—for he is the crown—the soldier



### IN THE WAKE OF WAR

A convent chapel in northern France which has been converted into a hospital, and is occupied by the wounded of a Saxon regiment. Such tenants were in the nature of a boon to the place, because in all probability their presence saved it from pillage and destruction. In the quasi-ward everything is orderly and circumspect.



### THE SEIZURE OF METALS IN FRANCE

The Germans did not hesitate to go to any length in their endeavors to get metal. Here is some stored in a church they had stripped, but had been unable to remove. Ordinances were issued in various places in the occupied zones announcing the seizure of household fixtures of copper, tin, nickel, brass, bronze or tombac. Articles made of such metals in trade and industry were also commandeered.

British Official

of France to complete *l'union sacrée*. Foreign correspondents, visiting officers, Allied soldiers, even the enemy himself, all testify to this spirit of united service and camaraderie among the soldiers of the republic. Discipline of the highest order existed in the French army, but it was a discipline maintained by the thought of the common end, and endowed with esteem and mutual affection. A great army filled with the spirit of democracy was at one with itself because of its extraordinary comradeship. This feeling—due to the democratic training received during the years of service—is well expressed in the words of two *poilus* in the trenches one Christmas night. "A year ago I was supping at the Café de Paris." "I know—I was the runner who fetched your car, old man."

Between officers and men there is no division like that created by Prussian military caste. The French officer at his best is both leader and comrade. His men are "*mes enfants*." Barrés tells the story of a correspondent whose cold slumbers in an empty compartment were interrupted at an eastern station by the entry of a stumbling figure. It was dark and only by the palish glimmer of the white dressings and sling did his sleep-logged senses tell him that here was a seriously wounded man, who, however, brusquely refused all offers of help. Dawn revealed a middle-aged officer whose bruised and fevered face, bootless feet, and many dressings betokened serious injuries. By degrees the soldier's brusqueness softened a little, and as the train worked its slow way north he told his story. "This" had happened five days ago—five charges of grape-shot as he was leading his children. Unconscious, he had been put in an ambulance and taken to Rheims, and from thence without knowing why to Rennes. Four days and four nights of wounds and fever had not conquered him. As soon as he could get upon his feet, one thought took possession of him. Where were his children? All this while under fire...and then there was a bugler who had sounded

the charge at a critical moment...you should have seen the effect. He must get back to them. What were they doing without him? And so he had escaped from the hospital—bootless and in his stockinged feet. The train slackened and drew up some miles from X———, and an agonizing delay set in. After two hours of it the lieutenant asked the correspondent to get out and walk with him to X———, and the latter consented. The motion shook the wounded man's shattered shoulder and augmented his fever but he at last gained X———. There was no train for Y———! Well, he had his wounds dressed and set off to find an automobile, and succeeded in finding a seat in one that was going part way. He would arrange the rest.....

#### I NCIDENTS OF DEVOTION AND FORTITUDE.

And there are countless stories of the other side. Instance after instance of touching devotion from man to officer. There is the story of the trooper shot through both legs and lying in an open space who saw his officer fall before machine-gun fire but a few yards nearer the enemy's line. When he could speak he called out to the officer and told him the nature of his wound, and the officer, himself in agony, believing him faint-hearted, counseled fortitude. Much distressed, the wounded *poilu* explained that he only spoke of his wounds so that his officer might understand how it was that he left him lying there!

If France fought united, she fought also with the exaltation of one who glories in the moral beauty of the cause she champions. Read the letters from the trenches, from boys of twenty, from men of forty-five, they count all lost that is not France. "Si vous ouvrez cette lettre, c'est que je ne serai plus et que je serai mort de la plus belle mort. Ne me pleurez pas trop: ma fin est enviable entre toutes. Pensez de moi par moments comme d'un de ceux qui ont donné leur sang que la France vive, et qui sont morts joyeusement." And again "All our sacrifice will be of sweet savor if it leads to

a really glorious victory and brings more light to human souls." The same spirit is reflected in the women, the wives and mothers and sisters. Before a hospital bed on which lay her son's dead body a father was weeping, the mother, a peasant woman, took his hand. "We must have courage, my man. You can see how much our boy had." And a mother writing to an officer to thank him for his letter says, "The anniversary of my boy's death is both cruel and sweet; cruel because it recalls a day when I loved him without a thought of the trial that his valor would bring me; sweet because I cannot think of the quick ending of this pure young life without supreme joy. Thank you for all that you tell me of my little soldier; that his glorious death may contribute to the victory of our France is my constant prayer."

### PASSIONATE DEVOTION TO THE VERY SOIL OF FRANCE.

France fought with undying and passionate devotion to the soil of France: nowhere is this feeling more apparent than in the glow which blazed in the hearts of the young intellectual officers at the beginning of the war. Jean Allard-Méus was only twenty-one and a half when he was killed at Pierrepont. He had shared in the oath of the *fête du Triomphe* at St. Cyr, and war had transformed a brilliant scholar into the sternest of soldiers. His poem "*Demain*" which begins, "Soldats de notre illustre race," expresses the patriotic passion of France, and his "*Plus haut toujours*" is the vivid portrayal of the flight, ecstasy, and death of a young airman. Paul Lintier was another of these young officers. Struck by a shell on the Lorraine frontier in his twenty-third year, he was a prose writer of the first class whose wonderful book "*Ma Pièce*" was written night after night upon his knee in seven feverish weeks. On March 26, 1917, the *Société des Gens de Lettres* met in solemn assembly to commemorate the authors who had died during the war, and as name followed name the single phrase "Mort au champs d'honneur" fell upon the pause.

Let us recall one more proof that the

spirit of Roland and Joan lives still in modern France. The Germans had invaded a trench and overcome all resistance; the French soldiers all had fallen. Suddenly from out the heap of wounded and dead one man arose and seized a sack of grenades that lay beside him. "Let the dead arise," he cried. Then the other men awoke from their death trance and fought the foe and drove him from his capture. Is not the word "Verdun" honored currency in the country of the brave and chivalrous?

### THE WOMEN OF FRANCE IN THE WAR.

"Jusqu'au bout" was the motto of the women of France, as of the men. No nation can fight a long and successful war without the support of its women, and Frenchmen in their long record as a military race have had fullest proof of this. In 1870 as in 1429, in 1793 as in 1914 French heroism and endurance was as much the rule among the women as among the men. But the last great war has taken place in an age where woman has proved by careful training of body and of mind that all paths are open to her. In 1870 French women, willing as they were, could not, even had the need been as great, have taken the places of the men called to the colors. Their training did not admit of it, public opinion would have prevented it. In the Great War the so-called feminist movement has won a fresh and glorious charter of liberty.

One can divide their service into four distinct categories, although in several instances a woman has served in double and triple capacity. There are those women, whose destiny set them in the zone of war and exposed them to an enemy whose ferocity recognized no distinction of age or sex. In some cases these women by their bravery and quick wit have cost the enemy important delay as in the case of Marcelle Semer who opened the draw-bridge across the Somme in the face of the Germans and flung the key of the bridge into the canal, thereby causing them twenty-four hours' delay. Some have aided their countrymen to



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

escape, or under bombardment have fearlessly continued their work as telephone-operator, instructress or nurse. Others in time of need have assumed civic and intermediary duties and have represented a populace whose *maire* or magistrate was missing. Others again in this war-scourged region have succored the wounded and the dying—

bardment and during occupation, on the fields of France, the cliffs of the Dardanelles, at Saloniki, in Mudros and in Corfu.

By the opening months of 1917 these three societies had raised their number of hospitals to over 1500, their beds to 115,000 and their trained nurses to 43,100. Besides the Red Cross Hos-



CIVILIANS OF ST. QUENTIN TRANSPORTED

In France and in Belgium the German system of forced labor and deportations was attended with callousness, brutality and horror. At first only the male population was carried off, then young women and girls over fourteen years of age were taken to Germany. Only the briefest time was allowed for preparations for departure.

of their own and of the enemy also—comforted little children and protected the homeless ones.

### THE WORK OF THE VARIOUS SOCIETIES.

Then there is the class, and it is perhaps the largest, of those women who have cared for the blinded, mutilated, convalescent, tubercular, civil refugee, prisoner, orphaned and widowed of the war; who have taken as their appointed function in the struggle the amelioration, healing, and closing of the awful scars which war inflicts. The French Red Cross composed of three societies, "*la Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires*," "*l'Union des Femmes de France*" and "*l'Association des Dames Françaises*," worked at the front and in the rear, in hospital stations, canteens, and workshops, under bom-

pitals, many others of public and private enterprise have been sanctioned by the government so that France had perhaps 8,000 such institutions of her own. Nevertheless, the beds in these were reserved for men suffering from severe wounds and illnesses. For the *éclaté*, or man who was not wounded or seriously ill but run down and in dire need of a brief rest, no suitable place was provided. Men whose health gave way temporarily were thus in the early months of the war miserably quartered behind the lines or on the outskirts of Paris, in barns, or disused factories, thousands indeed without shelter of any kind. Here on the poorest beds, and with scanty and coarse food how could they regain their physical fitness and tone? Some of them fell prey to the incipient maladies from

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which they were suffering, many of them never returned to the trenches again. In this miserable state of affairs a French priest intervened, sent stores, sent visitors. Within two years a hundred and fifty *Éclaté Dépôts* grew up in France, all of them well-built shelters, comfortably furnished,

been so active in France and of which the celebrated *École de Joffre* at Lyons is at once the pioneer and model.

Among the blessed company of women who have sought to heal the ravages of war, are those who have exerted themselves to organize work and means of support for those who had



THE INVADERS SOMETIMES MOVED TO PITY

In strange contrast to German harshness, as practised against women and children on the march towards Paris, is the incident shown above where enemy soldiers are distributing portions of their rations to keep French children from starving. The German troops were generally well-fed, and could easily spare a part of their allowance.

Picture, H. Ruschin

sanitarily arranged, offering good food, some means of recreation, and conditions for convalescence. This was largely the work of a young French woman, Mlle. Javal, who by dint of hard work and perseverance succeeded in inaugurating in November, 1914, the great organization of "*L'Assistance aux Dépôts d'Éclaté, Petits Blessés et Petits Malades, et aux Cantonnements de Repos.*"

### THE REHABILITATION OF THE CRIPPLED SOLDIERS.

In direct connection with the hospitals and of enormous value to the future, must be mentioned the Schools for Re-education of Crippled Soldiers, which from quite early in 1914 have

been left stranded, either by the tide of invasion or by the paralysis of industrial conditions. In Paris, as in other cities of the province in the early months of the war, thousands of little shops were closed and it seemed impossible to prevent their employées from starving. Into this gap came the "*ouvroir*" or workshop organized by patriotic women where necessary articles for the men in the trenches were made, and which served the double purpose of employing the needy and arming the fighting man. In a later day, as need arose, these *ouvroirs* were much amplified and women were taught all manner of trades and professions from cooking to market gardening.

Societies—of mushroom growth and heaven-born pity—for caring for the fatherless and widowed, the aged and the impotent, sprang up on all sides. Nor let us forget those organizations whose magnificent effort robbed trenches and billets of many horrors by the loving thought and substantial refreshment of their "comfort parcels" or wayside canteens. A ministering band of women trod the highway of war, like the Samaritan of old, binding up the wayfarers' wounds and pouring in oil and wine.

## THE WOMEN WHO TOOK THE PLACES OF MEN.

There is a third class in this band of heroines: those who have taken men's places in forge and foundry, factory and munition plant, field and vineyard, ship-building yard and office. Did Paris starve when after the second week in August all men between the ages of 17 and 48 were called to the colors? Had you been in the suburbs the following morning and every morning after mobilization, you could have seen the same big trucks and horses go by carrying in to the city the same abundant field and garden produce. True, the drivers' seats were occupied by women in coifs and handkerchiefs, the wives and sisters and sweethearts of the men of yesterday, who had organized as automatically as their men-folk. In the provinces, among the vineyards in Champagne or in the South, who is it who gathered the har-

vest and sowed the seed for this and every war-year? Who baked the bread and fed the cattle and reaped the corn that France might eat and not die? Who built the furnace and filled the forge, and turned out artillery and munitions that the army might fight and win in this crusade against aggression and tyranny?

Lastly, there are those who served in silence, suffered separation and loneliness, uncertainty and crushing bereavement, exile and poverty with a simple courage that yet was fine enough to have a smile for the wounded, a tear for another's woe, a heart uplifted with ardor for France, and an unconquerable will that would not accept defeat. Said a peasant woman of Poitou whose two sons and son-in-law were in the trenches, "There are some women in our village who are praying that their sons may be spared, but I cannot do that for it would seem to me in so doing that I should be praying for others to be killed!" Near Verdun *gendarmes* surprised an old woman crouching on a fresh grave and questioned her. "I have come from Rochelle," she said—"five of my sons have already died in this war and I have come here where the sixth and last is buried to weep for him." Overcome by the tragic grandeur of the spectacle the *gendarmes* saluted. The old woman arose, trembling and sobbing, and uttered a cry "*Vive la France. . . . quand même. . .*"

MURIEL BRAY



A Working Party Going Forward

## CHAPTER XXXII.

# The Battle of the Somme I

## THE FIRST STAGES OF THE GREAT BRITISH AND FRENCH ASSAULT

**T**HROUGH Picardy in northern France flows the river Somme with its little tributary, the Ancre, coming from the northeast to join it near Amiens. The furrow of the Ancre, "which is a swift, clear chalk stream, sometimes too deep and swift to ford," is flanked by undulating ground, broken by dry ravines—a kind of terrain which extends to and a little beyond the Somme. Ridges revealing chalky soil separate the valleys; and on the narrow plateaus topping the gently-sloping ridges villages long have had pleasant setting among orchards or groves of large trees, with extensive patches of woodland dotting the countryside around. The Somme meanders with frequent curves and loops through its broad valley, widening now and then into swamps and rush-grown stretches; bordered here and there by peat-mosses; and accompanied, wherever its own stream is not navigable, by a canal. The country further south is called the Santerre. Beyond Assevillers and Estrées, seated in the broadest loop of the river, it flattens out into a plain.

**FAIR PICARDY THROUGH WHICH THE SOMME FLOWS.**

The shining acres of Picardy, by nature fertile and radiant, fair with grain-fields and beet-root-fields, gay with poppies and cornflowers and mus-

tard blossoms, seem designed for peace and quiet rural beauty. "It is a sweet and pleasant country," wrote Philip Gibbs on the first of July, 1916, at the outbreak of one of the most terrible and devastating battles of the world's history, one in which "the flower of the manhood of three nations was locked in a death grapple."

Already in that pleasant, smiling land, the tale of battle was an old familiar one, in whose chapters Frankish warriors, Norse rovers, determined Burgundian soldiers, sturdy English bowmen, and steel-clad French knights on armored horses, fought and fell or marched under victorious banners across those hills and valleys. Out of the heart of Picardy had arisen broader conflicts, involving the far parts of the earth; for Amiens had been the home of Peter the Hermit, and Noyon, the birthplace of John Calvin. Many a lad had grown to manhood near the trout-pools of the Ancre brook and much water had run under the bridges of the Somme, before, in the nineteenth century, war had again rolled across the fields of northern France. This, too, had passed and the earth had bloomed again.

**THE GREAT TRENCHES THROUGH THE CHALKY SOIL.**

But the scars of the warfare that began its ravages in 1914 were deeper

and more disfiguring than Europe had ever suffered before. The long jagged slash falling across the West from the North Sea to Switzerland cut through Picardy, crossing both the Ancre and the Somme. There, after the first breathless struggle of the rival armies in their sweep toward the sea, they had dug themselves in securely, transforming towns and wooded plantations into formidable fortifications. Farther north, around Ypres, and farther south, near Soissons and Verdun, battles had raged with fearful intensity, but this part of the front had been comparatively quiet.

### **THE GERMANS BELIEVE THEIR POSITIONS IMPREGNABLE.**

For more than a year and a half the time had been spent in extensive preparation for a possible future test of the endurance and fighting strength of two great forces. On the one side, the German lines were established with intricate and elaborate detail until they were deemed impregnable. Behind the imposing first position, constructed with systems of trenches for firing, support, and reserve troops, and deep dugouts for protecting the men and machine-guns against bombardment, there was a second position of almost equal strength. Behind this, again, third and fourth positions lay, including various villages and clumps of woodland. Trenches and dugouts were driven far down below the surface, in a soil that "cut like cheese and hardened like brick in dry weather." They were connected by tunnels, provided with manholes, lined with timber, approached by well-built wooden stairways; and in some of the dugouts, thirty feet or more below ground, the luxuries of electric lighting, wall-paper, cretonnes, and pictures were not wanting. Deep cellars in village houses became strongholds and shelters for resistance in later combats. In the woods, matted underbrush was intertwined with thick barbed wire, until the tangle appeared utterly impenetrable around the network of trenches it protected. Without exaggeration one could say, "The great German salient which curves around from Gomme-

court to Fricourt is like a chain of mediæval fortresses connected by earthworks and tunnels." The arteries that furnished supplies and material of all sorts to the complicated structure were the railways passing through St. Quentin, Cambrai, La Fère and Laon.

### **THE BRITISH PREPARE TO BLAST THEIR WAY THROUGH.**

While the German Command were thus building what they considered an immovable wall to stand in defiance against all assault, the Allied leaders were bending their thoughts and energies toward the destruction of the wall. To make the effort adequate required months of labor, planning, and training. In the spring of 1916 the British area had been extended to include the whole front between Ypres and the Somme, but the New Army was not yet ready to undertake a great military project. It was still in a state of preparation, drilling and pulling into form for a supreme effort. The material was of the best—England's choice young manhood, intelligent, ready, eager to give themselves to the work and discipline of army life, or to the ultimate sacrifice in battle, for the great end in view. For them, in the months of waiting, the front was a training-camp. Meanwhile, the manufacture of war material in England was being pushed to the utmost. Guns of all sizes, trench-mortars, grenades were produced in a profusion unheard-of before. At the bases vast reserve stores of munitions were piled up and then sent forward; for the supply required must be more than ten times as great as in any former campaign. With the increase in the calibre of the weapons and the weight of ammunition, the demands made upon lines of communication were broadened and intensified. Railways, tramways, sidings and platforms were built behind the lines. It was necessary, too, to lay as many as one hundred and twenty miles of water mains and install wells and pumping stations. As experience brought greater understanding of the needs, trenches were multiplied and improved, and dugouts were prepared

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

to serve as storehouses, dressing stations and shelters. Gun emplacements were made ready and posts for observation carefully screened and disguised.

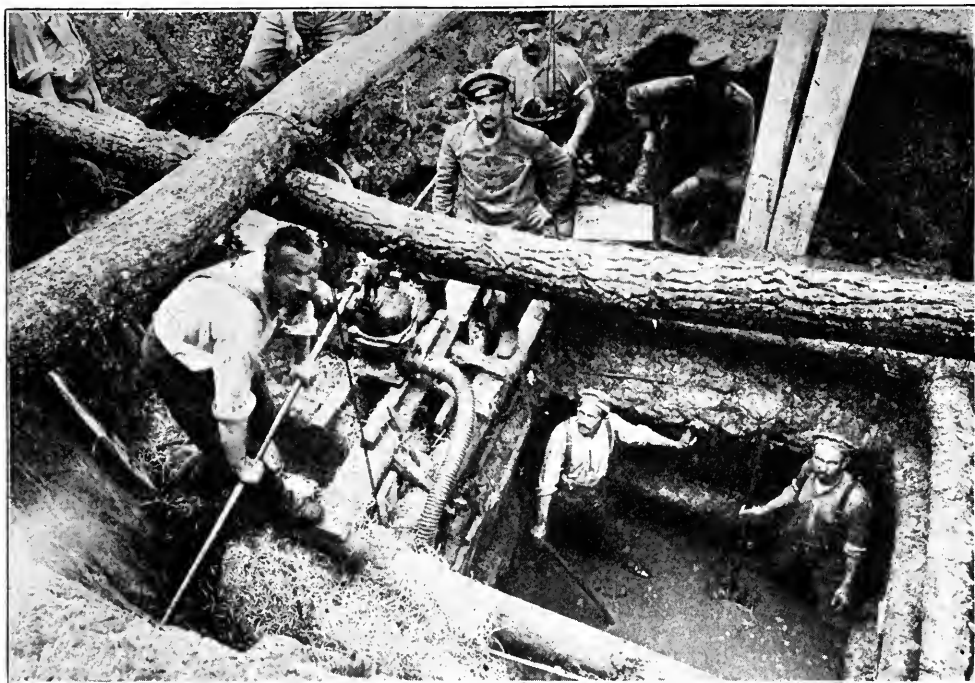
### THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN ENTIRE ACCORD.

As the battle of Verdun progressed, during the spring and summer, French and British leaders were working in accord. It was with the approval of General Joffre that the British lines

which went on along the whole front, our men showed always the greatest pluck; but it was horrible warfare, a warfare of gas attacks and midnight raids and mining—all dreadful forms of fighting."

### THE SITUATION AT VERDUN DEMANDS AN OFFENSIVE.

Sir Douglas Haig felt it to be the part of wisdom to postpone an important attack until his forces were



THE GERMANS EMPLOYED IN DIGGING A WELL

The imperative need for water, wherever an army might be, furnished one of the great problems of the war. Wells were dug behind the lines, and new ones constructed when the lines shifted. Here is one in process of building, the shaft partly sunk and crossbeams prepared for a roof. When leaving a position, the Germans were likely to poison the water in their wells to impede the enemy's advance.

remained undemonstrative, except for artillery activities, patrol raids in quest of information, and minor engagements in the way of trench and crater fighting, which held the attention of parts of the enemy forces. But, in adding the region around Arras to their own front, the British had been able to release the French Tenth Army, which had been stationed there.

"It would be idle to pretend that the events of the spring and early summer of 1916 were on the whole exhilarating," writes Mr. H. Perry Robinson. "In the spluttering activities

well prepared to make it effectual. However, the long, severe strain of Verdun at last called for a strong stroke to divert the enemy from his concentration there. The Sonime area had already been determined upon as the scene of the next great effort. It was here that the armies of France and Britain lay side by side and could, consequently, work in direct co-operation. The British were to assume the main responsibility, with the French action subordinate and complementary. Midsummer was set as the latest advisable date for the advance.



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Since the opening of 1916, the British infantry had appeared for the first time in their new steel helmets, when in March they had made a surprise attack upon the German trenches during a renewal of battling in the Ypres salient. In April the enemy tried various attacks of tear and gas shells, at least one of which was turned back upon his own lines by a shifting wind. On May 6, the Anzacs, newly arrived in France, had their first meeting with the foe on French soil, and a week later there was a vigorous German bombardment between the Somme and Maricourt, followed by an unsuccessful attack. Then Vimy Ridge became the centre of activity for a few days, with an explosion of mines and gallant fighting by the Lancashires.

### THE CANADIANS AGAIN DEFEND THE YPRES SALIENT.

In the first week of June, the Germans made another concentrated attempt to break into the Ypres salient, where the 3rd Canadian Division, under Major-General Mercer, was stationed. Although stunned by a terrifying bombardment which preceded the attack, the Princess Patricia's Light Infantry and the Canadian Mounted Rifles made a splendid resistance in Sanctuary Wood and around Zillibekke. General Mercer and several other officers were killed, and, in spite of brilliant and determined fighting, the positions at the extreme point of the salient were lost. The line fell back behind the ruins of Hooze, until Major-General Currie with the 1st Canadian Division, by making a successful attack, regained the most important section of that bit of the front.

### THE ALLIES HAVE THE ADVANTAGE IN THE AIR.

The air service of the Allies had grown steadily in effectiveness and confidence until it had unquestionably outstripped that of the Central Powers. By the aid of telephoto lenses, photographs could be obtained from a height of three or four thousand feet and panoramic views prepared. Moreover, the Royal Engineers, from air-plane observations, were able to con-

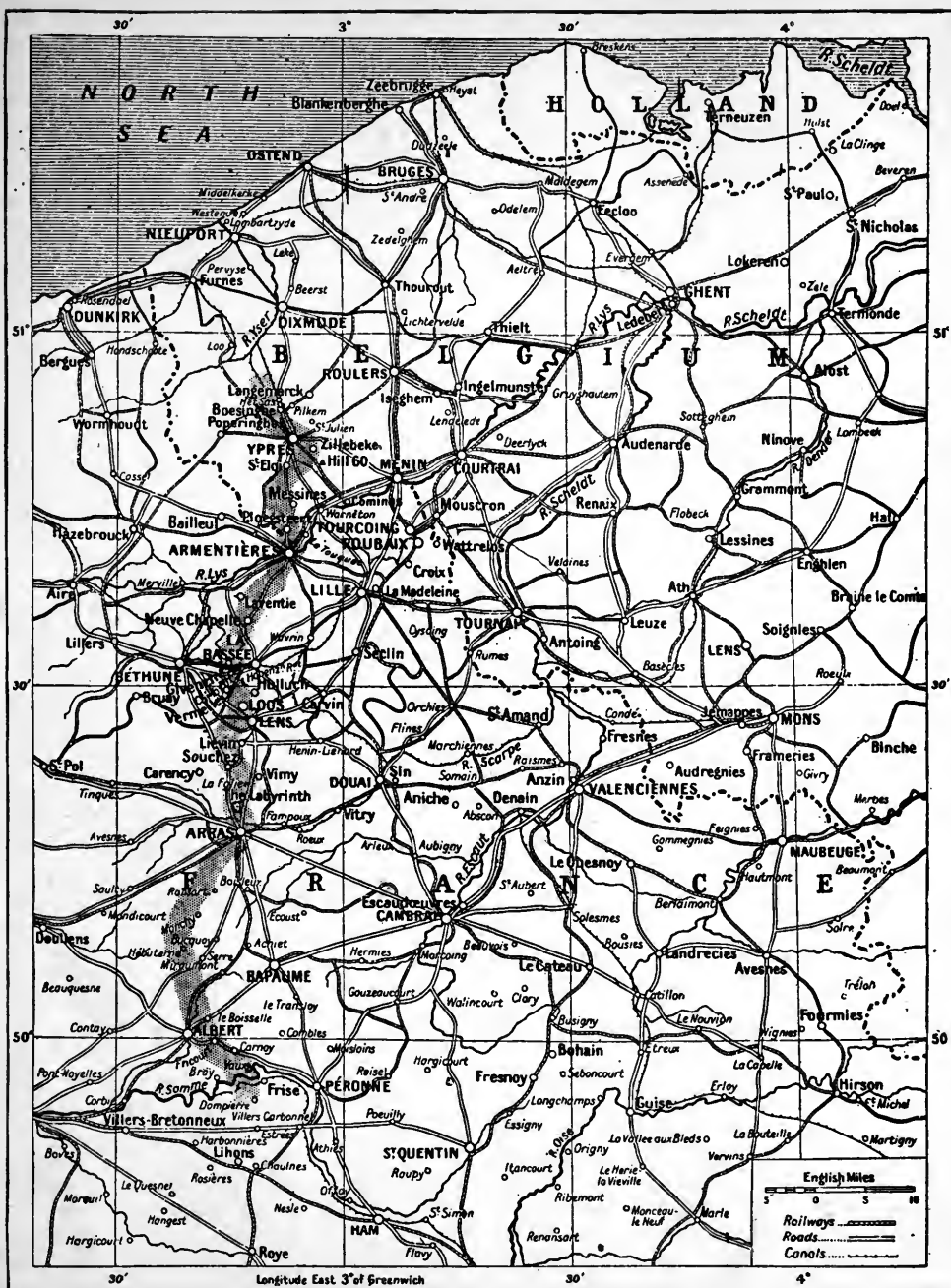
struct accurate detailed maps of the enemy positions. Wireless apparatus on aircraft had taken the place of the cruder signals for regulating gunfire from above. By pursuing hostile craft and by bombing supply stations and bases, as well as attacking infantry lines, the airmen furnished invaluable assistance. After a new method, dropping fire-balls, had been adopted for destroying captive balloons, the eyes of the enemy were considerably impaired. "Sausages" were far less numerous along the German lines, so many had collapsed and crumpled under the touch of the fiery darts falling out of the sky. Sir Douglas Haig's dispatch reports that "on the 25th of June the Royal Flying Corps carried out a general attack on the enemy's observation balloons, destroying nine of them." However, in the greater part of the Somme sector, the German positions were on higher ground, affording better direct observation of the lines of the British than the latter had of theirs, and the Germans were supplied with maps giving correct ranges along each road of advance.

In preparation for the offensive, the point of contact between the French and British troops, previously at the line of the Somme, was shifted to a point a little north of the river in the vicinity of Maricourt. Without the river between them, they could make closer and better co-operation. General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson was entrusted with the main attack, from Maricourt northward to Serre. His command, the Fourth Army, lay across the Ancre and rounded the Fricourt salient. The subsidiary attack, from Serre northward, near Gommecourt, was in the hands of General Sir Edmund Allenby and troops from his Third Army.

### THE FRENCH HOLD THE POSITIONS SOUTH OF MARICOURT.

South of General Rawlinson's right wing and extending from Maricourt across the Somme to Fay, the French attacking force consisted of the Sixth Army, under General Fayolle, and the Tenth Army under General Micheler. These were the two armies which had

# HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR



FROM YPRES TO THE SOMME; THE BRITISH FRONT IN 1916, AFTER ITS EXTENSION

formerly been commanded by General de Castelnau and General d'Urbal, respectively. General Foch was in supreme control of the French forces in this operation. Ultimate direction of the whole operation was exercised,

of course, by General Haig and General Foch. All the troops were in particularly good form and spirit for the attack; as is evidenced by the words of a London *Times* special correspondent who during the battle visited the

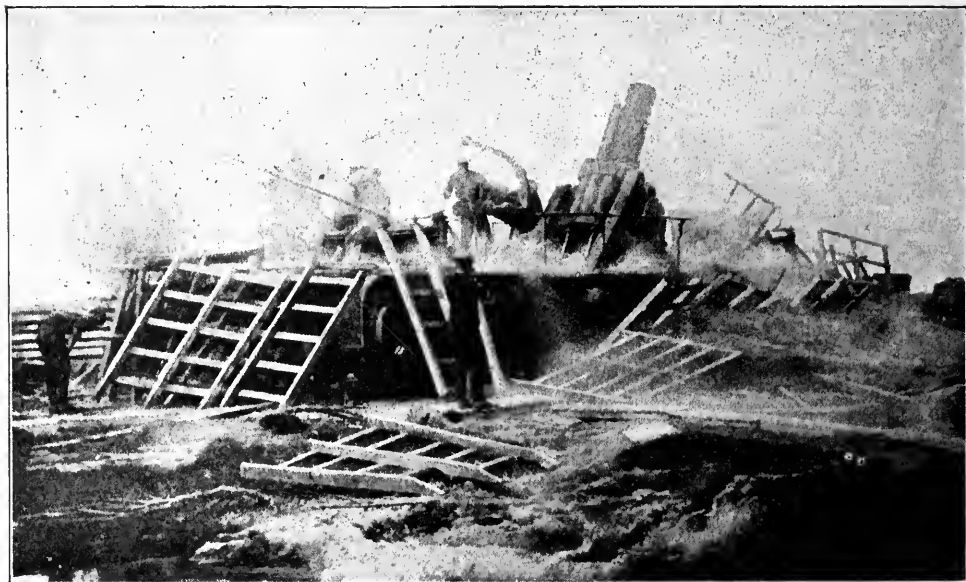
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

French lines. He declares: "I never saw an army gayer or more fit and confident. The German prisoners seem to be utterly astounded and disgusted by what they see there; and their spirits are not raised by what they hear of what has been going on with the new British Army."

### THE OBJECTIVES AND THE PLAN TO ACHIEVE THEM.

The tactical plan to be followed was for an advance by degrees, each stage

pressure upon Verdun, to stop the transference of enemy troops from the Western Front to other theatres of the war, and to break down the strength of the enemy's forces. These, rather than the actual addition of territory, were the ends to be attained. It was a costly process to roll wave after wave of splendid young manhood against the solid wall of defense set up by the invaders; but the wall would thus be worn thin and break through, if the



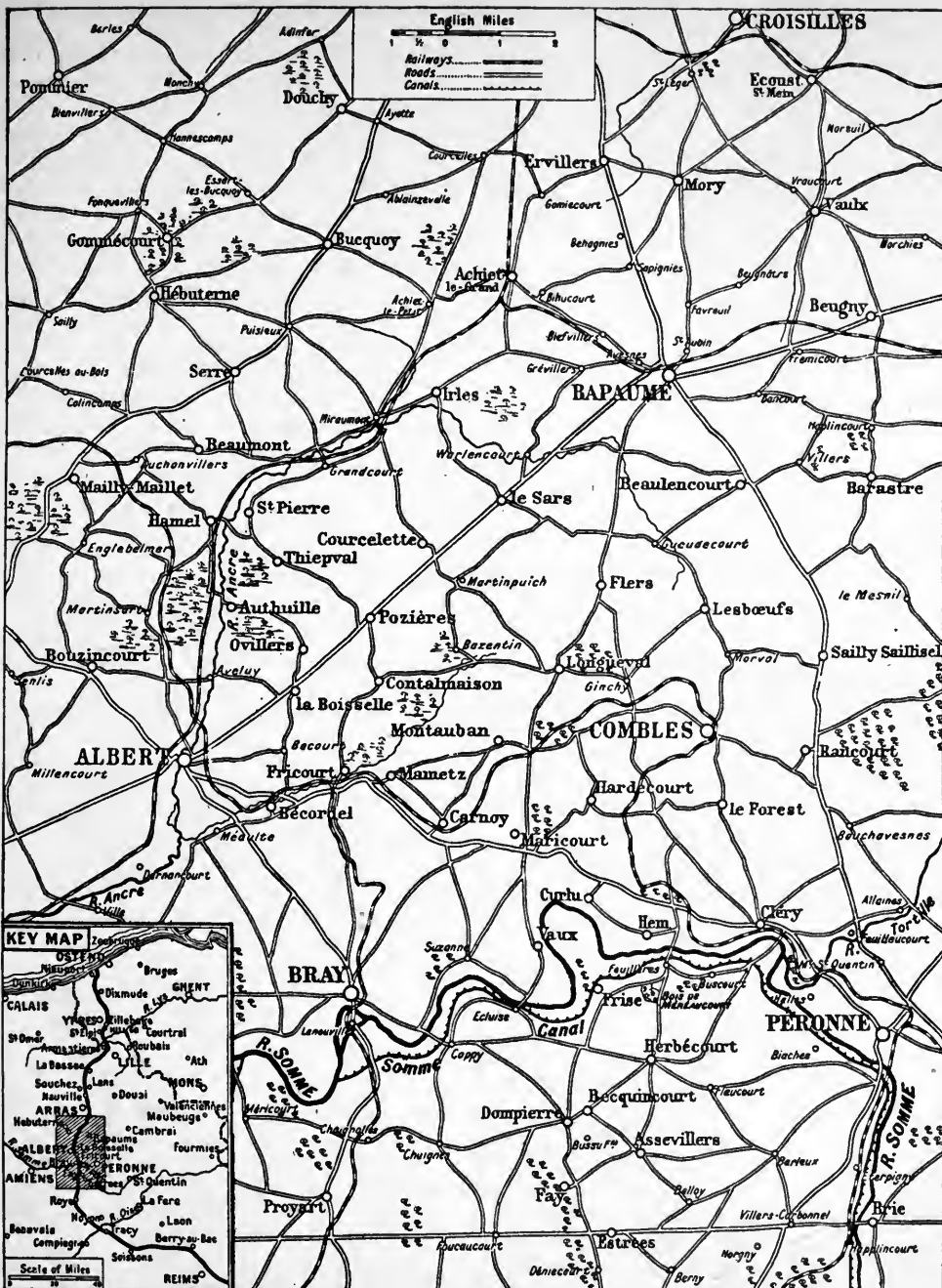
A BRITISH HOWITZER ON RAILWAY MOUNTING, SOMEWHERE ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Railway-mounted heavy artillery was highly developed in the World War. Thus was the necessary rigidity combined with mobility. Different mounts were used for different cannon. For howitzers and moderately long-range guns, mounts with limited traverse (or lateral swing) were employed. Mounts for small guns allowed all-around fire; while those for very long-range guns were fixed, depending upon curved rails for change of aim from side to side. These different types of railway mounts were adapted to different uses.

to have a thorough preparation by the artillery so as to crush and weaken as far as possible the enemy's entanglements and fortifications. In a general way the objective of the British armies was Bapaume and that of the French, Péronne; but their immediate movements were aimed eastward by three simultaneous *échelons* (or steps). The first of these, by the British centre, was to push toward La Boisselle; the second, by the British right, toward Hardecourt and the Somme; the third, by the French section, had as its goal the Somme beyond Biache and Barleux. And there were three underlying purposes for the offensive:—to relieve the

process were pursued with vigor and endurance.

On June 24 began the fearful bombardment that ushered in a battle which was to become a five-months' siege. Irregular artillery attacks since mid-June all along the Franco-British front, had led up to this intensified fire, concentrating now here and now there with misleading emphasis. But, during the last week of June, through cloudy, heavy, rainy weather, ninety miles of British guns, with flanking miles to north and south, of Belgian and French guns, poured forth ceaseless volumes of shells and raged with roll upon roll of thunderous roaring.



### THE AREA OF THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE SOMME

The key map in the lower corner shows the Allied line before the battle, and the relation of the battle area to the rest of the Western Front. The British forces involved extended from Gommecourt to Maricourt, rounding the Fricourt salient. The attack on the section reaching from Gommecourt nearly to Thiepval, in the hands of the right wing of General Allenby's Third Army, was subsidiary and failed. The five corps of the Fourth Army under General Rawlinson made the chief attack, on the front between Thiepval and Maricourt. The French Sixth Army, with General Fayolle in command, lay next on the right, from Maricourt to Fay. This attacking force was flanked on the right by General Micheler's Tenth Army. Broadly, the British objective was Bapaume; the French, Péronne. The west face of the salient whose angle was at Fricourt lay across the Ancre and was crossed by the Albert-Bapaume road. The French line stretched north and south across the Somme itself. Fortified woodlands were traps in the path of advance. The first change in the line was made between la Boisselle and Montauban, while the forbidding barriers surrounding Thiepval and Comblès resisted for many weeks. The French made steady progress toward their goal, and co-operation between the allies was close and effective.

"A German prisoner who had taken part in the Verdun fighting subsequently remarked, 'The shell-fire on the Somme was much worse than that in the region of the Lorraine fortress.'"

### **AN OBSERVER TELLS OF THE FIERCE RAIN OF SHELLS.**

Of this phase of the battle, Mr. Robinson says: "Never since the war had entered on its stationary phase in the existing positions had there been anything approaching in scope and intensity the shelling and miscellaneous fighting which raged along a hundred miles of front. It was only the overture; but it was stupendous and terrifying, even though what one saw and heard was only a small section of the dreadful whole."

The effect of the raking fire he describes in part as follows:—"All the foreground was a mere brown wilderness embroidered with a maze of trenches. The woods within the dreadful zone were being deliberately stripped leafless, and château and farm and village alike converted into jagged piles of ruins. Most terrible of all was the constant cloud of smoke which overlay the landscape."

And at midnight of the thirtieth of June, as he watched from the Albert ridge, "As far as the eye could see it was one amazing display of fireworks. It was more constant than the flickering of summer lightning, resembling rather the fixed but quivering glow of Aurora Borealis. One could distinguish the bursts of the great shells from the rhythmical pounding of the trench mortars, and the quick, ruddier flashing of the shrapnel bursting in the smoke bank which hung overhead. Punctuating it, intensely white against the other flames, rose almost like a continuous fountain the star shells and with them red flares, like the balls of huge Roman candles, which rose and hung awhile and slowly sank and died away."

The enemy divisions holding the area of the proposed attack were the Sixth Army, under the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the right wing of Otto von Below's Second Army. Anticipating that the assault would be made

between Arras and Albert, they had stiffened themselves for resistance there, with the result that when the blow fell it was repelled with appalling loss to the Allies in the region of their subsidiary attack, between Gommecourt and Thiepval, while it drove through in the direction of Combles and the Somme.

### **THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GREAT BATTLE.**

In the early morning of the first of July, a morning bright and fair, with mists still hanging over the valleys,—the artillery action grew to a height that dwarfed even its extraordinary preparation of the preceding week. French and British guns spoke their loudest, and smoke screens were projected in the face of the enemy. The experiences of listeners varied strangely. To some at close range, there came almost no sound from the explosions they were watching; while others, miles away, were overwhelmed by the furor of deafening noise. It was a curious phenomenon. Philip Gibbs was on the hills, witnessing the storm of conflict.

"For a time," he says, "I could see nothing through the low-lying mist and the heavy smoke clouds which mingled with the mist, and I stood like a blind man, only listening. It was a wonderful thing which came to my ears. Shells were rushing through the air as though all the trains in the world were driving at express speed through endless tunnels in which they met each other with frightful collisions."

### **THE SIGNAL FOR THE ADVANCE IS GIVEN.**

At 7:30 an instant's break in the thunder sound marked the lengthening of the range and the dropping of a barrage. Then came the added rattle and crack of machine gun and rifle fire. The men were starting forward. On they moved through the hail of shrapnel and shot coming from the German guns behind the smoke and barrage screens. At Gommecourt there were three shrapnel curtains falling between the British and their goal—a distance of five hundred yards. As high explosives from the German lines had shat-





#### GERMAN SOLDIERS BESIDE A CANAL OF THE SOMME

A canal accompanies the course of the Somme River, avoiding the marshes and cutting across at the bases of the deep loops formed by the stream. These Germans are on the look-out in a concealed position on the bank of the canal. Their attention seems fixed upon something in the distance down the canal.



#### A REVIEW BY RUPPRECHT, CROWN PRINCE OF BAVARIA

Prince Rupprecht, Commander-in-Chief of the Bavarian Army, the only member of German royal families to gain distinction during the war, was, at the opening of the Battle of the Somme, in command of the German army lying in the northern area, where the offensive was repulsed. Later, he was given supreme command of the German forces engaged in the battle.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin



tered the assembly trenches, the British ranks had to be formed chiefly on the open ground; but in regular formation as if for parade the companies marched forward into a shattering shower of explosives. Thousands were destined to pay the price at once. Others broke through in safety to the goal beyond.

At Beaumont Hamel, where for seven months British fatigue parties, under the direction of Lancashire miners, had been at work upon a mine of cavernous proportions, the largest in the campaign thus far, the explosion on that July morning, immediately before the infantry advance, carried upward and scattered "half the village," according to one of the sergeants present.

#### **THIEPVAL AND THE SCHWABEN REDOUBT TAKEN AND LOST.**

From Thiepval northward, where the German preparations were most careful, and machine-guns, safe and sound, could be lifted out of deep shelters to be carried far to the front through tunnels leading to protected pits, there to be used to isolate parties that had already passed, the enfilading fire from thickly clustered guns of all sorts and sizes cut down numbers of the assaulting divisions, leaving only scattered groups to seize points that they could not hold. Thiepval village was entered by the members of a Scottish battalion; while the Ulster Division reached and for a time held the Schwaben Redoubt, on the ridge north of the village. They took about 600 prisoners and gallantly fought against all odds, making the day for them a day of glory. Yet, before night fell, the line from Thiepval to Gommecourt had been forced to return to its original positions.

The main attack, from the Ancre at St. Pierre Divion to Maricourt, included, as we have noticed, the Fricourt salient. Running back of Fricourt was a stiffly fortified chalk ridge ("the highest in the whole region between Albert and Péronne"), reaching from La Boisselle to the brickworks directly east of Montauban. Mametz was a hamlet situated on the southern slope of the ridge and very near Fricourt.

Instead of attacking Fricourt directly, the Allies used again the pincers method that had been applied at St. Mihiel and on other salients. From the west, by way of Owillers and La Boisselle toward Contalmaison, and from the south by way of Mametz and Montauban, incisions were to be made in the sides of the angle.

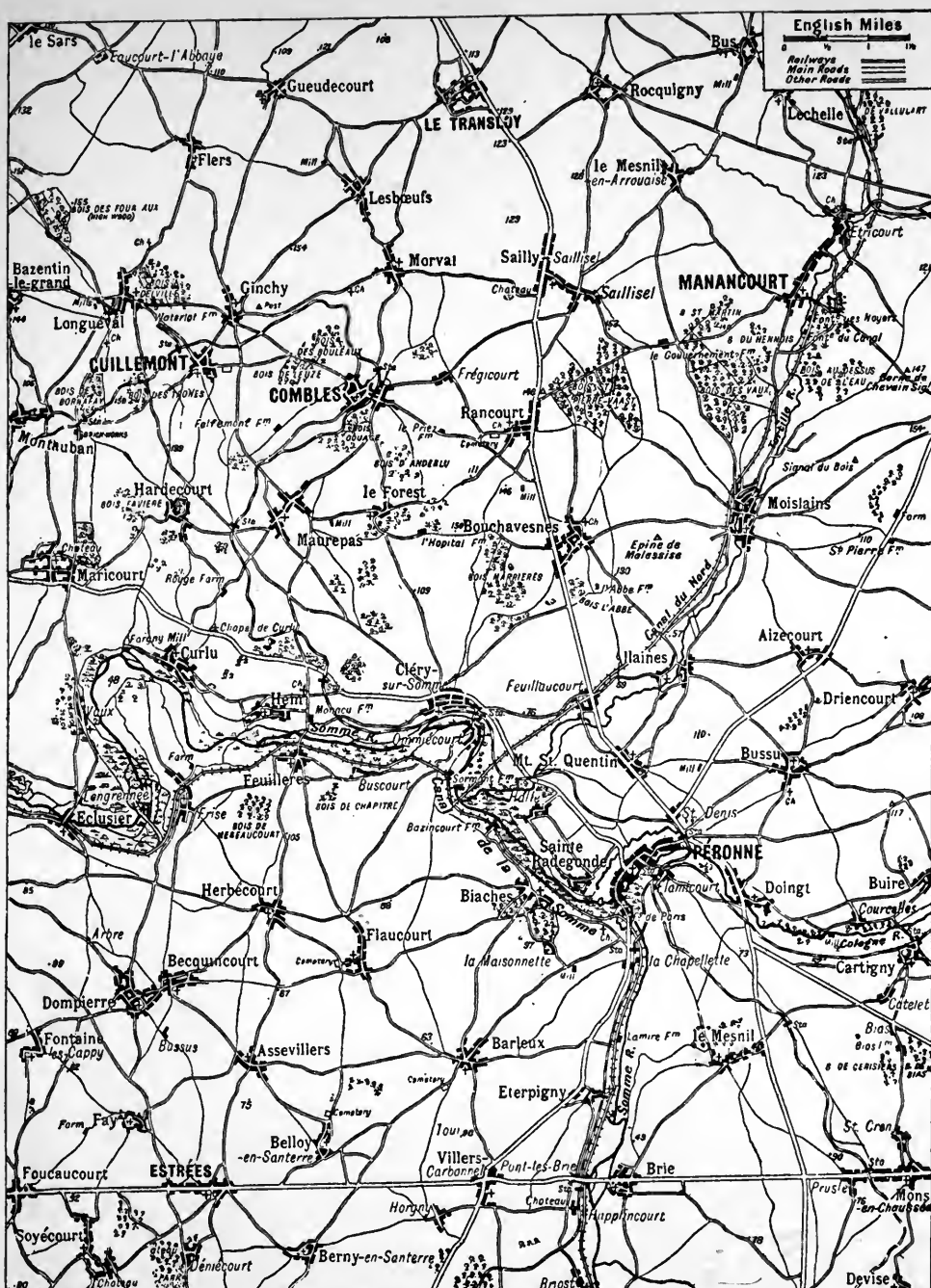
#### **VETERANS OVERWHELMED BY SOLDIERS OF THE NEW ARMY.**

Mametz was early taken by a division already famous for achievements at Ypres and elsewhere; and within a few hours of the opening of the attack Montauban too had fallen. The victors there, unlike the garrison of experienced Bavarian soldiers, were, among others, the Manchesters—chiefly young clerks and warehousemen, who had been but a few months in training, and who fought, nevertheless, with a spirit worthy of veterans. The 6th Bavarian Regiment opposing them was reduced almost to annihilation by a loss of 3000 out of 3500. The brickworks, where the British had anticipated vigorous resistance, were captured without difficulty, for they were found to have been shattered by artillery fire.

#### **THE FRENCH ALSO MAKE CONSIDERABLE GAINS.**

Where the French left joined the British right wing, the two armies kept pace together in a steady advance. Among the French troops in action was the 20th Corps, which had fought gloriously at the Marne and at Verdun. North of the Somme, on the first day of the battle, the French arrived at the edges of Curlu and Hardecourt. South of the Somme, where their attack was not at all expected by the enemy (who supposed the French resources strained to the utmost by the battle of Verdun), they swept on into Dompierre, Becquincourt, Bussu and Fay before night-fall. Their casualties were comparatively few, but the Germans had suffered great losses in killed and wounded.

On July 2, the French progress kept up the same rate. Curlu, Frise, the Wood of Méreaucourt and the village of Herbecourt were added to their conquests. General Fayolle's right



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### THE SCENE OF FRENCH SUCCESSES ON THE SOMME, 1916

The progress of the French on their part of the front was accomplished without enormous losses owing largely to exact co-ordination between artillery and infantry. Hardecourt fell into the hands of General Fayolle's Sixth Army at once. By gradual steps they moved toward Comblès, taking Maurepas in August. In September Comblès was surrounded by British and French, the latter crossing the Péronne-Bapaume Road and seizing Bouchavesnes, Le Priez Farm, Rancourt and Frégicourt. On September 26, Comblès was entered by troops of both nations. Further progress north of the Somme was toward Le Transloy. The French in October attacked Saily-Saillisel and took Saily. Farther south, along the river and beyond it, an immediate approach to Péronne had been gained early in July by the capture of Curly, Dompiere, Becquincourt, Fay, Herbecourt, Assevillers, Flaucourt, Feuillères, Estrées, Belloy-en-Santerre, Assevillers, Hem, Biaches, and la Maisonnnette. In September General Micheler's Tenth Army came into action and took the German first position on a front of almost three miles. During September and October they continued to go forward, taking Vermandovillers, Deniécourt and other places.

wing was no more than four miles from Péronne. In the two days, the French forces alone had secured 6000 prisoners, beside numbers of guns and masses of other material. It was evident that the German Command had begun the process known as "milking the lines," for several battalions from the Aisne appeared as reinforcements in the loop of the Somme. They were rapidly dispersed, however, by the French. In spite of storms and unfavorable conditions, General Fayolle's forces still drove forward. House by house they secured Estrées after several days of fighting. Belloy-en-Santerre, Assevillers, and the woods before Barleux, thoroughly intrenched and wired, were in their possession before July 6. On the day before, they had obtained Hem, north of the Somme. So close were they now to Péronne, the centre of supplies for that part of Picardy, that the enemy shifted his railhead from there to Chaunles.

### GENERAL HAIG NOW FORMS ANOTHER ARMY.

At the end of the first day, Sir Douglas Haig had decided to give into the command of Sir Hubert Gough, who had a nucleus of a Fifth (Reserve) Army, the two northern corps, the 4th and the 8th of Sir Henry Rawlinson's Army. Their position was north of the fine national road (whose foundations were laid by the Romans) which passes through Albert and Bapaume. They were now to continue a steady pressure upon the enemy from La Boisselle to the Serre Road and to serve as a pivoting point for the line on their right, engaged in the principal attack. The whole British line of the original assault had been something short of twenty miles, with the French adding about ten miles more on the right. Sir Henry Rawlinson was now to concentrate his efforts upon a front between six and seven miles long.

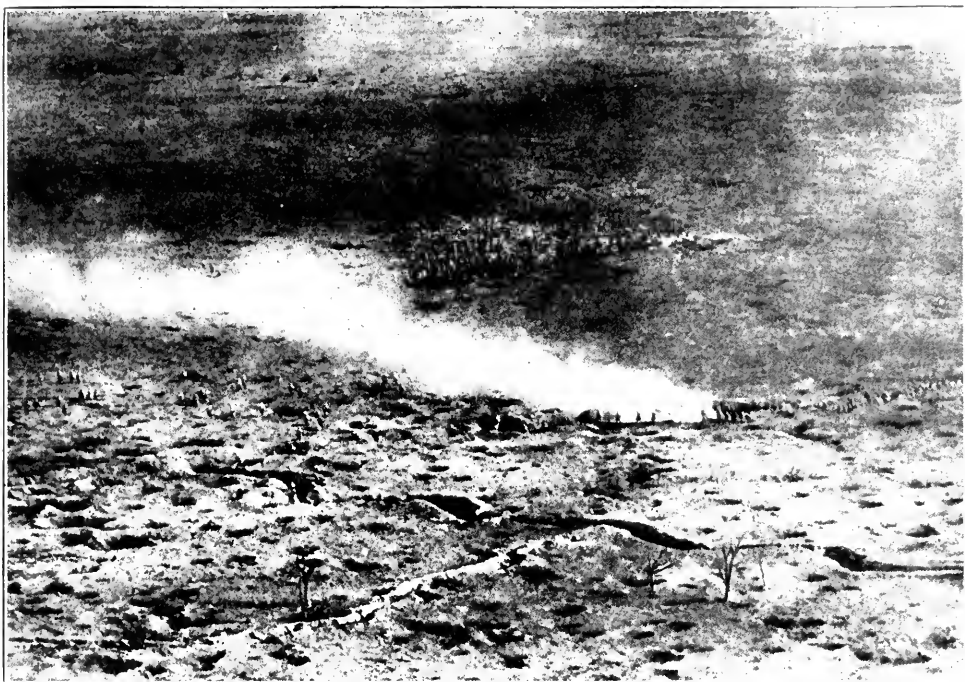
On July 2, Fricourt, having been cut off, was taken, and the fighting pushed on into the woods north and east of the village. These woods had been originally park-like plantations scattered at frequent intervals among the villages. Their undergrowth, un-

cut for several seasons, had been rendered more matted and inextricable by the German barbed wire and the recent artillery work of the French and British. As for the trees, it was not long before where they had stood there were to be seen, according to an officer's letter, "only a few jagged spikes." Most desperate struggles for the possession of these woods were fought out during the next few days. The German machine-guns and rifles, concealed in trees or in briery tangles, were able to defy approaching antagonists and make their advance both difficult and slow. Fricourt Wood, Shelter Wood, Birch Tree Wood, and others in the same group were gained by hard fighting. On July 4, Mametz Wood, an approach to Contalmaison, was entered, though it was not cleared until nearly ten days later, since the strong fortress known as the Quadrangle had to be conquered first. Bernafay Wood, on the eastern edge of Montauban, was taken on the fourth.

### THE BRITISH GAINS IN FIVE DAYS OF FIGHTING.

All through those first days of July a grim and sanguinary contest was being waged about and in La Boisselle. Its ruins were finally occupied on the fifth, when the battle passed farther forward into Bailiff Wood, west of Contalmaison. As the result of the first five days of the conflict, Sir Douglas Haig reported for his army the seizure of 94 officers and 5724 men of other ranks, with a territorial gain of one mile along a front of about six miles. This included, of course, the "four elaborately fortified villages," Montauban, Mametz, Fricourt and La Boisselle.

The second week of July was spent in preparing for a fresh advance upon the German second position and in completing the conquest of all strongholds leading up to that position. Gains were made in the neighborhood of La Boisselle, and the outer defenses of Ovillers were occupied—Ovillers, which was by this time "a place of abominable ruin, perhaps more ghastly than any other ruined ground along this front." Between July 7 and July 12,



#### A WAVE OF GAS SEEN FROM THE AIR

Waves of terrible destruction—waves advancing and retreating—rolled along the battle-acres, splintering the trees and buildings, crushing out all life and beauty. Still men fought to take or hold them. Here a wave of poison gases drives the Germans fleeing backward to the trenches and the shell-holes on that plain of desolation.



#### SEAMS AND SCARS ON THE SURFACE OF PICARDY

Shorn, excoriated, shattered, pounded, beaten, crushed and furrowed, ploughed, upheaved, torn, pitted, harrowed, wasted, desolated, ravaged, sown with pitiable wreckage nameless, horrible and mingled,—after months of battle-torture lay the sad and broken surface of the Santerre doomed and stricken. From the air it looked a desert cut with giant seams and gashes, strangely scooped in cups and hollows; and the infantry advancing seemed but pygmies in the fissures.

Contalmaison was taken, lost, and taken again. At last its tenure was made sure by clearing Mametz Wood of all enemy posts. There the British came face to face at last with the main German second position. Meanwhile, approaching from the west, a battalion of a South Country Regiment had spent July seventh and eighth, gaining control of the road leading from Ovillers to Contalmaison. There they "had been fighting in a quagmire of yellowish-white mud so tenacious that the very boots of the men stuck in it and had often to be wrenched off." A young Company Commander likened the churned-up ground soaked with drenching rains to "porridge with syrup over it." It appeared to him "as though cartloads of it had been dropped from the sky by giants—spilt porridge."

During this same time, British troops from Montauban were co-operating with their allies around Hardecourt. While the French approached the town from the south and took it, the British carried on a hot and desperate struggle for Trônes Wood, northwest of Hardecourt. Day and night they waged fierce battle in an area so raked by artillery fire from both sides that neither could establish a base there. There were numerous counter-attacks in which the enemy lost hundreds of men, but his position behind the wood gave him the opportunity of pouring in reinforcements until they might be urgently called for on other parts of the front.

## A SUMMARY OF THE FRENCH ADVANCE.

South of the Somme, the French had reached and occupied, on July 9, Biaches, separated from Péronne by only the river and its marshes. Then, fighting on through the night and early morning, they reached and took the high ridges occupied by the Maisonneuve estate, which overlooked Péronne, commanding railroad stations and neighboring roadways. General Fayolle's army had now advanced over ground to a depth of six and a half miles upon a ten-mile front. In some places they had penetrated to the

German third position. Some 12,000 men, beside 236 officers, had been captured, and 85 guns with a great quantity of other war material taken, by the French alone.

## THE GERMAN FIRST LINE BROKEN ON A WIDE FRONT.

Sir Douglas Haig's report stated: "Our troops have completed the methodical capture of the enemy's first system of defense on a front of 14,000 yards." This had been accomplished by steadily working on "from wood to wood and from ruined village to ruined village." About 22,000 German prisoners had been captured, and tens of thousands of the enemy had fallen. The British losses were terribly heavy, especially those of the first attack. An entire disregard for danger probably increased the number even beyond what was necessary and unavoidable.

An abomination of desolation lay behind the advancing armies in unrecognizable heaps and masses that had once had form and beauty and human interest. Seen from the air, the battle area seemed a desert place, upheaved and churned, and pitted with deep hollows as if some mammoth birds had settled there, shaping for themselves huge nesting-places with rim touching rim. The trenches were but long, straggling scratches such as might have been drawn by a gigantic finger through the crumbled, arid surface. Where a mine or a large shell exploded, a monstrous geyser spouted high—a mass of earth and fragments—tossing upward to fall back in new heaps of horror and ruin. And all about along the miles of battle-front puffs and clouds of smoke broke out and drifted and dissipated—always renewed from moment to moment.

## THE STORY OF AN OLD WOMAN'S TWO LITTLE FIELDS.

Only the men who had lived and struggled in that tormented region could realize fully the extent of its torture and transformation. The story of two little fields, whose owner, an old blacksmith's wife, was overjoyed by their recovery, is sketched in an officer's letter:



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

"Think," he writes, "what those fields must have been in the spring of 1914, and what they are today, every yard of them torn by shells, burrowed through and through by old trenches and dugouts; think of the hundreds of tons of wire, sand-bags, timber, galvanized iron, duck-boards, revetting stuff, steel, iron, blood and sweat, the rum jars, bully-beef tins, old trench boots, field dressings, cartridge cases, rockets, wire stanchions and stakes, gas gongs, bomb boxes, S. A. A. cases, broken canteens, bits of uniforms, and buried soldiers, and Boches—all in the old lady's two little fields."

### THE SECOND STAGE OF THE GREAT BATTLE.

With no really perceptible pause for preparation, the second stage of the great battle was launched. The work of clearing up the positions in Mametz Wood, around Contalmaison and in Trônes Wood went hand in hand with the work of preparing the attack upon the German second line, which lay a little above and beyond, stretching in front of Pozières, Bazentin-le-Petit, Bazentin-le-Grand, Longueval and Guillemont. From July 11, the artillery fire was violent and spasmodic along the whole line; and toward the end of the bombardment gas and smoke attacks were made in the section north of the Ancre, although the British front of attack in the new effort was to be limited to the four or five miles between Pozières and the Wood of Delville. There not a moment was lost in the brief space allowed for preparation.

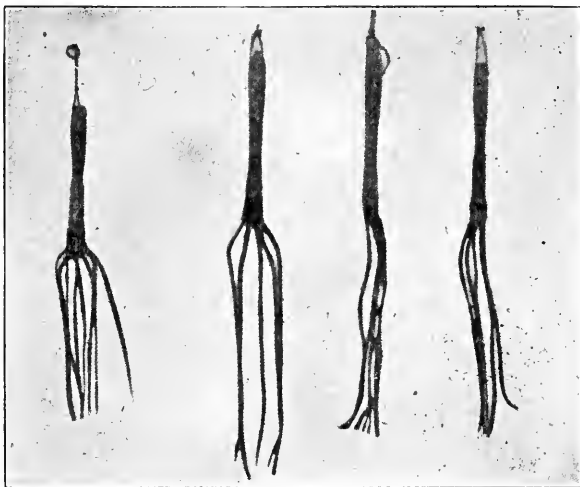
On July 14, the one hundred twenty-seventh anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille, while Paris was celebrating in an unprecedented fashion, with troops of all the Allies marching in procession amid cheering crowds, the armies of the British Empire on the Somme battlefield were shouting for France as they executed their "Great 'do'" on France's own great festival day. The skirling of the Scottish pipers

who led the advance across the long stretch of No Man's Land north of Montauban was echoed by the skirling of the pipers on the Champs Elysée.

### THE BOMBARDMENT BECOMES EVEN MORE FURIOUS.

Before dawn on the fourteenth, the bombardment reached its highest development, even outdoing the earlier demonstrations, impressive as they had been. The correspondent of *The Times*, Mr. Robinson, says of it:

"It was a thick night, the sky veiled



SOME SOUVENIRS FROM GERMAN TRENCHES,  
JULY, 1916

in mottled and hurrying clouds, through which only one planet shone serene and steadily, high up in the eastern sky. But the wonderful and appalling thing was the belt of flame which fringed a great arc of the horizon before us. It was not, of course, a steady flame, but it was one which never went out, rising and falling, flashing and flickering, half dimmed with its own smoke, against which the stabs and jets of fire of the bursting shells flared out intensely white or dully orange. Out of it all, now here, now there, rose like fountains the great balls of star shells and signal lights—theirs or ours—white and crimson and green. The noise of the shells was terrific, and when the guns nearest to us spoke not only the air but the earth beneath us shook. . . .

"Far off to the right the shimmering



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

in the sky told us where the beautiful French guns were busy. On the left the region of Ovillers-la-Boisselle was like a volcano in eruption. But it was on the ground immediately before us that the chief interest centred, for there, between 3 o'clock and 3:30, the great attempt was to be made."

### THE EFFECT OF THE FIRE ON THE GERMAN LINES.

The effective service of the artillery was realized by the men who followed the guidance of its storming cloud into the German lines and found trenches demolished, walls pulverized (as at Bazentin-le-Grand where 2000 shells or more were dropped in the last 20 minutes) and dugout entrances sealed with wreckage. The telephone, the indispensable auxiliary of every battery, guided the fire, whether the messages came from balloons far overhead or from operators pushing forward in the assault and unrolling reels of wire as they went. A French officer states that by the middle of July there were 12,420 miles of telephone wire in use in the Army of the Somme, and at least 1000 operators at work. As for the field artillery, a Lance-Corporal of a Yorkshire Regiment gives evidence of their activity. "Some of their guns," he declares, "were right up behind us, when we were in the fourth line. Their teams stood ready and they limbered up like lightning and were after us, racing over trenches and communication trenches, as if they were on a high road."

In the hour before daybreak on that unnatural morning of July, while a lark's song drifted down in intervals between the din of gun voices and a quail called from the fields behind the battle-lines, the attack broke forth. Just before 3:30 the men went over the lines that had so short a time been theirs, to claim others farther up the slopes before them. With the first signs of light, aeroplanes moved across in the same direction and kite balloons began to rise, to furnish eyes for the advancing host. The enemy's shells fell thick and furious, but most of them fell behind the forward-hastening figures they would have halted.

### THE CAPTURE OF BAZENTIN-LE-PETIT WOOD.

On the southern edges of the main ridge that still rose before the British Armies stood the villages, Bazentin-le-Petit and Bazentin-le-Grand, each with its attendant woodland. Farther east was Longueval, engulfed in Delville Wood. In the central background, rather "out of the picture" at first, because a mile behind the German line, the Bois des Foureaux (known as High Wood) crowned the loftiest crest of the ridge. Fighting through the woods where the enemy had established himself so firmly with trenches, dugouts, wire protections, and machine guns, was exhausting and precarious business. One bad feature was the great difficulty of removing the wounded. But there was no hesitation about dashing into the woods and setting about the task of clearing them. Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, for instance, we are told, was "spanned at intervals by three successive lines of trenches, each with its separate wire protection. . . . The men waited in one trench while our guns from far behind them pounded the next, then pushed and staggered forward as soon as the guns had lifted, while the artillery went to the next. Then the process was repeated."

In this way they were three hours working through the wood, which was full of Germans. Among the 300 prisoners taken was a colonel who had sworn to "stay in the wood and hold it to the last." He was found "holding" it, in a dug-out at the bottom of two flights of stairs, each of which went down twenty feet.

### THE HIGHLANDERS TAKE LONGUEVAL, HOUSE BY HOUSE.

The nearest villages, the two Bazentins, were entered immediately and in Longueval the ammunition stores and dumps were set on fire in less than an hour after the assault had started. Far on the right flank, a new attempt upon Trônes Wood was aided by the firm stand of a little group of less than two hundred of the Royal West Kents, who, separated from their battalion the day before, had fortified a position and

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held it all night. At last, by the evening of the fourteenth, the Wood of Trônes was cleared.

It was a band of Highlanders who followed their pipers across the long stretch northeast of Montauban, nearly a mile, to charge the trenches of Longueval. They fought their way through the wire entanglements, which here had been less injured by artillery fire

Deccan Horse. After eighteen months, cavalry were able again to take some part in the fighting. Moving from Bazentin-le-Grand by way of a shallow valley, they came out among the corn-fields at the bottom of High Wood, and, attacking both from on foot and on horseback, they disposed of the German infantry among the corn before taking up a position from which to



KILTIES CARRYING A KETTLE OF "HOTCHPOTCH"

These members of a fatigue party belonging to a Scotch regiment are making their way through the tossed and tumbled débris of a village in Picardy, bearing to their fellows in the trenches refreshment in the form of a kettle of their native stew, which it is to be hoped will have a homelike taste.

than in other places. They fought through the cellars where the Germans were caught like "trapped animals." They stormed the strong redoubt that had been fitted in where Longueval and Delville Wood conjoined. And at last they worked around to link up with the English infantry in Trônes Wood.

### **TWO REGIMENTS OF CAVALRY TAKE PART IN THE FIGHTING.**

By afternoon of that first day, High Wood was no longer in the background. The enemy's third position had been reached there by a division which was accompanied by two regiments of cavalry, the Dragoon Guards and the

protect their own advancing infantry.

By evening, the German second line trenches had been secured on a front of about three miles, from Bazentin-le-Petit to Longueval; and by the end of the first twenty-four hours over 2000 prisoners had been taken.

### **THE SOUTH AFRICANS BEGIN TO CLEAR DELVILLE WOOD.**

The Scottish victors at Longueval set about extending and consolidating their position, fortifying certain useful points, in spite of a severe shelling with all kinds of projectiles and explosives, including gas and lachrymatory shells. On July 15, a brigade of

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South Africans passed through, to begin the difficult work of clearing up Delville Wood (soon known as "Devil's Wood"). For the next three days the South Africans went on with their task so doggedly and with such spirit that we are assured, "no mortal troops could have fought with more gallantry and stubbornness than the South Africans at Delville Wood." But the utterly destructive and withering bombardment flung upon the new British lines from German guns on the morning of the eighteenth made the positions in the wood untenable, especially when parties of infantry with machine-guns and rifles pushed down through from the northern part of Longueval. Dropping back as far as the Scottish trenches, the South Africans helped to hold the reserve line there against the vigorous attack of the enemy. Together, the spent and exhausted forces rallied for a counter-attack which drove back the body of fresh German troops and saved the line forming on the newly taken front. "Shell-shocked and wounded, sound or hurt, these men who had had four sleepless days and nights of continuous effort and fighting, somehow went forward. Unfortunately, one can get accounts of it only from men who were in it—and they, being Scotsmen; mostly will say very little. But it must have been such a sight as is not often seen in war."

### GERMANS IN HIGH WOOD RESIST FOR TWO MONTHS.

Reinforcements were strengthening the German lines considerably from day to day. Among others came the Fifth Brandenburg Division, a corps d'élite. But the New Army was proving itself able to meet the best of them. Back in Delville Wood the fighting went on desperately for nearly two weeks. And at High Wood, though the German counter-attacks on the sixteenth forced a withdrawal of the troops whose temporary hold had been valuable in furnishing a screen for the lines behind as they were getting settled and consolidated, the struggle continued for two months. The Germans had connected by a "switch" line their third position with that por-

tion of their second position which they still held. This, in turn, became an object of attack and contest, forming as it did, "the backbone of the enemy's defenses" between the British and the summit of the ridge. The day after the great attack was one of extraordinary success for the airmen, who within twenty-four hours had brought down four Fokkers, three biplanes, and a double-engined plane, with no loss to themselves.

The part of the German second line between Pozières and Bazentin-le-Petit had not been included in the attack of July 14, although it had undergone a series of intense bombardments which continued until the morning of the sixteenth. The result of the attack that followed was the capture of the first and second lines of German trenches up to a distance of about five hundred yards from Pozières, within reach of the fire of the guns there. From the west and south the right wing of the Fifth Army was slowly and gradually working toward Pozières. Ovivillers-la-Boisselle had been for days the centre of siege. A remnant of its garrison, members of the Third Prussian Guard, were finally so closely pressed by their attacking foes that the British batteries could no longer fire upon them for fear of hitting their own men. The struggle in Ovivillers then became one of bombs and machine-guns, with a barrage of shell dropping steadily between the garrison and their own lines.

### THE THIRD PRUSSIAN GUARD AT OIVILLERS-LA-BOISSELLE.

Cut off from supplies and reinforcements, they still did not yield but fought on through tortures of hunger and thirst, taking refuge, between bombing raids, in the vaults and cellars amid the horrible ruin in which they were enclosed. "They were living in a charnel house strewn with the dead bodies of their comrades and with wounded men delirious for lack of drink." When at last they surrendered, on the night of July 17, the survivors (not more than one hundred and forty) were received by their British victors with the honors of war. By that time,

while La Boisselle "was no more than a flat layer of pounded grey stones and mortar on the bare face of the earth," Ovimers-la-Boisselle was "non-existent." With reference to these positions, a young officer said: "It's marvellous to think those lines could ever have been taken. I am not a bit surprised the Hun thought them impregnable. Anyone would, when you come to look over them. Even now, when they have been pounded out of all recognition by our heavies, you'd think such a network could be held against any possible advance."

The courageous behavior of this garrison was the more notable by contrast with the cases where numbers of German soldiers, caught in cellars or dugouts, surrendered in mass. As a Middlesex sergeant expressed it, "They fight real well till you're right on top of them, I'll say that. Only, man for man, when it comes to it, they can't live alongside our chaps, ye know, sir—not they." The same sergeant adds his testimony to the frequently stated experience as to the scarcity of German officers in the captured lines, when he says, they "do keep most uncommon well out of the way." He himself had seen only one, a "boy" who fought bravely in a dugout near Ovimers.

## NEW GERMAN GUNS ARE TURNED ON THE BRITISH.

Several days of rain and mist, when poor visibility impeded observation from the air, gave the enemy an opportunity to bring up guns and increase bombardments from new batteries upon territory every foot of which was familiar. They concentrated attack with shells, gas and *flammenwerfer* upon the region around Longueval and Delville Wood.

It was considered unnecessary to make a direct assault upon Combles if the ridges on each side could be taken. Accordingly, the right wing of the British had been assigned the village of Morval as their objective, while the French were to advance toward Sailly-Saïlisel. This involved the capture of several well-fortified villages, woods, and trench systems. In Sir Douglas Haig's summary he states: "As the

high ground on each side of the Combles valley commands the slopes of the ridge on the opposite side, it was essential that the advance of the two armies should be simultaneous and made in the closest co-operation."

The next step to be taken eastward by the British was an approach to Guillemont from Trônes Wood, a movement so difficult, because of the bare stretch of country between, that their first effort failed. Meanwhile, the French made a good advance east of Hardecourt, widening their break in the enemy front. Beyond them lay their most difficult problem, in the defile between the Combles valley and the fortified wood of St. Pierre Vaast.

## THE ADVANCE OF THE FIFTH ARMY ON THE LEFT.

Sir Hubert Gough's advance in the direction of Pozières had been steady and unrelenting, though slow. On the left, where his Fifth Army was operating, certain adjustments had been made, before July 23, when the great attack upon Pozières was launched. In the section between the Ancre and the Albert-Bapaume road and extending a little south of the road, the Second Corps and the First Anzac Corps had been placed, just to the left of the Third Corps. The attack upon Pozières was assigned to the Australians, who were to come up from the southeast, with a certain Midland Territorial division co-operating by attacking from the southwest. Lying between them and the ridge beyond the village, where the ruins of the Windmill crowned the highest elevation of the water-shed, three almost parallel lines of enemy works presented formidable barriers to be surmounted. The first was a sunken road which had been transformed into a strong line of defense. The second was a difficult line of trenches. The third was the highway itself where it entered and passed through the heart of the village. After three days of unfailing heroism, cool indifference to danger, steady response to discipline, in the face of incessant barrage from the invisible German guns as well as the frenzied fighting of the more immediate adver-

saries, the Australians and the Midland troops were able to join forces in the cemetery north of the village. "The whole resources of military art had been exhausted to render this position impregnable. But, battered to pieces so far as the above-ground constructions were concerned, the nerve-shattered garrison had been unable to resist the determined assaults of the British and Australians."

### **T**HE AUSTRALIANS ALSO WIN HIGH PRAISE.

As at Gallipoli, Lieutenant-General Birdwood's Anzacs had displayed an undaunted and invincible spirit, going along through the barrage "as you would go through a summer shower." One of their best officers announced, "I have to walk about as if I liked it; what else can you do when your own men teach you to?" The distinguished British regulars on their flank sent them a message to say they were proud to fight side by side with such valiant men.

"The sight of that ridge from the road east of Ovillers was one that no man who saw it was likely to forget. It seemed to be smothered monotonously in smoke and fire. Wafts of the thick heliotrope smell of the lachrymatory shells floated down from it. Out of the dust and glare would come Australian units which had been relieved, long, lean men with the shadows of a great fatigue around their deep-set, far-sighted eyes. They were perfectly cheerful and composed, and no Lowland Scot was ever less inclined to expansive speech. At the most they would admit in their slow, quiet voices that what they had been through had been 'some battle.'"

### **S**TRONG POSITIONS YET TO BE TAKEN.

While making the "slow and methodical progression" appointed for it, the Fifth Army was carrying out the further instruction to act as a pivot for the troops on its right. Thiepval, still before them, was a point in the old German first line, with all approaches deeply fortified. In good time it was to be stormed. On the right flank of the Fourth Army the position at Del-

ville Wood and Longueval formed a dangerous salient for the elimination of which the combined advance of the adjoining British and French lines on the south was necessary. The guns of Guillemont were the great menace. Several unsuccessful isolated attacks by the British upon the village led to the planning of a "series of combined attacks to be delivered in progressive stages" upon the surrounding enemy strongholds. In the interval before the next great phase of the battle opened, on September 12, the prosecution of these plans was pushed forward. On the right, the French and British were swinging around to come into line with the centre; on the left the pivoting point was holding firmly and preparing the way for an advance to a new position. Between, the centre forces were climbing up towards the summit of the ridge and waging stern, incessant warfare for the mastery of High Wood and Delville Wood. Between Pozieres and Thiepval the ruinous remains of what had been the Windmill and Mouquet (familiarily called "Moocow") Farm did not cease to be scenes of hot turmoil until they were secured beyond question. Although most of the fighting was in the way of local attacks, sapping and bombing, three general attacks were delivered, on August 18, September 3, and September 9, with what results we shall see.

The last days of July and the early part of August were a period of hot, stifling weather, when the dust and stench of the battle grounds made existence there almost insupportable. The stubborn endurance of the men was unshaken, however, and no epidemic developed. The latter part of the second week of August brought some relief, when the drought broke. On the whole, there was more rainfall and haze during both mid-summer months than is usual, a condition which favored the enemy by producing poor visibility for observers. In July the casualties of the Allied forces in their offensive had been considerably heavier than those of the Germans. But, during the second month, the situation was

reversed. The British, it is true, lost 4,711 officers and 123,234 men; but it has been estimated that the Germans suffered far greater loss.

### **COURCELETTE AND MARTINPUICH NOW IN SIGHT.**

By August 6, the Australians had driven their way beyond Pozières to the top of the watershed at the site of the long-fought-for Windmill. From that point, the British could now look down upon the German lines on the northern slope and upon the towns of Courcellette and Martinpuich, both of which were under bombardment. At the extreme right, on the eleventh and twelfth of the month, the French, after working through the remainder of the German second position around Hardecourt, opened a brilliantly organized assault upon a front about four miles long, extending from east of Hardecourt to the Somme. They pushed through the trenches and redoubts of the German third line to a depth of three-quarters of a mile or more, and captured in one day at least 1000 prisoners. A few days later, they had extended their own line north of Maurepas, making gains there and a mile and a quarter south of the village. By this time, they controlled the whole of the German third line south of the Somme.

During the second week of August, the Armies on the Somme were heartened by a visit from King George. At the British Headquarters he was met by President Poincaré, who commended his Allies for the good work of their offensive.

At the end of the first six weeks of fighting in the sector around the Somme it had become evident that the Germans had not been able to stand the persistent push upon their front without throwing in some of their best reserves. They had already used there as many divisions as had been in action at Verdun during four months of struggle. Their lines were not broken through, but were bending under a strain far more severe than had been anticipated. The vaunted strength of their elaborate fortifications was proving vulnerable at last.

### **ISOLATED POSITIONS ARE NEXT SEPARATELY ASSAILED.**

The combined general attack of August 18 and 19, differed in several respects from previous assaults. It consisted of a number of separate, independent attacks, by different corps at different times, starting at various hours in the day. It was a "cleaning out of a nameless maze of trenches" all along the front then existing. Where the Australians had broken up defenses of almost every conceivable kind, they had taken altogether by the end of this day a mile's length of German second line upon the ridge. Beyond Pozières, too, a new push was made in the direction of Martinpuich. Farther to the left, where Leipzig Redoubt formed the "very nose of the Thiepval salient," a lodgment had been made on the first day of the battle, July 1; but the garrison of the supposedly impregnable stronghold, secure in their subterranean fortress with their generous supply of machine guns, had been left for weeks to a life of ease and relaxation. This was suddenly and rudely broken up, on Friday, August 18, when the redoubt was rushed by two British battalions and the occupants—perhaps 2000—caught as in a trap. "Many of the garrison fought stubbornly to the end; others we smoked out and rounded up like the occupants of a gambling-house surprised by the police. Six officers and 170 men surrendered in a body." The garrison had been composed of Prussians of the 29th Regiment.

The newly constructed "switch" line was cut through in one place. Fighting around Delville Wood resulted in gain there. But Guillemont, the one important part of the German second line untaken up to this time, resisted still, although the quarry on the outskirts of the ruin that had once been a village was captured. Thence the British thrust southward to a point of junction with the French. In a sector east of High Wood some Suffolk troops who had taken possession of a trench vacated by the enemy found themselves isolated and forced to withdraw. They accomplished their retreat so imperceptibly by "leaking" out



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through shell holes and a sap while one man guarded each end of the trench, using discarded German bombs to keep back the assaulting parties, that when these two men finally followed their fellows, the Germans from either side kept on bombing each other across the traverse. This incident was connected with the one "failure" of the day.

offered by the Brandenburgers. The honor fell to Irish troops from Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. "Of the village nothing fit to be called a village remained. One wrecked and battered building, apparently a barn, was all that stood among the waste of masonry pounded into the tortured earth. How even a fragment of the walls of that



### MOPPING UP GERMAN TRENCHES IN THE COURSE OF AN ADVANCE

Having learned by experience that the enemy were likely to hide in their dugouts and come out after a charging troop had passed, to attack from the rear with rifles and machine guns, the British detailed part of each advancing force to clear the trenches and dugouts and make sure that not a living foe was left therein. Experience taught them, too, to let a bomb precede them in entering.

For the rest of the month there was no cessation of activities. Violent German bombardments and counter-attacks accomplished no permanent advantage for the enemy. On the other hand, the weather gave opportunity again for air attacks by the Allied aviators.

In that same week, the French carried Maurepas; they and the British came together south of Guillemont; and a charge by a Rifle Brigade battalion practically finished the long sanguinary conflict in Delville Wood.

### HOW THE IRISH OVERWHELMED THE BRANDENBURGERS AT GUILLEMONT.

On September 3, Guillemont was taken in spite of the desperate defense

one building stood was a mystery, but some queer chance had kept it tottering on its feet when everything else had not only fallen long before but had been pounded to nothing after it fell. The ruins, however, were full of enemy lurking holes, and all round the edges there were strong positions with machine-guns and (especially on the southwestern and southern sides) deep dugouts. Besides the main, formidably fortified trench line running along and before these faces of the village, the ground everywhere was dotted with smaller works and with shell-holes converted into outlying strongholds."

With their pipers playing, the Irish-

men swept rapidly through and beyond this position to the sunken road farther east where they could establish themselves more strongly, while the Light Infantry fighting on their right finished the task in Guillemont, dealing with troublesome machine-gun shelters and clearing the dugouts. In the roads and woods east and south of Guillemont, the fight was pressed forward for several days following.

### **MOUQUET FARM YIELDS AFTER TWO YEARS.**

At the other end of the attacking line, on the afternoon of September 3, the English, Scots, and Australians were engaged in one of the fiercest of conflicts with a Reserve Regiment of the 1st Prussian Guards, among the positions of the Mouquet Farm. "Of the farm itself, nothing remained but a waste of pounded rubbish and a few shattered fragments of trees. The enemy, however, had covered the whole area in and around the farm with trenches, isolated posts and deep dugouts, until it was practically all one fortress." There in the dimness before dawn the Germans were attacked and dislodged from their fastness after two years' occupation.

Nearer the Somme, the French First Corps, men from the northern districts whose homes were in the hands of the Germans, carried two villages and pushed on to the edges of Combles itself. Two days afterward, General Micheler's Tenth Army, south of the Somme, came into action for the first time since the battle started. They immediately seized a part of the German first position on a front of almost three miles, taking about 3,000 prisoners. And on the next day the French Armies both north and south of the river made considerable progress.

### **GINCHY IS TAKEN BY THE SAME IRISHMEN.**

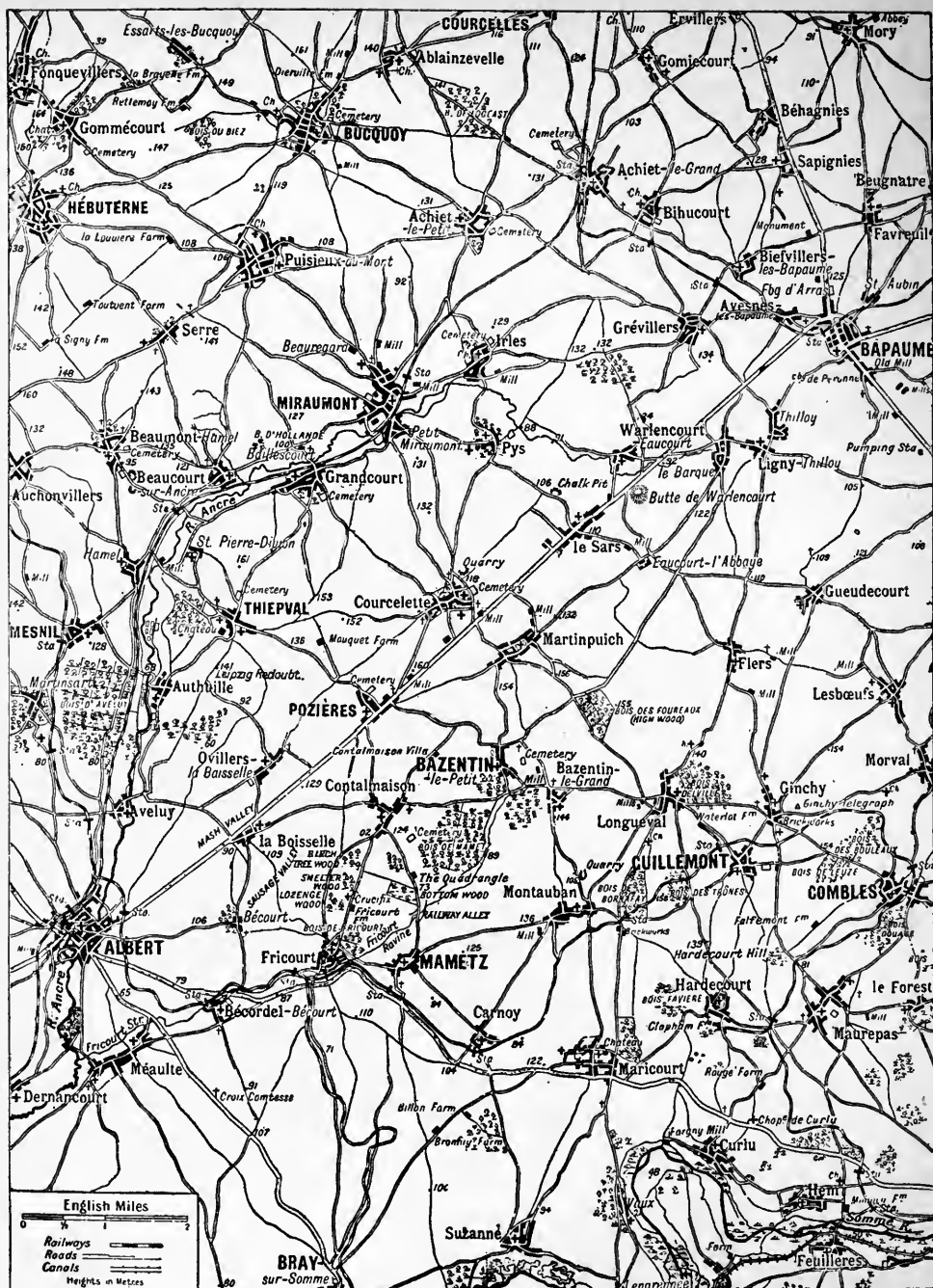
In the attack of September 9, the only success of importance was the capture of Ginchy by the same Irish troops who had had their part in taking Guillemont. At other points, the advance was quickly checked. Extracts from an officer's account of the attack upon Ginchy give a striking impression

of the impetuous fervor of the assaulting troops: "Between the outer fringe of Ginchy and the front line of our own trenches is No Man's Land, a wilderness of pits so close together that you could ride astraddle the partitions between any two of them. As you look half right, obliquely down along No Man's Land, you behold a great host of yellow-coated men rise out of the earth and surge forward and upward in a torrent—not in extended order, as you might expect, but in one mass. There seems to be no end to them. Just when you think the flood is subsiding, another wave comes surging up the bend towards Ginchy. We joined in on the left. Our shouts and yells must have struck terror into the Huns, who were firing their machine-guns down the slope. But there was no wavering in the Irish host. We couldn't run. We advanced at a steady walking pace, stumbling here and there, but going ever onward and upward.

"How long we were in crossing No Man's Land I don't know. It could not have been more than five minutes, yet it seemed much longer. We were now well up to the Boche. We had to clamber over all manner of obstacles—fallen trees, beams, great mounds of brick and rubble—in fact, over the ruins of Ginchy. It seems like a nightmare now. I remember seeing comrades falling round me. . . . I believe our prisoners were all Bavarians, who are better mannered from all accounts than the Prussians."

### **A FEW USEFUL MILES ARE GAINED AT A PRICE.**

By steady, persistent uphill pushing, the British had gained the high position on the ridge between Thiepval and Combles. Step by step, the artillery and infantry had worked together, becoming more and more skilful in co-ordinating their movements. As a result, the lines had been pushed back a little way and the Germans on that part of the front driven into new and improvised positions. A young officer who had been wounded in the battle exclaimed, "We've gained such a few miles, they say. Pretty useful miles, though, to the top of the ridge."



# Copyright WHERE MEN FROM EVERY PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE FOUGHT IN 1916

In the opening action of the Allied offensive, July 1, the British front of attack was about twenty miles long, from Gommécourt to Montauban. The actual advance made in the 1st Stage of the battle, over a mile in depth on about a 6-mile front, included the villages of Montauban, Mametz, Fricourt and la Boisselle, with the formidable woodlands between. A foothold was gained in Trônes Wood. The 2nd Stage, beginning July 14, was concentrated on a 3-mile front, from Longueval to Bazentin-le-Petit Wood. Trônes Wood, the two Bazentins, Ovillers, Longueval, and Pozières yielded after terrific warfare. Then the fearful struggle for the Ridge went on through mid-summer heat in Delville Wood, High Wood, and around Guillemont and Ginchy. The 3rd Stage, opening September 15, took part of the Germans' last original defenses:—Flers, High Wood, Martinpuich, Courcellette, Morval, Les Boeufs, Combles (gained with the aid of the French), Gueudecourt, Thiepval, etc. At Mouquet Farm, Leipzig Redoubt and Schwaben Redoubt famous deeds were done. The 4th Stage, launched November 11, swung across the Ancre from St. Pierre Divion to Beaumont Hamel and Bapaume.



A Tank Advancing Into Action

## CHAPTER XXXIII

# The Battle of the Somme II

## THE FINAL STAGES OF THE GREATEST BATTLE THAT HISTORY RECORDS

SEVERAL scenes in the patches of woodland that were spread over the rolling chalk country north of the Somme, will help to a realization of what happened among those wooded slopes during the various stages of the battle that brought them out of obscurity into world-notice. The woods as they appeared while yet untouched by warfare may be pictured from this description, by Masefield, of a strip on the edge of the battle region: "It is a romantic and very lovely wood, pleasant with the noise of water and not badly damaged by the fighting. The trees are alive and leafy, the shrubs are bushing, and the spring flowers, wood anemones, violets, and the oxlip (which in this country takes the place of the primrose and the cowslip) flower beautifully."

### A GERMAN ARTILLERY CAMP DEEP IN THE WOODS.

When the offensive was under way, a correspondent of the *New York Times* found in some of those woods the setting of an odd encampment, where Germans were resting after two weeks of service in the first trenches. "I walked down a narrow, winding pathway," he wrote, "through a jungle of underbrush full of infantry reserves. It was the strangest gypsy colony I had seen on any front. The men were living in galvanized sheds,

semi-cylinders about ten feet in diameter, easily transportable, quickly set up, absolutely rain-proof, and resembling miniature models of the Zeppelin hangars. Eight men could sleep beneath each zinc dome." Already the German gunners were showing effects of the strain. Their faces "told their own story. The good nature of these skilled Teuton mechanics had given place to a grim set expression as if biting their jaws together and nerving themselves to fight off the physical fatigue of long weeks of continued cannonading. In their shirt sleeves and perspiring, with facial muscles drawn and strained, they reminded me of over-trained athletes toward the end of a hard-fought long-distance race who realized that they must not 'crack' before breasting the tape. They continued working their battery automatically, with the disciplined perfection and finished form of veterans."

### SOME WOODS OBLITERATED BY THE FIERCE BOMBARDMENT.

In a few weeks, shells and mines and shattering fire worked their will. The conformations of the land itself were shifted and changed. At the outbreak of a bombardment, an officer's letter says, "Immediately the German lines became a mass of earth, bits of trees being tossed about in the air like the

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foam on giant waves—in fact, it looked for all the world like a heavy sea, only the waves were of earth.”

After the flood of destruction had passed over the devoted crest of the wooded ridge, Masefield, looking northward from Mametz, described the mutilated remnants that he beheld: “Just visible as a few sticks upon the sky-line, are two other woods, High Wood, like a ghost in the distance, and the famous and terrible Wood of Delville.” A French writer declares of High Wood (Bois des Fourreaux) that he can think of no more melancholy walk than a visit to the spot. A dark stain upon the height, it can be seen from all around, and broad bare stretches of the plateau have to be crossed in order to reach it from any direction. “An immense silence,” he says, “reigns over all these solitudes.” As for the forests themselves, he calls them ruins of woods, where only tree-trunks are left standing—wraiths of trees—and where the bordering copses are all hacked or obliterated.

### THE GERMANS DRIVEN FROM THEIR COMFORTABLE DUGOUTS.

We have noted how the British lines had gained the top of the ridge along almost its whole extent and were even in some places reaching over the top and down on the other side. Many of the Germans were no longer living in their safe and comfortable dugouts, which a cockney private eulogized as “prime,” a place where you could “generally always find a bit er suthin tasty, an’ if yer strike a orficer’s dugout it’s a Lord Mayor’s banquet fer certin.” Instead, they were in very tentative quarters, for the most part, on the wrong slope of the ridge. An officer’s letter gives a mournful picture of their condition beyond Pozières. “The wind-mill is over the hill. The hundreds of dead bodies make the air terrible, and there are flies in thousands . . . We have no dugouts. We dig a hole in the side of a shell-hole, and lie and get rheumatism. We get nothing to eat or drink. . . . The ceaseless roar of the guns is driving us mad. Many of the men are knocked up.” An indication of the weakening

morale of the defenders was observed in the increasing numbers of unwounded prisoners taken.

To open the way for the next step in advance, the British found it necessary to devote especial attention to an elaborate stronghold situated on a spur of land south of Thiepval, so sturdy a stronghold that it was known as the *Wunderwerk*. No power of engineering art had been spared in developing it. Before the valleys on either side could be entered or a move be made upon Courcellette and Martinpuich, this fortification must be demolished. On September 14, after two weeks of vigorous bombardment which had laid low all above-ground portions of the works and wrought havoc in some of the dugouts, the position was won by a part of Sir Hubert Gough’s Army. Those of the garrison who remained were either killed in a fierce hand-to-hand encounter or driven by the onrush of the attacking party into the barrage that had been dropped beyond them when the charge began. Now that the *Wunderwerk* and the adjoining trenches had been secured, their wrecked fortifications were quickly turned into a strong position adjusted to protect the left centre of General Gough’s forces in their progress during the coming offensive.

### BRITISH AND FRENCH PREPARE TO ACT SIMULTANEOUSLY.

The special feature of this new attack compared with those preceding was that it should be a simultaneous movement of all the forces, British and French, between Thiepval and Vermandovillers; whereas, previously, the British divisions and the two bodies of French troops had acted independently and toward separate objectives. The plans about to be undertaken called for entire co-operation. From Le Sars to Morval, the last of the original German systems of defense was to receive the entire attention of Sir Henry Rawlinson’s Army. In case the right wing were successful in reaching Morval, the attacking line on the left would be extended to include Courcellette and Martinpuich. In the section

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from the French positions south and east of Combles to the Somme, General Fayolle's Army was to continue advancing, concentrating its efforts chiefly upon Rancourt and Frégicourt with the object of closing in farther upon Combles. South of the Somme, General Micheler's Army was to advance on a front of seven or eight miles extending south from Barleux to beyond Vermandovillers—an area including a line of strong German defenses.

The most difficult positions of those to be won were situated on the flanks. Combles, itself, was too well-garrisoned and too carefully protected to make a direct assault upon it practicable. It covered vast underground caverns and was shielded by strongly fortified points in the vicinity. The French were still aiming toward Sailly-Saillisel, but Morval furnished a stiff obstacle, and the approach to Morval from the British side was a most difficult one. Moreover, the southern road of approach to Sailly-Saillisel lay between the menacing strongholds in the Wood of St. Pierre Vaast and the Combles Valley. The two Allied bodies must work in complete harmony around Combles. At the western extremity of the line, Thiepval still remained a forbidding goal, which would be considerably nearer attainment if Courcellette and Martinpuich could be gained.

### THE REMNANT OF THE OLD GERMAN DEFENSES ATTACKED.

The old third line of the Germans, which had now become their front line, had been but slightly developed when the battle began, in July. By the time of the September operations, it was not only completed but elaborated, while a fourth position had been established behind it. Courcellette, Martinpuich, Flers, Lesboeufs, and Morval were the strongest links in the chain forming the old third position. The British units, most of which were composed of fresh troops, had been assigned definite objectives for attack. Courcellette was confronted by a Canadian division which had, "under conditions of extreme difficulty," relieved the Australians there; Martinpuich was to be

surrounded by a Scottish division of the New Army, when they had completed the capture of the switch line; Northumbrian and London Territorial divisions were given responsibility for clearing High Wood; the New Zealanders, who were having their introduction into action on the Western front, were to advance upon Flers; two divisions of the New Army had for their task the rounding out of the position in Delville Wood by securing the ground north and east of it; on their right were the Guards, who, with a division of old Regulars, were to go forward from Ginchy against Lesboeufs and Morval; the last division on the right of the British line was made up of London Territorials, operating in Bouleaux Wood and acting as a defensive flank.

The surprise element in the attack of mid-September lay in the intensity and character of the action. The enemy suspected that an attack was pending, but he was misled with regard to the location by the introductory rush upon the *Wunderwerk*. His own assault upon the British left wing, timed two hours before the Allies were to start forward, was quickly checked. It resulted in the Canadians' capturing many prisoners in their own trench-lines before crossing into the German lines.

### A GROTESQUE NEW INVENTION APPEARS ON THE FIELD.

German aviators, on September 14, when they caught sight of a herd of fantastic mechanical monsters, made a discovery which gave some hint of the remarkable innovation to be introduced to the world on the following day. Whispers of a mysterious war engine of some sort had been in circulation on both sides, but the nature of the engine had been carefully shrouded in secrecy. When the "tanks" (so-called because the name explained nothing with regard to their structure or use) lumbered into the foreground of battle, the shock of astonishment was unsoftened by any preparation. The first gasp of amazement was followed by shouts of hilarity or of terror. And in this reaction lay a part of the use-



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fulness of the new armored cars. The spirit of the British fighters was braced into greater enthusiasm and dash by the appearance of an element of comedy upon the grim page of warfare. A corporal of the Canadian Division wrote that a tank's motions "would draw gales of laughter from a circus crowd."

Nothing obstructed it; a supernatural force seemed to drive it onwards. Someone in the trenches cried 'the devil comes' and that word ran down the line like lightning. Suddenly tongues of fire licked out of the armored hide of the iron caterpillar, shells whistled over our heads, and a terrible concert of machine-gun orchestra filled



BRITISH HOWITZERS DIRECTED BY AIRPLANE

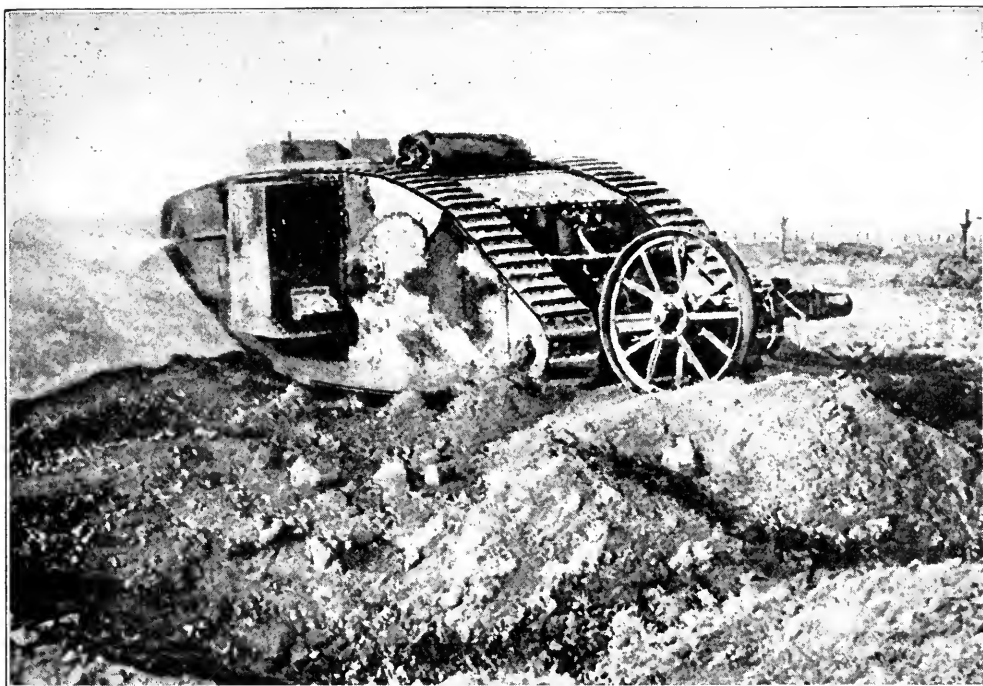
The howitzer on the left has the muzzle tilted upward ready to fire over the slight elevation in front. The one in the middle of the picture is being loaded. Dugouts for the men and shelters for the ammunition are excavated in the bank, and strengthened by logs and sandbags. Both guns are concealed by boughs.

The effect upon the German soldiers, of the unaccustomed danger rolling down upon them was to awaken terror, in some cases almost superstitious terror, and so drag down their already wavering morale. A protest against the "cruelty" of the invention arose from the German Command and the German press. A correspondent for the *Düsseldorfer General-Anzeiger*, in giving an account of its first approach, calls the machine a "devil's trick," "a mystery which oppressed and shackled the powers." He goes on: "The monster approached slowly, hobbling, moving from side to side, rocking and pitching, but it came nearer.

the air. The mysterious creature had surrendered its secret, and sense returned with it, and toughness and defiance, as the English waves of infantry surged up behind the devil's chariot."

### SOME DESCRIPTIONS OF THEIR APPEARANCE AND ACTIONS.

The aspect of the tanks was so utterly extraordinary and grotesque that writers, in describing them, used perforce humorous or fantastic terms. They were like "toads of vast size emerging from the primeval slime in the twilight of the world's dawn," "inhuman shapes crawling"; or "gigantic slugs, spitting fire from their



#### THE TANKS MAKE THEIR APPEARANCE IN THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME

Somehow, in spite of the fact that they were "neither silent nor inconspicuous" the tanks were kept miraculously secret until their debut on September 15, 1916. Their fantastic appearance acted as tonic to the British fighters and brought terror to the foe. This is one of the early types of British tanks.



#### A STRUGGLE IN THE RUINS OF THE SUGAR REFINERY AT COURCELETTE

Not only on the surface of the ground, among the wreckage of buildings and machinery, but in trenches and in underground fortifications as well, the stubborn conflict over the sugar refinery at Courcellette was fought. A tank, the "Crème de Menthe," brought timely aid, and after the position had been won the Canadians pressed on farther. Nowhere in the whole war were the fighting qualities of the Canadians shown to better advantage.

mottled sides." They were spoken of as trudging, strolling, waddling, grunting, "nosing heavily into the soft earth," sitting poised, straddling, or sprawling across trenches, "dipping and plunging like a dismayed Dutch lugger in a storm-tossed sea." One was represented as "heaving itself on jerkily like a dragon with indigestion, but very fierce"; one as acting the part of "a kind of chaperon" for the infantry. Their "uncanny nonchalance" was referred to. Their machinery was characterized as "internal organs."

These latest and only really satisfactory armored cars were officially known as the Machine Gun Corps, Heavy Section. They were a British adaptation of the American caterpillar tractor, provided with armor and armament. As the tank did not depend upon wheels for locomotion, and the wedge-shaped front presented a surface that was not liable to damage, this was a form of armored car far less vulnerable than the earlier ones. By means of the caterpillar constructions on the sides, the machine made its way over trenches and ditches, crawled up the sides of shell-holes, and pushed across the roughest terrain. Walls, wire-entanglements, tree-trunks, and other obstructions were charged and laid low; therefore, the tank was of great service in clearing the way for an infantry attack. Dubbed "His Majesty's Landships," the individual tanks were given names such as are bestowed upon ships of the navy. Collectively, they were called "Willies," "Humming Birds," and other derisive names.

It can be seen that, in spite of their protective paint, in browns and greens and yellows, these giant creatures could not easily be concealed. They were "neither silent nor inconspicuous." Yet, parked in secluded spots back of the lines, they were somehow kept almost an absolute secret until the day of their debut.

#### **THE FIRST DAY ON WHICH THE TANKS OPERATED.**

A bombardment in which the batteries exhibited great skill and exactness of performance went on from

September 12 until 6:20 on the morning of the fifteenth, when the tanks for the first time moved forth upon the fighting field in advance of the charging infantry. We have already seen how the Canadians were given an opportunity by the German rush into their trenches to dispose of a number of the enemy before the hour appointed for the Allied advance. Then, when the time arrived, they went forward promptly and with sweeping force that carried them far along into the enemy front. This was their first real offensive and they were determined that nothing should stop them. First, the trenches around Mouquet Farm were taken. Then the struggle was transferred to the sugar refinery near Courcellette, where trenches and subterranean works were stubbornly defended. Here, as in other places where some of the German trenches were arranged so as to sweep the lines with a flanking fire, the assistance of a tank was effectual in hastening the advance. In this case it was the "Crème de Menthe" which came creeping along, cumbrously, a bit unsteadily, yet surely, surmounting obstacles with a lurch and a swing, and lifting itself athwart the troublesome trench where it quickly controlled the German guns by pouring its own fire into them on the right and the left. When this position had been won and the attack had pushed to the outskirts of Courcellette, the Corps Commander, Sir Julian Byng, did not hesitate to go on and assault the town itself. In this, too, the Canadians were successful. They did not stop to dig themselves in until they had reached a line well to the north of Courcellette. Then they staunchly held what they had taken, repelling a number of counter-attacks. They took, in all, about 1300 prisoners. Men from every part of Canada were included in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Canadian Brigades,—the troops that achieved this glorious success. Among them were many French Canadians who thus had a share in rescuing the land of their ancestors. That they had no laggard spirit for the work is shown by an incident that is told of



THE BATTLE FOR COURCELETTE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1916; A Painting By Captain Louis Weirter, R. B. A. (London Scottish).

While the autumn morning was yet young, the British seized the initiative from the enemy massed before them for attack. The Germans who did get over were disposed of in time to allow the British advance to be made promptly. At Courcellette the Second Bavarian Corps was closely concentrated—too closely for their own safety, in a defensive stand. The Canadians were eager to dash forward to their day's work. Behind a moving screen of fire and shell they made their way over exposed and dangerous ground toward the fortified works which might prove impregnable, as the defenders believed. Though the sugar refinery had been battered shapeless, its chimneys turned to ruins, and its boilers exposed, the very wreck constituted a stronghold. From Mouquet Farm down upon Sugar Trench and the sugar factory moved the men of the Canadian Corps, and among them rolled their latest protector and helper, the tank, "a new kind of ship on a new kind of sea, whose waves were shell-craters, whose tempests sudden concentrations of shell fire." The "Orion de Merthe" aided in taking the sugar refinery. That and the two strong trenches captured, Sir Julian Byng was informed by aerial Staff messenger that his assigned objective had been completely secured. But he and his intrepid Canadians were not content until they dashed upon the sunken road (indicated in the picture), thick-set with machine guns, then still farther, through and beyond Courcellette itself.

(Copyright, Canadian War Records)

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one of them who leaped forward to haul in a machine gun, calling: "Come on boys! There are lots of these things lying about; let's go and get them." He got the gun over, then fell, shot dead.



SIR JULIAN BYNG

General Sir Julian Byng, who had received command of an army corps during the Dardanelles expedition, led the Canadian Corps in the Battle of the Somme.

### THE GREAT WORK OF THE CANADIANS AT THIS TIME.

"Courcelette was to the Second Canadian Division what Ypres was to the First Division. It was a magnificent and brilliant offensive." At this time the First Division was occupied in making numerous subsidiary attacks, involving hard fighting and many casualties,—attacks which counted in helping the greater offensives to reach their objectives.

While this was happening on the left side of the Albert-Bapaume road, to the right at Martinpuich there was stern fighting for the mastery of a maze of trenches, dugouts, and fortified shell-holes. With tanks for protection and support, the Scottish infantry, who had been forced back a little

after their first rush, succeeded in driving their way through the village, with a showing of about 700 prisoners as a result of the day's work. One hundred of these had surrendered to a single tank. Courcelette and Martinpuich, although they had not been positively included in the original program for the advance, furnished the most rapid and striking conquests of the day.

### THE STURDY BAVARIANS ARE DRIVEN FROM HIGH WOOD.

In the northern end of High Wood, the Germans were still on the highest ground, and in the eastern angle they had a stronghold of unusual resistance. From these two positions machine guns could sweep the whole wood, while barricades of wire and fallen trees blocked all approach to them. The 2nd Bavarian Corps, some of the best fighting material in the German ranks, held these fortresses, until the London and Northumbrian Territorials, on September 15, worked up the sides of the wood, clearing out trenches and shell hole positions,—a task that was "horrible in every foot" and cost grave losses. By the end of the day, the lines which for two months had been confined to the southern end of the wood, were pushed on to a distance of about 1000 yards beyond its northern limits. "There was no finer achievement in the day's advance."

The New Zealanders, co-operating with the division of the New Army on their right in the capture of Flers, had for their objective a strip of high ground to the west of Flers on the top of the plateau. High wood was on their left; the division advancing upon Flers, on their right. After the switch trench lying before them had been rushed and occupied, they made a new start onward against the section of the German third line called "the Flers line." There they were overtaken by two tanks, which flattened down wire and disabled machine guns, opening a way for the troops. The New Zealanders, with one of the tanks to accompany them, proceeded until they formed a salient extending beyond the



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divisions on their right and left. They had gone on to a point fully 800 yards beyond the most advanced position they had been expected to reach. It was necessary to straighten their line, so they drew back into a position running directly westward from the northern end of Flers. The counter-attacks which were flung against them failed to move them.

**FLERS IS EASY BUT THE QUADRILATERAL IS MORE DIFFICULT.**

At Flers, which was taken by a force made up largely of London troops, after they had broken through their portion of the trench-lines stretched before the town, a tank made a pathway of approach through the wire entanglements that had held up the foot soldiers, then "proceeded up the main street amid the cheers of our men, as calmly as an omnibus up Oxford Street." Resistance was not at all stiff at this point, and the British casualties were few. A division of Light Infantry had had a share in the taking of Flers. They started by clearing out "Mystery Corner," on the eastern side of Delville Wood, before the general advance began.

The greatest difficulty and, accordingly, the least progress attended the efforts on the extreme right of General Rawlinson's army. This was owing to the remarkable strength of the fortified point, called the Quadrilateral, 700 yards or more east of Ginchy, where a protected bend of the Morval road, deep in a wooded ravine, was intrenched and well fortified. When the Regulars who were given the work of advancing against this position found it impossible to go forward, the check in their progress affected the work of the forces on their left and their right. The former were the Guards, who were to start from Ginchy and make an attack upon Lesbœufs. The London Territorial Division on the right, beside forming a defensive flank, as we have said, was to work through Bouleaux Wood. The Guards, as was to be expected, advanced boldly and in fine order until it became apparent that their narrow front pushed in

support from the sides, could not be sustained.

**THE MOST SUCCESSFUL BLOW YET STRUCK BY BRITISH TROOPS.**

For the next two days the Quadrilateral was under a strain of gunfire, which damaged the redoubt and helped to cut a way through the wire. In the attack launched on the evening of September 17, the Bavarian troops of the garrison were finally overwhelmed by impetuous fighting with bombs and bayonets. From the redoubt alone 170 unwounded prisoners were taken, beside many wounded. The whole of the V-shaped corner yielded, and by the following morning the British were able to consolidate their line, with the Quadrilateral lying behind them. A dash was made even farther on into the hollow between them and Morval.

In the three days, September 15, 16, and 17, "the most effective blow yet dealt at the enemy by British troops" had been struck. The advance, averaging one mile in depth on a six-mile front, included the three fortified villages of Courcellette, Martinpuich and Flers; over 4000 prisoners, of whom 127 were officers, had been taken, while the casualties had been comparatively few.

The sensational experiment in the introduction of the tanks had proved successful without question. Aside from the immediate effect produced by the surprise of their unexpected appearance, they had shown their permanent value in acting as machine-gun destroyers, a function of primary importance to the Allies, whose greatest losses had been due to close-range or enfilading fire from almost numberless machine guns in the hands of German gunners. With a tank looming among them, acting as a magnet for the bullets or rolling over the gun positions "blanketing the bugbear," the men could move with greater freedom and safety. It has been estimated that perhaps as many as 20,000 British lives were saved in the later stages of the battle of the Somme by the intervention of the tanks. Although some of the machines broke down before reaching the battle-front and one was dis-



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abled by the enemy, not one was captured in these first days, while hundreds of prisoners had surrendered to the tanks and their crews. Moreover, in their first hour of action, they had accomplished more damage to the enemy than the Zeppelins had done in two years, and this without danger or injury to non-combatants. As to the number engaged, twenty-four went over into the German lines. Of those, seventeen performed excellent service.

hands, together with trenches there and on the south side of the town. Meanwhile, south of the Somme, between Barleux and Vermandovillers, General Micheler's Army was securing German positions, over a long front. Vermandovillers fell on September 17. The capture of Deniécourt and its famous fortified park, on the eighteenth, completed their conquest of the plateau on which it was situated. The official register stated that in the



CANADIAN ARTILLERY IN ACTION

This picture, painted by Captain Kenneth K. Forbes, presents with startling force a scene of vivid action in the neighborhood of Thiepval before the capture of the town. It shows a 6-inch Howitzer Battery which underwent severe shelling, with many casualties. The survivors who were not too badly wounded, with splendid fortitude and indomitable will, kept the guns in action through the whole attack. © Canadian War Records

One went on a "lonely tour" as far as Gueudecourt. When it had to be abandoned, the crew wrecked it, leaving it as a memento of their visit.

### THE FRENCH LIKEWISE ADVANCE IN THEIR SECTION.

After a signal victory, on September 13, when, with the seizure of Bouchavesnes, the army of General Fayolle had taken a step over onto the east side of the Péronne-Bapaume road, securing more than 2000 prisoners at the same time, these French forces continued to carry forward their part of the envelopment of Combles. Le Priez Farm, one of the principal protective works of the Germans on the east side of Combles, fell into their

attack of these three mid-September days the British and French together had added 7059 prisoners to their account.

For nearly a week, while thick, rainy weather prevented a continuance of the larger operations, local fighting at many points served to straighten out the front. It was on Sunday, September 24, that a renewal of bombardment gave warning that a new charge was about to be made. Morval, Lesboeufs, Gueudecourt, and a strip of land beyond Flers, stretching around in the direction of Martinpuich, were destined to feel the force of the Fourth Army's attack, in an endeavor to drive the enemy back into his fourth line of

defense. The seizure of Thiepval by the right wing of the Fifth Army, and the completion of the capture of Combles by the combined work of General Rawlinson's and General Fayolle's forces were hoped for. The actual advance yielded results of unusual success, leaving little unattained that had been planned.

### **GIRD TRENCH TAKEN WITH THE AID OF A TANK AND AN AEROPLANE.**

At 12:35 P. M. on the twenty-fifth, the forward rush started. At last the difficulties surrounding Morval were conquered, and the town was entered. Lesboeuks in spite of its complicated barriers of fortified sunken roads and ravines, was carried by the Guards in a short time. Gueudecourt, its approach "a veritable porcupine, with prickles in all directions," did not yield so soon. The vigorous resistance of Gird Trench and Gird Support, double fortified lines lying south and west of the place; artillery fire that prevented the approach of supporting troops; and flanking machine-gun fire from another trench, postponed the victory of the British there until the following day.

Early in the morning of that day a tank and an aeroplane took part in subduing Gird Trench. The one rolled along down the trench, while the other flew over it. Both used machine guns with such effect that numbers of the enemy were killed, and the remainder waved white handkerchiefs in surrender so that when the trench was cleared, the total number of prisoners amounted to 370, eight of whom were officers. The tank, after going through the village with the victorious infantry, made a trip into the midst of the enemy farther on. Temporarily disabled by some trouble in its machinery, it came to a stop and very soon was surrounded by Germans, who swarmed over it "like the Lilliputs on Gulliver" until the infantry arrived to drive them off and the mechanism was put into working order again.

### **COMBLES, A MAZE OF UNDERGROUND FORTIFICATIONS.**

On the afternoon of the twenty-fifth the French had secured Rancourt; dur-

ing the night they had passed on to Frégicourt, taken that, and obtained a hold upon the fringes of Combles. The Germans in the town had been left but one outlet, a ravine running out to the northeast. From the south side of the railway the French, and from the north side the British, worked in, meeting no resistance once they had reached the town. In the dimness of early dawn, on the twenty-sixth, they came together at the railway in the centre of Combles. The mightily-fortified mass of cellars and underground galleries, which had provided extensive shelter for troops and material (in fact, a German arsenal) had passed into the possession of the Allies, yielding large quantities of ammunition and other stores, although the greater part had been removed before the town was entered. It was rather because of its use as a large distributing centre than because of its strategic value that the reduction of Combles was desirable. It was, too, the first canton capital to be recovered from the Germans since October, 1914.

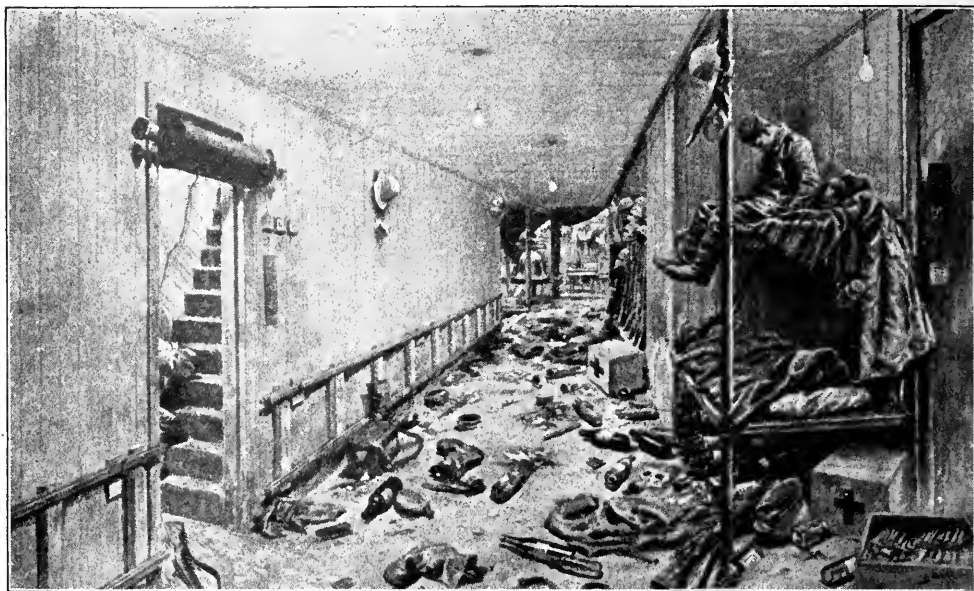
At last the time had come for the downfall of Thiepval overlooking the valley of the Ancre and lying in a nest of almost invincible fortifications. On the spurs of high land around the town forming, as they did, the western extremity of the long ridge now so nearly won, there had been prepared such strongholds as Leipzig Redoubt, the southernmost stronghold; the *Wunderwerk*; the Zollern Redoubt; Stufen (or Stuff) Redoubt, to the northeast; and Schwaben Redoubt, on the highest land of all, 1000 yards north of the village. "The whole area, with a southern frontage of about 2500 yards, was practically one fortress, a veritable Gibraltar with cellars and subterranean galleries, and the defenses inside as nearly perfect as two years of labor could make them."

### **MORE UNDERGROUND WORKS IN AND AROUND THIEPVAL.**

In the opening attack of July 1, a foot had been set upon Leipzig Redoubt. By the end of August, the Fifth Army was less than a mile from Thiepval. In the brilliant charge of

September 14, the *Wunderwerk* had been seized. But Thiepval was over the edge of an intervening ridge, with its original garrison of veteran troops, the 180th Wurtembergers, who were serenely confident of the impregnability of their underground works, although the constructions on the surface had been pounded into powder by long and terrible artillery fire. A spot of crushed red brick identified the site of the Château, which before

In a few hours they had gained the Château. Where machine guns were too insistent and devastating for the infantry alone, tanks came to the rescue. One of them for a while acted as a stationary fort. Two battles simultaneously stormed through the ruins,—one in the open, and one in the dim, subterranean depths. The enemy had been taken unawares and could hardly realize his danger, so sure had been his confidence in his impregnable



A GERMAN DUGOUT AS THE BRITISH FOUND IT

This picture gives a definite impression of the extent, equipment and finish of some of the German dugouts. Note the stairway, the smoothly boarded walls and ceiling, the electric fixtures, the wire-spring berths, and the bell to give alarm of gas attacks. The clutter of canteens, helmets, boots and bottles offers a sad comment.

the war had been owned by a German. He is supposed to have made preparations for hostilities, for the cellars and passages under the building were so cavernous and strong as to form the heart of a maze of dugouts, shelters, and tunnels that were of most formidable proportions and strength. Connecting with them and passing from the village to the fortified cemetery on the north, a sunken road with burrows and machine-gun positions along its length made another unit in the complicated system.

Men of the Suffolks, of Essex and Middlesex, leaped out to rush the Thiepval area, in an attack timed for a half-hour after noon on September 26.

walls. Communication with his rear seems to have been cut off for some time, since the action of his artillery was delayed until evening, when it came too late to save the town.

## CANADIANS TAKE MOUQUET FARM, ZOLLERN REDOUBT AND HESSIAN TRENCH.

Simultaneously with the attack of the men from Britain upon Thiepval, the Canadians on the right wing of the Fifth Army advanced toward the town from their position on the east, where Mouquet Farm and Zollern Redoubt, the key to the whole system of redoubts east and north of Thiepval, presented a stiff resistance. An intense bombardment was followed by desperate hand-to-hand encounters, as

a result of which the Canadians had the satisfaction of securing the Farm, Zollern Redoubt and Hessian Trench. At the Farm, a working party of Pioneers had taken a hand in the fight, when a machine gun appeared above-ground to attack the rear of the infantry who had just passed. Dropping their tools, the Pioneers attacked the gun position and, when joined by others, dashed into the recesses under the Farm and fought through them until they had been cleared.

In order to make sure of the hold upon the western end of the ridge, it was essential to get control of the Cemetery, the Stuff and Schwaben Redoubts, and the difficult Regina Trench. Accordingly, the next progress was northward. The tide of advance, on the twenty-seventh, rolled on through the Cemetery and up to the southern end of the Schwaben Redoubt, which was broken into and held. The British at this stage had reached a point from which they could look down upon the valley of the Ancre to the west, while on the other side Bapaume was but three miles away. Since the middle of September they had captured seven villages in an advance to an average depth of two or three miles. They had taken some 10,000 prisoners and great stores of supplies. The machine was moving, slowly, to be sure, but apparently with irresistible force. It was a moment of encouragement and expectation.

#### **MUD HINDERS AND THEN ARRESTS THE ADVANCE.**

But inexorable Nature turned her hand against them. The October rains, drenching the newly taken acres all churned and pitted and furrowed, transformed them into quagmires and sloughs of mud where men and horses must struggle for every step forward. The chalky subsoil, viscid when soaked, clung tenaciously to whatever had sunk into it. Men left their boots and their socks imbedded when they drew forth their feet. One officer is reported to have been forced to abandon his breeches, and Highlanders found themselves parted from their kilts. In shell-holes and mine-

craters were horrible pools of water, wherein men and horses sometimes fell and were drowned. Months afterward the pools were still there, and Masefield walked among them. "Sometimes," he writes, "the pressure of the water bursts the mud banks of one of these pools and a rush of water comes, and the pools below it overflow, and a noise of water rises in that solitude which is like the mud and water of the beginning of the world before any green thing appeared."

The earth, dry and receptive when the storms began, could absorb the rain of the first week of October; but when, for the greater part of five weeks, the heavens poured down torrents, the point of saturation was passed, and the surface of the battle-razed fields became fluid. What had been described as porridge turned into gruel.

#### **THE BOTTOM FALLS OUT OF THE ROADS SUPPLYING THE LINES.**

The only excellent roads that crossed the area of the battle were the Albert-Bapaume and the Péronne-Bapaume highways, and even these had been rutted and worn rough by the heavy traffic of passing armies. The other roads, of lighter construction, could hardly be considered roads at all. While the work of repairing and of making new roads was pressed with all urgency, it was beset with extraordinary difficulties. The soil, poor originally, had been shattered and powdered and crushed until it had lost whatever virtue it had ever possessed for making road-beds. Wood and stone and other materials had to be brought from a distance. Yet the armies had to be provisioned from beyond that strange new No Man's Land behind the existing lines. And here was "such a traffic as the world had scarcely seen before. Not the biggest mining camp or the vastest engineering undertaking had ever produced one tithe of the activity which existed behind each section of the battle line."

In addition to putting obstacles in the way of communication with supply-bases, the stormy weather introduced

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another great impediment to progress by interrupting the work of aviation. In the occasional intervals furnished by clear days, when visibility was possible, there was great activity on the part of the airmen. On the one day, October 20, for instance, there were more than 80 combats in the air; and on November 9 a great battle was fought northeast of Bapaume, at a

their left were moving northward in the direction of Bapaume.

**FOOT BY FOOT THE ADVANCE WAS CARRIED ON.**

Through heavy rain an attack was launched on October 1, which resulted in the capture of Eaucourt l'Abbaye and an advance toward Le Sars. Eaucourt l'Abbaye, a settlement grouped about an old religious establishment,



**ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION IN THE WAKE OF BATTLE**

When lakes and seas of thick clinging chalk-soil mud, acres wide, deeply sown and interpenetrated with unnamable débris, stretched between the armies and their bases, with deluges of rain from a heavy sky, who can calculate the persistent, straining effort that kept supplies in motion and still pushed on? The imagination staggers in an attempt to reconcile such a picture with one of flowery stretches of pastoral peace and beauty.

height of 5000 feet. But the enemy had more opportunity, during the days of storm, to bring up reserves unobserved and make adjustments in his line, thus strengthening his resistance; consequently, his counter-attacks increased in force and effectiveness.

After Morval had been secured, it was passed over to General Fayolle, to facilitate his advance toward Sailly-Saillisel. Thus the point of junction between French and English had been moved again and now lay to the east of Lesboeuks. From Morval and Rancourt the French pushed nearer to their objective, while the British on

had been leveled with the ground by artillery action, like all the hamlets and villages of the neighborhood, but it was prepared in the usual way with heavy fortification of its cellars and ruins. Fighting for possession of the position continued until the morning of the fourth, when the British were left in control. A break in the stormy weather, on the sixth, presented a favorable moment for pushing the attack upon Le Sars, the last village of importance on the Albert-Bapaume road. It was rushed and taken the following day, making the number of villages captured thus far, twenty-two.

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The whole front of attack on the seventh extended from Lesboeufs westward to beyond Le Sars. Of this the most difficult portion was between Eaucourt and Le Sars, where a gully running through was raked by gunfire from the northern end near the Butte of Warlencourt (a high mound of land). While the British held points at the southern end, from which they could command a sweep of the gully, they did not try to keep their line united across the rain-sodden hollow but held firmly the high ground on both sides. West of Le Sars, east of the Butte of Warlencourt and beyond Gueudecourt the attack proved successful. Altogether, the operations of the day resulted in the capture of almost 1000 prisoners and took considerable toll from the enemy in dead and wounded.

### **D**IFFICULTIES OF LIFE IN THE NEW TRENCHES.

In the trenches, newly constructed on the far front, conditions were increasingly bad. Hastily prepared for occupation and defense, the trenches were without shelters or board flooring. At first, in fact, shell holes were utilized for the front line. In all alike the water stood knee-high at least. And, while the enemy now had his back at the very edge of open country where no battle had torn and mutilated the land, the British were separated by almost impassable and indescribable acres of mire and water from every necessity or comfort of life. "It required physical fitness merely to live in the trenches. To stay and hold them under fire was heroism. To attack from them almost impossible. In such operations as did take place, the men helped each other out of the waist-high water, over the parapets of mud, and attacked across a 'ground' which at its solidest was quagmire, and for half of its surface standing water."

Subsequent movements of the Allied armies in the region between the Ancre and the Somme can be better understood if we consider here Sir Douglas Haig's view of the situation as it existed in early October. Of the Thiepval area on the northwestern end of

the ridge, he says: "During this period our gains in the neighborhood of Stuff and Schwaben Redoubts were gradually increased and secured in readiness for future operations; and I was quite confident of the ability of our troops, not only to repulse the enemy's attacks, but to clear him entirely from his last positions on the ridge whenever it should suit my plans to do so. I was, therefore, well content with the situation on this flank."

### **S**IR DOUGLAS HAIG'S VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

Regarding the centre of the line from Gueudecourt to west of Le Sars he felt that, "Pending developments elsewhere all that was necessary or indeed desirable was to carry on local operations to improve our positions and to keep the enemy fully employed." "On the eastern flank, on the other hand," he continues, "it was important to gain ground." There, the enemy's "last completed system of defense before Le Transloy, was flanked to the south by the enemy's positions at Saily-Saillisel, and screened to the west by the spur lying between Le Transloy and Lesboeufs. A necessary preliminary, therefore, to an assault upon it was to secure the spur and the Saily-Saillisel heights. Possession of the high ground at this latter village would at once give a far better command over the ground to the north and northwest, secure the flank of our operations towards Le Transloy, and deprive the enemy of observation over the Allied communications in the Combles Valley. In view of the enemy's efforts to construct new systems of defense behind the Le Transloy line, it was desirable to lose no time in dealing with the situation."

The unfortunate circumstance of the interruption by bad weather during October and early November prevented the accomplishment of these plans to the extent desired but the progress made was remarkable, considering the obstacles to be overcome. In a general attack on October 10, the chief success fell to General Micheler's Tenth Army, south of the Somme, in action on a front of three miles. Over



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1200 prisoners were seized and the French line pushed farther to the east. At the hamlet of Bovent, which was included in the area gained, the Germans had constructed in an orchard an observation tower of reinforced concrete. As soon as its shelter of leaves had been thinned, either by autumnal changes or by artillery shots, the tower became a target for the

### THE FOURTH CANADIAN DIVISION TAKES REGINA TRENCH.

On the night of October 15-16, General Fayolle's forces attacked the twin village of Sailly-Saillisel, which was built on both sides of the Péronne-Bapaume road. The approach was made simultaneously from three sides,—north, west and south. A hold was secured in the château and the church



#### PREPARATION FOR A CHARGE; FIXING BAYONETS

These determined Canadian soldiers are making ready for whatever may happen when they go over the top for a charge across No Man's Land. It is a grim moment, that of fixing bayonets. Whatever may happen, whether they have to penetrate into machine-gun lairs in woodland tangles or battle through dark underground mazes or follow a tank on a trench-taking jaunt, the faces of these men are set forward unflinchingly.

French guns. After it had been badly battered, gas shells were discharged upon it. Then, a huge shell falling about ten yards to the left of the tower burst there and tore out a hole fifteen feet deep. When the French soldiers had taken the position, they found that the explosion had blocked with masses of concrete the entrances to the German shelters around the tower. In those deep, strong chambers, which had been provided with many concealed exits, lay thirty Germans with gas masks on, unwounded but dead. Among them were two colonels, who had been seeking information.

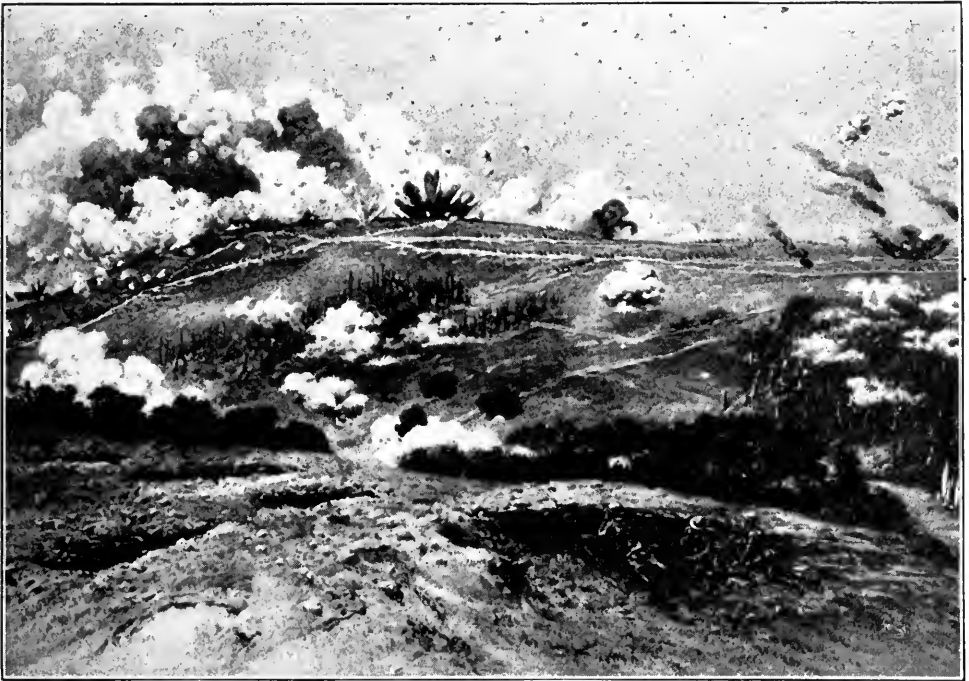
on the western edge of Sailly, from which the struggle was carried on through underground trenches and ruins of houses to the central cross-roads. In spite of vigorous counter-attacks, Sailly was cleared of the enemy, on the eighteenth. Saillisel remained in the hands of the Germans.

Taking advantage of the promise offered by clearing, frosty, drying weather, on October 20, the Germans prepared to strike with especial force at the Schwaben Redoubt, where they had since the end of September made no fewer than eleven counter-attacks against the British position. The

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stroke, delivered on the twenty-first, was promptly met and repulsed, then answered by an attack which drove along the Regina and Stuff Trenches. In this attack the Fourth Canadian Division gained about two-thirds of the length of Regina Trench, thus crowning with success the long series of struggles for its possession which had cost so dearly in lives. Advanced posts were established by the British

Trench, at the eastern end, was taken on the night of November 10-11. The British were now in a dominating position overlooking the Ancre Valley, and pushing close to the strong German first line across the stream. An attack upon the Ancre was the next action for which Sir Douglas Haig was planning, and by the second week of November the weather changed, giving him his opportunity.



**SCHWABEN REDOUBT, THE THEATRE OF MANY STRUGGLES**

Schwaben Redoubt, though reached by an Ulster Division on the first day of the battle, was not secured until late in October. Barrage and bombardment, attack and counter-attack rolled across its slopes for days and weeks. Wreathed in fire and smoke it stood before Thiepval, a guardian dragon resisting to the death. Here the British infantry are seen storming the mound, in the face of heavy barrage and rain of shells.

well on to the north and northeast of Schwaben Redoubt and their line pushed out in the direction of the Ancre. The casualties were under 1200, and the number of prisoners taken, somewhat over 1000.

Then heavy weather settled down again, making it impossible to enter upon any large undertaking. Fighting continued, however, around Chaulnes Wood, St. Pierre Vaast Wood, Sailly-Saillisel, the Butte of Warlencourt, le Sars and Schwaben Redoubt. Counter attacks were met, and positions rounded out. The last bit of Regina

### **M**ASEFIELD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHWABEN REDOUBT.

Schwaben Redoubt, which had been first reached on July 1 by the Ulster Division but had not been won until October, was a good example of the German fortified positions. As John Masefield found it, the year after the battle, it was still impressive, though desolate and solitary. "Clambering over the heaps of earth which were once the parapets one enters the Schwaben, where so much life was spent. As in so many places on this old battlefield, the first thought is:

'Why, they were in an eyrie here; our fellows had no chance at all.' There is no wonder, then, that the approach is strewn with graves. The line stands at the top of a smooth, open slope, commanding our old position and the Ancre Valley. There is no cover of any kind upon the slope except the rims of the shell-holes, which make rings of mud among the grass. Just outside

gunners in the fortress felt indeed that they were in an eyrie."

#### THE ATTACK IS TRANSFERRED TO THE ANCRE FRONT.

The last blow delivered by the Allies before settling into winter conditions fell upon the Ancre front at the spot where the initial drive of July 1 had been blocked. Little by little, since that time, Sir Hubert Gough's forces



APPROPRIATING THE ENEMY'S ROOF AND THRESHOLD

Secure for the moment in a trench that recently sheltered the Boches, these Tommies are using a temporary pause in activities, as Nature suggests. One has fallen into sound sleep after who knows what hours of driving exertion. The other has lost himself in writing and is, perhaps, far away in fancy, among different scenes.

the highest point of the front line there is a little clump of our graves. Just inside there is a still unshattered concrete fortlet, built for the machine gun by which those men were killed.

"All along that front trench of the Schwaben, lying on a parapet half buried in the mud, are the belts of machine guns, still full of cartridges. There were many machine guns on that earthen wall last year. When our men scrambled over the tumbled chalky line of old sandbags, so plain just down the hill, and came into view on the slope, running and stumbling in the hour of attack, the machine

had moved up nearer and nearer to the vast and solid fortress wherein the enemy had put his confidence. "The position was immensely strong, and its holders—not without reason—believed it to be impregnable. All the slopes were tunneled deep with old catacombs, many of them made originally as hiding-places in the Wars of Religion." Stretching across the Ancre these fortified works extended for nearly five miles, from Serre to where the British now stood upon the Schwaben Redoubt. South of the Ancre, and under direct observation from the redoubt, St. Pierre Divion

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presented a formidable defensive position, which was serving as a "ganglion of German communications at the mouth of the valley." From well sheltered entrances on the river valley level, a tunnel ran back into the hill for 300 yards, then branched in a T shape, with the ends of the cross gallery opening through stairways and passages into trenches on the edge of Thiepval ridge, west of Schwaben Redoubt. In the galleries were great storehouses and chambers, some used for dressing stations, some for officers' quarters, some as shelters for the men.

On the northern side of the Ancre, Beaucourt, somewhat back from the German front line and situated in a hollow, formed, with its deep dugouts under the ruins of its buildings, a station for masses of reserves. Beyond, farther northwest, stood Beaumont Hamel, "a tumbled heap of ruins," seated in a fold of the slope and backed by a strongly organized plateau reaching north as far as Serre. So wide and deep were the successive tiers of wire entanglements guarding the trenches before Beaumont Hamel that, in their rusted condition, they gave the appearance of a broad brown belt of ploughed land. Prepared at the beginning of the war as an impregnable barrier commanding the valley, which at this point had a width of about 500 feet, the caves of the position were "subterranean barracks impervious to shell fire."

### THE DIFFICULTY OF TAKING THE Y RAVINE.

But between Beaumont Hamel and the point where the battle line crossed the Ancre, a gorge, known because of its shape as the Y Ravine, furnished the most difficult problem for attack. With the branches, or prongs, of the Y opening upon the German front line trench and the end of the stem resting upon the road connecting Beaumont Hamel with the Ancre, the ravine had a length of 800 yards or more. At the western entrances the precipitous sides, at places even overhanging, were perhaps more than thirty feet deep, furnishing abundant opportunity for hidden burrows and lairs. Some of

the caves were able to accommodate a battalion and a half of soldiers each, and provide them with perfect shelter. A tunnel dug from the forward end of the ravine back to the German 4th line made it possible for reinforcements to be poured into the hollow while it was being besieged from outside.

Of the whole 8000 yards of front to be attacked, 5000 yards lay north of the Ancre, and 3000 on the south side. With the British upon the Thiepval ridge, this part of the German line had become a salient, which could be attacked from the south and west at the same time. A preliminary bombardment, starting at 5 A. M. on November 11 and lasting until the hour for the advance, just before six on the morning of November 13, crushed and obliterated barbed wire and other surface obstacles, leveling the way for the infantry. Fog and darkness shrouded the lines in their forward rush, which seems to have taken the enemy by surprise. For the first few hours the fighting was so confused that results could not be reported with certainty until a day or two afterward. Then the gains were found to be even greater than had been supposed, including St. Pierre Divion, Beaucourt, and Beaumont Hamel with their environs.

### HOW THESE DIFFERENT HAMLETS WERE TAKEN ONE BY ONE.

For the attack on the area south of the Ancre two divisions of the New Army were responsible. Rapidly securing their objectives east of St. Pierre Divion, they had its garrison shut in between themselves and the river. For a while the prisoners outnumbered the attacking force. With the aid of a tank, the hamlet was completely occupied, its caverns and tunnels cleared. The new ground won on the southern side of the Ancre was a wedge-shaped piece whose base along the river measured about 1500 yards and whose apex was an acute angle resting upon Regina Trench. One division alone had taken 1400 prisoners, suffering in the action a loss of not more than 600 casualties.

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On the other bank of the Ancre, progress was not so smooth and rapid at all points, especially at the entrances to the Y Ravine. A Naval Division between the end of the ravine and the river were flanked on the left by a Highland Territorial Division lying before Beaumont Hamel and the ravine. While the extreme right of the Naval Division swept along on the level of the valley bottom

action, had already gained a reputation for bravery at Gallipoli. Wounded in crossing No Man's Land on the morning of November 13, and twice more in the next twenty-four hours, he did not lay down his command until his men had pushed on, taken Beaucourt, and established posts beyond it. A fourth and severe wound was received in the charge upon Beaucourt on the morning of the fourteenth.



**MISERY, AS THE INVADERS LEFT IT**

The village of Misery, situated about six miles southwest of Péronne, suffered wreck at the hands of the Germans before they evacuated it. There was no military reason or excuse for its destruction. The object was to appal the minds of the civil population in France in the hope of hastening a negotiated peace.

and the extreme left moved along the highest ground, the centre, attacking diagonally on the slope, was held up by a strong redoubt between the German first and second lines. Right and left extended their lines and joined hands along the Beaucourt-Beaumont Hamel road, holding their position all night until the redoubt had fallen. A tank, arriving at three o'clock in the morning, hastened the surrender of the garrison of 360 unwounded men. Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Freyberg, who was the leader and inspiration of the Naval Division in their valiant

### **THE HIGHLANDERS HAVE A SHARE OF THE FIGHTING.**

While the Naval Division had been thus engaged, there had been stubborn and savage fighting by the Highlanders around the ravine. It was entered from north and south just behind the fork of the Y and from the western end. Then fierce and bloody hand-to-hand encounters with bombs and bayonets drove the Germans from their subterranean lairs. The Scots there and at Beaumont Hamel took 1400 prisoners. In Beaumont Hamel, which was entered before midday on

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the thirteenth, the fighting was not done in units. It was "a true soldier's fight—each man 'on his own'" through the underground hiding-places. There is a story of a Signal Corps man who, while carrying forward a telephone line, was hit and fell at the mouth of a dugout. When the Germans started to come out, they were halted by the signaler, who kept them prisoners until help came in response to his call over the telephone which he had just installed. And there is another account of a Scottish Lieutenant who was alternately captor, prisoner, and captor again of a German Battalion commander and his staff.

By the night of the second day, November 14, the "total of prisoners on the five-mile front of battle was well over 5000—the largest captures yet made in the time by any army in the West since the campaign began." With the German first line system for a half-mile beyond Beaumont Hamel in their hands, the British were in command of the Ancre on both banks where it entered the enemy's lines. Only the attack in the direction of Serre had had to be abandoned because of the soaked condition of the ground. Everywhere else the assault had been successful.

### **F**REEZING WEATHER ALLOWS CERTAIN SMALL ADVANCES.

The weather remained clear and frosty for several days, freezing the water in the puddles and leaving the roads "ringing hard." Fighting continued, with the result that the front was straightened and extended and more prisoners taken. Then, on the morning of the eighteenth, a further advance was made. South of the Ancre a gain of about 500 yards on a two and a half mile front carried the lines to the outskirts of Grandcourt; while north of the river they were pushed three-quarters of a mile north-east of Beaucourt. The total number of prisoners taken in the Ancre battle of six days' duration amounted to over 7000.

Before nightfall, on the night of the eighteenth, however, a thaw had begun with a renewal of rain, slush, mud, and

raw heavy fog. In the alternating frosts and storms during the remaining weeks of the year, the attack died away in the mud. No definite engagements took place but the guns were busy somewhere all the time, frequent trench raids were made, and on clear days there was much aerial fighting.

### **A** REVIEW OF THE OBJECTIVES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

In order to get a just estimate of any battle, particularly a great modern battle like that of the Somme in 1916, one must consider many other matters beside the mere seizure of a certain amount of territory. It can not be measured in square miles alone. First in importance we may regard the aims of the attacking armies. In planning the offensive on the Somme, the Allies had as their first intention the holding of as many German troops as possible on that part of the Western Front in order to furnish relief for the French at Verdun and to keep reinforcements from the Austrians in their efforts against the Russians and Italians. Another object in view was to break down as rapidly and extensively as might be the man strength and resources of the enemy and reduce his morale by dislodging him from positions built up with skill and labor during twenty months of war and looked upon as impregnable.

It has been reckoned that up to the end of November the Germans had used in the Somme area the equivalent of nearly 140 infantry divisions. Of individual divisions the actual number fighting is said to have been 97, out of which some had been put in twice and some three times. As the total number of divisions in the German Army organization was 200, this would mean that "the equivalent of rather over two-thirds of all the German Armies on all the fronts" were engaged upon the Somme battlefield. The pressure on other fronts had been lightened by this concentration in the west. Moreover, many of the divisions had suffered a loss of more than half their fighting strength and the average loss is believed to have been almost 45 per cent, in all perhaps 500,000 men. The





**A GIANT CAPTURED FROM THE GERMANS**

This periscope would furnish an eye with a wide scope of vision, peering over trees and hills. It could conveniently telescope together into comparatively small compass for transportation on its wheeled support.

British alone had taken 38,000 prisoners between July 1 and the middle of November; they and the French armies together had taken about 80,000. Their losses however were largest, even greater than those of the Germans. The increasing tendency of the German soldiers to surrender in "batches" when they were discovered in dugouts and tunnels and had to face hand-to-hand fighting, indicated a shaken condition of morale among them after their strongholds were shattered and torn and their nerves battered by incessant bombardments. Another cause of discouragement and depression among the enemy was the undoubted superiority of the Allied airmen over their own.

## FOR THE FIRST TIME FRENCH AND BRITISH HAVE SHELLS ENOUGH.

In the battle of the Somme, for the first time since the war began, the French and British had had at their command supplies that were adequate for effectual operations. And since "war had become largely a question of material," this factor was of foremost importance. With factories and railroads and supply bases at work in unceasing activity behind the Armies, with rapid-firing implements of the highest efficiency in their hands, the men could do battle day after day except when the weather gave them pause. Of the enemy's weapons, the British had taken over as booty, 29 heavy guns, 96 field guns and field howitzers, 136 trench mortars, and 514 machine guns, beside large quantities of stores of all kinds. The temper and quality of the Allied troops had been well proven by the long strain of the half-year in the trenches and on the hill slopes, in heat and cold and mud and under constant fire. The New Army had shown no lack of spirit or efficiency, but had gone to its task with cheerful determination and indifference to danger. In fact this was the universal attitude throughout the armies, so that a correspondent of *The Times* announced: "Almost every Battalion—every Brigade—every Division—was the best in the Army. I know it, because the officers have told me."

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Even a clergyman of Germany blindly paid tribute when he said: "Many wounded men are coming back to our Church from the dreadful Western Front. They have been fighting the British, and they find that so ignorant are the British of warfare that the British soldiers on the Somme refuse to surrender, not knowing that they are really beaten, with the result that terrible losses are inflicted upon our brave troops."

Gueudecourt, Lesbœufs, and Morval, with the final reduction of Combles and Thiepval. October added Eaucourt l'Abbaye and Le Sars, leading up to the final brilliant record of November when Beaumont Hamel, Beaucourt, and St. Pierre Divion yielded up their strength before the last bold assault of the year.

These are the fortified villages through which the advancing British lines were pushed. We have seen how



KING GEORGE WITH SIR DOUGLAS HAIG AND SIR HENRY RAWLINSON

In August the King spent a week among the armies in France, visiting not only headquarters but the fighting front as well. He exchanged courtesies with the French commanders, discussed the situation fully with Sir Douglas Haig and made tours through captured German trenches, inspecting much of the ground of recent conflict.

### A SUMMARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BATTLE.

Let us look back across the months of conflict among the hills and woods of Picardy. In the first week of July the first line of the German rampart was broken through, and Mametz, Montauban, Fricourt, Contalmaison and La Boisselle were reduced. Mid-July brought the second crashing stroke, that yielded Longueval, the two Bazentins, Ovillers-la-Boisselle, and Pozières. Through August there was steady, hard, up-hill fighting under burning heat to gain the top of the ridge. This was followed in September by the seizure of Guillemont, Ginchy, Flers, Martinpuich, Courcelette,

numbers of separate contests were fought over many a farm and woodland, fortified valley and sunken road, a windmill, a redoubt, a trench, a cemetery. So this battle which was in truth more than fifty battles, each of which would have been counted as an important engagement judged by the standards of warfare in earlier days, had altered the lines on the Western Front. For the first time since settling there, the Germans had lost the initiative. It had been taken over into the hands of the Allies. At one point the strong wall of defense had been battered through and laid in ruin—a thing of shattered, splintered, crumbling fragments.



#### FRENCH TROOPS MARCHING ON MONASTIR

In this picture French soldiers brigaded with the Serbian contingent are ascending the steep Selechka Mountains. This force advanced through the most difficult country, for the Serbians knew the mountains, and the tactics which led finally to the recapture of Monastir were manœuvre and pressure all along the Moglena and Selechka ridges with the object of piercing the enemy line at one point, thus outflanking his position.



Bridge on the Railway to Monastir Guarded by Zouaves

## CHAPTER XXXIV

# The First Operations Around Saloniki

## BRITISH, FRENCH, SERBIANS, ITALIANS AND RUSSIANS ATTACK IN THE BALKANS

**D**URING the late summer of 1915, it became clear that the Central Powers were preparing for a thrust southwards in the Balkans to gain control of the Morava-Maritza valleys and the Orient railway which would give them through communication with Constantinople, and further imperil the Allied position at Gallipoli. Serbia barred the way and in encompassing her destruction, the Central Powers planned to seize the Vardar valley, the sole avenue of supplies from the south. Teuton diplomacy therefore devoted itself to Bulgaria in order that she might, from her point of vantage, attack the Vardar trench, and to that end concessions were promised that would give her a coveted egress to the sea. To guard against this menace to Serbia the idea of a Balkan campaign began to take shape in Paris, and General Sarraill was asked to make a report on the possibilities of an undertaking in the peninsula.

### **Saloniki might be important to the Germans.**

The project most in favor was a landing at Saloniki, because of its harbor, the three railways that led up-country from the city, its proximity to Gallipoli, and because the Venizelist Government then in power in Greece was strongly pro-Ally, and there was reason to believe that the co-operation

of the Greek Army might shortly be counted upon to help to defend the Vardar trench. While yet decision was impending, the rapid march of events in the Balkans brought a dramatic close to all hesitation. Bulgaria under a thin disguise of neutrality began to mobilize, Greece followed suit, and on September 21, M. Venizelos asked the Allies for an army of 150,000 men to supply the place of the troops which Serbia by her treaty of alliance with Greece, June 3, 1913, was pledged to put on her southern frontier, and which, because of the Austrian invasion, she could not spare.

### **THE ALLIES LAND TROOPS TO FORESTALL TEUTON OCCUPATION.**

The Cabinets of Paris and London came to a decision, and the necessary steps were taken, as the Allies then believed that Greece would recognize her treaty obligations and support Serbia. King Constantine did nothing, but skillfully avoided all responsibility, and October 2 a purely formal protest to protect Greece's neutrality was handed to M. Guillemin who had notified the government of the prospective arrival of the French troops. The German-Austrian menace to Serbia upon Save and Danube was so serious that speed was essential, and General Bailloud's French division from Cape Helles, and the 10th British Division

under General Sir Bryan Mahon from Suvla were hurried from the Dardanelles and the first detachments landed at Saloniki October 5. That was an eventful day. In the morning King Constantine informed Venizelos that he had gone beyond his rights and demanded his resignation, which was given just two hours before the French troops began to disembark.

#### **KING CONSTANTINE BEGINS TO QUIBBLE.**

By this act the king gave the plainest possible avowal of sympathy with Germany, and the Saloniki expedition from the outset was doomed not only to Greek hostility, but laid open also to the charge of violating Greek neutrality, for the king quickly proceeded to repudiate the treaty with Serbia on the ground that it held good in case of Bulgarian aggression alone. "Come over into Macedonia and help us" is a cry repeated down the ages, but the helpers when they came were no more welcome in this latter day than in earlier times. Nevertheless the Allies stayed, and strove, by avoiding occasion of strife, to make Constantine forget that the neutrality of Greece no longer existed save in theory.

General Sarraill left for Saloniki October 7, and arrived on the twelfth. So hurried was the whole undertaking, that his orders were changed twice on the way and once again within forty-eight hours of his arrival, when the French Government gave orders to move up the Vardar in a desperate effort to join hands with the Serbian army. In those few days much had happened. On the seventh of the month, von Mackensen had forced the line of the Save and Danube; on the ninth, Belgrade had fallen, and on the eleventh the Bulgars had crossed the Serbian marches. Soon 200,000 Austro-Germans under von Mackensen were pushing south from Save and Danube against the Serbian front, while 250,000 Bulgars were moving east against the Serbian right flank. Far to the south a small Franco-British force was preparing to go against the Bulgarian left, fearing that already it was too late to succor Serbia or hold up the retreat.

The Serbian story of the fighting is told in Chapter XXII.

#### **THE SERBIAN HOPE OF ALLIED ASSISTANCE.**

The Serbians had hoped that the Allies, using the railway from Saloniki, would rush up to Nish, and houses were decorated with flags in their honor, and crowds waited for them at the station. But General Sarraill had decided against this plan. Nish was 200 miles from Saloniki and connected only by a single railway line. If troops were sent it would mean that they would be flung into the battle unit by unit as they arrived, that they would pass under the Serbian High Command and cease to exist as a separate force, and that they must share in the inevitable Serbian retreat. Moreover, the Greeks by this time were showing themselves so hostile that Sarraill judged it unwise to expose himself to being cut off in the rear. Accordingly, he decided to protect the Vardar valley with the forces at his disposal, and thereby secure for the Serbians one line of retreat to the sea. The French troops were hurried to secure the railway and join hands if possible with the Serbians before the Bulgar thrust had cut communications. The British force was to hold Saloniki, and protect the communications.

The advance began on October 14, and in five days General Bailloud had established headquarters at Strumnitza station, and started to drive back the Bulgars in the hilly region on the east of the line towards their own frontier. The position on the crest of these hills was secured and taken over by the British division which began to arrive on the 26th. Meanwhile the French left and more mobile wing had pushed further north and captured the Demir Kapu gorge, a point of special danger where river and railway are penned up for ten miles in a ravine, whose entrance is a gap so narrow that only the river can force a passage between its high walls and where the railway has to burrow into the rock itself. This defile was seized only just in time, for the Bulgars were advancing from the east.



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### BULGARS SUCCEED IN SEPARATING FRENCH AND SERBIANS.

Sarrail's first French brigade had reached Krivolak on October 20. His intention had been to push up to Veles where the Serbian Colonel Vasitch was still holding out, though almost surrounded. If Veles could have been reached there would have been no journey across Albania for the weary Serbians, but the Allies were too late

signal for retreat sounded. It was the beginning of the end.

Meanwhile, in the south covering Monastir, for over a month 5,000 Serbians with few guns and little food were holding in the Babuna pass a Bulgarian force fully four times as great. Here a second effort to effect a junction was made, this time by the French. Krivolak had been captured, the line was strengthened down to



### ALLIED OPERATIONS FROM SALONIKI

The Allies had three routes by which they might debouch from Saloniki; by the Struma or Vardar valleys, or by road and railway to Monastir. In August 1916, the Bulgarians captured the Struma valley, Drama, Seres, and Kavalla so that Sarrail could not advance to help Rumania. In September he pushed east as far as Monastir.

in landing. Uskub fell on the 22nd and Veles on the 28th of the month. The Bulgarian invasion had accomplished its first great purpose; it had driven a wedge between retreating Serb and advancing Frenchman. Was it possible to cut through this wedge by fighting? Two attempts were made, both of them doomed to failure. The first was the so-called "manœuvre of Katshanik" in which from November 4-8 the Serbians took the offensive in the hope of cutting through to Uskub. But they were tired out and short of guns and so after five hard days the attack was called off, and in its place on the twelfth the tragic

Strumnitza station, and at Krivolak the Kara Hodjali mountain commanding the railway was taken by the French who called it Kara Rosalie in token of the bloody bayonet fighting around its slopes. In order to begin the attack, the swollen Vardar had to be crossed and re-crossed many hundreds of times in an old Turkish punt and the height was secured only just in time, for two days later the Bulgarians realizing its importance attacked in force and were only beaten off in a fierce close fight (November 4 and 5), and still remained intrenched over against the French on the flat crest of the mountain.



## FRENCH AND SERBIANS ARE KEPT APART.

By road Babuna is twenty-five miles due west of Krivolak—as the crow flies it is a brief ten—but the country between is a tangled mass of mountains and the sole road a mere track. At Vozartzi the Tcherná, deep and unfordable, is crossed by a long wooden bridge. The French, already far from their base, pushed on deeper into the rugged mountains and finally flung themselves against the slopes of Mount Archangel where the Bulgars lay entrenched, in a final furious effort to reach the Serbians whose rifle shots re-echoed faintly and despairingly among the lonely valleys to the west. But, in spite of hard fighting on the part of the French, the limit of Serbian endurance was reached on November 16, and they retreated up the pass and left the French left exposed, while all hope of effecting a junction was now over.

"A single track railway a hundred miles long, threatened by open enemies on the greater part of its length and exposed to secret enemies on the rest, followed by 18 or 20 miles of a bad road which included two wooden bridges across formidable rivers. Such was their sole line of supply and their sole line of retreat." So General Sarraill fell back to the Vardar and took up a position between that river and the Tcherná in the so-called triangle of Kavadar. "A dreary place was this Kavadar triangle" writes the correspondent quoted above, "almost treeless; the once fertile fields deserted; the rare villages in ruins, burnt by the Comitadji bands which used to ravage the Balkans in the interests of conflicting national propaganda. The wretched population was the usual mixture of Bulgarian, Serb and Mus-sulman but with each section accustomed to change their racial and religious labels under the application of terrorism. Order was kept among them with a strong hand by an ex-Comitadji named Babounski, who made short work of doubtful characters, hanging them or 'sending them down to Saloniki' as he euphemistically termed it, which meant a summary execution on

the banks of the Vardar after which the body was thrown into the stream. Mud, filth, half-wild dogs were the most conspicuous features of the countryside. No supplies of any kind could be drawn from a region whose resources even in the way of fuel were limited to cakes of bullock-dung dried by being stuck on to the decaying walls."

## SARRAIL FORCED TO RETIRE ON SALONIKI.

Sarraill's main purpose had failed; his attack had broken against the Bulgar intrenchments on the slopes of Mount Archangel. Winter was coming on, and the commander determined to retire on Saloniki. He knew that it was only a matter of time till Todorov's Southern Army, having disposed of the fleeing Serbians, would turn upon him. Indeed, Bulgar attacks upon the British in the Lake Doiran sector and upon the French on the Vardar had already begun in early December. The attitude of the Greek Government was in no way reassuring. Troops had been mustered in the north-west corner and reports of opposition, covert but unmistakable, came daily to increase his anxiety. Therefore retreat was ordered and carried out by stages; while an appearance of activity was kept up at the front a series of strong entrenched positions was prepared down the Vardar to guard the rear of the retiring army. Besides the one-track railway, there were but two or three rough tracks possible only for men on foot and pack-animals. All the carts, motor lorries and other heavy material had to go down by rail, and, of course, congested traffic enormously. It was bitterly cold and the snow lay thick. The Bulgars were hard upon their heels, but the intrenched positions served as break-waters to delay the fury of their assault. Nevertheless the Allies experienced something of the misery of the Serbians among the Albanian wilderness in those dreary days of December, 1915.

"As they fell steadily back, the conditions of their retreat desperately bad as they were already rendered by the deep snow, the bitter cold, the fog, and



#### ON THE SERBIAN BORDER

In the southwest of Serbia lie her best and most luxuriant pastures where cattle, sheep and swine are raised extensively, and oxen are used freely as work animals. The population is almost entirely agricultural, although the mineral resources are varied and valuable. There is little mining from lack of capital and of roads.



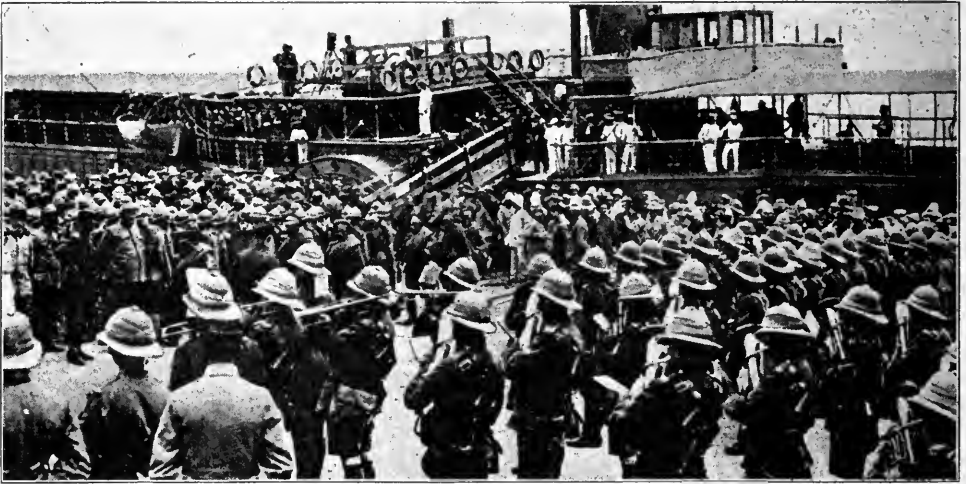
#### ON THE GRECO-BULGARIAN BORDER

Bulgaria is agricultural and pastoral with exports of grain, animals, fruit and tobacco. The Bulgars are mostly peasant proprietors working their own land. Trade was in the hands of Greeks, Austrians, Rumanians, and Jews. The importance of Bulgaria is due chiefly to the fact that railways connecting Europe and Asia must pass through Bulgaria if they are to follow the shortest route.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

the unspeakable mud and slush, became more difficult in proportion as the numbers of the retiring force were augmented through its being withdrawn upon itself. So bad were the conditions that the 57th Division took a whole day to cover 4 miles. The men, sinking ankle-deep in mud at every step, were dead tired, staggering under the weight of their packs, wet to the skin, starved with cold and hunger; they had been marching and fighting for days in the snow over rough, steep paths high up the rocky side of the

they did not pursue the Allies any farther caused some surprise at the time but the Bulgars had their own reasons for delay. It is possible that they had a secret agreement with the Greeks about the frontier, or on the other hand, wished not to involve King Constantine at that date. But the Allies were falling back upon strong positions where they could be reinforced from the sea, and the Bulgars were exhausted by a pursuit that had been even more arduous than the retreat, for the French had destroyed tunnels and bridges as



BRITISH BAND PLAYING THE RUSSIANS ASHORE AT SALONIKI

During the early months of 1916 the French and British in Salomonika were on the defensive, strengthening lines and communications. In February their numbers were increased by the Serbians refitted in Corfu, and a little later Italian and Russian contingents arrived. Sarraill then passed to a successful offensive against Monastir in November, which was intended to relieve pressure upon Rumania.

Vardar gorge where a slip often meant death, often sleeping such sleep as they could get shelterless in the open. For a fortnight they had not had their boots off or washed even their faces."

## BULGARS PURSUE TO THE GREEK FRONTIER.

When they finally arrived within the Greek frontiers their troubles were not lessened by the fact that the only two railroads to Salomonika were run by Greek officials. The 156th Division of the French on the left bank of the Vardar meanwhile had fallen back by a parallel route, and the 10th British Division, attacked by a strong force of Bulgars from the first week in December, retired upon Salomonika followed by the foe who stopped just short of the Greek frontier stone outside Doiran. That

they came down the valley, and their pursuers had only the rough tracks from village to village.

By the time that all the British and French forces had arrived at Salomonika the Allied High Commands had decided that although the primary object of the Balkan expedition, the rescue of Serbia, had failed, yet Salomonika must still be held. This decision resulted from a general survey of the entire situation in the Near East. It was acknowledged that Gallipoli must be evacuated, and the enterprise at Salomonika would then be the only remaining menace to Mittel-Europa which was a constant threat to Egypt and India. The presence of the Allied armies, it was thought, might keep King Constantine from throwing in his lot with

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the Germans, who could then create a submarine base at Saloniki and further threaten communications in the Eastern Mediterranean. While the expeditionary force was spending itself in vain efforts to help the Serbians, the royal dictatorship had extended itself over all Greece. Concessions as to liberty of movement for the Allied troops and the use of necessary ways

water-front Saloniki climbs up-hill, and on the hill is the city wall and citadel built by the Turks in the fifteenth century. This is medieval in character but the rest is modern and Turkish. In the narrow, crooked, ill-paved streets, where the second stories often overhang the first, and where everywhere the skyline is cut by the minarets of many mosques, throngs a



ON THE QUAYS AT SALONIKI

In spite of Austro-German submarines which everywhere infested the Mediterranean, French transports, convoyed by destroyers, accomplished their voyage safely and the troops are seen disembarking on the quays at Saloniki. Some of the infantry units came from Africa where their training camps were situated. The 1915 contingent was at once hurried up the Vardar to protect the southward route for the retreating Serbs.

and means of transport were wrung from the government, one of whose members even goes as far as to acknowledge that, "The matter has been happily arranged, thanks to the broad views of Germany, who has kindly consented not to place any obstacles in the way of our benevolent neutrality toward the Entente."

### THE OLD CITY OF SALONIKI ITSELF.

It is well at this point to consider some of the characteristic features of Saloniki, which for so many months to come was to form general headquarters for the Army of the Orient. From the

crowd of many different races and tongues. Saloniki in normal times had a population of about 150,000 of which 56 per cent. were Jewish and the remainder Greek, Turk, Armenian, Bulgarian, Egyptian, French and Italian. At first from the sea one is only conscious of the innumerable mosques; later you discover that the town contains many Christian churches of great age, later still you find that synagogues of the Spanish Jews are around every corner. That Saloniki seems over-populated is due partly to the fact that everyone lives in the streets, the window sill forms a shop-counter, the

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pavement a lounge. One is afflicted by abominable smells and deafened by the crash and clatter of iron tires across the primitive paving of the roads. When General Sarrail brought in all his forces, by this time 60,000 British soldiers and sailors, and 110,000 French—added them to the 110,000 Greek soldiers stationed in Saloniki and the ever-inflowing stream of thou-

by an aeroplane which dropped bombs over the city. Sarrail was not ignorant of the fact that spies were everywhere about him. Bulgars, Austrians, Greeks, Turks, Germans lined the wharves and counted each new unit as it arrived, or hob-nobbed with the Tommies, selling them tobacco and sweetmeats and learning whence they had come. It was bitterly cold and the scarcity of



**SALONIKI FROM THE NORTH**

This picture of Saloniki taken from an elevation behind the city reveals only the beauty of its site. Pierced by tall fingers of the minarets, with trees breaking the monotony of its flat roofs it surges like white sea-foam against the green slopes of the hills which rise to the north. From afar the narrowness and noise of the streets, the abominable smells and over-crowding population are not apparent. N. Y. Times

sands of Serbian soldiers and refugees, the population was quadrupled, the traffic increased in the ratio of three motor-cars to one small donkey, and the babel of tongues in the streets was augmented by fully a half-dozen others.

### **D**EFENSES OF THE CITY ARE DRAWN.

From an open city the French commander changed Saloniki into one of the principal fortresses of the world. The first four months of 1916 were devoted to this work; nowhere were the lines drawn nearer to the city than ten miles. The first act of war against Saloniki was committed December 30

firewood such that men were rowing out into the bay to pick up the packing cases dropped overboard from the Allied warships. There were many among the boatmen who had no interest in fuel, but who noted each new mooring in the bay or wrote down the signals wig-wagged from ship to ship. In the restaurants the consuls of the Central Powers rubbed elbows with Allied officers, and daily over the wires messages flashed in code, and the train which ran to Sofia bore letters full of matters of moment. Sarrail was waiting for the overt act and he found it in the coming of the aero-



#### WITH THE BRITISH CONTINGENT AT SALONIKI

Camp of an English Bicycle Corps in the Lake Doiran region where British contingents occupied a sector of the front near the city of Seres. In the summer heat, mosquitoes and flies made the plain unbearable. The Allies and their foes were compelled to go to the hills and fighting was at a standstill.



#### ALLIED ARTILLERY ON THE GRECO-SERBIAN FRONTIER

One of the French guns is being laboriously dragged up into the Serbian mountains to participate in the bombardment of the Bulgar-German trenches before Monastir. Most of the artillery units which went into the French contingent were especially formed for the Saloniki expedition. Mountain trails and heavy rains and snow-storms imposed the severest possible strain on the motor transport.



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planes. That afternoon he collected the representatives of the Central Powers with all their *personnel* and placed them upon a French warship. At their quarters he found abundant justification for his act, in particular at the Austrian office where there were, in addition to incriminating documents, guns and ammunition.

### NATURE HELPED TO CREATE DEFENSES FOR THE CITY.

Seen in the light of later events, it would seem that Sarraill need not have

Langaza and Bestick. The trough continues in a wooded valley to Orfano, an excellent point for the right end of the line. The intrenchments from Vardar mouth to Orfano gulf stretched for over 60 miles, and northwards to where the ridges of hills began to rise from the plain.

Outside this line there is an even stronger natural barrier of defense—for some 45 miles up-stream the Vardar runs in a network of channels between changing sandbanks. "The northern



THE SERBIANS ARRIVE AT SALONIKI

In all, contingents from seven different nations made up the Army of the Orient. These troops might be mistaken for French soldiers rather than Serbian, as their uniforms of horizon blue and their equipment were furnished by the French commission at Corfu. Whatever uniform they wore all fought with but one desire—to revenge themselves upon those who had ruined their country.

fortified Saloniki so strongly, for the Bulgars did not attack then or afterwards. Probably the impregnability of its lines held off the enemy. At any rate, Sarraill meant to take no risks. Saloniki stands at the head of a long gulf and to guard against a flank attack, it was necessary to draw a longer line and find suitable places upon which to rest his defense. West of the city, salt marshes stretch to the unfordable Vardar, a suitable starting point. To the north there is a treeless plain rising to ranges of hills which extend some miles up the Vardar but to the east sink into flats and form a trough wherein lie two great lakes

slope of the hills, towards the enemy, is steep and forbidding; the gentle back slope towards Saloniki is easily ascended so that the defending forces could manœuvre to advantage." There was plenty of labor, and the lines were virtually drawn by Christmas Day, 1915. General de Castelnau paid a visit of inspection on the 20th of December and expressed himself well content with what he saw. The French held the line from the Vardar to east of the Dedeagatch railway, and the British, holding some parallel lines of hills and the trough of the lakes, carried the strong defenses on the right down to the gulf.

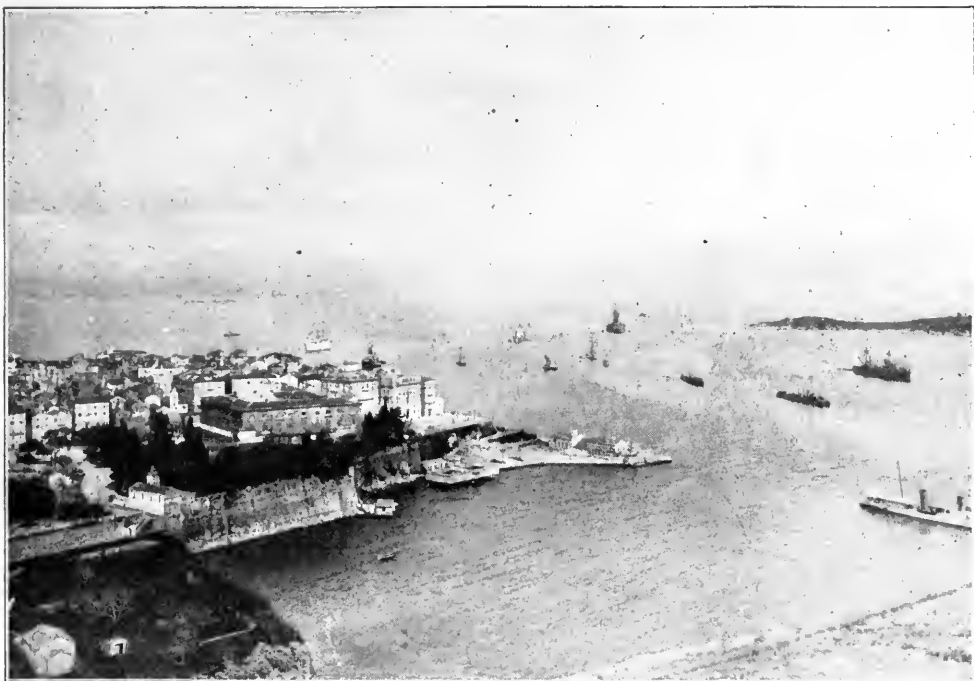
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### MACEDONIA A COUNTRY WITHOUT ROADS OR BRIDGES.

In making Saloniki into an intrenched camp and afterwards, through March and April, 1916, moving up the lines to the outer barrier and then to the Greek frontier, the question of transport was one which had to receive first attention. War in Macedonia meant a war against nature; the coun-

beyond such trifles as melons, eggs, tomatoes and occasional fowls there was nothing.

The following description from an officer in the British Saloniki Force well describes the barrenness of the land: "Hundreds of square miles that might be so busy growing food for man and beast, and they grow nothing but thistles. The hillsides might be



CORFU, THE MOST NORTHERLY OF THE IONIAN ISLES

Corfu has a mixed population: from the days of mythology to the present, it has been invaded successively by Phoenicians, Athenians, Romans, Venetians and Greeks. A French mission during the winter of 1915-16 was in charge of the reorganization of the survivors of the Serbian army collected there, and by spring an army of 100,000 men was ready to take the field.

Picture, Henry Ruschin

try was without roads or bridges, and the most innocent trickle of a stream has a way of swirling up into a great river in the course of an afternoon. A modern army cannot be content with the mere tracks that serve for mules and oxen. Its heavy cumbersome things such as great guns, ammunition, immense stores of rations and forage, and material for repairing must be close up to the men and instantly available. Somehow or other, roads in Macedonia had to be made, improvised or improved, as the defense pushed forward. No army could live on what it found in the country, for

rich with vineyards and they are desolate with evergreen oak. There is water everywhere and it is allowed to serve a little space and then to wander aimlessly to the sea. There might be great herds of cattle and mighty flocks of sheep, but all you shall find is a few tiny cows, a few attenuated goats, and a few scraggy, fleshless sheep. Each wretched village worries along as best it may, a self-contained community, having little traffic with the outer world. And between the villages there sweep the miles of the wasted land. Wasted because here is no security of tenure,

no consecutive rule, no assurance that he who sows shall also reap. Wasted because 'it is a country where you may find the bones of the dead on the tops of little hills.' Yet in the zone of the Allied lines within a few months could be found a network of roads and railways ramifying like a spider web, bridges, artesian wells pumping water by the thousand gallons an hour, supply dumps with their mountains of yellow packing-cases, buildings in corrugated iron of every sort. When the Allies first came no lighters could reach the shore except at the quay, yet within a few months they had built twelve piers where their supplies could be unloaded.

## THE REORGANIZED SERBIAN ARMY ARRIVES FROM CORFU.

Except for intrenchment and road-making there was a deadlock at Saloniki from December, 1915, to April, 1916, for General Sarrail was not ready to advance, nor the Bulgars eager to attack. An arrangement was reached with the Greeks about moving troops, as military needs required, into the region between Saloniki and the frontier, and thereby daily watch was kept upon the Bulgars and Germans by Lake Doiran and eastward along the line. At the end of January the French Commander occupied the forts of Kuri Burnu on the east side of the Gulf of Orfano in order to protect the Allied fleet, and the incident passed off without more than a protest from the government. But Greek hostility was everywhere in the air, prevalent and insidious as the malaria of Macedonia. In spite of the announced "benevolent neutrality" of the Skouloudis Cabinet, the Serbian refugee and retreating soldier met such ill-will, that in January the Allies seized the island of Corfu and there a French Commission began to care for and refit the dispirited host. By the middle of April the Serbians were ready to rejoin their allies at Saloniki. The Greek Government refused them passage over its soil, (perhaps it was only asked as a blind to guard against submarines) and they were brought round by sea with successful evasion of attack.

The addition of 100,000 Serbians to the Army of the Orient seems to have alarmed the Bulgars who in May, with the connivance of the Greek government (which just at that time negotiated a loan with Germany for \$15,000,000) occupied Fort Rupel. This was a bar against Allied advance by way of the Struma, and here the Bulgars waited until they were ready for a simultaneous push on the other flank before carrying their occupation down to Kavalla, where their line enclosed the Allied positions in a great arc.

## PRESSURE IS PUT UPON KING CONSTANTINE.

Sarrail acted immediately by proclaiming martial law at Saloniki and throughout the zone of the Allied armies, and military occupation of the public buildings of the town together with the control of services of communication and the police force. In June public manifestations against France and England took place in Athens. Then a partial embargo of her coasts was laid upon Greece and resulted in some pseudo-concessions being wrung from the Royalist Government, which are related in the chapter upon Greece as their character is political rather than military, except the demand which called for the immediate demobilization of the Greek army.

When the French and British fell back upon the sea (December, 1915) 110,000 soldiers of the Greek army had been in Saloniki; these troops had been withdrawn within a few days but all through the late months of 1915 the Greek army on a war footing lay between the Allies and their enemies and formed a tight cordon round Saloniki. Although this cordon was somewhat relaxed in the early months of 1916, as the fortified zone extended toward the frontier, yet the Greeks had been in occupation of Demir Hissar and Rupel Fort and yielded them to the Bulgars in May, apparently by agreement. When the king submitted to the Allied ultimatum of June 21 and agreed to demobilize his army, he proceeded to form leagues of reservists



#### GERMAN BAGGAGE COLUMN IN MACEDONIA

Bulgarian troops lining the muddy street of a Macedonian village to watch a German baggage column en route to the front lines. This method of transportation was most common in a land whose wretched villages were connected with each other and the outside world by narrow mule tracks, well-nigh impassable in winter.



#### BULGARIAN SOLDIERS RESTING

The Bulgar, like other inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula, is a veteran fighter accustomed to the hardships of war. Except when in Serbia, from which nation he is divided by ancient feud, he is said to have fought fairly and to have treated his prisoners humanely. Taciturn and dogged he grew by degrees to hate his German masters.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

who as bands of irregular troops in the rear threatened as definitely as the army had done.

#### **SARRAIL'S ATTACK IS ANTICIPATED BY THE BULGARS.**

During May most of the German troops were withdrawn from the Balkans to aid in the attack on Verdun. Sarraill intended to make an advance up the Vardar in August. He hoped the results of his offensive might both successfully influence the coming elections in Greece in favor of the Venizelists, and favorably impress wavering Rumanian opinion, and he chose the Vardar avenue of attack as seemingly most practicable and because it gave Monastir as an objective to the Serbian contingent. At the end of July the Crown Prince Alexander took over the command of his countrymen, who held a position west of the Vardar and on the left of the French. On the extreme left of the line, an Italian contingent based on Avlona prepared to strike through Albania to cover the Serbian flank. The British as before held the right. The movement was timed for the second week in August. A Russian contingent was now in line and all the forces were under General Sarraill, while General Cordonnier took over the French command.

Just as the attack started the enemy himself took the offensive. It is possible that King Constantine, fearing the results of the elections, resolved to postpone them indefinitely by contriving the invasion of eastern and western Macedonia by the Germano-Bulgarians. Moreover, it is probable that King Ferdinand was preparing a counter-bluff to impress Rumania and delay her entry into war. Descending the valley of the Struma, the Bulgarians seized all the forts of the valley and the cities of Drama, Seres and Kavalla. They carried away the garrisons and transported them to Germany. They obtained possession of war materials consisting of 200 cannon of the latest model, 50,000 rifles, a great store of ammunition and different kinds of equipment. On the left, Florina was occupied, the Serbians were driven back as far as Ostrovo and

their position crumpled up although the French and British held fast in the centre and on the right. Instead of an advance upon Monastir that would cloak Rumania's entry into war, the Allied position at Saloniki was now threatened from east, north and west.

#### **THE BULGARS GAIN STRENGTH BY THESE OPERATIONS.**

The Bulgarians by this movement were able to bring reinforcements and supplies from Eastern Bulgaria, or from Turkey even, all the way by train. When Rumania finally entered the war Sarraill failed to advance to help her—not from lack of good-will but from sheer lack of strength. Nevertheless the Bulgarian invasion of Macedonia accomplished something for the Entente. It cut the Greek army in two, materially and morally. The soldiers who had escaped from Macedonia and almost all of the garrison of Saloniki formed themselves into an army for national defense and put themselves at Sarraill's disposal to resist the Bulgarians. Thus, for the first time, the French Commander's authority was supreme in Saloniki. Further, instead of hindering revolution, Constantine had promoted it. Greek national feeling was outraged by the spectacle of their hereditary enemies upon their soil, and through September the forces of revolution grew and in October open division occurred and under Venizelos a separate provisional government was established in Saloniki, which acted as a rallying centre for the Forces of National Defense. Venizelos between October 1916 and April 1917 succeeded in equipping three entire divisions, that of Seres, that of Crete and that of the Archipelago, and these joined the Allied Army. (For a fuller account of the revolution see chapter entitled "Greece and the Venizelist Revolt.")

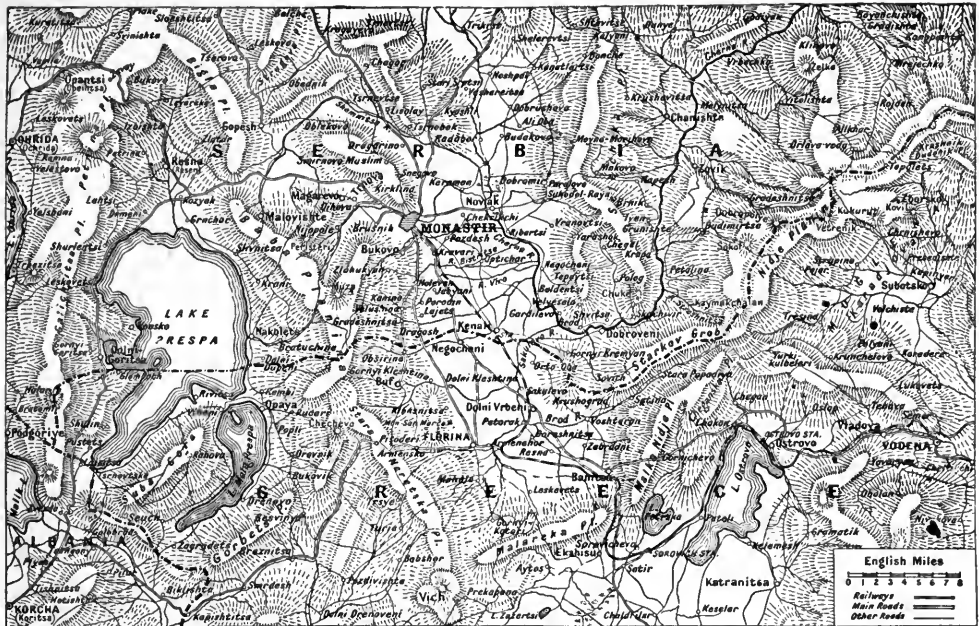
#### **THE ATTACK UPON MONASTIR IS PLANNED.**

By August 22 the Bulgar attack upon the Serbian positions at Lake Ostrovo had been successfully stayed, and on September 7 a counter-assault was ordered. Though Sarraill could

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

not advance to join with the Rumanian General Averescu he now ordered the attack upon Monastir to go forward in order to make a diversion on Rumania's behalf. A re-disposition of the Allied forces, preparatory to the advance, took place. In the new arrangement, east of the Vardar none save British troops were to be found; their task was to hold the enemy so that the second Bulgarian Army would not go

east to Monastir. West of both Moglena and Selechka Mountains a flat green plain leads corridor-wise to Monastir, its edges bounded again on the west by mountains stretching towards Lake Prespa. In this plain the Bulgars had three lines of intrenchments, the first running through Florina to Verbeni, behind that the Kenali line whose left flank reached to the Tcherana, last of all and only four



### ALLIED ARMY OPERATIONS AGAINST MONASTIR

The lines of Bulgarian entrenchments defending Monastir are shown upon this map: the first running through Florina to Verbeni, behind that the Kenali line whose left flank reached to the Cerna, last of all and only four miles from Monastir itself, the Bistriza trenches. The city stands at the head of the only level approach in the region, and the Bulgarian outworks were therefore strongly made.

to aid Todorov, who was barring the way to Monastir.

It is impossible to follow the campaign fought for and in defense of Monastir without some preliminary survey of the terrain. The city stands at the outlet of a gorge opening towards the south. From it run south and then east the road and railway to Saloniki. To the east of Monastir the river Tcherana runs south and then north enclosing in its wide bend the Selechka Mountains. North of Lake Ostrovo the Moglena Mountains rise to a height of 8,000 feet and Mt. Kaymakchalan at their western end commands the approach by rail or road from the south-

miles south of Monastir the Bistriza line, most hastily prepared of all. The two mountain groups on the east of the plain and forming its wall, because they commanded road and railway, were really the strength of the Bulgar position.

### THE SERBIAN ARMY HAS THE POST OF HONOR.

The Serbians had in line the whole of their First and Third Armies under Voivode Mishitch and General Vasitch. Their Second Army remained where it had been since before the Ostrovo battle, further round on the right facing the Bulgars on the steep scrub-covered slopes of the Moglena Moun-



tains. The French and Russians in the centre and on the left advanced by way of the plain, while the Serbians stormed the mountain crests. The counter-offensive started on September 7, and by the 18th the Franco-Russian Army had pushed forward to within a few miles of Florina. The Serbs took thirteen miles in three days, storming the enemy trenches on the slopes in fierce close fighting. The centre and right wing were directed against Mt. Kaymakchalan and the task of keeping both supplied with ammunition and food was a heavy strain on the motor transport over those mountain roads. Mr. G. Ward Price, Official War Correspondent with the Allied forces in the Balkans who witnessed the attack on Monastir, wrote:

**THE LAND OVER WHICH THE SERBIANS FOUGHT.**

"There is a belt of splendid beech forest half way up Kaymakchalan, but beyond that the bare mountain side stretches nakedly on to its cap of almost perennial snow and right on the top stand the white boundary frontier stones which mark the boundary of Serbia. It was on this vantage-ground above the clouds, with the country they were fighting to win laid out before their eyes, that the Serbs fought their fiercest battles with the Bulgars. Little intrenching was possible on the stone-bound mountain-side. In clefts and gullies, behind outcrops of rocks or under shelter of individual heaps of stones collected under cover of the dark, the soldiers of these two Balkan armies fought each other with savage and bitter hatred, under the fiercest weather conditions of cold and exposure. The wind there was so strong that the Serbs said they 'almost feared that the trench mortar projectiles would be blown back on to them.'

"There could be little artillery at that point to keep the battle-lines apart. Mortar, bomb and bayonet were the weapons that worked the slaughter on Kaymakchalan, and so fiercely were they used that Serbs would reach the ambulances with broken-off pieces of knives and bay-

onets in their wounds. You came upon the piles of dead in every gully; behind each clump of rocks you found them, not half-buried in mud or partly covered by the ruins of a blown-in trench or shattered dug-out, but lying like men asleep on the clean hard stones. The fish-tail of an aerial torpedo usually furnished evidence of the nature of their death. Not for days



**GENERAL SARRAIL**

General Sarrail became Commander-in-Chief of the Allied "Armée d'Orient" at Saloniki in 1915. During his two years of command Saloniki was transformed into an intrenched camp, and Monastir recaptured. N. Y. Times

only but for weeks after dead Bulgars lay there, preserved in the semblance of life by the cold mountain air, looking with calm unseeing eyes across the battle-ground that had once been the scene of savage and concentrated passion and activity, and then lapsed back into its native loneliness, where the eagle is the only thing that moves."

**THE SERBIANS STORM MOUNT KAYMAKCHALAN.**

On September 20, the Russian troops after a stern battle carried Florina by assault, the same day that the Serbians stormed the summit of Kaymakchalan, the key of the Bulgar-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

ian first line. The enemy made desperate attempts to retrieve his loss but the Serbians held fast and nine days later Mishitch by a further advance outflanked him and drove him back to the Kenali line, only 12 miles from Monastir. The Kenali position rested on the Tchernia where, entering a rocky valley, it begins to turn north enclosing a ridge within the loop. It was the task of Mishitch to cross the Tchernia and win the ridge. On a rocky corner on the south of the river the commander of the Serbian Morava division had his observation post.

Meanwhile the French were making frontal attacks on the Kenali position in the plain, and the Russians doing rough fighting among the mountains to the west. The Kenali intrenchments were too strong for frontal attacks for they were made with the skill and thoroughness of lines on the Western Front, and when it became apparent that the artillery was not heavy enough to smash them, General Sarraill based his hopes on Serbian outflanking and strengthened their army with French and Russian troops from the plain. Unfortunately, at the end of October the weather broke and the trenches in the Kenali plain were flooded out, and amid the wet and fog the fighting among the hills slowed down also. On November 14, a general offensive from Kenali to Tchernia was ordered, and amid rain the Franco-Russians captured the line and forced the enemy back to the Bistritza river intrenchments. On the 17th and 18th the Serbs carried the last heights of the Tchernia loop which commanded the Prilep road north of Monastir. Without further pressure von Winckler retreated a dozen miles to Prilep but was not pursued, as snow now barred the way and the Allied force was insufficient.

### THE GREEK MENACE IN THE REAR.

After December (when street fighting occurred in Athens), the Greek menace in the rear became very serious. It was a real danger, too, for the only communication with Monastir was a single line of railway a hundred

miles long, and at Verria the line makes a loop southwards towards Old Greece and was there exposed to being cut by Royalist troops who moved north in a threatening manner and caused Sarraill to recall the French detachments to meet the peril. Once again Constantine had served his German masters by distracting Allied attention from their real object, the Bulgars, and causing them to resume the defensive once again. Their offensive had succeeded in part measure only; it had not relieved Rumania but it had given back Monastir to the Serbs as an earnest of better things to come.

During the first three months of the next year mud and rain imposed immobility upon campaigning in the Balkans. It was a deadlock only in so far as fighting was concerned. The Bulgars used the time in strengthening their positions, making new roads, bringing up fresh drafts and ammunition against the spring offensive. The Allies found themselves with their hands full with complications resulting from the Greek revolution of October, 1916. To avoid conflict a "neutral zone" between the spheres of influence of the Royalists and Venizelists had been established, and it had to be occupied by Allied troops. To the rear of the Saloniki position the Chacidice Peninsula stretches its three-pronged head into the sea, and armed reservists and other Royalist agitators began to make disturbances there which the Venizelists strove to repress. Constantine and his ministers grew all the while more openly antagonistic, but it was the policy of the Entente to keep Greece quiescent and avoid having to fight a campaign in Thessaly or Attica as well as in Macedonia. Therefore we have the apparently futile, wholly undignified, negotiations between king and Allies, wherein the latter played a trimming game to keep Greece out of war.

It will be remembered that in September, 1916, the British Saloniki Force was given the task of holding the line from Vardar to Struma, a distance of 90 miles and of engaging the Bul-

garian Second Army so that it did not interfere with the advance upon Monastir. General Milne had performed the task, had even pushed his line forward and extended communications, but the wet and cold winter had tired his men who so far had had no part in a brilliant offensive. At the beginning of April, 1917, the British

Moglena mountains by the Serbs, on the right bank of the Tchernia by the Serbs and Russians, in the loop of the Tchernia by French, Russians and Italians, and especially on that semi-circle of hills west and north of Monastir where the French were faced by a strong concentration of Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians. Local improvements of



SOLDIERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY OF THE ORIENT

Camping in Macedonia was cheerless work. The climate was treacherous. Up in the mountains the winter was intensely cold with heavy snowfall; in the plains the temperature ranged from an average of 81° Fahrenheit in midsummer to a minimum of 14° in winter and canvas tents formed but little protection against summer heat or penetrating damp. Insect pests were an ever-present torment.

Commander determined, as part of the general spring offensive ordered all along the line, to attack the enemy positions around Lake Doiran, which were exceptionally strong in natural defense. April 2 the first attack was delivered on the Doiran fortress and for a month heavy fighting in that sector of the front continued, with little result save that the British occupied the enemy's first trenches. Simultaneously all along the line were going on similar Allied offensive movements "on the right bank of the Vardar by the French and Greeks, among the

the line were made at several points but nowhere was it found possible to drive a wedge into the Bulgar front."

May 29 the offensive was called off; the brief spring was over and it was time to make dispositions for the unhealthy summer during which it was impossible to stay among the malarial river valleys. The Bulgar was as well aware of the unhealthfulness of the lowlands as were the Allies. He put out placards, "We know you are going back to the hills; so are we," and soon he, too, had only a strong outpost line on the plain.



Italian Artillery on the Austro-Italian Front

## CHAPTER XXXV

# The First Italian Campaigns

### ITALY FIGHTS FOR THE UNREDEEMED LANDS AGAINST FEARFUL ODDS

THERE is a picture where the foreground shows only a solitary battle-flag, rent and pierced, yet waving out from its staff with something of ineffable dignity and freedom, high above a landscape of rough mountainside and deep river valley—far and dim as seen from this lonely height. The flag is the flag of Italy. The river is the Isonzo flowing between the bitterly-contested hills that formed the eastern barrier of the Austro-Italian front, a barrier “formidable even beyond the dreams of its makers.” There is symbolic suggestion in the dauntless folds of the flag with its tatters and scars, in the grimness and grandeur of the whole scene. It conveys a sense of stern, determined struggle in the midst of a region where “in spite of the utmost efforts of two great armies, nature was still big enough to be lord and master.”

#### THE WORK OF THE ITALIAN ENGINEERS.

The work of the Italian engineers in meeting colossal difficulties was a magnificent achievement. We have seen in an earlier chapter that upon Italy's entering the war, her armies had taken positions upon the ridges and summits of the border. It was not many weeks before they were feeling the support of the engineering forces, “whose technical skill was equal to their audacity,” and who, more and more, as the war

proceeded, met the needs of the fighting men. Where first there were rough roads or no roads at all, there came to be miles of good highway, built with gradual incline and rolled smooth. Light railways were constructed for communication with the forces in the field. Drinking-water, lacking in many of the rocky posts, was carried by mules or lorries in some cases; but, as soon as possible, pipe-lines and reservoirs furnished a more satisfactory supply. Perhaps the most interesting engineering contrivance employed was the *teleferica*, or aerial cable railway, which made a direct connection between the fighters on their mountain-peaks and shelves and the sources of supply below, and was capable of raising a load of nearly a half ton. Systems of trenches and underground galleries became a necessity as soon as it was proven that the conflict would be one of siege rather than a rush through the enemy's lines.

#### THE ITALIAN PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

Let us take a look at the situation along the frontier immediately after the declaration of war against Austria, on May 23. It will be recalled that General Cadorna's plan was to secure the northern line and hold it, while driving insistently against the eastern barrier in the hope of breaking a way across into Austria, and, if possible,

seizing Trieste. The Commander's intimate knowledge of that difficult frontier was invaluable in preparing plans for the armies which had sprung into place in the Trentino, among the Carnic Alps, and on the Isonzo, to close the entrances that pierce the mountain rampart along the four hundred eighty miles from the Stelvio Pass to the Adriatic Sea.

The last week in May saw the Austrians falling back from their foremost stations in the mountains and the Italians taking their places, tearing out, as they moved forward, the yellow and black poles that bore the Austrian eagle. The enemy wasted no great effort in trying to retain positions that were too difficult to defend. As the main strength of the Austro-Hungarian army was needed in Galicia for the time, the object of the Archduke Eugene, in command on the Italian front, was to hold his line with as little risk as possible until more and better troops could be spared. In a general way, the fortified line may be described as following the crest of the passes along the Trentino, and the Carnic Alps and running down the east bank of the Isonzo, except where Monte Sabotino and the ridge of Podgora had been kept as protection for bridgeheads west of Gorizia. Santa Lucia was to serve the same purpose for Tolmino.

Naturally the attention of both sides was concentrated in the neighborhood of points where railways ran through gaps between the mountains; near Trent, where the road from Verona runs up the Adige Valley; Tarvis, opposite the Pontebba Pass, on the road to Laibach; and Gorizia, the key to Trieste and the Austrian front.

### THE ADVANCE ON THE ISONZO LINE.

The Italian advance on the Isonzo line was planned in three divisions. On the north, the left wing had for its objectives Tolmino and Monte Nero, "the southernmost Alpine giant." With these in their control, the Italians could break off communication between Vienna and the Isonzo forces. The Italian centre was placed over against Gorizia, with the Austrian

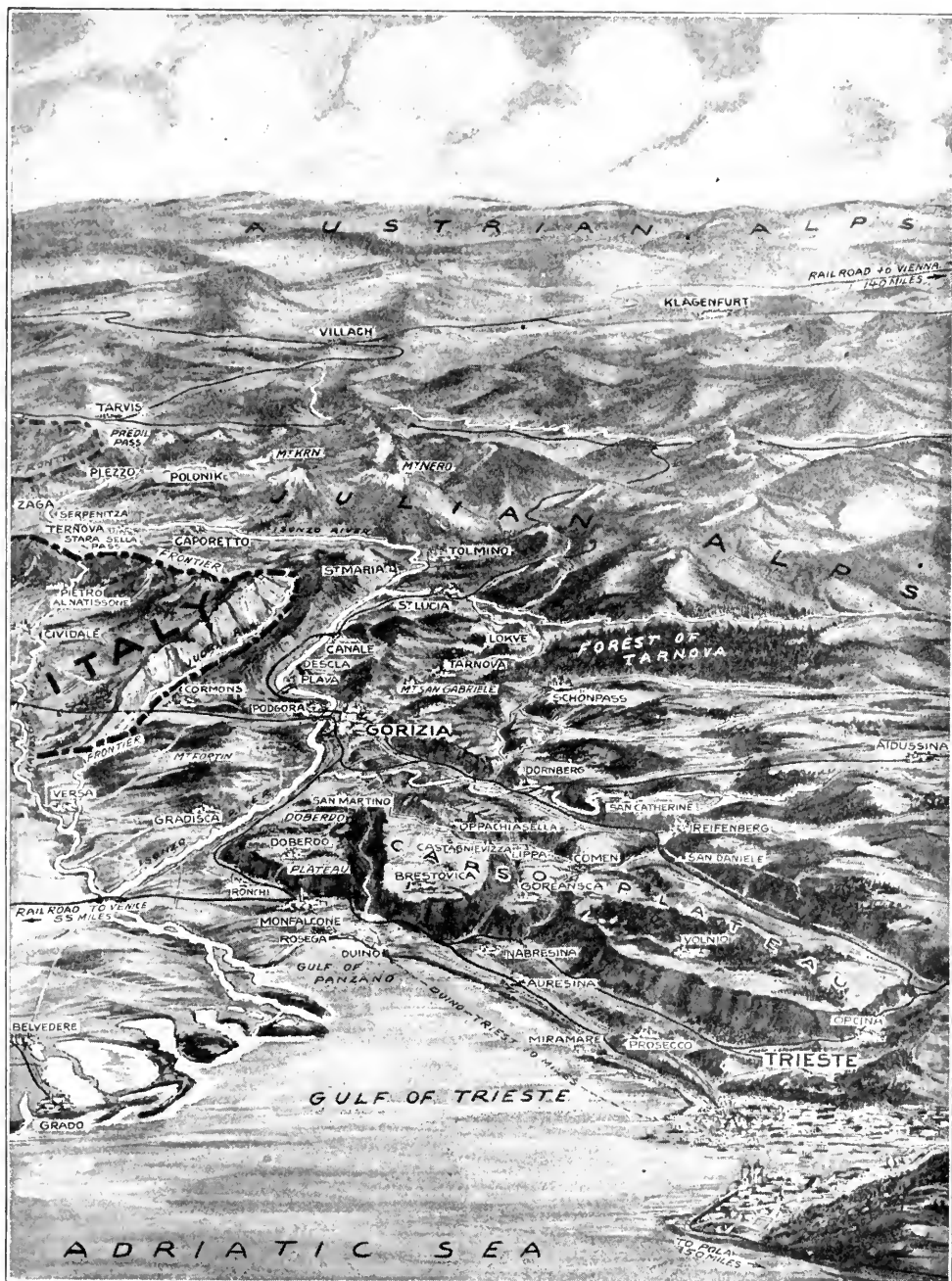
strongholds on Podgora as an immediate focus for attack. The right wing was entrusted with the taking of Monfalcone and an advance upon the Carso plateau, on each side of which stretched lines of railway making a double connection between Gorizia and Trieste.

In most of the early fighting, before heavy guns could be employed in large numbers, light troops were engaged. In the mountains the Alpini naturally took the lead. These sturdy Alpine climbers, with their supporting batteries of mountain artillery were the special northern frontier troops. And faithful guardians they showed themselves through three long winters of war. Where quick action was required, the Bersaglieri were relied upon. Each army corps had its regiment of four Bersaglieri battalions, of which one was composed of cyclists—the swift "ciclisti." On Alpini and Bersaglieri rested the heaviest part of the "long-drawn weight of the war."

### MONFALCONE TAKEN BY THE BERSAGLIERI.

Monfalcone is a seaport at the foot of the Carso Plateau. During the last days of May and the first week in June it had been under bombardment by the Italian fleet in the Adriatic. On June 8, an attack of Bersaglieri, with their cyclist corps, and grenadiers was launched from the Isonzo side. Their swift running fight brought them into Monfalcone in a few hours. On the ninth the town fell, and so one loop of the Trieste-Gorizia railway was severed.

An attempt to strike across the northern part of the Carso by establishing a bridge-head at Sagrado, the very point of the Carso salient, met with far greater obstructions. June was almost over before Sagrado was won. The floods in the Isonzo, a natural impediment, were augmented by the Austrians' destroying the bank of a canal and locking up the dam, so flooding almost all the land from Sagrado to Monfalcone. After persistent efforts the Italians succeeded in blowing up the dam and gaining a crossing, in small detachments, in the face of enfilading fire from the Austrian guns. A full month had been consumed in this



### THE VALLEY OF THE ISONZO AND THE CARSO PLATEAU

With the topography of the Italian eastern frontier clearly in mind, one can understand why the Austrian soldiers were given the memorandum: "We have to retain possession of a terrain fortified by Nature. In front of us a great watercourse; behind us a ridge from which we can shoot as from a ten-story building." The glacial trough of the Isonzo above Gorizia lies between the southern mounds and ridges of the Julian Alps. Monte Nero stands guard north of Tolmino; a long spur runs southward west of the river as far as Podgora. Between Tolmino and Gorizia stretches the irregular plateau of the Bainsizza with rocky heights rising above it. South of Gorizia, that strange broken region, the Carso plateau, rears a seemingly insurmountable barrier before Trieste,—a flat-topped mountain, whose sides are precipitous walls three hundred to a thousand feet high, and whose broad top is a hot, dry, hole-pitted desert. The Vallone, a long, deep, natural trench, breaking off the Doberdo plateau from the rest of the Carso, is one more vast obstacle for an advancing army. All the natural fortifications had been utilized and improved by the Austrians. Railways to Trieste run on both sides of the Carso, the southern one near the Gulf, the other following the Vipacco (Wippach) Valley.



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

undertaking. Through July and August they fought on, gaining by slow degrees a hold upon the north-western edge of the plateau. With Monte San Michele and Monte Sei Busi theirs, beside almost 20,000 prisoners, they had not fought in vain.

### THE ATTACK ON HILL 383.

Meanwhile, a few miles to the north of Gorizia, at Plava, another hard-won

force added night by night, the Italians pushed steadily upon the hill until by a stratagem they caused confusion among the Austrians and drove them from their stronghold. By the seventeenth of June the line from Gorizia to Villach was definitely cut at Plava.

Although the hill and the bridge-head thus obtained were in range of the guns on Kuk (Monte Cucco) and Monte



MONTE NERO, A GIANT ON GUARD

Overlooking Tolmino and Caporetto at the bend of the Isonzo, Monte Nero, in the Julian Alps, stood at the head of the valley which reached to its foot almost straight from the Gulf of Trieste. The summit of the mountain (not black as the name would imply, but pearly gray) was so steep and forbidding as to be inaccessible of capture by any but the Alpini, whose mountain craft and intrepid zeal almost surpass belief.

success came to the Italian forces. The attempt to cross the river there was begun on the night of June 8, but the pontoon bridges were demolished by enemy fire the next morning. On the following night, a reconnoitring force of two hundred men crossed by boat and captured the Austrian pickets without having revealed their presence. Bridges were again started and again destroyed, so that rafts were finally resorted to for transportation. In this way two battalions crossed, on the night of June 11—enough to begin attack upon Hill 383, which was strongly fortified with cement trenches and heavy barbed wire. With rein-

Santo and there was but one road, and that entirely exposed, leading to the bridge-head on the west bank of the river, this precarious position was held. Two years later, when a new, sheltered road of approach had been built, Hill 383 served as a base for the attacks which conquered Kuk and Bainsizza.

### THE MISLEADING NAME OF MONTE NERO.

The capture of Monte Nero (Black Mountain) north of Tolmino, has been acclaimed as "one of the finest feats of the whole European war," "as fine a feat of arms and mountaineering combined as stands on record in history." The final seizure of the sum-

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mit, early in June, was accomplished by Alpini, who alone were equal to that task. Caporetto, on the west bank of the Isonzo, had fallen to the Italians on the first day of the war. With slight delays caused by floods and the wrecking of bridges, they proceeded to take the heights beyond the river. One of these was Monte Nero, whose pearly

side on the southwest. Their feet bound with rags for greater noiselessness, the climbers roped themselves together in groups. They were not discovered by the enemy until they had nearly reached the crest. Then while the Austrians gave attention to dislodging them, the main body came up from the other side and closed in.



QUARTERS IN THE FAR MOUNTAINS OF NORTHERN ITALY

The Carnic Alps, a connecting link between the Venetian Alps and the Julian Alps, were the wildest and farthest distant section of the Italian front. There the mountains are most rough, jagged and abrupt. To keep men properly supplied on such far-lying, high-hung ledges as this called for continual vigilance and executive force.

gray summit belies its name. The Slovene term for rocky peak, Kru, was sometimes confused with another word, Cru, meaning black, and so the mountain has become familiar as Monte Nero.

The peak seems impossible of attack, and so it looked to Lord Kitchener when he visited the site in the following autumn; but the Alpini were not daunted. After they, with the Bersaglieri and infantry of the line had established themselves on the hillsides, they alone completed the conquest of the peak. Two cracks in the precipitous northern face gave footing to a picked company, while a larger column approached by the steeply-sloping rocky

### THE APPROACH TO TOLMINO.

From Monte Nero the Italian troops broadened their area of occupation, since the position was important as a point of approach toward Tolmino. That town itself was a military depot of sufficient strength to hold out as yet against all efforts. It was protected to the westward by the two hills, Santa Maria and Santa Lucia, on the right bank of the river. During the summer the Italians pressed in slowly from the northwest and west, and in August, after a vigorous attack, were able to intrench upon Santa Lucia. Trench fighting continued until October, when

another offensive movement secured parts of both hills, and there the situation rested again for a while.

Through the summer the Isonzo valley settled into trench warfare. The Austrian side had been prepared in advance. From the river-banks to the mountain tops overlooking them there were rows of cement structures and excavations, well-guarded by machine-guns and fields of heavy barbed-wire charged with electricity. The whole appeared like "a kind of formidable staircase, which must be conquered step by step with enormous sacrifice." In places the gorge of the river formed a deep natural moat before the fortifications. On Monte Sabotino, opposite Gorizia, the slope toward the Italians was a glacis of limestone across which the Austrians had blasted out a deep trench, known to the Italians as the *trincerone* (the big trench). Besides, there were great shelters prepared for protection in bombardments.

## THE DIFFICULT ITALIAN POSITION.

Over against these previously established lines of defense the Italians scraped out their new trenches, still in disadvantageous positions in spite of all their valiant endeavor. Supplies and reinforcements were brought up by night over narrow muddy roads which by day were exposed to the eye of the enemy. Lorries, mules, ambulances, and columns of troops passed and re-passed in the dark on those sharply-curving, difficult roadways, which as yet had not been made adequate by the engineers. By day the ambulances alone traveled back and forth, but even they were not safe from the enemy fire. The red cross upon them and upon the hospital sites was not always respected; for the attitude of the gunners varied in different localities. At Plava the opposing trenches were within a few yards of each other, with room for only one set of barbed wire on their No Man's Land. And in this close proximity, face to face, the combatants remained for nearly two years.

In the mountains there was continual fighting and unremitting heroic achievement, but of such a nature that single

engagements can hardly be selected and described. Among the Dolomites far to the north, the Alpini with their supporting troops were gaining new heights, to be held by guns lifted to position through almost superhuman effort. There was much blind bombardment by the Austrian gunners in their search for the new gun-emplacements of the Italian positions. Quiet villages and hospitals often suffered, when the shells fell into the valleys instead of finding their objectives.

## THE ATTEMPT TO REDUCE TRENT.

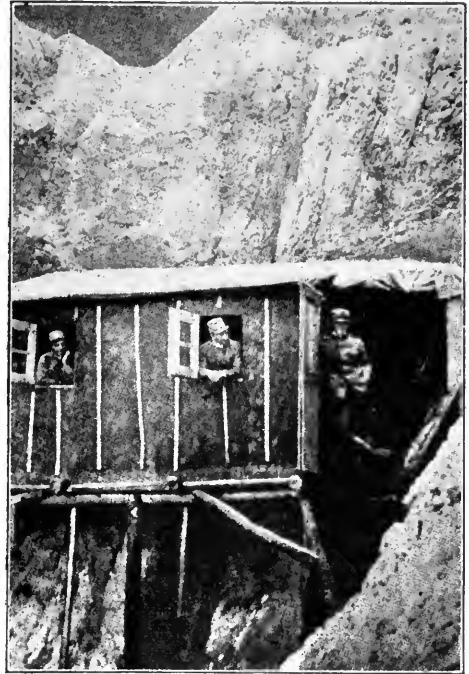
We have seen how the Trentino salient was edged with smaller wedges thrust out into northern Italy. Five out of the six conspicuous points thus formed had been occupied at once by the Italian armies in their first forward movement. Only the Lavarone plateau had successfully resisted them. Through the Giudicaria Valley, the Lake of Garda, the Adige Valley and the Val Sugana the first steps had been taken on lines that converged upon Trent. Then came a pause while the new lines were fortified—a pause, utilized by the Austrians in making stronger their defenses. Consequently, later progress was by slow and small degrees. Artillery duels had to take the place of infantry attacks, and the lines showed little change from week to week. By the end of the year, the Italian positions in the southern Trentino stretched from near Condino on the Giudicaria across to the Adige and Vall'Arsa just south of Rovereto, around the Lavarone plateau, and north to Borgo in the Val Sugana.

On the northwestern border of the Trentino, the Stelvio and Tonale Passes were sufficiently fortified, but there was no great activity in that region. On the northeastern border, however, a long, rigorous conflict was in progress for the possession of Col di Lana, an ordinary round-topped Alp set among the sharp points of the Dolomites, west of the Cortina Pass. It commanded an extensive view down the valleys into Italy. "The Italians had already shut the doors of their house, but until Col di Lana was taken there was a window still

open for a prying eye." It was needed, too, to complete the crescent described by the Italian fortified line. From three sides Italian guns assailed the mountain, and Alpini repeatedly undertook to gain its slopes.

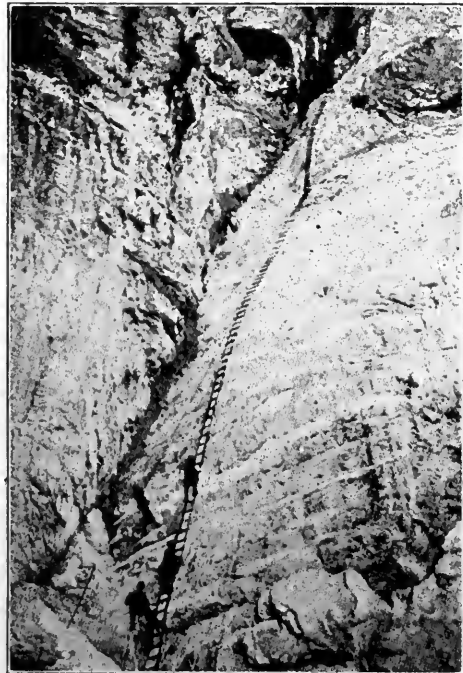
**COL DI LANA IS FINALLY TAKEN.**

But Col di Lana was a fortress of extraordinary strength, prepared by Austrian engineers. A spiral system of trenches, beginning at the base on the eastern side, wound to the top. The Italians, who had seized the western slope in their first rush, were baffled in many efforts to charge up the sides; for avalanches of rock, dynamited from the ledges above their heads, were hurled upon them as they strove to take higher positions, and machine-guns rained down fire. A charge, under Colonel Peppino Garibaldi, one of the grandsons of the great Liberator, finally got possession of the summit, in November. Since the crest itself was too exposed to use, the Italians retired into



**HEADQUARTERS IN A MOUNTAIN CLEFT**

The Italian engineers were not daunted by the most unpromising sites. Here in a cleft they built a shelter as headquarters for an Alpine outpost.



**A STAIRWAY FOR THE INITIATED ONLY**

By this rope ladder, the lofty cliff-side shelter was reached. Only those of mountain training and experience might safely venture to ascend it.

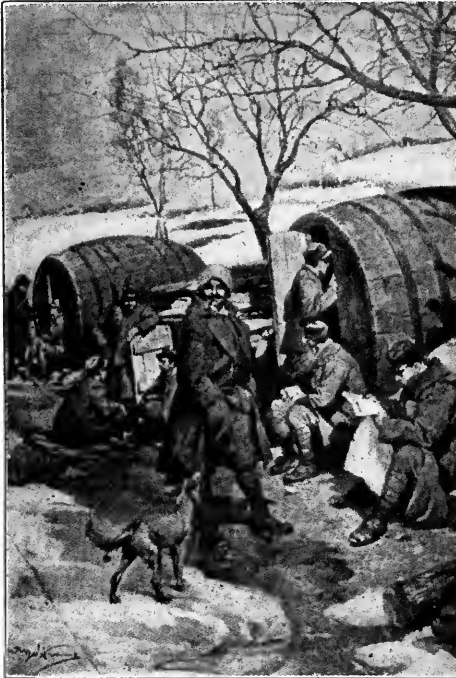
positions on the side of the mountain and there took up their work of defense against the violent counter-attacks of the weeks that followed. There they remained masters of the situation.

Two mountain ridges in the Carnic Alps comprised the only bit of Italian soil which the Austrians had occupied since the fighting began. Until the end of August they were not shaken from their hold. Then, two columns of Italian troops attacked them from east and west, and drove them back upon their own ground. At Pontebba, the principal gap in the Carnic Alps, long artillery bombardments were exchanged, in the course of which the Italian guns battered the Malborghetto fortifications into ruins, although they did not remove the Austrians from their positions.

**THE ITALIANS GAIN INCH BY INCH.**

The comparative quiet of the front during the summer was balanced by energetic production of munitions and

active preparation for a new offensive. In October the fresh outburst began with general bombardment in the lower Isonzo region. Three centres of action had been indicated. At Plava the bridgehead was to be enlarged so as to lead to an attack upon Monte Santo. From Plava the river bends away to the southeast for about five miles and then makes another turn to the south-



**NOVEL SHELTERS ON THE ISONZO FRONT**  
Officers' quarters are sometimes found in strange and unexpected settings. These Italian officers have taken up their abode in enormous hogsheads fitted with substantial doors.

west. At the second bend, Monte Santo occupies the east bank and Monte Sabotino, the west. Less than five miles farther down the river lies Gorizia, protected by the Podgora ridge across the stream. The second objective of the autumn offensive was the high land occupied by the Austrian lines, from Monte Sabotino to below Podgora. Lastly, invasion of the Carso was to be urged with great vigor.

## A MISTAKE LOSES A SUCCESS.

Opposite Gorizia, attack and counter-attack went on for weeks, with some small gains for the Italian contestants.

On November 20, the village of Osavia was taken. Monte Sabotino was theirs for a short time, when with intense effort a brigade had secured it. But, through some mistake, reserves failed to arrive. The exhausted victors had to retreat; their heroic feat had been in vain. Results in the Carso were not much more satisfactory. A slight advance on the northern slopes around Monte San Michele and San Martino, and some gain on the southwestern ridge near Doberdo, carried the Italian lines a trifle nearer to Trieste.

On the Italian front the Austrians had massed numbers of Hungarians, Tyrolese, and Slavs, who fought fiercely and doggedly, yielding nothing that they could hold. Yet, when winter closed down upon the trenches, the Italians had climbed to the water-shed on the north, had made some impression on the Isonzo front and had gotten a hold upon the Carso plateau. In addition they had gathered in some 30,000 prisoners and considerable material of war.

## INCREDIBLE HARDSHIPS ON THE MOUNTAIN TOPS.

The coming of winter on a battle-front so great a part of which was situated upon mountains brought peculiar problems. For the Alpini, an altitude of a mile or more and a temperature that might fall to 22 degrees below zero was rigorous enough but not unfamiliar. For troops from southern Italy and Sicily such conditions would be insupportable without very particular preparation. By forethought, good organization, and co-operation, satisfactory provision was made for the hundreds of thousands who had to spend the winter in barracks and trenches.

Front-line trenches had a flooring of planks and were provided with coverings of matting. For one army corps alone 300,000 planks were needed. Of these about 100,000 had to be carried to their destinations on mule-back or by men. Shelters were blasted out and behind the lines huts and sheds were built. Heavy winter coats and boots, flannel shirts, chest-protectors, woolen socks and blankets and sleeping bags were distributed for the comfort and

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protection of the country's defenders. A few figures will indicate in some degree the efforts that had to be put forth to meet these requirements. For a single army corps there was need of 280,000 blankets, and as many woolen shirts and socks; 80,000 fur coats; 60,000 fur chest-protectors; and 10,000 fur-lined sleeping bags. Add to these demands the task of keeping the men

quired from the Austrian trenches. Owing to the extreme difficulty of removing patients from the front to hospitals where they could be cared for, there were many deaths; but by careful quarantine and isolation, coupled with strict surveillance of food, water, houses, and barracks, the disease was controlled in a few months.

Our review of Italy's warfare would



VENICE THE CITY OF "LIQUID STREETS"

Venice, a centre of many interests, was peculiarly exposed to attack by sea and air; therefore, especial precautions were taken for the protection of the city and its treasures. This is a view of the Grand Canal and that part of the city directly east of the familiar Piazza of St. Mark's. Out of the picture, just beyond the buildings shown on the left, lie the prison, the Doge's Palace, and St. Mark's.

supplied with hot and nourishing food, wherever they might be, and it will be clear that the country had to devote an intensified industrial service to the support of its army during the winter campaign. Furthermore, both winter and summer, the mountain troops, for their exploits among the snowy slopes used skis and were clothed in white garments. Protected by this imitative coloring they could move with greater freedom and assurance in positions under the very eyes of the enemy.

**SICKNESS INCREASES THE DIFFICULTIES.**

Another problem of this first winter arose from an epidemic of cholera ac-

be incomplete without some consideration of the air service, which was in active operation over coast and plain and mountain. Pioneer of nations in the use of aeroplanes for war, Italy had had recent helpful experience, during the war for Tripoli, in testing and developing this branch of military art. Her flyers are peculiarly adapted to their occupation, as they are by nature quick and skillful in the use of mechanical devices.

**THE ITALIAN FLYERS CONTROL THE SITUATION.**

At the very outset of the Austro-Italian war, the air machines of both nations became active around the north-



ern end of the Adriatic. The Italians made bombing attacks upon Trieste and its dockyards; upon Fiume, where there was a torpedo and submarine factory; and upon the harbors of Pola and Monfalcone. A steady "patrol of the skies" was maintained by aerial observers, on the lookout for the enemy. Indeed, the reconnaissance and photographic work of the Flying Corps was of the utmost importance. Along the coast seaplanes kept up a vigilant search for warships and submarines.

Throughout the war, the air forces acted as efficient auxiliaries to the land forces; and the terrain which offered such extraordinary obstacles to the latter, produced almost as great difficulty for the flyers. They could not have accomplished their rapid and successful flights across the irregular mountain areas through fog and storm, without an intimate knowledge of the topography as well as ability to make quick and exact calculations in regulating their altitude and avoiding peaks.

#### THE ART OF VENICE UNDER COVER.

While all the towns of northern Lombardy and Venetia, menaced by Austrian aircraft, established warning signals and extinguished or shaded their lights at night, Venice, because of her exposed situation, required especial precaution against damage. A squadron of French seaplanes guarded her shore; and hardly a glimmer of light could be detected after daylight was gone. The famous historic monuments and art treasures of the old city by the sea were protected or hidden away. Between the columns of the Doge's Palace supporting walls of brick were built in. Paris of the façade of St. Mark's Cathedral, where the mosaic decorations were most precious, were banked up with sand bags. Then the whole western façade was sheathed with planks covered with asbestos. Mounds of sand-bags grew up around altars and statues in the interior of the church, and thick padding rendered the columns shapeless masses.

The much-traveled and world-famed bronze horses over the portals had enjoyed a century of rest since their re-

turn in 1815 from Paris, where Napoleon's ambition had given them a brief visit. Now they were lifted down again, to be concealed in the arcade of the Palace. Later in the war, when the Austrian menace grew darker, they were carried off to Rome and shut up in Hadrian's Tomb beside the Tiber. At that time, too, the great equestrian statue of Colleone, by Verrochio, which had been a familiar figure in Venice before Columbus turned his prows westward on the unknown sea, was transported to Rome for security. The first step for safe-guarding the horseman and his steed, in the earlier phase of the war, was the erection of a shelter over their heads where they stood, "a titanic armored sentry-box" covered with sand-bags.

#### DESTRUCTION OF ARTISTIC OBJECTS.

But not all the treasures could be saved. During a bombardment of Venice late in October, 1915, a ceiling decoration by Tiepolo, counted as his finest work, was destroyed by the explosion of a bomb in the church of the Scalzi, on the Grand Canal. Raids, in November, upon Venice, Ancona, Brescia, and Verona, worked further havoc. And in February, 1916, Ravenna suffered from an attack that badly injured the mosaics in the cathedral of St. Apollinare—rich masterpieces of early Christian art. As on other parts of the Allied front, churches and hospitals seemed particular marks for the enemy's bombardments, and many women and children were innocent victims.

When Italy's fleet had been joined by English and French squadrons in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic operations passed over into its control. In addition to protecting the Italian coast-towns, especially Brindisi, Ancona, and Venice, which were a temptation to enemy raiders, there were other duties. The blockade of the Straits of Otranto continued, now under Italian vigilance; the patrol of the Sea by submarine destroyers was constant; the principal Austro-Hungarian fleet, safely enclosed in the strong naval base at Pola, was held impotent. Other fleets of the ene-

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

my, at Fiume and Cattaro, sent out frequent raids into the sea and toward the opposite coast. Danger from mines required the frequent services of mine sweepers. There were encounters with submarines, in which some of the older Italian vessels were sunk or damaged, and there were other encounters when the submarine raiders were themselves sent to the bottom. In the northern end of the Sea, wherever it was possible,

ernment at Rome made announcement that Valona had been occupied, for use as a military and naval base to forward the work of transportation. Valona, in Albania, faces the heel of Italy, across the narrowest part of the Adriatic. With Otranto on the west and Valona on the east, the Italians had command of the gateway between the Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

The next step was in the direction of



DURAZZO, ON THE ALBANIAN COAST OF THE ADRIATIC

In order to keep open communication with Montenegro and Serbia and help furnish them with supplies, Italy took possession of Valona on the southern coast of Albania. Durazzo, a little farther up the coast, was occupied, too, for about a month at the beginning of 1916, to secure embarkation for Serbian, Albanian, and Montenegrin troops who were transported to Corfu. The picture shows the town's location on the Adriatic and part of its fortifications.

the fleet co-operated with the land forces in the struggle toward Trieste on the Carso, as when the bombardment from the ships in the gulf helped to reduce Monfalcone.

### COMMUNICATIONS ACROSS THE ADRIATIC.

Not least among the tasks assumed by Italy was that of keeping open communication with the distressed countries, Montenegro and Serbia. Succor, in the form of food and ammunition, passed across into Albania in defiance of hostile seaplanes, cruisers, and mines. In December, 1915, the Gov-

Durazzo, half way between Valona and Cattaro. By the end of January, this port, too, was secured. Meanwhile, over 200,000 men, many animals and great quantities of materials and supplies had been landed upon the Albanian coast. However, the occupation of Durazzo was but temporary, in order to provide a place for the embarkation of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Albanian troops in Albania, whom the Allied Powers had concluded to withdraw into Corfu, in order the more readily to revictual and supply them. The transport of the 160,000 men, with their

beasts, stores, and baggage, was accomplished without loss. Then, after covering their embarkation and bombarding the roads around Durazzo, the Italian fleet withdrew. Not an Italian gun, nor an undamaged Turkish gun, was left for the enemy, who re-entered the town on February 27.



**A POSITION REQUIRING POISE**

The terrain of the Austro-Italian frontier furnished full play for the skill and daring of mountain troops. In the picture, Austrian infantry on a surface approaching the vertical, are making use of rope secured to the rock to reach a desired position on the mountain.

## MINING OPERATIONS ON COL DI LANA.

Renewed operations of the Italians on the Isonzo, in March, 1916, were somewhat interrupted by the usual spring floods. On the high mountains of the north and west, however, winter conditions still continued. Among deep snows and Arctic cold the mountain troops pursued their almost incredible achievements. On the Col di Lana, where the Italians were still in possession of the southern and western slopes, the enemy held strong positions on the northern side. A great mining enter-

prise, under the direction of Don Gelasio Caetani, was begun in January, to be triumphantly completed in April. It was a tunnel driven through the mountain in the direction of the Austrian works. When its existence became suspected, a countermine was begun by the enemy, but in a wrong direction. At last, on April 17, the Italian mine was exploded, tearing out a huge crater, 150 feet wide and 50 feet deep. The Italian infantry followed close upon the explosion and so succeeded in routing the Austrians that were left.

At the same time, on the Adamello ridge, south of the Tonale Pass and northwest of Lake Garda, the Alpini on skis and in their white uniforms, were performing feats of extreme boldness. On a glacier, 10,000 feet above the sea, in a wild swirl of wind and snow, a small company of these intrepid mountaineers made an assault upon the Austrians holding the mountain crest. This was on April 11. On the twenty-ninth of the month, a larger body of Alpini followed up the exploit by attacking again, with the support of a battery of 6-inch guns that had been drawn up to the edge of the glacier. The result was that the Italians controlled the whole summit and had taken a new point commanding part of the Austrian lines in the Val Giudicaria. Colonel Giordano, who had been in command of the detachment, was promoted to major-general and transferred to the eastern side of the Trentino. Not long afterward he met his death there.

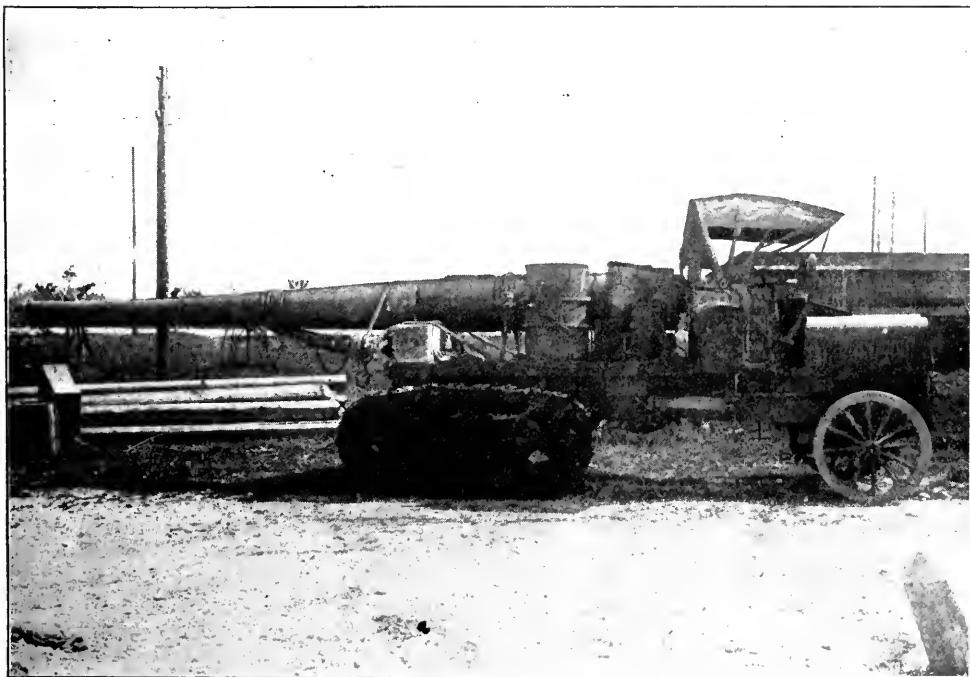
## AUSTRIANS ATTACK IN THE TRENTINO.

It is probable that the Austrian offensive of May and June in the Trentino was intended to forestall an Italian attack which was anticipated in the Isonzo region. By pushing down into the Venetian plains, where lay the lateral railways that furnished communication



**A MOUNTAIN BATTERY OF THE AUSTRIANS USED ON THE ISONZO**

On the steep, winding, broken ways of the mountain battle-fronts, artillery adjustments of many sorts were necessary. In this mountain battery the sure-footed horses and mules not only furnished the motive power but served as limbers and gun-carriages too. Once in position, the guns had to be "unlimbered" and fitted together.



**A LARGE ITALIAN GUN ON THE ISONZO FRONT**

In spite of insufficient equipment upon entering the war and serious lack of coal and iron, Italy rose to the demands of the moment. The great Ansaldo works—a ship-building and armament plant near Genoa—rapidly increased its output, making guns in advance of the Government's orders. Late in 1916 the monthly production of cannon is said to have been equal to the usual yearly output.

Photo from Kadel and Herbert

with the troops on the eastern front, it might be possible to interrupt General Cadorna's plans by cutting off the means of reinforcement and supply. Through the winter months concentration of the enemy's men and guns in the Trentino had been going forward. At least 2,000 guns were ready to open fire along a line of about thirty miles. Of the two armies under the Archduke Charles in the Trentino, there were between 350,000 and 400,000 men—fifteen picked first line divisions—prepared to strike in the section between Val Lagarina and Val Sugana. The heir to the Imperial throne in addressing his troops characterized the proposed attack as a "*straf-expedition*," and a propaganda of hate was in circulation among them.

The Italian First Army occupied the lines that had already been won on the edges of the Trentino. Since General Roberto Brusati, who held command there, had neglected to take adequate measures for securing his position, General Cadorna moved his own headquarters to the First Army, in April. As a result of his investigations, General Brusati was removed and General Pecori-Giraldi entrusted with the difficult task of rapid and thorough reorganization. The work of repairing deficiencies could not be completed in the few days before the offensive began and the Italians were taken at a disadvantage, with far too little artillery to resist the storm that burst upon them.

## THE ROADS INTO THE ITALIAN PLAIN.

In the threatened area three roads, following three river valleys, gave access from the heights then occupied by the Austrian armies, to the plains of Italy. Three elevations command them. Once they had passed these three heights, the enemy would have gained the plains. At these points they must be stopped, if their advance could not be halted earlier. General Cadorna placed his forces so that the strongest resistance might be made on the flanks, near the Adige and the Brenta. The heaviest drive, however, fell upon the Italian centre, where least preparation had been made. Consequently, the centre fell back, day by day, making

the enemy pay heavily for his advance, but unable to stand against him or push him back, unable even to dig themselves in.

From the fourteenth of May, when the great Austrian bombardment began, until the last days of the month, when the next movement would be down-hill, the Italian retirement was not checked. The left centre had reached Pasubio, and the valley of the Posina, the centre proper was drawing back across the Sette Comuni. There "the word was still, 'Go back.'—The time had not yet come for the men to die where they stood on the uplands of the Sette Comuni." (See the map on page 359.)

## THREE WEEKS OF HARD FIGHTING.

But on the extreme left the time had already come for that last desperate stand. There, against greatly superior guns and several times their own number of men, the 37th Division of the Italian Army, assisted by some other troops, was exerting all its strength to hold Zugna and Pasubio. On May 30, at the Pass of Buole, the struggle reached its height. Austrian infantry charges were flung in vain against the defenders of the Pass. Seven thousand Austrians fell on that day alone. Having failed at Buole, the enemy turned toward Pasubio in a persistent attack; but after three weeks more of fighting there, the effort gradually died away.

In the Austrian Army Order of June 1, announcement was made that only one mountain remained between the Austrian troops and the coveted plain. At that moment, fortunately, General Cadorna was able to bring up his new 5th Army, of little less than 500,000 men, which had been rapidly gathered together from various posts and assembled in the vicinity of Vicenza. Remarkable feats of transport and organization had been achieved in collecting and equipping, within a few days, this reserve army, with its staff, artillery, and medical units, ready for action. Railways, motors, and engineers worked together in a supreme effort accomplishing the result with only

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

slight interruption of normal traffic. On June 3, General Cadorna declared the offensive to have been stopped along the whole line. By June 4, increased pressure fell upon the Austrian Army, when General Brusilov launched an offensive in Bukovina and Galicia.

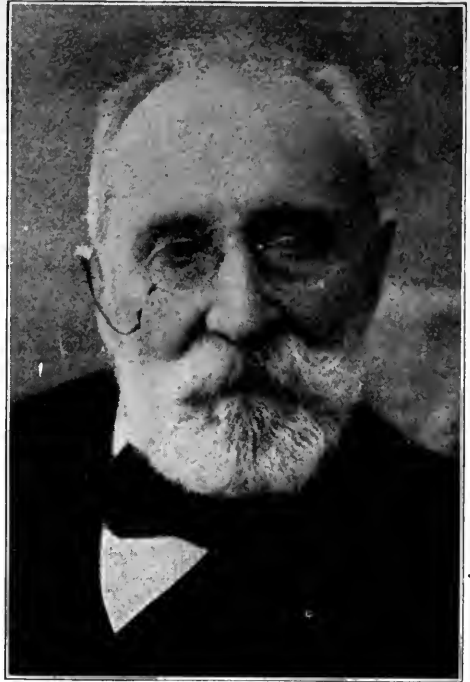
### THE AUSTRIANS ARE FORCED TO RETREAT.

The Austrians in the Trentino wedge found themselves at a disadvantage, with their large numbers crowded into too narrow a space on a front where they had not adequate facilities for transport from their bases in the rear. The Italian commander, recognizing their situation, increased the pressure on their flanks while he pushed forward against their centre. Having failed to turn the Italian line at either flank or to break through the centre south of Posina, the Austrian Army started to draw back, shortening its front and trying to extricate some of its divisions, that they might be sent to Galicia. Although the retreat was well conducted, General Cadorna did not allow it to take place as smoothly and as swiftly as had been planned. Nor did he let it stop in the positions chosen. There was fighting at every step.

Soon after the middle of the month, then, the Italians began to climb back up the slopes, in their counter-offensive. On June 26, Asiago was retaken, and, on the next day, Arsiero. "In two days the Austrians lost more than half the ground they had gained in their six weeks' offensive." Yet they did not lose all the territory taken. By the end of June their new line extended a little to the east of Borgo on the Brenta, beyond the northern side of the Sette Comuni, across the Val d'Astico and Monte Maggio, north of Col Santo, south nearly as far as Chiese, and then northwest to Zugna Torta. Their losses had amounted, probably, to nearly 150,000.

### THE ITALIANS RECUPERATE RAPIDLY.

Although the Italians had paid heavily for success in keeping their plains free from the enemy, the results of the offensive were not so disastrous for



Signor Boselli, "Father of the Italian Chamber of Deputies," for the sake of reconciling discordant political elements became Premier in June, 1916, succeeding Signor Salandra. Central News Service

them as the Austrian Staff believed. The proof that they had of their own ability to meet the situation, in spite of unpreparedness, was tonic in effect. In spirit they were the more ready for their slightly deferred movement on the Isonzo. If a rapid transfer of troops from that front to the Trentino had been possible, a similar transfer in the opposite direction was equally possible. But the failure immediately to check the offensive, combined with other causes, led to the fall of the Salandra Ministry. Under Signor Boselli a new Coalition Cabinet was formed, in which Baron Sonnino was persuaded to retain his portfolio as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

By June 29, as soon as they could be spared from the Trentino, troops began to move eastward again; for General Cadorna still declared: "I shall make the big offensive on the lower Isonzo." The work of placing powerful new guns and distributing the men along the front continued until, in the first days of August, all was ready.



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

Necessity and experience had brought about a number of changes and adjustments in equipment. During the year 1916, for example, helmets had been adopted as the headgear for the whole army, though the Bersaglieri and Alpini preserved as well as they could their picturesque distinguishing features, fastening the feathers upon their helmets. The Bersagliere "trot" had

of the river in three sections—north of Tolmino, east of Plava and on the northwestern butt of the Carso. Gorizia, about halfway between Plava and the Italian stand on the Carso, was guarded, north and south, respectively, by Monte Santo and Monte San Michele, still in the hands of the Austro-Hungarians. General Cadorna's plan called for sharp and sudden attacks on



The rapid-fire guns shown here as operated by Italian soldiers in the region of the Isonzo River, were fitted with silencers which were attached to the muzzles of the guns and ran off into the ground nearby. These men are wearing the infantry *beretto*, later replaced by the helmet.

Kadel and Herbert

been set aside for the bicycle or "push-bike." And a new weapon was being produced with great rapidity—the "*bombarda*," a sort of "glorified trench-mortar." Requiring less material and less skill in the making than a gun, the *bombarda* proved useful when carried well to the front. Of 9½-inch calibre, it could hurl big projectiles upon the enemy front, tearing openings through wire entanglements and demolishing fortifications.

### THE CAPTURE OF GORIZIA IS PLANNED.

If we recall the previous accounts of movements along the Isonzo, we shall see that the Italians held positions east

these two buttresses and the seizure of the city itself.

The direction of the offensive was entrusted to the Duke of Aosta, commanding the 3rd Army Corps, on the Carso. His army was to advance across the northern side of the Carso, so as to make secure the southern approach to Gorizia. At the same time, the 6th Army Corps, under General Capello and his Chief of Staff, Colonel Badoglio, was given the task of carrying Monte Sabotino, Oslavia, and Podgora, those heretofore impregnable bastions on the west bank of the river opposite Gorizia. Then they were to capture Gorizia and storm Monte Santo and Monte San Gabriele.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### GAS BOMBS AT MONFALCONE.

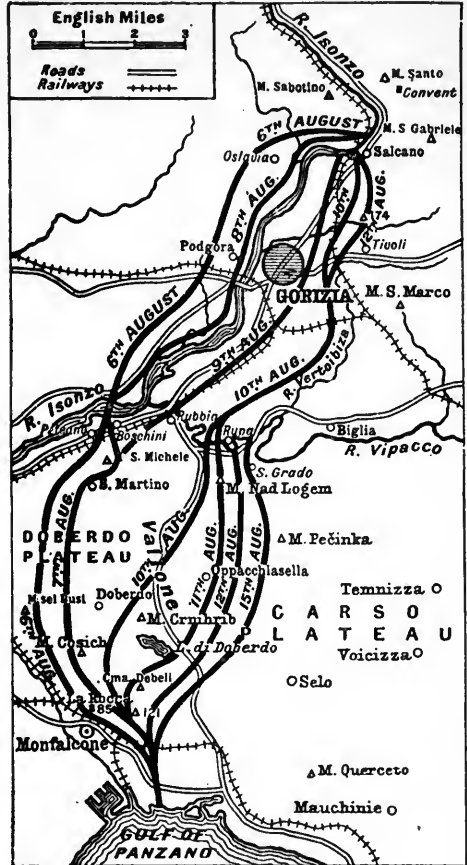
The violence of the bombardment that shook the whole Isonzo front, on August 1, spoke loudly of the efficiency of the preparation that had been made. After a day or two, the bombarded area was narrowed to the stretch between Monte Sabotino and the Adriatic. The greatest fury centred upon Monfalcone where, in accordance with General Cadorna's stratagem, a misleading feint attack was made on August 4. The Austrians, driven from their trenches, left asphyxiating bombs there, which exploded after the Italians had rushed in. As the Italian gas-masks provided up to this time fitted very closely and were uncomfortable, many of the men had discarded them. Consequently, several thousand were caught defenseless against the poison fumes and many died. In the confusion that followed, an Austrian counter-attack succeeded in taking back the trenches which had been captured. But the feint had accomplished all that General Cadorna desired. The Austrians hastened to reinforce the Monfalcone position, in anticipation of further attack there.

Then the storm broke about Monte Sabotino and San Michele. The former hill had been given most careful study by Colonel Badoglio for several months. Under his direction, the engineers had constructed long tunnels reaching within a distance of less than a hundred feet from the Austrian trenches. The artillery bombardment directed toward Gorizia and Sabotino was aimed at the enemy's "brains and eyes." An exact knowledge of his arrangements made it possible to destroy his headquarters and cut off wire communication between the centre and the outlying posts on the surrounding heights. In this way the bringing up of Austrian reinforcements was greatly impeded.

### THE GREAT TRENCH IS TAKEN.

Besides, the bombing of the *trincerone* and its cave-like fastnesses on Sabotino was so terrific that its defenders gathered by thousands in their rock-hewn shelters for refuge. Thus,

the Italian infantry, issuing from their tunnels, were able to rush into both ends of the great trench and capture the garrison in large groups. In less than an hour the summit was taken, and the Italians were moving down on the east face of the great hill.



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### ITALIAN ADVANCE IN AUGUST, 1916

The three days following were spent in battle for the ridges of Oslavia and Podgora, where scientifically constructed fortifications were held by stubborn contestants. In one case, an Austrian major and forty of his men fought with such fortitude and gallantry that the Italian officer who conquered them ordered his own men to present arms to the prisoners.

### GORIZIA IS ENTERED BY THE KING.

At last the long-disputed strongholds on the west bank, Sabotino, Oslavia,

and Podgora, were won. There was still an obstacle to overcome before Gorizia could be entered. The retreating foe had badly damaged the bridges. While the engineers were repairing them with all possible speed, a small force of Italians forded the stream. As soon as the iron bridge could possibly be used, ambulances and supply trains traveled perilously across it, and on the morning of August 9, the main army had reached the east shore. That day, the Duke of Aosta with his royal cousin, King Victor Emmanuel III, rode into Gorizia at the head of the army. The Duke, by his bravery and kindness, and the king, by his democratic simplicity and his friendly intercourse with his fighting subjects, had early won the admiration and devotion of their soldiers.

The advance on the Carso had been keeping pace with the proceedings farther north before Gorizia. The 3rd Army made a direct assault upon four-crested San Michele, parts of which had already passed back and forth between the contesting forces many times since the Italians had first set foot upon the Carso. On the eighth of August, there was no longer any question about its possession. The southern buttress of the Gorizia bridgehead thus made sure, it was possible to enter the city in security. On the ninth, as we have seen, the entry was made.

#### THE LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CARSO.

The barren, arid table-land of the Carso was a battle-field hardly surpassed for difficulty and danger. An old legend accounts for it by narrating that when the Creator, after He had finished making the world, was about to cast into the sea all the stones left over, the Devil overtook Him beside the Isonzo and slit open the bag containing the stones. The result was the Carso plateau. "Its sides facing north and west are partly wooded, but the table-land itself has no vegetation higher than grass and stunted brushwood. The earth is red, the limestone white; in winter these are the two colors of the Carso, but in summer an outcrop of green grass completes the Italian

tricolor." Hundreds of *doline*, or huge cup-shaped hollows, made hiding-places where men, huts, and guns were utterly concealed. The plateau became an "ominous ambushed desert." The stone surface itself greatly multiplied the danger from projectiles, when it splintered into thousands of flying fragments under an exploding bomb or shell.

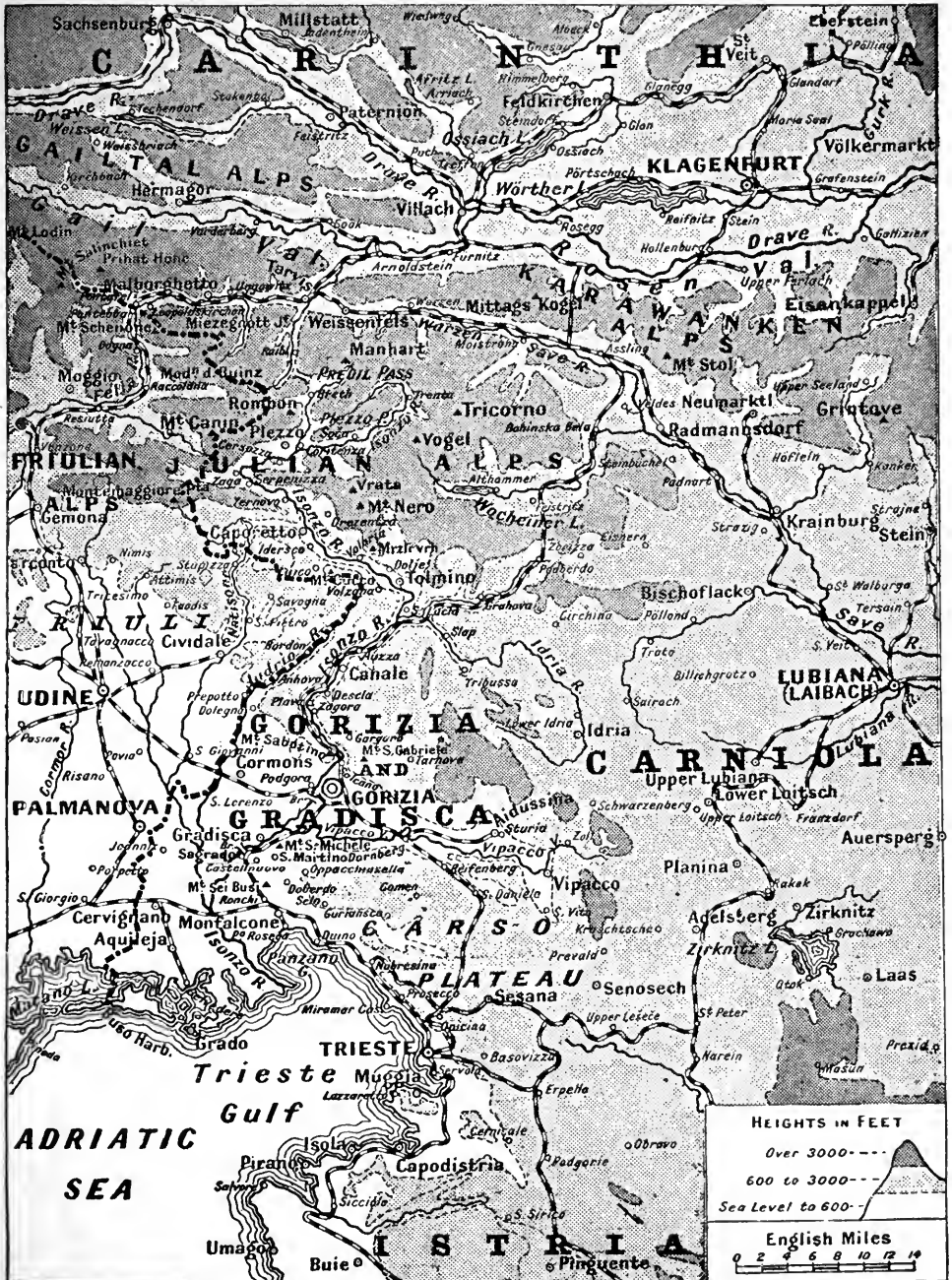
In the limestone surface the Austro-Hungarian belligerents had drilled and blasted their defensive works, even reinforcing them with thick iron plates in some exposed position. Lord Northcliffe was forcibly impressed by the works when he visited them during this very invasion. A French correspondent gives a detailed description of their elaborate completeness. He writes:

#### THE LUXURY OF THE AUSTRIAN QUARTERS,

"Behind the trenches the troops had as shelters deep caverns which could contain several battalions. Confident that they would never be beaten back, the Austrians had fitted them out luxuriously; the walls were paneled, electricity was installed everywhere, ventilating ducts made it easy to change the air, water mains brought good drinking water. Along the Vallone ridge, every regiment had its numbered cavern. The officers' rooms were sumptuous; beds, chairs, sofas, tables, carpets, nothing was missing in them. The newspapers found there were dated August 3rd, and reported the declarations of Premier Tisza, assuring his auditors that the Austrian Staff had taken all the necessary measures to keep the Italians forever out of Gorizia."

Upon this doubly hostile plateau General Cadorna's forces now turned their faces toward Trieste. San Martino del Carso, the Doberdo plateau, and the heights of Sei Busi and Cosich yielded before their impetuous onslaught. Directly south from Gorizia a straight, dry valley cuts through the Carso upland in a direct line toward the head of the Adriatic. It can plainly be seen that this Vallone afforded a natural road of communication. General Cadorna aimed to control it by occupying the ridges on either side. August

# HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR



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## THE ISONZO FRONT AND THE ADJOINING AUSTRIAN LANDS

12 saw the Italians in entire domination over the whole end of the Carso lying west of the Vallone; and within two more days they had gained a village and some slopes on the east side.

As the troops went on they were accompanied by auto-cisterns and reservoirs on mule-carts to furnish the necessary water in that arid district, where heat and thirst were twin torments.

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

### WHAT THE CAPTURE OF GORIZIA MEANT.

Northeast of Gorizia, another village was taken before August 15, when the offensive slackened; but the menacing elevations of Monte Santo and Monte San Gabriele remained, until the summer of 1917, strong enemy posts

and Trieste. The fortnight's offensive had brought in 18,758 Austro-Hungarian prisoners, including members of almost every race in the Empire. Of these 393 were officers. 30 heavy guns, 62 pieces of trench artillery, 92 machine-guns, and great quantities of rifles, cartridges, shells, and other supplies, had fallen into the hands of the Italians. An estimate of the total losses in men, for both sides, places them at 30,000.

In considering the Italian campaigns we must never lose sight of the immense obstacles to be overcome in the topography of the frontier and the lands behind it. A glance at an ordinary map would hardly reveal any serious reason why the army, well started upon the western end of the Carso and in possession of Monfalcone, should not have pushed directly on to Trieste. But almost every step eastward from the Isonzo, especially on the Carso upland, led to a yet stronger fortress than had already been faced. The Bainsizza Plateau, northeast of Plava; Monte Santo and Monte San Gabriele, north of Gorizia; and Hermada, east of Monfalcone, presented steep and bristling



BROKEN TERRAIN BETWEEN GORIZIA AND TRIESTE

for observation and attack. Yet the taking of Gorizia had been a decided and important success—the most notable one that had been achieved by Italian arms in the war. The whole west side of the Isonzo south of the Tolmino bridgehead was now swept clear of the enemy, and several strong thrusts had been made into the eastern side. On the Carso, only about a dozen very difficult miles lay between the line

ridges, whose tunneled passages and hidden gun-emplacements might well be considered almost invulnerable. And, until they could be mastered, no real strides were possible.

### OTHER OPERATIONS ON THE CARSO.

After August, the offensive was renewed intermittently, through the Autumn, as the weather gave opportunity; for thunderstorms, fogs and





### GORIZIA, TAKEN BY THE ITALIANS

In the first week of August, 1916, the Italian commanders concentrated their efforts upon Gorizia. Podgora, Monte Sabotino, and the ridges before the town taken by heavy storming and bold attack, there was stern fighting at the bridges and on the river banks for possession of Gorizia itself. Losses on both sides were heavy. The first man to enter the town, a nineteen-year-old sub-lieutenant, Aurelio Baruzzi, raised a small flag in triumph.



violent rains prevented any continuous action. A fresh drive on the Carso began on September 14, north and east of Oppachiaccia, which had been taken before the lull in the August advance. Four days of intense fighting yielded no noticeable gain in position, but more than 4,000 prisoners were secured. The next effort, October 10 to 14, made a new line showing a forward move of nearly a mile east of Villanova (Nova Vas). Farther south, Hermada's guns furnished so strong a support for the Austrian left wing that no impression could be made upon it by direct attack.

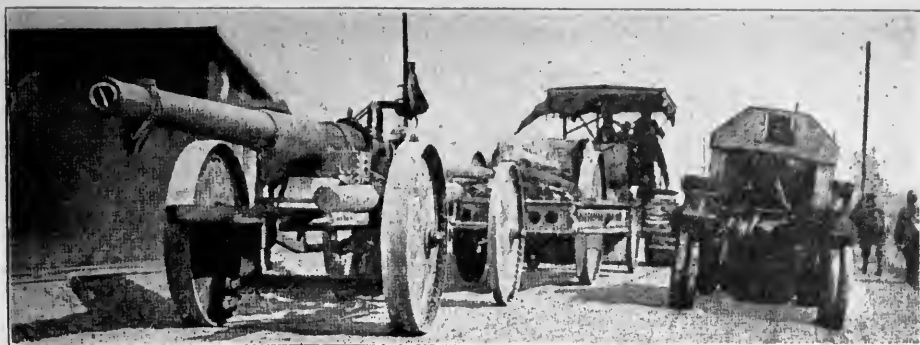
On October 30, a powerful bombardment poured upon the Austrian positions, all day and all the following night. The attack that followed during the first three days of November created a broad Italian salient that extended two miles beyond the previous positions. From the Vippacco River, near its junction with the Vertoibizza, a short distance south of Gorizia, the line now lay along the northern edge of the Carso to Fajti Hrib, "the highest point of the step of the great staircase which runs from the Vippacco to Kostanjevica." The southern side of the almost square salient reached to within a very short distance of the village of Kostanjevica (Castagnevizza). In that part of the front the Austrians had been driven back to their third line. By the early October fighting the Italians added to their account some 5,000 prisoners, and in November over 8,000. The supposedly invincible stronghold was yielding under the steady blows of the determined attack.

## WINTER ENDS FURTHER OPERATIONS.

Winter conditions precluded any further activity during 1916. The year had written on the roll of heroic deeds some shining new records. On the Carso alone there were many splendid examples of devotion. One old general, dying of cancer, refused to leave his command until he could say, "the battle is won." At another time and place, when a Bersaglieri Brigade had to spend the night in the open with practically no shelter from the rain of high explosives and shrapnel, a brigadier and two regimental commanders walked up and down all night in the front lines to keep the men's courage from failing. In the morning only one of the three remained unwounded. And always there were the men, no less devoted, who "laid down their lives in little, lonely conflicts that never figured in the official dispatches."

When it was evident that operations would have to be suspended until Spring, attention was again concentrated upon the training of new units and upon the manufacture and distribution of guns and munitions. Italy's lack of coal and metals made it impossible to produce military supplies in the quantities required for the most effective work on her long battle-line. But the production went on as rapidly as was possible. With the successes of the year behind them, the nation might look forward to a future of greater promise. In hopeful anticipation of that future, they continued to plan and to work.

L. MARION LOCKHART



Getting Away the Guns on the Galician Front

## CHAPTER XXXVI

# On the Eastern Front During 1916

## THE RUSSIAN ARMIES ARE SUCCESSFUL BUT THE AUTOCRACY WEAKENS

THE remarkable recuperative power of Russia was manifested in her ability to strike back vigorously at the Austro-Germans almost immediately after the end of the terrible retreat of the summer of 1915, when Warsaw fell and almost the whole of Russian Poland was overrun by the Teutons. Before the end of the year, as already narrated, General Ivanov was punishing the Austrians severely in Galicia.

THE PEOPLE BECOME SUSPICIOUS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

But the events of 1915 had nevertheless inflicted wounds on the Russian nation which were not to heal again entirely. Dark suspicion had arisen within the hearts of the Russian people, not only of the common people, but of those classes which hitherto had been most staunch supporters of the autocracy, that the core of that same autocracy was rotten with treason.

Even the Duma, that body of pseudo representatives of the people, chosen according to laws which gave only the reactionary elements suffrage—even the Duma, demanded an investigation of the Government machinery. It was rumored that trainloads of ammunition from Vladivostock had been shunted off on sidings at provincial railroad stations and allowed to stand there for weeks. It was rumored that the Grand Duke Nicholas, whom even the enemy

had praised in their reports, had been displaced in his command of the Russian armies at the instigation of those elements which now began to be known as "the dark forces." For the first time loyal Russians recalled the fact that the Tsar himself was seven-eighths German, and that the Tsaritsa had not a drop of Slavic blood in her veins.

ALLIED IGNORANCE OF CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA.

During the first two years of the war little was known to the general public of the Allied countries of the political situation in Russia itself; the press reports emphasized the fact that most of the political exiles had returned home to give the Government their support in the war against German imperialism. Never had the Russian autocracy had such an opportunity to weld the Russian people together into one loyal unit, and never was an opportunity more wantonly, or more stupidly, thrown aside.

At the outbreak of the war the Premier had been Ivan L. Goremykin, a bureaucrat of bureaucrats, intellectually fossilized in the routine of the autocracy, and now well past three score and ten in years. Unable to adapt himself to new situations, he attempted to rule Russia during war time as she had been ruled for the past

generation. First he initiated an anti-Semitic campaign, at a moment when the most violent anti-Semites would be irritated by such a course. He caused rumors to be spread that the Jews were betraying the cause of Russia, and even caused a number of pogroms to be instigated. When Galicia had been occupied by the Russian armies, he had sent there a number of petty officials who immediately set about "nationalizing" the Polish and Ruthenian inhabitants.

Fortunately these efforts had been partially frustrated by the military authorities. Finally, when the political exiles began arriving in Petrograd, to throw themselves into the struggle against Germany, Goremykin had them imprisoned arbitrarily. His mind worked automatically; these things were to him a matter of routine, to be carried out as a regular course of procedure; his aged mind failed completely to realize that the war had created new conditions.

### THE DUMA BEGINS TO ASSERT ITS VIEWS.

Even the reactionaries, who had previously been the main support of the autocracy, became disgusted. This feeling manifested itself most prominently in the Duma, within which was formed the famous Progressive Bloc, including not only the few radical representatives in the body, but all the Constitutional Democrats and a large portion of the extreme right, including such notorious Black Hundreds leaders as the Jew baiter Purishkevitch. The climax to the unrest in the Duma came when the President of that body, Rodzianko, addressed a letter to the Premier, placing the responsibility of Russia's heavy defeats squarely on him. "You are obviously too old," concluded the letter, "to possess the vigor to deal with so difficult a situation. Be man enough to resign and give room to someone younger and more capable." Never had Russian subject before dared address the Premier in such language. But Goremykin resigned. At least he proved himself no worse than incompetent.

But the old man's resignation only

brought on a worse situation, for he was immediately succeeded by Boris Stürmer, a younger and a more capable man, to be sure, but one whose capacities were to be turned in an evil direction. Not only was he a reactionary, but he was German of blood and German in his sympathies, as was later to develop.

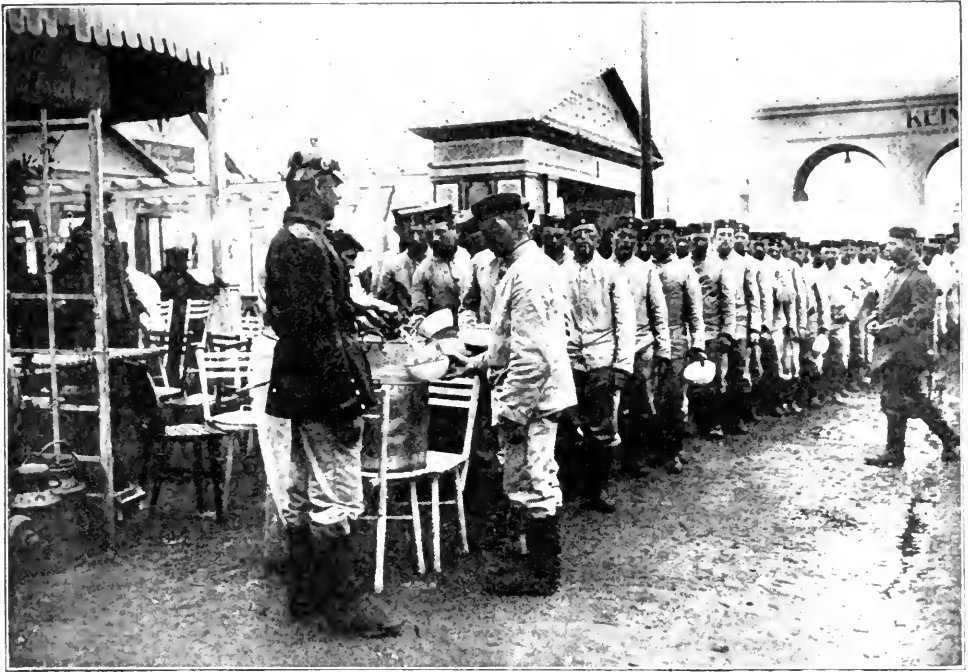
### STÜRMER FAVORS A SEPARATE PEACE WITH GERMANY.

Stürmer hardly took the trouble to hide the fact that he desired to bring about a separate peace with Germany, to desert the cause of the Allies. Russian papers which attempted to stir the patriotic fervor of the Russian people were suppressed by Stürmer's censorship, while others, which denounced Russia's allies and covertly insinuated that Germany was Russia's truest friend, were allowed to pursue their way unmolested. Finally it became known, even among the rank and file of the garrison in Petrograd, that agents had been sent to Switzerland to confer with the Germans. As we shall show later Stürmer betrayed Rumania, hoping to secure peace for Russia.

That the German Premier of Russia did not succeed in his designs of treachery was due to the violent protest which arose from among the loyal Russians. This opposition Stürmer did his best to remove. The Duma would be satisfied with nothing less than a real voice in the government, including the right to dismiss ministers. So indignant were the working classes that a general strike of the munitions workers was threatened—which would have precipitated the final crisis a year before its time, perhaps prematurely.

### THE REMOVAL OF SAZONOV CAUSES ALARM IN THE DUMA.

Then came the removal from the Cabinet of Sazonov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the one man in the administration in whom the Russian people had confidence, and the one man in whom the French and British had absolute trust. Like a rock he stood against the black forces within the court. A pure Russian, he championed the cause of the Allies against



**FEEDING THE KAISER'S TROOPS**

Napoleon's adage that "an army marches on its stomach" is as true in our times as in his. Mechanical transport has rendered the commissariat more dependable, but against this gain must be set the barrier of curtain fire and the long range of modern guns which, directed by aeroplane, can jeopardize an army's communications.



**SORTING GERMAN MAIL IN GALICIA**

A picture of a temporary German field post-office set up in a village in occupied Galicia. German equipment was complete from the outset and all their invading armies carried with them the wherewithal to keep the troops in communication with their friends. On the other hand though excellent conditions prevailed at a later date in the Allied armies, the system had to be worked up to meet the exigency.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

the Teutons—and now he was displaced. More deeply significant became this removal when it was announced that Stürmer himself would take up the portfolio for Foreign Affairs.

Fortunately for the Allies Stürmer lacked the fine touch of the really clever diplomatic intriguer; he was, in fact, at bottom, a sordid, dishonest thief, and this proved his final undoing. Later in the year, in the fall of 1916, Paul Miliukov, chief of the Constitutional Democrats, denounced Stürmer as a corrupt rogue, proving that he was enriching himself by taking bribes from dishonest food speculators, and so this prominent tool of the dark forces was obliged to retire in shame and disgrace.

### THE ARMY LEADERS TRUE TO THE ALLIED CAUSE.

That all these domestic events in the Russian political situation did not bring about the final overthrow of the corrupt and treacherous court party in the beginning of 1916, instead of a year later, was due to the stimulus of the military successes which came to the Russian arms during the spring and summer of the year. At least the military leaders seemed true, nor was there afterwards any cause for judging them otherwise. With the material at their disposal they did indeed perform wonders. Fortunately, during the brief period of comparative quiet which prevailed along the whole Eastern Front after the great retreat had been stopped, enough ammunition reached the firing line to enable the Russian commanders to strike at the enemy with some semblance of equality in equipment. For the first time the Russian gunners were able to rain "curtains of fire" on the rear of the beaten foe and cut off his retreat.

As already narrated in the chapter covering activities along the Eastern Front during 1915, General Ivanov had begun a successful movement against the Austrians down in Galicia in December, and while this offensive was considerably hampered by the severe winter, it broke out again in the spring and eventually, later in the

summer, developed against Austria into one of the most wholesale disasters that overtook any of the greater belligerents during the whole war.

### THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE AT FIRST SUCCESSFUL.

Up in the northern sector of the front the Germans had settled down into trenches, facing Riga and Dvinsk, hoping to spend a comparatively comfortable winter in their underground chambers. Thus they were settled in February and March, when the Russians under General Kuropatkin suddenly swept over the snow-covered marshes and drove the Germans out of their quarters, forcing them to make the best of it on the frozen ground half a mile further back. And now the Germans found themselves facing a Russian artillery fire which was quite equal to their own.

While considerable military activity took place along the whole line during the first five months of the year, sometimes developing into battles of the first magnitude, the relative positions of the opposing armies were not materially changed, though the Russians took large numbers of prisoners from the Austrians and, in general, had the better of the fighting. Obviously there was close co-operation between Russia and Italy, for the big Russian offensive against Austria began on June 3, at a moment when the Italians were being seriously threatened by an Austrian offensive on their front.

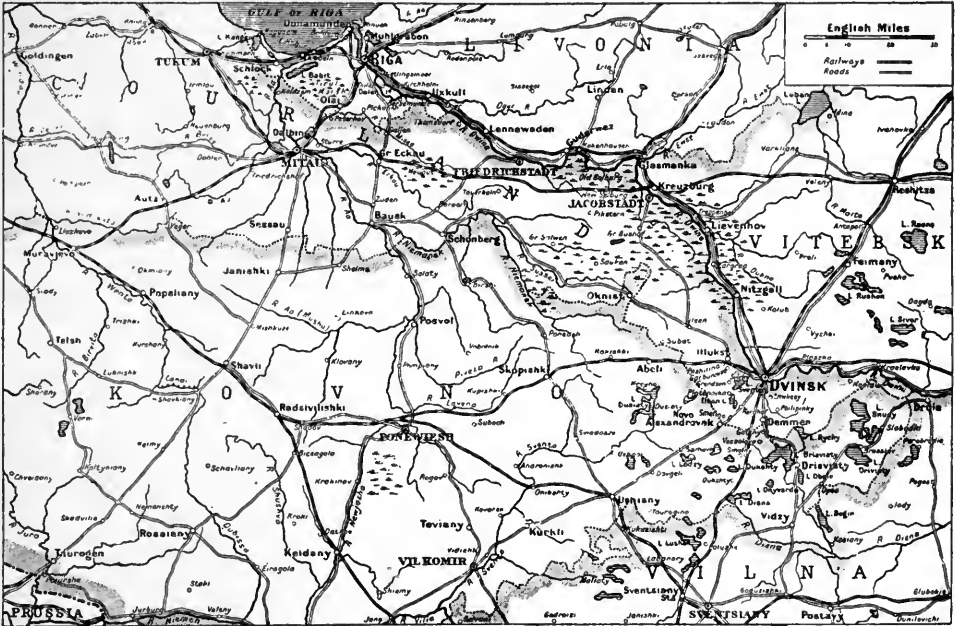
### THE AUSTRIAN LINE CRUMBLES BEFORE THE ATTACK.

The Russian armies opposing the Austrians were now under the command of General Brusilov, as General Ivanov had retired on account of sickness. Along a front of over three hundred miles the Russians attacked, from the Rumanian frontier up to the Pipet Marshes. And now the Russians were obviously superior in numbers; all during the winter mobilization and concentration of forces had been going on. As the Teutons had done the year before, so now the Russians rolled on in overwhelming numbers, beating up against the Austrian defensive like a flood against a crumbling sandbank.

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Within three days the Austrians had lost 25,000 men in prisoners alone. On June 7 the fortress of Lutsk was taken by General Kaledin, whose artillery had literally smashed the earthworks of the stronghold into powder. Here alone 11,000 Austrians fell into the hands of the Russians, together with immense supplies of munitions. By this time the prisoners taken numbered over 60,000. For now

sian lines in the north. On the day that Czernovitz fell attacks were delivered at many points along the 150-mile line between Dvinsk in the north and Krevo in the south. Some local successes fell to the Germans, but on the whole this attempted diversion was a failure, for the Russians held the Germans back without having to weaken their offensive movement in the south.



MAP SHOWING THE RUSSIAN NORTH FRONT LINE FROM RIGA TO DVINSK

The lake district between Riga and Dvinsk is of immense strategic importance, as it covers Petrograd. The country is so spotted with lakes, large and small, that it resembles a piece of lace. The Germans had dug themselves in deeply, but, at the end of March, General Kuropatkin drove them half a mile farther back.

the Russians were able to cut off the retreat of the beaten enemy regiments by sweeping their rear with heavy artillery fire. On June 17 General Lechitsky compelled the Austrians to abandon Czernovitz, the capital of Bukovina, after a terrific six days' battle for its possession. Here, however, the Austrians had had time to withdraw and so lost only 1,000 men as prisoners to the Russians.

### GERMANS FEAR THE COLLAPSE OF THE AUSTRIAN ARMIES.

Meanwhile the Germans were making a strong effort to help their ally, not so much by sending reinforcements directly to their aid, but by beginning energetic operations against the Rus-

The battle which ended with the capture of Czernovitz had completely smashed the Austrian army operating in that sector. On the following day the Russian Cossack cavalry swarmed after the fleeing Austrians and reached the Sereth River. Some of the Austrians made for the Carpathian passes, which were still in their possession, but the bulk of them fled southward, hugging the Rumanian frontier.

### THE AUSTRIAN RETREAT TOWARD THE SOUTH.

"The disordered retreat of the enemy," wrote a Russian officer, to a Petrograd newspaper, "was an extraordinary spectacle. As far as we could see from our observation station the country



## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

was alive with infantry, artillery and transport; horsemen in twos and threes, riderless horses rushing about wildly—a whole army in flight. Upon the mass of the fugitives we let loose our cavalry. We could clearly see the panic which followed. The cavalry dashed forward and cut off the way of escape of many thousands of men and vast quantities of stores. Many entire batteries were captured as they were being driven to the rear, in addition to large numbers of guns which were too heavy to be moved from their positions."

By the end of the third week in June the Russian cavalry had occupied Radautz, after which they carried the town of Kimpolung, cutting off all the Austrian fugitives who were hiding in the foothills of the south-eastern corner of Bukovina. A few days later the Russians found their way toward the Borgo and Kirlibaba passes, and so again the door into Hungary was forced open. One or two raids took place, but for the time being it was impossible to begin any real invasion of the land of the Magyars. By this time the Russian reports stated, and the dispatches from Vienna did not deny, that over 300,000 Austrians had fallen alive into Russian hands since the beginning of the offensive in the first week of June.

### THE SWIFT RUSSIAN ADVANCE BEGINS TO SLACKEN.

But the end of July saw the high-water mark of the Russian advance. Russian successes continued for another month or two, but the enemy defensive began to stiffen. Yet all the world was impressed by Brusilov's brilliant campaign. His success had been more genuine than if he had merely taken a large area of territory, as the Germans had done the year before, for he had weakened Austrian man power to the extent of about a third of a million men. More important still, Brusilov had finally brought the Rumanians to the point of making a decision in favor of the Allies. Unfortunately they delayed, took time to negotiate. If they had made their decision in June, and had taken immediate action when Czernovitz fell, they might have

rushed their armies across the mountains and cut off the retreat of the bulk of the Austrian forces in Bukovina. But they waited.

And while they waited Germany was preparing for a great counter blow which, had it fallen on the Russians alone, might have been disastrous to the Allied cause as a whole. As it was, it fell squarely on Rumania. Yet even as they struck Rumania this vital blow, the Teutons had enough surplus strength to check the Russians along the whole Eastern Front.

### LEMBERG AND KOVEL THE NEXT OBJECTIVES.

From June 4 to August 1, 1916, the Russians had conquered some 15,000 square miles in Bukovina, Galicia and Volhynia. Lutzk, Dubno and Czernovitz were only the three most valuable prizes which had fallen to the Tsar's armies. And now, at the beginning of August, the Russians threatened the important railroad centres of Lemberg and Kovel.

The advance toward these two objectives was energetically continued during the late summer, but now the Teutonic defense began holding back the Russian advance, especially along the Stokhod River, which protected Kovel. Here the proportion of German troops was larger and the fighting on the Teutonic side was, consequently, more intelligently conducted. Nor had the Russians further north, where the Germans were more numerous, registered any considerable gains. Nevertheless Stanislau in the south was taken.

### THE FINAL ATTEMPT TO BREAK THROUGH THE AUSTRO-GERMAN LINES.

In August the Russians launched a furious attack against the Germans north of the Dniester, and for some days it seemed that Scherbachev would break through. At several points he succeeded in crossing the river and piercing the German lines. Here was fought the most bitterly contested battle of the campaign. Back and forth swayed the fighting line, as first one side, then the other, was reinforced by the continually arriving reserves. It was the culminating effort



#### AREA OF THE RUSSIAN VICTORIES ON THE STRYPA

General Brusilov's offensive in Volhynia and Galicia began on Sunday, June 4, 1916, and the battle quickly developed along a wide front from the River Pripiet to the Rumanian border, particularly heavy fighting taking place between the Pruth and the Stry. Lutsk was entered by the victorious Russians, June 6, and Czernowitz, the capital of Bukovina fell for the fifth time in twenty-one months, June 19. The next day the Cossacks, in pursuit of the Austrians, reached the Sereth River. Some of the fugitives in disordered rout made for the Carpathian Passes, others fled southward hugging the Rumanian frontier. By the end of the third week in June the Russian cavalry had occupied Radantz, after which they carried the town of Kimpolung and cut off the Austrian fugitives in the foothills of Bukovina. A few days later the Russians pierced the Borgo and Kirlihaba passes, so that the way into Hungary was open. They made two or three raids but no serious invasion was possible at the time.

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of the whole Russian drive. Finally, in the middle of August, it broke; the point of the Russian dagger was broken against the German stone wall. And then the intensity of the fighting died down.

In the beginning of September the Russians made another determined effort to take Lemberg, and here the fighting was almost as sanguinary as it had been in August. Beginning with an artillery preparation which could hardly be rivaled on the Western Front, the Russian masses were driven solidly up against the strongly held Austro-German positions, in one wave after another. But here, too, the influence of German brains was visible. General von Hindenburg had been placed in command of the whole front and German officers were everywhere.

### GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN FORCES ARE MINGLED ALONG THE FRONT.

"The most significant observation one makes on coming to this front," wrote Stanley Washburn, correspondent for the London Times, "is the complete reorganization of the Austrian front since the beginning of the Russian offensive in June. It was then held by six Austrian divisions and one German. It is now held with a slightly extended front by fragments of nine German divisions, two Turkish divisions, and three and a half Austrian divisions. Of the Austrian divisions originally here three have been completely destroyed, and two have departed, one for the Rumanian front and another is missing. The composition of the German forces here shows the extraordinary efforts the Germans are making to bolster up the Austrian cause and preserve Lemberg." Many of these German battalions had been brought directly from the Somme.

For weeks the fighting in the Lemberg district raged furiously back and forth, with no other result than that the Germans succeeded in holding the Russians back. And as had happened before, gradually the Russian strength ebbed away and the two sides settled down to comparative quiet, a quiet which was not to be seriously disturbed during the rest of the year.

Nor did any important changes of relative position between the opposing forces occur during this period up in the northern half of the Eastern Front, where both sides contented themselves with holding what they had.

### THE CENTRAL POWERS PROMISE TO ESTABLISH A POLISH STATE.

The promises of Russia to give autonomy to the Poles was mentioned in an earlier chapter, but no attempt to redeem the pledge was made. The inhabitants of Russian Poland had no more love for the Germans than for the Russians, but as the weary months went on, gradually many Poles came to believe that an Austro-German victory, if not too sweeping, might be for their interest. The Central Powers did all in their power to encourage this sentiment.

When they had occupied Poland a proclamation was issued, November 5, 1916, promising to set up an independent kingdom of Poland with a constitutional government in "intimate relations" with Austria-Hungary and the German Empire. The Poles were disappointed to find, however, that neither the German nor the Austrian Poles were to be included. Russia, thereupon promised to establish an autonomous state containing all the Poles under the sovereignty of the Tsar.

Sharp division among the Poles then followed. The Polish Legion fought bravely with the French, and many Poles continued to support Russia. An important party, however, believing that Russian promises were worthless, raised an army and General Pilsudski, of whom we shall hear again, put himself and his men at the disposal of Austria. They did not, however, give up for a moment the hope of "Greater Poland."

### THE RUSSIAN FORCES ATTEMPT TO SAVE RUMANIA.

Down in the Carpathians the Russians under Lechitsky also made a final effort to attain an important success against the Austrians. In the middle of September, obviously to divert the Austrian blow against Rumania, they delivered a general attack along a line extending from Smotrych,



#### AUSTRIANS IN THE CARPATHIANS

Austrian troops and baggage trains halting for rest in a Carpathian pass. The men are already high up amid the mountains, and rests were brief, for the men could not keep warm unless they were moving. Frequent halts were necessary, however, for the horses had to drag heavy loads over difficult roads.

N. Y. Times



#### RUSSIAN CAPTIVES BEING SENT TO THE REAR

Of the nations engaged in war Russia lost most heavily. Her total deaths in battle amounted to 1,700,000. This figure does not take into account men who died of disease or accident, or those who disappeared and were not accounted for. The Germans captured large numbers of prisoners during the battle of Tannenberg and afterward. Their lot in captivity was a sad one, which many did not survive.

Henry Ruschin

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southwest of Zabie, to the Golden Bystritza, but without making any noteworthy advances. A few days later the Teutons responded with a violent counter-offensive along the entire Carpathian front, from the Rumanian frontier to the Jablonitza Pass. In the Dorna Watra regions the Russians suffered a severe, though local, reverse, but before the Teutons could follow up their advantage on an extensive scale, severe weather conditions intervened and gradually settled down into winter conditions, rendering serious operations almost impossible.

The truth is that the Russians had worn themselves out in the attack, had expended all their munitions recklessly and were now in little better condition than they had been in 1914. So much energy had been expended in the preliminary attacks that there was not strength enough for the final blow.

With the check suffered by the Russian armies along the entire Eastern Front in the fall of 1916, but above all because of the disaster to the Rumanians, whom the Russians had undertaken to support, there came a renewal of the disturbances in the domestic situation in Petrograd, centering about the Duma, and directed against the reactionary and pro-German Premier, Stürmer.

### **DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES ARISE AGAIN IN PETROGRAD.**

Stürmer, it will be remembered, had been almost openly working for a separate peace with Germany, and in his general effort to clear opposition from the way before him had brought about the dismissal of Sazonov, the pro-Ally Foreign Minister. Of a deeper significance, though this was not obvious at the time, was his appointment of Alexander Protopopov as Minister of the Interior, the most sinister figure in the administration just before the revolution was precipitated in the following year.

### **PROTOPOPOV, THE INSTRUMENT OF REACTION APPEARS.**

Protopopov had been an Octoberist, a moderate Conservative, but had joined the Progressive Bloc with the rest

of his party when that political union was formed in the Duma in protest against the dark forces at court and in the administration. In the Duma he had figured as quite a radical. Quite unexpectedly, through the resignation of a vice president of the Duma, Protopopov was elected to fill the vacancy and thus was brought into prominence. During 1916 he had been one of a delegation to visit France and England, and on his return to Petrograd through Stockholm, he there met and held a conversation with a person known to be a German agent. Charges were brought against him later, but he managed to place an innocent complexion on the interview in Stockholm, and apparently the matter was forgotten. According to report, however, the charges against him attracted the notice of Rasputin, the monk under whose influence the court was supposed to be. Rasputin, it was said, was responsible for Protopopov's appointment to the Cabinet. Certainly later events only corroborate this supposition.

At the time of his elevation to this high post, however, Protopopov was still considered a man of comparatively liberal tendencies, and at first it was supposed that his appointment indicated a desire on the part of the Government to placate the opposition. But the new minister soon showed that he was in close harmony with Stürmer. As became known later, he instituted a new set of intrigues, whether hatched in his own brain, or conceived in the mind of Rasputin, is immaterial, save that he set about putting them into execution. His plan was deliberately to bring about the crisis which the Allies feared, to bring about such internal disorders within Russia itself that the Government would have an excellent pretext for entering into a separate peace with Germany. Some students of Russian affairs yet believe, however, in Protopopov's honesty.

### **THE DUMA BECOMES ALMOST REVOLUTIONARY.**

This climax would undoubtedly have been precipitated without any artificial stimulation, had it not been that the





**PEASANT WOMEN OF RUTHENIA**

The Ruthenians are a Slavic people of the eastern group, forming a branch of the Little Russians. They live chiefly in Galicia where they constitute 40% of the population. There are, besides, some 400,000 in Hungary, and 300,000 in Bukovina. The picture shows women making roads in sections of the country captured by the Germans.



**GERMAN TROOPS IN RUSSIAN POLAND**

A typical scene on the Polish levels, part of the great European Plain stretching from the Urals to the North Sea. Mile after mile of supply columns went up daily to feed the great armies of the Fatherland. As far as the Polish frontier the Germans were abundantly supplied with strategic railways, but farther east were obliged to depend upon indifferent roads which in winter became at times almost impassable.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin





**GERMAN TROOPS CARRYING MACHINE GUNS**

This picture was taken at nightfall as the Germans were withdrawing to their quarters and carrying with them their machine guns so as to have them at hand if necessary for attack or defense. In no previous war did the machine gun take such a prominent place in the armaments of contending forces. Ruschin



**GERMANS IN SNOW-LINED TRENCHES**

These soldiers are armed with several varieties of weapons. Some have an early type of grenade with a handle, one has a trench mortar, and others have rifle grenades, which are inserted into the muzzle of a rifle. The bullet goes through a hole in the grenade and the gases which expelled the bullet drive the grenade about 200 yards. Leipziger Presse Bureau, from  
New York Times

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whole nation was waiting the opening of the Duma, on November 14, 1916. It was hoped that this body would save the situation. The Duma did convene on the date set, and then was witnessed the singular spectacle of this conservative legislative body almost unanimously denouncing the Russian autocracy. The few Socialist and Socialist-Revolutionist members suddenly found the whole Duma in complete harmony with them, so far as fiery speeches could indicate, at any rate. It was then that Paul Miliukov, leader of the Kadets, denounced Stürmer, not only as a traitor to Russia, but as a common thief who used his post as a means to corrupt practices.

In alarm Stürmer immediately took steps to have the Duma dissolved, but the Tsar, whose signature was needed for such a purpose, was at the front, and for the time being Stürmer was unable to accomplish his object. During this interval the Minister of War, General Shuvaviev, and the Minister of Marine, Admiral Grigorovitch, appeared before the Duma and proclaimed themselves for the opposition. This strengthened the hand of the Duma so decidedly that when Stürmer arrived at the front, he did indeed obtain the Tsar's signature, not to an ukase dissolving the Duma, but to his own dismissal.

### THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION MAKES WAR IMPOSSIBLE.

For the time being the liberal and pro-Ally elements believed they had won a victory, but it required only a brief period to bring them to a realization that they were mistaken. For now, with a brazen courage that deserves a measure of admiration, Protopopov stepped forward, and by action, if not quite in words, said: "I am the man you must fight. I am for Germany. I defy you all." Which, in effect, he did.

Protopopov now began open warfare against all the leaders of the opposition, as though they were the veriest anarchists. Almost openly he

disrupted the transportation service so that great stores of food supplies accumulated in the provinces, while in the cities the people stood in food lines, waiting for their meagre rations of the commonest necessities. The social organizations, the Co-operative Unions, the Zemstvo Unions, the federation of municipalities and towns, all of which had been active in supplying the armies and the civil population with food and clothing, he attempted to disrupt by forbidding them to hold conferences. Then he endeavored to have Paul Miliukov assassinated, and would have been successful had not the hired assassin repented at the last moment and made a public confession. All Russia was against him, and he was against all Russia, save for those sinister figures in the background of which the Tsaritsa and the monk Rasputin only were distinguishable. Even Purishkevitch, that notorious reactionary, the leader of the Black Hundreds, denounced him as a traitor, as an enemy of the people.

### THE DARK FORCES CONTROL THE ACTS OF THE TSAR.

To their credit be it said that the majority of the Imperial family sided strongly with the loyal Russians, including the Grand Dukes and the mother of the Tsar herself. She had warned that feeble minded monarch that danger threatened, told him plainly where the danger lay, and he had only twirled his thumbs and smiled. In December, 1916, Grand Duke Nicholas Michailovitch had held a long interview with the Tsar, in which he had denounced the Tsaritsa and Rasputin in such strong terms that when he finished, realizing he had spoken in tones not suited to Imperial ears, he added:

"You may now call in your guards and have them kill me and bury me in the garden, but at any rate I have done my duty." Whereupon the Tsar had smiled again and offered the Grand Duke a light for the cigarette which he held unlighted in his nervous fingers.

ALBERT SONNICHSEN.



**A STREET IN CONSTANZA**

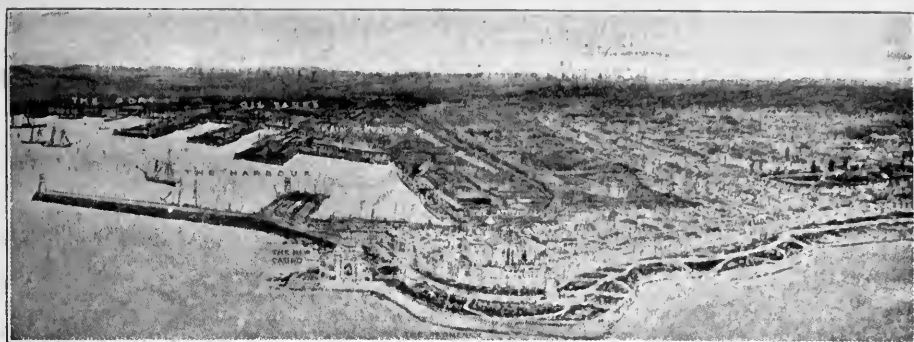
A view of one of the streets in the Rumanian sea-port. Constanza was taken by the Germans, October 22, 1916, and the capture of the town involved the loss of much grain and oil, and also the cutting of a short line of communication between Bucharest and Odessa by the Black Sea.



**RUMANIAN PEASANTS OFF TO MARKET**

Rumania declared war against Austria chiefly because she wanted to conquer Transylvania, the south-eastern part of Hungary, which has a large Rumanian population. Disregarding the advice of her Allies she made an incursion into Transylvania but her plans were thrown out of gear by the enemy's capture of Turtukai, and she was forced to withdraw and in turn suffer invasion.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin



Constanza, the Chief Port of the Rumanians

## CHAPTER XXXVII

# The Sacrifice of Rumania

## THE FORCES OF RUMANIA SUFFER A SWIFT AND CRUSHING DEFEAT

WHEN the Great War came in 1914 Rumania was in a position almost parallel to that of Italy in her political relations to the Central Powers. A small state situated between two powerful neighbors is practically compelled to ally itself with one or the other, if it would escape being ground between the two millstones. With Austria-Hungary on the one side and Russia on the other, in their march toward the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor, Rumania's situation was delicate.

### RUMANIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ALL HER NEIGHBORS.

Her people were bound to neither through racial ties, as has been shown in Chapter IV. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 Rumania had assisted Russia against the Turks with the full force of her military power. In return Russia had appropriated a part of Bessarabia, with its Rumanian population. Five years later, in 1883, following the example of Italy, Rumania unofficially entered into the political-military convention which bound together Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and herself. Thus it was that the course Italy pursued after August, 1914, was watched very closely by the Rumanian statesmen.

But again like Italy, Rumania had a strong grievance against one of her allies—Austria-Hungary. As was the

case in the Balkans, the boundaries of the state did not include all the population. In the case of the Rumanians, Austria-Hungary had been the chief aggressor. The Dual Empire included the former principality of Transylvania, in which a majority of the population is Rumanian, in language, customs, and, above all, in sentiment. The latest official statistics giving the population of Hungary show a Rumanian population of nearly 3,000,000. About half of these were concentrated in Transylvania, where they formed, according to the test of language, more than half of the total population. In the Banat of Temesvar were many thousands more.

### HUNGARY OPPRESSES RUMANIAN SUBJECTS IN TRANSYLVANIA.

Being bound to Austria-Hungary by the Convention of 1883, Rumania was not able to carry on a national propaganda among her kindred across the frontiers, as did Serbia. Yet Austria-Hungary, or more particularly Hungary, to which Transylvania was attached, carried on the same campaign of nationalization in Transylvania as was carried on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. First of all, Rumanian language schools were hampered, and the attempt to forbid any language except Magyar was constant. Rumanians were unable to fill public offices, unless

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they spoke Hungarian perfectly, and any activity on an official's part in favor of a national spirit was the cause of immediate dismissal.

In the same way the press was muzzled; the editor who dared publish any matter in favor of Rumanian nationality, even in a cultural sense, ran the risk of having his paper suppressed and faced a term in prison as well. On the other hand, the Magyar press devoted much space toward fanning up the natural race prejudice of the Magyars against their Rumanian neighbors.

The political rights of the Rumanian population in Hungary existed largely in theory. Legally the Rumanians had the right to vote, but at all the elections the government employed terroristic measures to insure the election of the Hungarian deputies. As a concrete instance, out of 413 deputies in the National Chamber, the Rumanians, in proportion to their numbers, should have had something like 75 deputies, but actually they had only one. This same injustice affected all the non-Magyar populations, to such an extent that for a long period the Croats and the Serbs refrained entirely from voting, as a mark of silent protest.

### **SUFFERING OF THE RUMANIAN POPULATION OF BESSARABIA.**

On the other hand, somewhat the same situation existed in Bessarabia, where over a million Rumanians forming nearly half the population, lived under the government of Petrograd. Here, too, their condition was bad, but at least in their sufferings, they were on more or less of an equality with the native Little Russian population. The government was bad, but not especially so for the Rumanians. Yet the fact remained that Russia, too, stood as a barrier against the ambition of the Rumanian Government to bring all Rumanians together into a single, national unit.

We must not forget that nearly 300,000 Rumanians were included in Bukovina, over a third of the population, but Austria proper was not so harsh with her subject peoples as Hungary. The Rumanians in Buko-

vina, like the Austrian Poles, had less cause for complaint than any other of their subject brethren.

### **RUMANIA'S ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE UPON GERMANY.**

Another very important element in Rumania's situation during the early part of the European war was her economic dependence upon Germany. For many years German commercial firms had been encouraged by the German Government to capture the Rumanian market for goods of German manufacture. Long term credit was offered the Rumanian merchants, whose notes were discounted by the German banks. These German banks established branches in Rumania and encouraged Rumanian industries by liberal investments. Like all countries with agricultural populations, Rumania had not the capital with which to develop national industries, and was, therefore, compelled to secure it from outside on the best terms possible.

Several years before the war the Rumanian Minister of Finance, Marghiloman, went to Paris to negotiate a loan. The French bankers, receiving no encouragement from their Government, refused to advance the money. Marghiloman thereupon went to Germany, was immediately successful in procuring his loan, and the same French bankers who had refused to assist him in Paris were among the subscribers to the loan raised in Germany, but the transaction maintained its German complexion. When the war broke out, Rumanian industries, especially those concerned with the oil production, were largely in the hands of German capitalists. Consequently there was a pro-German party in Rumania whose interests were bound up with those of the German investors.

### **THE KING OF RUMANIA A HOHENZOLLERN PRINCE.**

This pro-German sentiment, or interest, was strongly represented in the government and the Council of the King during the period in which Rumania debated her policy toward the two groups of belligerent powers. King Carol (Charles), himself of German origin and bound to the

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House of Hohenzollern by ties of blood, and being also responsible for the covenant with Austria-Hungary, was naturally in personal sympathy with the cause of the Central Empires.

Early in the month of August, after hostilities had begun, the King called together a council, consisting of the members of the cabinet, the chief party leaders, and the presidents and ex-presidents of the legislative bodies. The King, apparently realizing his own prejudices, refused to assume the responsibility of acting on his own initiative in this important crisis. The pro-Germans, represented by a former Premier, Carp, were strongly in favor of immediately joining hands with the Central Empires. The Premier, Brătianu, was for neutrality, for the time, at least. Then the King arose and made a fervent speech upholding the treaty with Austria-Hungary, citing Italy's situation and her determination to remain true to her allies.

### THE EFFECT OF ITALY'S DECISION TO REMAIN NEUTRAL.

"But will she?" demanded one of those present.

Before the King could reply, an attendant announced that Baron Fasciotti, Italian Minister to Rumania, wished to be received on a matter of great urgency. Silence fell upon the assembly. Without a word the King left the room. A few minutes later he returned and announced that he had been informed by the Italian Minister that Italy had decided to remain neutral. There was no further discussion. Rumania, too, would remain neutral, for the time being, at least.

In the following October King Carol died and his nephew Ferdinand became King of Rumania. The new ruler, though also a Hohenzollern by blood, showed no inclination to use his personal influence in diverting the government from its policy of strict neutrality. Among the people the feeling that now was the time to make an effort in behalf of the Rumanians in other lands grew stronger. This feeling was increased by the initial successes of the Russian armies against the Austrians

in Galicia, resulting in the capture of Lemberg and Przemyśl. In November, 1914, Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Minister at Bucharest, reported to his government that there were only two factions in Rumania; those who did, and those who did not, think the time was opportune for declaring war against Austria-Hungary.



FERDINAND, KING OF RUMANIA

Ferdinand I, King of Rumania, is a nephew of the late King Carol whom he succeeded on October 11, 1914.

### THE CENTRAL POWERS MAKE OFFERS TO SECURE AID.

Meanwhile Rumania had received and considered propositions and offers from both sides. In the middle of 1915 the Central Powers offered Bukovina up to the River Sereth in return for a "benevolent" neutrality, which meant that munitions should be permitted passage through the country to Turkey. But as a reward for prompt military aid Rumania would receive Bukovina up to the River Pruth, and an extension of her territory along the Danube up to the Iron Gate.

Russia on the other hand, offered Bessarabia, and Transylvania, when it should be conquered. In the meantime France and England, in trying



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to persuade all the Balkan states to make concessions to Bulgaria as compensation for her intervention in their favor, turned to Rumania and attempted to persuade her to surrender all or some of the territory in the Dobrudja, taken from Bulgaria after the Second Balkan War. Rumania asked as her price for this territory and her active intervention all of Transylvania, the Banat of Temesvar, also containing some Rumanian population, and Bukovina. Russia objected to giving up all of Bukovina, which her troops now occupied. Then Rumania insisted on the possession of Czernowitz and the boundary of the Pruth. Russia refused to consider this proposal, until after she lost Lemberg, when she not only agreed to cede Czernowitz and the Pruth boundary, but to internationalize the Dardanelles.

### **RUMANIA CHEERFULLY TRADES WITH BOTH SIDES.**

Ostensibly Rumania would not allow the passage of German munitions to Turkey, but for long periods at a time this traffic was permitted. German agents also bought large quantities of petrol from the Rumanian oil wells. Rumania sold food products to both sides. In January, 1916, Great Britain purchased Rumanian wheat to the extent of \$50,000,000, though it could not all be delivered and had to be stored. At about the same time Austria and Germany bought a million tons of corn, 150,000 tons of barley and 100,000 tons of oats. Turkey was supplied with benzol and wheat in exchange for tobacco.

By June, 1916, it was still impossible to say on which side, or when, Rumania would intervene in the war. But now, in June, Brusilov began his tremendous offensive against the Austrians in Galicia and Bukovina and occupied Czernowitz, completely clearing the enemy out of Bukovina, while the Austrians suffered apparently disastrous losses. It seemed that the Austrians could never recover from this blow. The Rumanians were deeply impressed, and the time for a decision seemed to have come. Take Jonescu and Filipescu, both prominent

politicians, had been strongly advocating co-operation with the Allies. Another strong influence in favor of the Allies was the fact that Italy had now definitely abandoned her neutrality and entered the war against Austria. Still the King, and the Premier, Bratiano, hesitated.

### **RUSSIA PUSHES RUMANIA INTO WAR.**

Just now came a practical ultimatum from Russia ordering Rumania to enter the war upon pain of losing any racial or territorial unification after the war. The documents published by the Bolsheviks in Russia indicate that the plan to secure a separate peace for Russia by the betrayal of Rumania, was already formed. More will be said of this in the chapters dealing with the Russian Revolution. About this time the members of the Government definitely made their decision. Trainloads of munitions began to arrive from Russia, though it is not yet certain that a final agreement had then been reached between Rumania and the Entente. Austrian and German workers were discharged from the Rumanian munitions factories. Austria's representative in Bucharest, Count Czernin, protested against the unusual concentration of Rumanian troops against the Transylvanian frontier, while the Russian frontier was comparatively denuded. German papers assumed that negotiations were going on between Rumania and the Allies, but that there was a disagreement over the influence that Rumania was to have at the final peace conference.

### **THE DECISION TO INTERVENE IS MADE AUGUST 27, 1916.**

Finally, on August 27, 1916, the King convened another extraordinary Council and then, for the first time, both he and Bratiano declared themselves unequivocally for war on the side of the Allies. Carp, the pro-German, declared himself as fervently as ever in favor of joining the Central Empires, while Marghiloman though favoring Germany, stood out for a continued neutrality.

According to Stanley Washburn,

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the London *Times* correspondent, King Ferdinand was told that a Hohenzollern had never been and never could be defeated. "That is not true," replied the King. "I have defeated the Hohenzollern within me." That evening the Rumanian Government, without consulting the legislative body, issued its declaration of war against Austria-Hungary.

### RUMANIA'S REASONS FOR WAR WITH THE CENTRAL POWERS.

The reasons for this act, as given in the declaration, were as follows: The alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy had been essentially of a defensive nature, to preserve the peace of Europe. Desiring to harmonize her politics with these peaceful tendencies, Rumania had joined the alliance. The last Balkan wars, by destroying the *status quo*, had imposed on her a new line of conduct. When actual war broke out, Rumania, like Italy, refused to join in the declaration of war. When Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary, the Triple Alliance had ceased to exist. Rumania felt herself no longer bound, for the Central Powers had themselves upset the basis on which the alliance had rested.

Hitherto Rumania had maintained a strict neutrality, because she had been assured by Austria-Hungary that the attack against Serbia had not been undertaken with the object of conquest. This promise had not been kept. Since it was obvious that great territorial transformations were imminent, Rumania felt herself in danger and was compelled to take measures to protect herself.

By adhering, in 1883, to the group of the Central Powers, Rumania had not forgotten the ties of blood uniting the populations of the kingdom with the Rumanian subjects of Austria-Hungary. As for Austria-Hungary, she found in the friendly relations established between herself and Rumania assurances for her tranquility. In spite of these assurances, the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary had been severely oppressed. Two years of war had passed, and Rumania had hoped that internal reforms might be in-

stituted in favor of her kinsmen in Austria-Hungary. These hopes had not been realized. The war, in which almost all of Europe participated, brought out the gravest problems which affected the national development and the very existence of states. Rumania, desiring to contribute toward hastening the end of the conflict, and under the imperative necessity of guarding her racial interests, felt compelled to join the ranks of those who would assure her national unity. For these reasons she considered herself from this moment in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Dated at Bucharest, August 27, 1916, 9 P.M.

### WHAT THE ALLIES HAD PROMISED FOR ASSISTANCE.

The Allies, France, Italy, Great Britain and Russia, promised Rumania not only the new territorial acquisitions which she claimed, but the integrity of her territory. Military assistance was also promised. A Russian army was to pass the Danube and establish a front against the Germans, Bulgarians and Turks who had for some time been massed in the Dobrudja against the Rumanian frontier. The forces at Saloniki, were to begin an offensive simultaneously with the Rumanian attack on the Austrians. Most important of all, a sufficient supply of munitions was guaranteed.

It was considered at the time that the diplomacy of the Allies had won a great victory in gaining the military support of Rumania, for, although her participation in the Second Balkan War had been no test of the efficiency of her Army, her military organization was still considered one of the best in the Balkans, at least equal in quality to that of Bulgaria and Serbia. With a population of over 7,000,000, Rumania could raise over 700,000 men. The artillery of all classes numbered about 1,500 guns, nearly all of small calibre. In rifles there was a considerable shortage; these numbered about 600,000. In ammunition the shortage was perhaps even more marked, but great quantities were expected from the Allies, largely through Russia, and

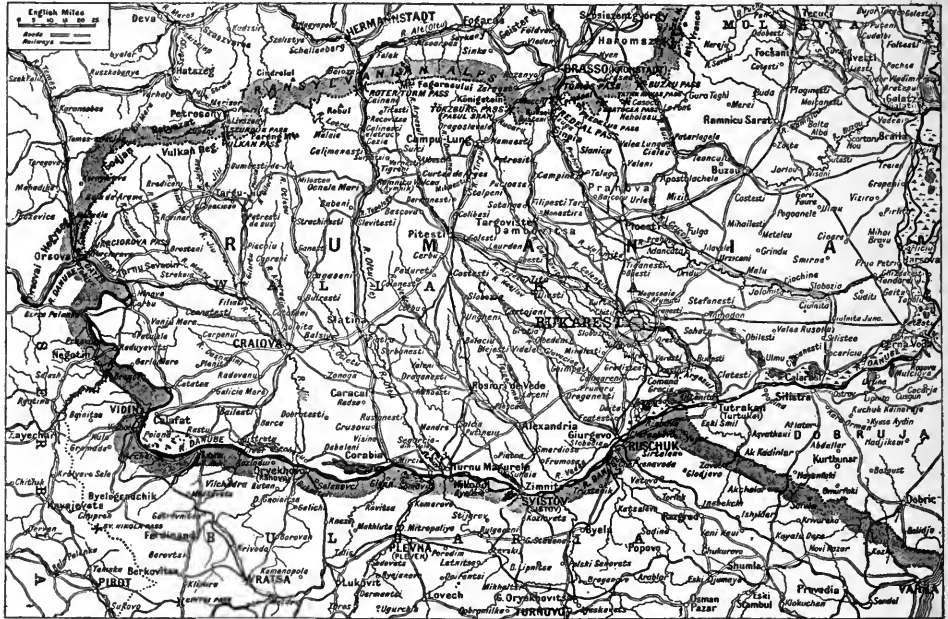
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

some shipments had already arrived before the declaration of war.

### THE RUMANIANS FIRST ATTACK IN THE CARPATHIANS.

The first news of actual fighting was given to the outside world by the Austrian Government, which reported, on August 28, that during the preceding night the Rumanians had made a heavy attack on the Austrian forces stationed on the frontier in the Red

small defensive forces in the Carpathian passes, to repel any attempted invasion by the Austrians, while with her main armies, together with such Russian assistance as was offered, begin an invasion of Bulgaria. This latter course would probably have been the wiser, considering the good of the Allied cause as a whole, but the campaign was shaped with a view toward satisfying public sentiment



MAP OF RUMANIA SHOWING THE AREA CAPTURED UP TO THE END OF 1916

Rumania formed a salient jutting out into territories in German hands. She was exposed to attack by Austrians on the Transylvanian frontier, and on the line of the Danube by Bulgarians. She invaded Transylvania but the enemy captured Turtukai. Then Mackensen swept from the west and south, and von Falkenhayn from the Transylvanian Passes, and by the end of 1916 all Rumania from the Iron Gates to the River Sereth was in their hands.

Tower Pass, and in the passes leading to Brasso. Thus it was indicated that Rumania would probably direct her main campaign toward an invasion of Transylvania, the coveted province.

In planning her campaign, Rumania had this choice before her. She might station a mere defensive force in the south and east, along the Danube, hoping that Sarraill in Salonika would keep the Bulgarians too busy in Macedonia to enable them to attack Rumania from the Dobrudja, while the main Rumanian armies crossed the Carpathians into Transylvania and cleared that region of the Austrians. Or, she might do the opposite; station

which demanded conquest of the territory inhabited by the oppressed Rumanians under Austria-Hungary. It was understood also that the Russian forces in Bessarabia should defend the Dobrudja, leaving Rumania free to overrun Transylvania. It seems also that the Russians assured the Rumanians that Bulgaria would not attack.

### MUCH OF TRANSYLVANIA IS OCCUPIED BY THE RUMANIANS.

The initial attacks of the Rumanians against the Austrians in the Carpathians met with immediate success, and at once the former began penetrating to a considerable depth into Tran-

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sylvania, while the Austrians retired before them. Meanwhile on September 1, 1916, the German Empire declared war against Rumania.

Down in the Dobrudja, as already stated, was a force of mixed Bulgarians, Turks and some Germans, numbering about 180,000 under the command of the famous von Mackensen. Against these the Rumanians had only a few



GENERAL VON MACKENSEN

General von Mackensen broke the Russian line in 1915 with his "Grand Phalanx" tactics. Before Verdun early in 1916, he afterwards directed the fighting against Rumania in the Dobrudja.

divisions. Bulgaria had not remained neutral but had declared war on Rumania on September 1, and invaded the Dobrudja. The fortress of Turtukai was taken, and the garrison at Silistria hastily evacuated the position.

### THE DOBRUDJA A HIGHWAY BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA.

The Dobrudja, about which so much has been said, is a plateau bounded on the west and north by the Danube, on the east by the Black Sea, and on the south by Bulgaria. This desolate land, without trees and almost without water, has been the highway between Southern Russia and the

Balkan Peninsula for two thousand years. The Roman Emperor Trajan built a wall across it to keep back the barbarians; the Goths and Slavs in their invasion of the Eastern Empire came this way, and Russia followed in her invasions of the Turkish lands.

This sparsely populated region contains representatives of many peoples, Turks, Russians, Tartars, Germans, Rumanians, Serbs, Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians. In the South the Bulgarians predominated, and the fact that the Southern Dobrudja was taken from Bulgaria and added to Rumania as a result of the Second Balkan War, was one of Bulgaria's chief grievances.

This defeat came to Rumania as a severe shock. Three divisions were immediately withdrawn from the Transylvanian front, (none too strong as it was), to strengthen the southern front. An appeal was sent to Russia for assistance, but the traitor Stürmer was then Premier, and his reply was that only two or three divisions could be sent. Three divisions did arrive from Russia some days later, one of which was composed of Serbian volunteers.

### THE DOBRUDJA IS FINALLY OCCUPIED BY VON MACKENSEN.

But von Mackensen, with superior numbers and superior artillery continued his advance, while the Rumanians fought delaying engagements, sometimes driving their opponents back with severe loss. All through September and well into October this struggle continued in the Dobrudja, until the Rumanians had been driven over to the north bank of the Danube, first destroying the famous bridge crossing the river at Czernavoda, the only bridge over the Danube below Belgrade. Constanza, Rumania's one seaport, was taken.

Meanwhile the main Rumanian armies across the Carpathians in Transylvania were also finding themselves in difficulties. With furious determination Germany rushed to the assistance of the Austrians with some 800,000 men, taken from both the eastern and western fronts. The combined forces of the Austrians and Germans, amount-

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ing to about a million and a half of men, under the command of General von Falkenhayn, began to drive the Rumanians, who on this front numbered considerably less than half a million, back toward the Carpathians.

Once more in the passes, the Rumanians offered desperate resistance; they had the courage of men defending their homeland from invasion. But the German artillery was far superior to anything the Rumanians possessed, and one by one the mountain passes were cleared and the Teutons began pouring down into the level plains of Rumania, driving King Ferdinand's troops before them. By the middle of November the Allied countries realized that Rumania was in danger. It was a period during which the whole Allied cause seemed in peril, for on none of the fronts could real pressure be applied to relieve the struggling Rumanians. In Macedonia Sarraill indeed began an advance, but beyond capturing the unfortified city of Monastir, he made no material progress. Along the eastern front the Russians were meeting with more resistance than they encountered before the Rumanians entered the war.

### THE GERMAN FORCES PRESS TOWARD THE DANUBE.

Toward the end of November it was not only obvious that the Rumanians were being pressed back, but that they were in imminent danger of being destroyed as a fighting organization; that at least a part of the army might be captured. Von Falkenhayn's right wing was moving rapidly toward the Danube; should it reach the north bank, there would be nothing to prevent a junction with von Mackensen's forces on the other side. On the 24th came the announcement from Berlin that von Falkenhayn had captured Turnu-Severin on the Danube. More serious to the Rumanians was the news that von Mackensen's men had crossed the Danube at Zimnitsa, opposite Sistovo, and were advancing toward Bucharest, behind the main Rumanian lines. The crossing was made under cover of artillery and with the help of river craft. This, rather than pressure from in front, sent the Rumanians retreating

rapidly, for now their rear was threatened.

That Bucharest was in danger is shown by the fact that a few days later the Rumanian Government retired from the capital and established itself at Jassy, about two hundred miles northeastward, near the Russian frontier. By December 1 the Teutons had almost reached the Arges River, the last wide stream that lay between them and the outer fortifications of Bucharest. Here the Rumanians stayed their flight and fought a hard battle for a whole day, making the last stand that was possible before Bucharest must be abandoned. The treachery of General Sosescu, a naturalized German, lost the battle, according to the Rumanians.

### BUCHAREST IS ABANDONED AND OCCUPIED BY THE GERMANS.

The blow which finally decided the fate of Bucharest, however, came from the north. The real danger lay in the German forces coming down from the passes south of Kronstadt—north of Bucharest. From this point the invaders streamed down the Prahova Valley, which begins at the passes and which runs down southeast, behind Bucharest. The Rumanians now had the choice of evacuating their capital, or having it surrounded and besieged. Bucharest was a fortified city, but the Germans carried guns which no man-made fortifications could withstand. The Belgian fortresses had shown that fact. The Rumanian General Staff wisely decided in favor of abandoning Bucharest, first blowing up the arsenal. The Germans entered on December 6, and General von Mackensen occupied the Royal Palace.

One of the picturesque incidents of the retreat of the Rumanians from their capital was the destruction of the oil wells, which was expertly accomplished by the British engineers in charge. All the machinery was destroyed and the wells themselves were clogged with tons of nails and scrap iron. The accumulated oil in the big reservoirs, however, could not be taken along, and this was set afire. From horizon to horizon extended the

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rolling clouds of black smoke from the burning tanks, and all this part of Rumania seemed a roaring furnace, the flames shooting up as though emerging from the craters of active volcanoes. Much wheat was also covered with oil and set on fire.

### **T**HE SPIRIT OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE REMAINS STRONG.

Rumania had lost heavily, perhaps 300,000 men, and two-thirds of her

the Rumanian retreat. Had this assistance come three months sooner the whole course of events would probably have been different. There was still some hard fighting during the rest of December, but before January 10, 1917, the Rumanian retreat had come to an end. The tremendous energy of the Teuton armies had by this time been spent, and they were compelled to rest on their laurels. The Rumanians,



HUNGARIAN VILLAGE ON THE RUMANIAN BORDER

Every Rumanian peasant soldier on entering Transylvania, when greeted in his own tongue by his countrymen from over the border, could grasp the full meaning of the war for liberation and national unity. In the invasion of Transylvania sentimental motives counted for as much as in the original French march into Alsace-Lorraine, August 1914. Ruschin

territory had been occupied. This part was the most fertile and the Germans secured some food from it. Later they were able to repair some of the damage done to the oil wells. Meanwhile the Rumanian troops stood firm in the northern part of the country, and the people were undaunted.

After the fall of Bucharest there was a halt in the German-Austrian advance, due to bad weather conditions and disadvantages of terrain which they were now encountering. By this time, too, the belated Russian assistance was beginning to arrive and stiffened

together with the Russians, were holding a line along the Sereth River.

### **R**USSIAN TREACHERY IS CHARGED BY RUMANIA.

The conquest of Rumania was undoubtedly one of the most unexpected blows which the Germans were able to deliver against the Allied cause during the war. With the support that had been promised King Ferdinand's armies, it was expected that they would at least be able to hold the frontiers of their kingdom against the Teutons in the north and the Bulgarians and Turks in the south, thus



detaching great forces from both the Western and the Russian fronts. When disaster first began to manifest itself, there arose from Rumania itself a cry of treachery, an accusation of broken promises. These charges seemed to be substantiated when, later, the domestic situation in Russia was revealed. Stürmer was at the time Russian Premier, and of his treachery there is hardly a doubt. It was, and still is, believed that he had a secret agreement with Germany whereby a Rumanian defeat, rather than a Russian defeat, was to be the pretext for a separate peace. The campaign plans of the Rumanian General Staff seemed on every critical occasion to be completely known to the enemy.

Stanley Washburn, the correspondent of the London *Times* on the Eastern Front, who was present at Rumanian headquarters during the retreat, while admitting the treachery of the Russian Premier and the "dark forces" within the Russian Court, places the chief blame on the bad judgment of the Allied chiefs, rather than on bad faith.

### A PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION OF THE DISASTER.

"The greatest mistake," he said, "on the part of the Allies was their estimate of the number of troops that the Germans could send to Rumania during the fall of 1916. As I have said, experts placed this number at from ten to sixteen divisions, but, to the best of my judgment, they sent, between September 1 and January 1, not less than thirty. The German commitments to the Rumanian front came by express, and the Russian supports, because of the paucity of lines of communication, came by freight. The moment it became evident what the Germans could do in the way of sending troops, Rumania was doomed."

On the other hand, Gogu Negulescu, a senator of the Rumanian Parliament, who visited the United States after the war, attributes the defeat entirely to the treachery of the whole Russian Government. He declares that Russia was from the beginning averse to calling in Rumania to help win the

war on account of the price demanded by Rumania for her assistance. Having been forced to accept assistance, the Russians determined to utilize Rumania as a shock absorber, allowing the hardest blows to fall on the Rumanian Army, while the Russians sheltered themselves in the rear.

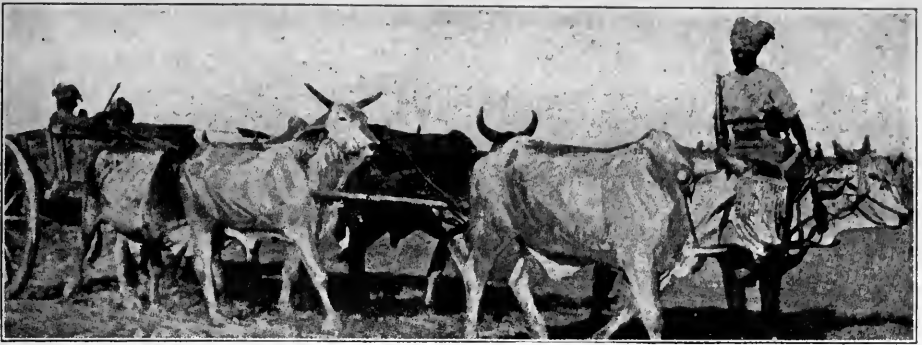
This latter assumption at least is plausible, for again and again Russia



**GENERAL ZOTTU**

General Zottu was chief of the Rumanian General Staff in 1916. His deputy-chief was General Iliescu, who formerly had been Secretary of the War Office.

had rejected Rumanian terms as exorbitant. Finally, in the summer of 1916, perhaps having knowledge of the vast forces which Germany was drawing from her reserves for a tremendous blow against the Russians on the Eastern Front, Petrograd came to terms with Rumania. Had the armies which smashed Rumania struck Russia alone, undoubtedly her forces would have crumpled under the impact. Russia would have been forced to a separate peace, the Teuton armies on the Eastern Front would have been liberated for service on the Western Front—with results that need only be imagined. The service Rumania rendered the Allied cause was none the less because she suffered so disastrously.



Bullock Transport in Mesopotamia

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

# The War in the Near East

## THE TURKS TAKE KUT-EL-AMARA, BUT THE RUSSIANS CAPTURE ERZERUM.

Supporters of the theory that the war had to be won upon the Western Front, who characterized the campaigns in the Balkans, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, and in Egypt as "side-shows" irrelevant to the main struggle ignored two important facts. The first was the value of Turkey to the Central Alliance. If Turkey were not attacked in her spheres of influence, they would serve as important reserves of men and material to supplement the Austro-German armies. Secondly, these critics of "side-shows" ignored one of the great causes of the war: Germany's intention to build up an empire of the Levantine countries—a project which not only menaced British rule in India, and Egypt, and Russia's expansion into a warmer sea, but threatened every other power in Europe outside of the Teutonic Alliance.

### SOME OF THE EFFECTS OF THE MINOR OPERATIONS.

Ill-starred as some of these operations were—against the gun-studded heights of Gallipoli, during the heat and thirst of the first advance upon Bagdad, through the long months of seeming helplessness at Saloniki—there is nevertheless a balance and continuity in all of them which posterity perhaps may perceive. In spite of the collapse of Russia, they ultimately

achieved their end in the downfall of the Turk.

During the autumn of 1915 the pressure of the Gallipoli expedition was felt in Armenia and the Caucasus, and when it was abandoned the force in Mesopotamia took up the task of relieving the Russians in the Caucasus. When this in turn got into difficulties and was surrounded by the Turks in Kut, rôles were reversed. Russia, with her strength mobilized for the first time upon the Asiatic front under a brilliant commander, the Grand-Duke Nicholas, was able to assume the offensive in an effort to relieve some of the pressure upon the British on the Tigris. She succeeded in her task—not indeed in time to save Kut—but so that the British preparations for a second advance upon Bagdad went forward all through the summer and were complete by the end of the year.

### THE ATTEMPT TO RELIEVE TOWNSHEND IN KUT-EL-AMARA.

It will be remembered that in Chapter XXIV, Townshend was left beleaguered in Kut, awaiting relief by reinforcements from overseas. Meanwhile two Indian divisions, the Lahore and Meerut, had set sail from Marseilles. At sea, news came that Kut was invested and instead of landing in Egypt and getting the expedition into shape, everything was sacrificed to

haste. At Marseilles the departure had been so hurried that bombs, rifle grenades, range finders, Verey lights and periscopic rifles had been left in France, and there was from the first a shortage of telephone wire. Sir John Nixon had been forced to resign the chief command on account of ill-health, and his place was taken by Lieutenant-General Sir Percy Lake, Chief of the Indian Staff. It must be remembered that General Aylmer had been told that Kut must be relieved within eight days and that January 15, 1916, was the last day Townshend could hold out. Therefore the Corps Commander gave orders for an advance to be made on the fifth against the first Turkish position. The Third Division was already on the river and if Aylmer could have waited ten days, he would have doubled his striking power.

#### THE TURKISH LINES BEFORE KUT SKILLFULLY DRAWN.

The Turks had drawn their lines before Kut with considerable ingenuity and strength. Three natural features of the country, the Tigris, the marshes and the flat bare expanse devoid of all cover, determined their character. In general the positions were made on both banks of the river, drawn so as to rest the flanks on marsh or tributary *wadi* (ravine). In addition to the first lines the enemy had prepared trenches in *échelon* which extended far back and rendered—even where the marsh did not—turning movements impossible. Attack then must be delivered frontally and in the open. A reference to the map will show the position of the enemy lines. The first, Sheik Saad, on both sides of the Tigris with its main force on the left, had trenches at right angles to protect its flanks. Against this position Aylmer chose to divide his forces in proportion to those opposed and make a concentrated attack on both banks at the same time. January 6, the columns on both sides came into touch with the enemy, General Kemball's force attacking on the right and General Rice's on the left or north bank. On the seventh amid intense heat the attack was renewed. Kemball had been successful on the right and

the Turks feared lest he might turn their flank. The engagements (as in those that followed) were frontal infantry attacks made over open ground under heavy fire against deep and narrow trenches, which had been constructed by adepts in the art, and which further were untouched by artillery fire, for owing to the mirage the artillery did not find the enemy trenches. Instead of a quick rush measured by seconds, the infantry came under rifle fire at 2000 yards, and it was a woefully thin line before its members even saw the head of a Turk. January 9, the enemy fearing for his flanks, fell back on a second position at Orah where on his left he had the protection of the *wadi* descending from the Pushtikuh Hills. The seven miles' advance was dearly bought for the British lost 4,262 officers and men, a casualty list equal to one half of the garrison they were relieving.

#### THE BREAKDOWN OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT DEPLORABLE.

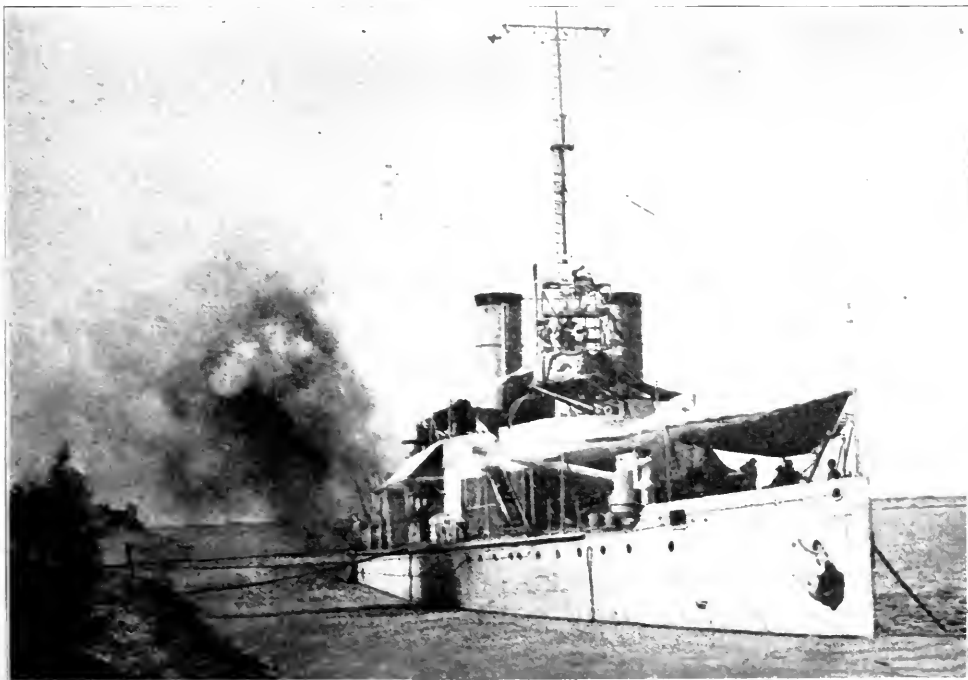
The tragic memory of the wounded will forever mark the day. The official Eyewitness with the Relieving Force writes: "Never since the Crimean War can there have been such a collection of maimed and untended humanity in a British camp as were gathered on the Tigris banks on the night of January 7. After fifteen months of the war there was not a hospital ship or barge upon the river. Doctors, ambulances, medical equipment, vital to the scene, were following the Force in leisurely transports from France. The five field ambulances of the 7th Division were on the high seas. While our casualties in the battle were over 4,000 there was barely provision for 250 beds—all was chaos. Three doctors and a hospital assistant! At five o'clock two tents had been put up and the wounded still poured in. More than a thousand came to the ambulance alone before 10 o'clock and they lay like bales in the dark and cold with nobody to tend them. . . . One lent what aid one could but there were neither wraps nor food nor warm drink. . . . Stretchers ran short—there was one to fifty wounded. Shattered limbs were



#### TROOPS FROM INDIA AT THE MOHAMMEDAN HOUR OF PRAYER

Instead of responding to the Sultan's call to a Holy War, the Mohammedan races of India, for the most part, adhered loyally to their British leaders. In the picture the long row of be-turbanned Moslem soldiers, kneeling on their prayer rugs and with faces turned toward Mecca, are in the attitude of prayer.

Picture. Henry Ruschin



#### BRITISH MONITOR IN ACTION AGAINST THE TURKS ON THE TIGRIS

The vessel which can be adapted to all the vagaries of the Tigris is hard to find. From the end of March to the beginning of July there is flood water, and a steamer has to make head against a 5-knot current. Then in the late summer and autumn the channel is only 5 feet deep. The channel is constantly changing and sharp twists and turns complicate navigation already difficult enough.

laid on the jolting transport carts; many must have died in them who might have been saved. The next day it rained, and still the wounded were gathered in. Hunger and weakness and delay in treatment caused many of the wounds to become septic and gangrene set in. Less serious cases were carried on to the boats, laid in rows on the decks with little shelter from the rain and shipped downstream to the already congested hospital at Amara."

Meanwhile the relieving force had pushed on against the second Turkish position at Orah. Here it was hoped by crossing the *wadi* high up beyond the Turkish left, the force could make a wide encircling movement and reach the Suwaicha Marsh between which and the Tigris lay only a gap of a mile. If the gap could be held then 15,000 Turks would be cut off. But the plan failed. Maps were inaccurate, the rains had begun and under a cold driving wind churned up the mud; the détour described was not wide enough, and the transport in crossing the *wadi* was delayed by the steep high banks. Though the Turks fell back from Orah it was they who held the gap, and in the strongly-entrenched position of Umm-el-Hanna presented yet another obstacle to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. Meanwhile the expedition had more heavy casualties to pay for the frontal attack.

The next three lines of the enemy forbade outflanking for their positions were supported on the left by the great Suwaicha Marsh and on the right by the Tigris. It was believed that Townshend could not possibly hold out much longer, and so, January 21, the relieving force pushed on to another futile tragic attempt in the open under heavy fire against the Umm-El-Hanna lines. Some of the troops got into the front trenches but the supports were late in coming up, and those that were left were driven out again. That night the scandal of Sheikh Saad and the *wadi* was repeated, and the misery of the wounded aggravated still further by the rain and cold.

Then the rains precluded further movement and for over a fortnight

the relieving force devoted itself to sapping up to the El Hanna position. News came through that Townshend had found fresh supplies and could hold out until March, and so further advance waited for the arrival of reinforcements.

#### THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE DEPENDENT UPON TRANSPORTATION.

The whole question, both of the advance to Bagdad and of the relief of Kut, hinged upon transportation. For sure and deliberate progress a railway was essential; without it so many ships and so many tugs and barges and *mahailas* were needed. Yet the carrying capacity of the Tigris fleet at the time of the British advance was not equal to that of a single line of railway with an average supply of rolling stock. To supplement the paddle-steamers, *mahailas*, *bellums*, and *gufars* of the Tigris, the most heterogeneous collection of river traffic was gathered in from the inland waters of India. Of these, the Aërial, half-house-boat half-aeroplane, with a hull from the Brahmaputra and fitted with an air-propeller and a 50-horse-power Diesel engine which made more noise than a minor battle was a type, and became the officially recognized hospital ferry plying between field ambulances and hospital camp. Land transport had not quite the same variety: the first and second lines were served by pack-mules, the Army transport carts were drawn by mules and horses, and the heavy guns served by camels and a bullock train.

On the night of March 7, another attempt to reach Kut was made. Townshend sent word that he still could last, but the Staff feared that a week was all they could count upon before being inundated by floods. The enemy's strongest position was the Es Sinn line stretching between Tigris and Shatt-el-Hai, some eight miles only from Kut. In the centre the Dujaila redoubt formed the point of a salient, and it was decided to attempt to outflank the Turk by forcing in the sides of this redoubt. To achieve success, the element of surprise was essential; by thorough organization of

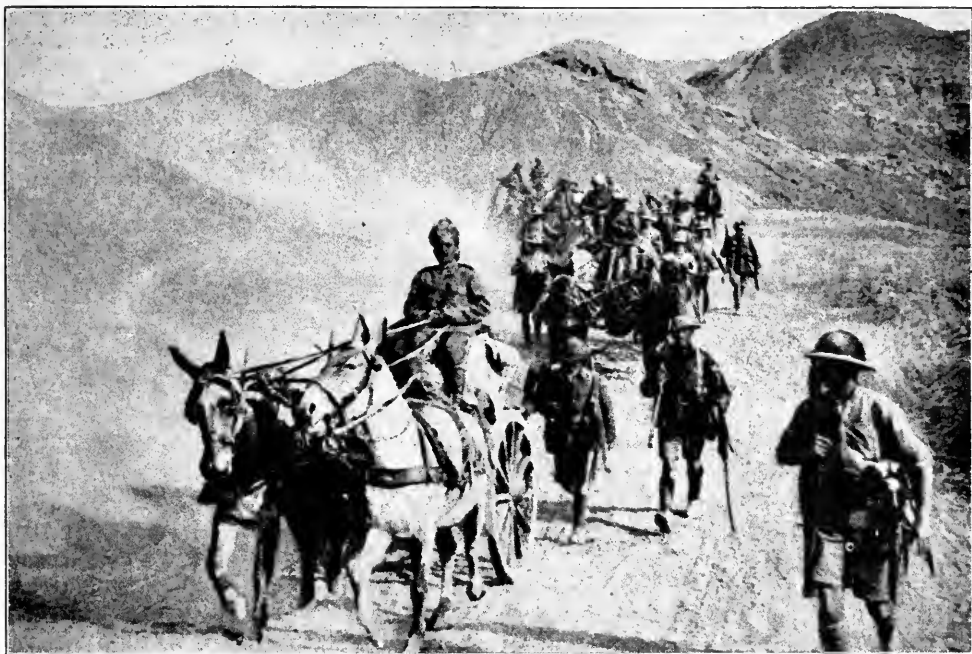
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

a forced night march this condition was obtained—only to be thrown away at the critical moment by lack of initiative and elasticity in the higher command.

### THE LONG, HARD MARCH ACROSS THE DESERT IN THE NIGHT.

On the night of March 8, the troops assembled at the Pools of Siloam and, in the darkness guided by scouts amid a silence broken only by the jingle of

instead of attacking the Turkish lines in the early hours, the attack waited for the artillery to advertise its presence by shelling their camp. A flood of infantry came pouring in from all parts to reinforce the redoubt, a streamer of Arab horse spread like a ribbon to the south to hold the bridgehead at Shatt-el-Hai. Every moment added to the enemy's advantage and weakened the chance of victory.



### BRITISH TROOPS CROSSING THE RIDGE BETWEEN DELI ABBAS AND KIFRI

The glare and dust and heat of marching in the daytime in Mesopotamia can better be imagined than described. Often where a man's pith helmet ceased its shade, his face was blistered as by fire. In this campaign the services of mule drivers, whose jerky carts were compelled to act as ambulances in the early advance, were heroic.

harness or creaking of a transport cart, the host of 20,000 men moved like a great machine across the desert. Time after time men in the ranks and officers at the heads of columns reached for a pipe but remembered just in time, and soon in the still air the soldier moved like one asleep over the illimitable level beneath the stars. At dawn the columns diverged, General Keary leading his men against the left face of the redoubt, and General Kembell against the right. It was evident that the Turks were yet unalarmed for the relief force passed silently through the Arab fires in the cold light of the after dawn. Daylight was growing, but

General Keary had been ordered to wait until General Kembell's force came up. His route was longer and he was two hours after time. By the delay and enforced wait, the element of surprise was lost and the attack foredoomed to failure for Kembell and Keary had no advantage in numbers, the Turk was infinitely better placed, and the relieving force was compelled to seek a rapid decision through the exigencies of desert, waterless country. After marching all night the troops fought on through long sun-baked hours, yet at half-past four no progress had been made, and withdrawal was ordered and effected in good order.



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Again the casualties were severe—3,476 officers and men—and nothing had been gained to balance this loss.

### THE CASE OF THE KUT GARRISON BECOMING HOPELESS.

The reverse of March 8 made Townshend's case almost hopeless; whatever action was now taken the waters would have to be reckoned with. After failure to break through El Hanna, January 21, trench warfare had begun on the left bank and continued until the capture of the position on the morning of April 5. There was little resistance at this spot but the Turk was playing for time—time to starve out Kut, time to wear the British down as they advanced—and he fell back, three miles beyond the El Hanna lines, on to what was known as the Falahiyeh position. This was rushed at night, and the attackers pushed on straight to Sannaiyat where the enemy held three lines, all with their flanks resting on river and marsh. Six miles behind this again lay his strongest position of all, the Sinn line, which he had been building up for months. Two attacks were delivered on Sannaiyat, but both failed, and at the end the elements themselves enlisted for the Turk, and with the rains the Tigris rose and the marsh spread. On the night of the eleventh a thunder storm of extraordinary violence followed by a water-spout, a hail storm and a hurricane set the spray leaping four feet in the Tigris and the water in the marsh rising visibly.

For a time all movement on the left bank was impossible, and the relieving force put its energies into clearing up the network of trenches and the two difficult lines of Beit Aiessa and Chahela. Though the Turks counter-attacked determinedly with twelve battalions, flinging into the assault the famous 2d Division of Constantinople, veterans of the Balkan War and of Gallipoli, they were repulsed and put out of action with a loss of the best part of two divisions. But the attack had not yet carried the Sannaiyat position, and to go forward with the possibility of the Turk letting in the Tigris upon the rear was not to be thought of and

once more, April 22, when the floods had somewhat abated the Mesopotamian Army attacked, with no success.

### A FINAL EFFORT TO RELIEVE THE GARRISON IS MADE.

One more effort was made to prolong the struggle. On the night of April 24, the paddle steamer Julnar with a cargo of provisions sufficient to feed the garrison for three weeks attempted to force the blockade. Eyewitness says: "The Julnar started her voyage at nine on a moonlight night. A surprise was, of course, impossible; she awoke the whole camp with her engines and screw; and it was not long before we heard the fusillade she drew from the Turks. She ran a terrific gauntlet of rifle and machine gun fire from both banks as she passed through the enemy's position at Sinn, but she was well plated and sandbagged and steamed through. She was nearing Magasis, within four miles of Kut, when she struck the steel wire hawsers which the Turks had stretched across the stream. Her rudder became entangled and she was held up. . . . With a nice calculation the Turks had laid their trap for their prize at the one point on the river where she would be out of range of the guns both of the Kut garrison and of the relieving force. The next morning an airman sighted her moored to the bank by Magasis fort, intact and floating on her own keel. The Turks drew rations from her the same day, and christened her 'The Gift'."

### GENERAL TOWNSHEND IS FINALLY FORCED TO SURRENDER.

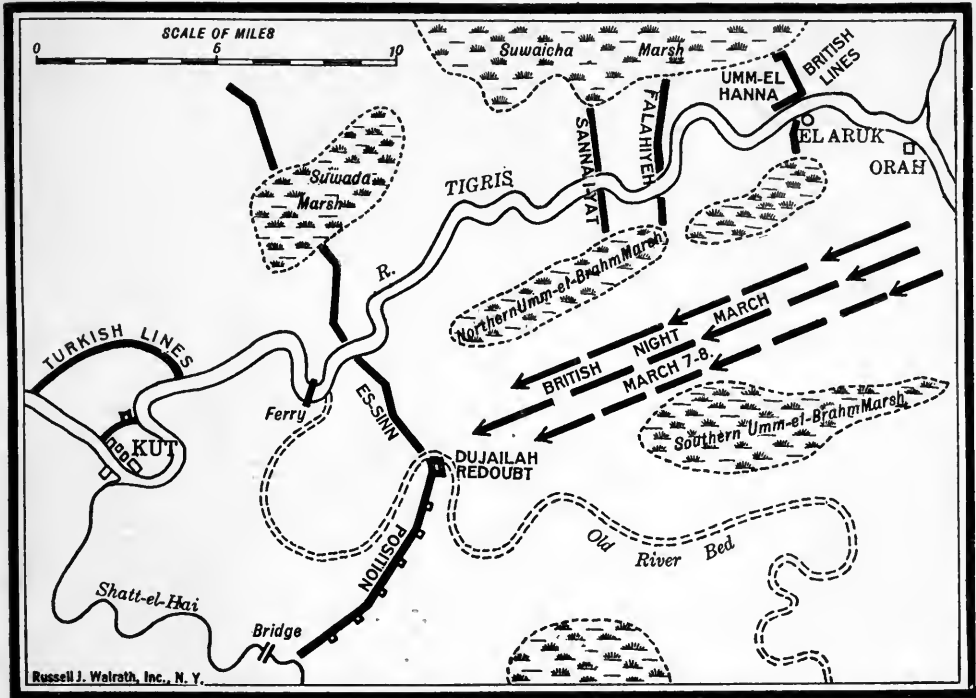
The drama of Kut which had cost the relieving force 22,500 lives was played out; only the epilogue remains to be told. On the morning of April 29, Townshend sent a wireless: "Have destroyed my guns and am destroying most of my munitions and have sent out officers to Khalil to say am ready to surrender. Khalil is at Madug. I am unable to hold on any more. I must have some food here. I have told Khalil today, and have sent launch with deputation to bring food from Julnar." Nine thousand fighting men, nearly 3,000 British and 6,000 Indians surrendered at Kut. The Turks were

## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

much impressed by Townshend and allowed him to retain his sword, and made his captivity as little irksome as possible. At the time of surrender the Kut garrison was well treated by the enemy; it was only in the terrible march northwards in June that the desert and inhuman guards took such fearful toll of the survivors.

The happenings in beleaguered Kut

tained 6,000 civilians and to this Arab civilian population General Townshend issued the same rations as were given to British soldiers and sepoys. Very little doubt existed as to the certainty of relief. Townshend himself was the chief fount of the optimism and steady courage which characterized the garrison. At the end of January he issued an address that his men might



MAP SHOWING THE TURKISH DEFENSES BEFORE KUT

Sheik Saad and Orah were evacuated by the Turks during the first ten days of the British advance. Frontal attack failed against the Umm-el-Hanna lines, but a diversion against the enemy's strongest position at Es-Sinn was almost successful. In the first week in April both Umm-el-Hanna and Falahiyeh fell, but the enemy still held Sannai-Yat and Es-Sinn; floods precluded further advance and Townshend was forced to surrender, April 29.

can be but briefly touched upon. They fall under two phases: first a determined siege, then a protracted investment. For the first month Turkish pressure was very heavy upon the invested city, but with the advance of the relieving force, it relaxed and the question of ammunition was less pressing. Food was the great problem and not until after the costly actions of January 7, 13, and 22 had been fought by insufficient forces were hidden stores found in Kut which gave three months' supplies to the besieged on a gradually reduced scale. Kut con-

know how things stood. "I have ample food for eighty-four days," he said, "and that is not counting the 3,000 animals which can be eaten. I expect confidently to be relieved in the first half of the month of February. Our duty stands out clear and simple. It is our duty to our Empire, to our beloved King and country, to stand here and hold up the Turkish advance as we are doing now, and with the help of all, heart and soul together, we will make the defense to be remembered in history as a glorious one . . . We will succeed—mark my words—

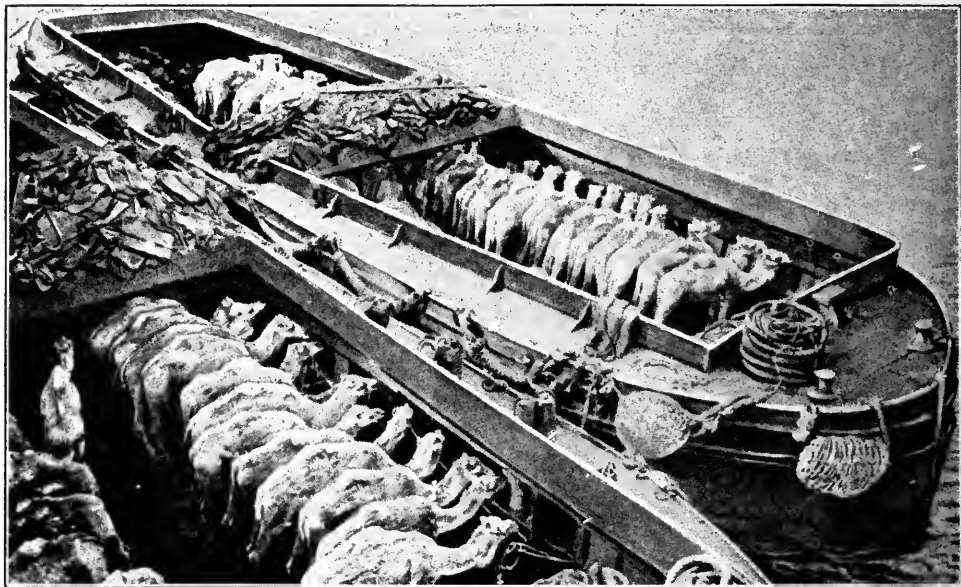
## HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

but save your ammunition as if it were gold."

### FAMINE DEPLETED THE VITALITY OF THE TROOPS.

Scurvy set in in February and a vegetable garden was planted from seeds dropped by aeroplane. Midway through the month a message from King George, and news of the capture of Erzerum cheered the troops though privations were now beginning to be seriously felt. Many of the Indians

a further reduction of food. On March 31 a further decrease was necessary, and April 8 the mill stopped working for want of fuel. Two weeks more and the flour ration was again cut down. On April 21 even the 4-ounce ration gave out and the troops subsisted on two days' reserve rations held since January. When after the third battle of Sannaiyat, immediate relief was hopeless, Kut was fed by aeroplane. When the Julnar was captured the



CAMELS FROM EGYPT ON THEIR WAY

The scope of the Tigris as a line of communication was limited to the number of vessels that could move at one time up and down stream through the narrows. At Basra there was a model like a war game showing the position of every ship on the river with its distinguishing flag, and with this map before him the controller of navigation at the end of the wire regulated the movements of the fleet.

would not eat the bullocks or oxen, and scurvy took heavy toll of them; in the hospitals, milk gave out, and the patients' diet was confined to cornflour or rice water for the sick, and ordinary rations for the wounded. Early in March it was clear that the vitality of the troops was almost exhausted, the recuperative power of the sick was low, and skin and flesh had lost the power of renovation. The disappointments of the failures of January and March 8 left them weary with exhausted expectancy. Again on the tenth Townshend issued another *communiqué* sympathizing with his men but inviting their co-operation in

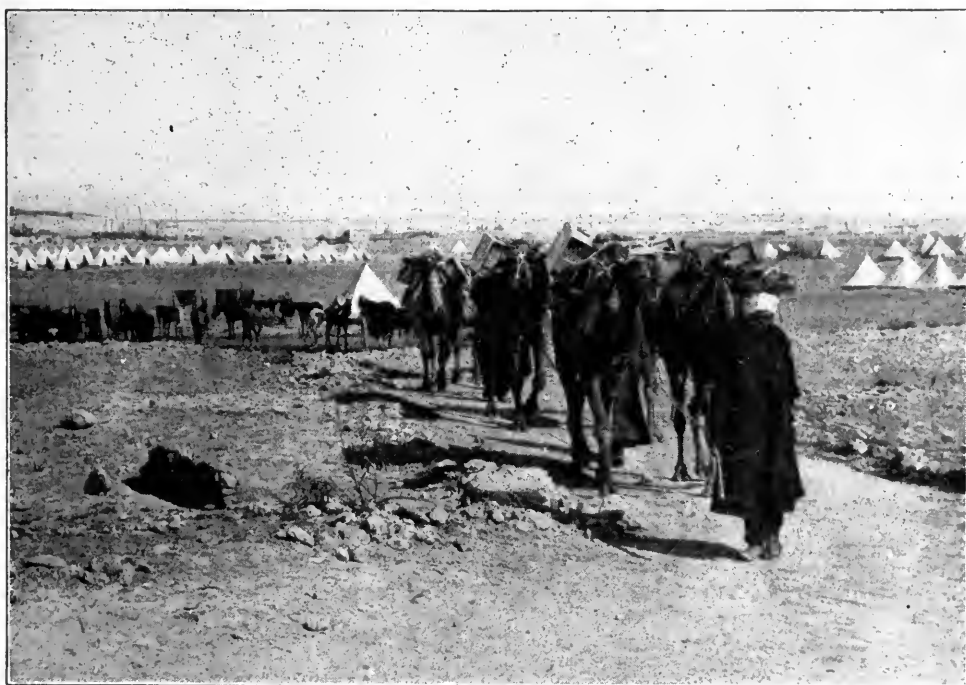
garrison was on the verge of starvation, and on the day of surrender the men in the trenches were too weak to carry back their kits. To an heroic defense of five months succeeded two and a half years of captivity with all its hardships and humiliations, and more than half of the rank and file succumbed to the hard conditions of exile. When the armistice was concluded it was found that of 2,680 N. C. O.'s and privates taken at Kut over 65 per cent had perished. Of the 10,486 Indians, combatants and followers, 1,290 died and 1,773 were untraced. Most of the Kut prisoners perished in the terrible crossing of the desert

between Samarra and Aleppo in June. They were separated from their officers and if too weak to march left by callous guards to perish by the wayside, exposed to the depredations of marauding Arabs.

### **A RENEWED RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN ARMENIA BEGINS.**

We must now turn to the efforts of the Russians in Armenia to relieve the

The latter, little suspecting the possibility of attack at this time, were badly placed. Because of British advance up the Tigris they had held many reinforcements in Bagdad, and German influence in Constantinople had succeeded in retaining a number of men in Thrace and Syria. Not until the Cossacks appeared in the neighborhood of Erzerum were Turkish divisions



**CAMEL TRANSPORT IN THE NEAR EAST**

During the war the camel has been the steed of the German and the Turks, the Arab and the Indian, the Anzac and the South African. Because the desert is his home, he can bear its glare and dust and sandstorms, and carry heavy burdens for long distances without food or water. He is not swift like motor transport, but he is valuable in that he can penetrate through trackless sandy wastes.

pressure upon the Tigris. In January, 1916, Townshend was shut up, and on the 9th of the month the evacuation of Gallipoli had been completed. Before the Turkish troops released from this area could be redistributed on the Saloniki Bagdad, and Caucasian fronts, Grand-Duke Nicholas decided to advance, although the difficulties of winter fighting among the plateaux and mountains of Armenia might have deterred a bolder man. In December, 1915, the Russian Caucasian army had been reinforced by 170,000 men, and a new expeditionary force under General Baratov sent to clear Central Persia of Turks.

directed in haste towards Angora, and Sanders Pasha made commander of the Army of Armenia.

### **THE NATURAL DEFENSES OF ERZERUM VERY STRONG.**

The Turkish line from the Black Sea to the neighborhood of Lake Van extended through a very difficult tangled mass of mountain and ravine. The ranges of Taurus and Anti-Taurus lift the central Armenian country into a tableland, crossed in its turn by many mountain ranges. From the Black Sea the ascent is by a continual chain of latitudinal ridges which rising one behind and higher than the other

lead up like a ladder to the edge of the plateau. On this plateau and in a depression lies Erzerum, the centre of the Turkish defense, fortified by Nature and man in a way that seemed to preclude all possibility of capture. To the south of the city the Palanteken Mountains tower more than 3,000 feet, crowned by advance forts. To the north of this range and forming the only approach to the city from the east lies the Passain Plain. North of this again a tangled mass of mountains guards the northern and eastern flanks of Erzerum, and is only pierced by the ravine of the so-called "Georgian Gates."

The Turkish problem then was to guard the Passain Plain, where they stationed their 9th and part of their 10th Army Corps; and to block the gap in the mountains on the north-east, where their 11th Corps accordingly intrenched.

### THE PLAN OF THE RUSSIAN ASSAULT ON ERZERUM.

Duke Nicholas' plan, which he entrusted to the execution of General Yudenitch, was a main attack upon the Turkish centre, along the Passain plain, while the Second Turkestan Army Corps at Olti in the Chorok depression was to divert the Turks in the north, and another column to threaten the flanks of the Turks at Azak Keui and Gey Dag.

According to the Russian calendar the simultaneous attacks on Olti, Tortoum, and Kepri-Keui were delivered at the New Year. They were immediately successful and Abdulla Kerim Pasha, January 16, ordered a general retreat upon the last line of defenses—the forts of Erzerum. "Then followed," writes Mr. Morgan Price, special correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian* who was with the Russian army, "what is frequently met with in Turkish retreats and is very characteristic of that race. The Turk has all the stubbornness and endurance of a highlander and an agriculturist. He does not see at once when he is out-mastered; but when he does, the untrained Oriental comes out strong in him; he throws everything away and

bolts in a general *sauve qui peut*. In this case he just ran till he reached Erzerum." Thus the Russians reached Kupri-Keui on the 18th, and on the 19th the last Turkish column disappeared behind the Deve-Boyun range. The Cossacks pursued right up to the outer chain of forts under cover of darkness and secured 1000 prisoners. The rout of the centre was complete; and the attack on Erzerum which followed was so rapid that fractions of the Turkish army on the wings could not retreat upon Erzerum, but fell back in the north by the Chorok valley on Baiburt, and in the south upon Mush.

### ERZERUM IS TAKEN IN SPITE OF GREAT OBSTACLES.

Yudenitch decided to attack Erzerum at once, for he had intercepted a wireless from the commander of the fortress to Enver Pasha stating, "Condition of the Third Army is serious; reinforcements must be sent at once or else Erzerum cannot be held." He knew, furthermore, that a siege in winter was impossible; that the Caucasus Tiflis-Kars railway only ran to Sari-Kamish and that it would be impossible to bring up siege guns over the snowy mountain roads. Russian papers of the day describe how the soldiers took apart field and mountain guns and toiled with them up the steep slopes covered with snow in a temperature of 25° below zero. Sometimes the drifts lay six feet deep and the men could only save themselves from being buried by spreading their coats before them every three feet of the way. When they came to storm the outer forts of Erzerum they found that the Turkish soldiers had poured water down the slopes and they had to hack their way up over fields of ice.

The garrison defended itself with fury, even making violent counter-attacks. But nothing could stay the Russian advance and after five days and nights of continuous fighting the Cossacks swept through the city and threw themselves upon the booty which the Turks had left, before pursuing the remnants of the Third Army fleeing upon Baiburt and Erzzhingian.

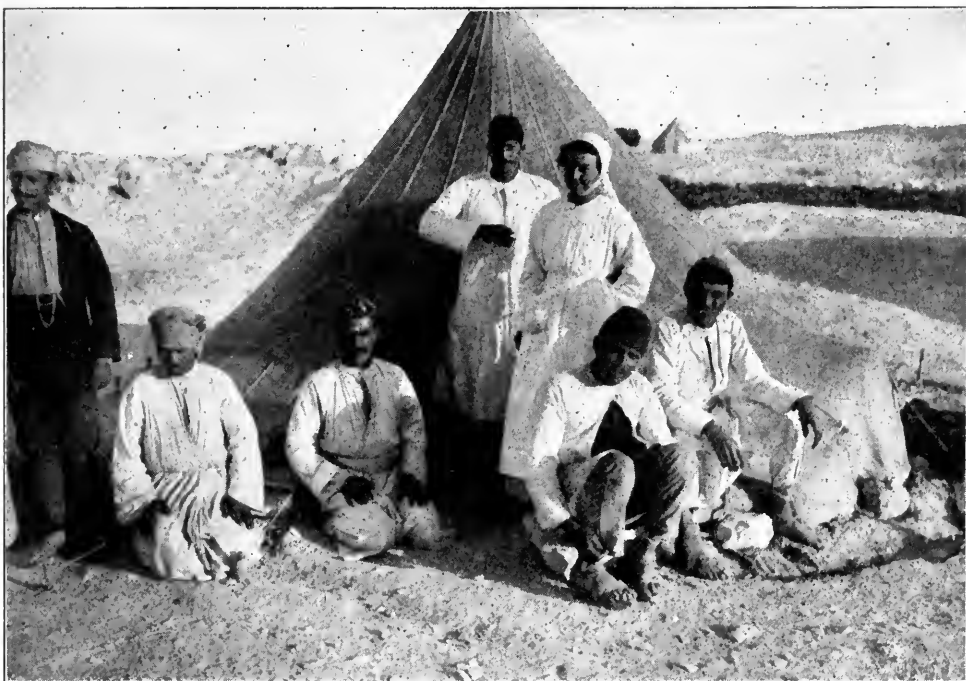
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Such was the rapidity of the capture that Grand-Duke Nicholas was not up to the front in time for the final triumph.

### THE PORT OF TREBIZOND IS ATTACKED FROM LAND AND SEA.

Yudenitch allowed no time for the Turks to reform; his left wing delivered an attack in the neighborhood of Lake Van, capturing Mush and Akhlet,

the great Black Sea port, and the seagate for Armenia, Kurdistan and Northern Persia. In order to capture it, Russian naval and land forces worked in conjunction. The Russians were almost supreme on the Black Sea by now, though the sporadic appearances of Turkish submarines and the partially-crippled Breslau, which acted as an escort to transports bringing



### WITH THE TURKS IN DESERT LANDS

The woman shown in the picture is Dr. Koch, a plucky German woman who ventured far from the Fatherland and risked unknown perils with the Turks in the desert. Because of Mohammedan traditions and conservatism the Turks were for the most part deprived of the ministrations of women in their hospitals.

while the right pursued the Turks in the difficult Chorok valley. The fruits of the victory at Erzerum were not slight: a Turkish fortress of the first rank together with all its stores of arms, munitions, signaling, telegraph and telephonic material. In addition the enemy lost some 12,000 men and the key to the trade route from the port of Trebizond into Persia by way of Erzerum. The Turkish *communiqués* first delayed, then falsified the news of the disaster, announcing that for military reasons the garrison had withdrawn without suffering loss to a position to the west of the city.

Yudenitch's goal now was Trebizond,

reinforcements to Trebizond, still constituted a danger. Thoroughly roused by the fall of Erzerum the Turks strained every nerve to save their port, rushing up two army corps for its defense and reconstructing their whole line. By sea the Russians advanced from Batum, and by land across the steep chain of Lazistan, under General Liakhov. They met stiff resistance at the line of Kara Dere but forced its passage in ten days' fighting aided by their fleet. Then all was easy. The ships sailed on to Platana and effected a landing which threatened the Turks in the rear. After this manœuvre Turkish defense collapsed, and by



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April 18, their army was streaming along the Gumush-khane road.

### THE TURK STRUGGLES TO REGAIN HIS LOST POSITIONS.

Meanwhile in the south, Bitlis, one of the posterns of the Armenian Taurus opening the route into Mesopotamia, had fallen; Mush was occupied and the whole region around Lake Van quickly cleared up. But the Russian line was now extended on its flanks dangerously beyond its centre, and when, April 29, Kut surrendered, its fall made vain all efforts of Yudenitch's left wing and Baratov's Persian army to reach the British. Yudenitch then pursued a slower advance towards the west, endeavoring to straighten his line and gain the cornlands of Sivas in the plain.

In the meantime, the Turk himself assumed the offensive at various points through May, in an effort to regain his hold upon Erzerum. Some of his attacks were upon Bitlis and Mush in an attempt to get in the rear of the Russians and cut their communications. Yudenitch began his advance July 2, and it rolled as irresistibly forward as the attacks upon Trebizond and Erzerum. Baiburt fell and Gumush-khane, the road to Erzhangian lay open, and the city was entered July 26, three weeks after the campaign had opened. In that time the Russian front had advanced seventy miles and added some two to three thousand square miles of territory to its conquests in Armenia.

### SOME OF THE CAPTURED POSITIONS ARE REGAINED.

The Turkish force routed in this advance did not, as in the previous retreats, move westward, but turned south-east on the Lake Van country in an endeavor to cut the Russian communications. Railway communication could supply reinforcements from the Levantine coast much more easily around Lake Van than in Anatolia, and from this quarter the Turkish troops were now a constant threat to Mush and Bitlis.

During the last days of July and early August the enemy prepared a powerful counter-stroke to the Russian

advance upon Erzhangian. Planned and executed by an able young German officer, Major-General Gresmann, its object was to rupture the Russian centre east of Erzerum by a rapid advance northwards from Mush, recapture the city, hurl back the right wing on the Black Sea and the left on Lake Van. Severe fighting took place and the Turks recaptured Mush and Bitlis. The latter was important for its narrow gorge is the only passage through the difficult country west of Lake Van, and its capture constituted both a threat to Mush and a bar to communication with Bagdad in the event of a British advance upon that city. Reinforcements reached the Russians at the end of the month and they retook Mush in the exhaustion of the Turkish counter-stroke, but Bitlis remained in the enemy's hands throughout the autumn of 1916.

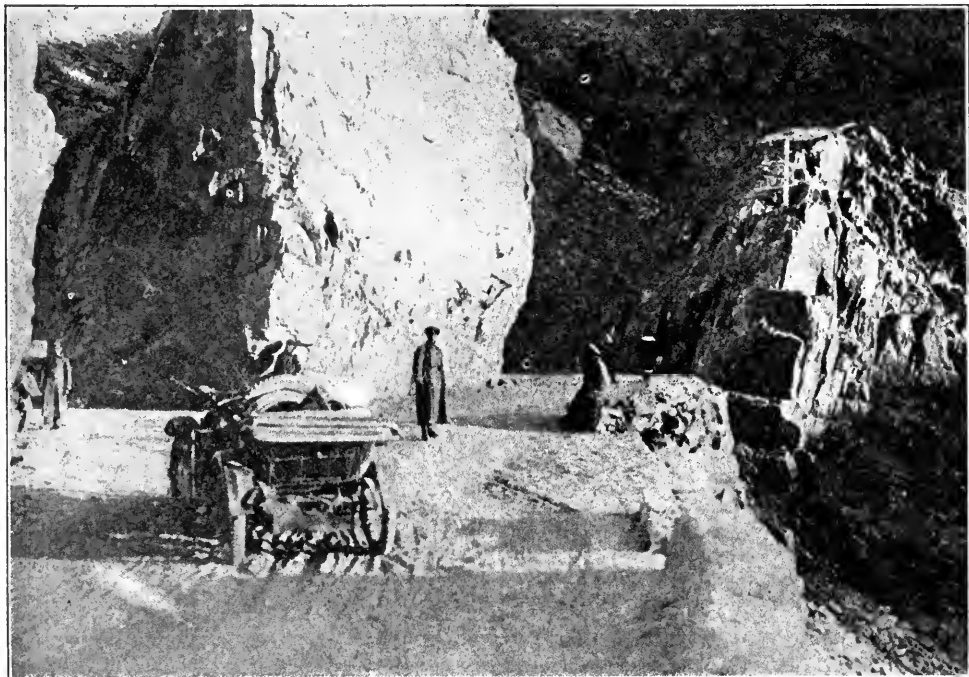
### GENERAL BARATOV AND HIS COSSACKS IN PERSIA.

The scope of this chapter forbids more than a brief outline of the fighting in Persia caused by wide-spread German propaganda, set on foot also in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and among the Pathans on the Indian border. Through the activities of Prince Reuss, the German Minister at Teheran, and other agents, anti-Russian and anti-British riots took place throughout the country, and chaotic anarchy became chronic. The government under the youthful Shah and swiftly-changing ministries was helpless. So critical had things become in November, 1915, that a Russian force marched from Kazvin to within a day's march of the capital to protect the Allied legations. After this *coup d'état* the Shah decided to throw the Germans overboard. Northern and Western Persia were cleared as the Russians swept south defeating the irregular bands of tribesmen, Turks and gendarmerie at Kum (December 15), and Hamadan (December 21), finally driving them west through the passes bordering on Mesopotamia back to their own frontier from Kermanshah. Baratov's spirited advance was a demonstration intended to relieve the pressure upon Kut and Yu-

denitch. In January the Turks advanced again and occupied Kermanshah but again Baratov smote them heavily back into the mountain passes.

Meanwhile in the south the British were active. Sir Percy Sykes arrived at Bundar Abbas in March and organized a police force for Southern Persia, to rid the country of German and Turkish bands and rebel gen-

cavalry and 4,000 infantry continued his march upon Khanikin, twice attacking the Turks and inflicting losses upon them. Then he withdrew to the Persian frontier and engaged the enemy in an eight days' battle in the Taq-i-Garra Pass, before falling back in orderly retreat upon Kerind, Kermanshah and Hamadan. He had effected his purpose and relieved the pressure



**SCENE ON THE ROUTE OF THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE THROUGH PERSIA**

The conformation of Persia is interesting. Most of the country consists of a plateau, with an average height of 4,000 feet above sea-level, surrounded by lofty ranges of mountains. The tableland has a diversified surface; parts are desert, others highlands or lakes of immense size. Transport is difficult even on ancient caravan routes.

darmerie. April saw the beginning of the collapse of the revolt in the eastern provinces: the governor of Kerman expelled the Germans from the town, disarmed the gendarmerie and sent them to Shiraz. Then Sirjan was purged and Shiraz and all the gendarmerie placed under arrest and editors of inflammatory leaflets seized.

### **THE TURKISH REINFORCEMENTS FORCE BARATOV TO RETIRE.**

The surrender of Kut had freed some Turkish divisions, which brought up the Turkish forces opposing Baratov to 23,000. In spite of these reinforcements, however, Baratov with 5,000

upon the forces in Armenia and the Tigris. In his retreat he played the same useful rôle, drawing the enemy from the essential theatre of war although he himself suffered some loss of political prestige. Finally he took stand at Sultan Bulagh blocking the Turkish advance on the capital. In the meanwhile a Russian force under Chernobuzov had pushed through from Urumiah and defeated the Turks at Lalgan (August 23), when the whole of the Turkish 11th Division and two battalions of the 10th were captured. The Turks threatened in their rear withdrew, the pressure on Baratov was

relieved, and by September once more the Russians were near Hamadan.

### **BRITISH OPERATIONS UPON THE TIGRIS AFTER THE FALL OF KUT.**

From the fall of Kut until August, operations on the Tigris were of a minor class, and of a defensive nature. Sir Percy Lake was in command and he judged that neither the health of the troops nor their numerical strength admitted of more than regularizing the occupation of the vilayet of Basra and the region of the Lower Euphrates.

In May a little breath of adventure brought a stir into the stagnation of the monotonous campaign. A sotnia of Baratov's Cossacks, 125 strong with 10 pack animals, left Mahidasht, twenty miles south by west of Kermanshah, May 8, with orders to get into touch with Lake at any cost. Riding light, they went south through the Pusht-i-Kuh hills, sometimes over passes 8000 feet high, on tracks that were rough and difficult for mules. When they had consumed their three days' rations they lived on the country and kept up their twenty-four miles a day. After halting for a brief interval at the court of the Wali of Pusht i-Kuh, they pushed into the British camp at El-Gharbi, May 15, their guide's neck in a noose for detected treachery. The enterprise was barren of results, but was a demonstration of what could be done in such a country by resource.

### **GENERAL MAUDE TAKES COMMAND OF THE MESOPOTAMIAN ARMY.**

In August the command of the Mesopotamian Army was transferred to Sir Stanley Maude, who had seen service in the Sudan and South Africa, and been severely wounded in the retreat from Mons. On his recovery he had been appointed to command the 13th Division at Gallipoli, and the brilliant service of this force in Mesopotamia had given their leader his command. The hot weather was somewhat abating, and Maude, in a general survey of the situation, estimated that the Turk intended to contain the British on the Tigris, while he expended his force in making Persia into a dependency and perhaps extended his attack on the British further east. He therefore decided to strike at Bagdad, the base of Turkish operations both in Persia and on the Tigris. That this attack should not fail Maude made three and a half months' careful preparation: building up the health and training of the troops, making efficient the long communications both by light railway and by water, getting up reserves, strengthening the Medical Service, equipping each unit properly and tuning up the General Staff. At the end of November the Mesopotamian Army was at the top of its form. The story of the capture of Bagdad will be told elsewhere.



British Nigerian troops in the Cameroons

## CHAPTER XXXIX

# The Course of the War During 1916

## LAVISH EXPENDITURE OF MEN AND MUNITIONS FAILS TO BRING A DECISION

AT the beginning of 1916 the Central Powers were confident of an early and a favorable decision. During 1915 they had had success after success. A minimum of men had held the Western Front while the armies of Russia were being pushed back, or else were conducted to German prison camps. Serbia had been destroyed, the Allied expedition against Gallipoli was obviously a failure, and General Townshend and his men were shut up in Kut-el-Amara, awaiting the relief which never came. A short sharp campaign on all fronts would, so the German High Command believed, bring the contest to a glorious end.

### ALLIED HOPES ARE AROUSED DURING THE YEAR.

Before the end of the year, about September 1, the Allied peoples also had their moment of confidence. The German attack upon Verdun had failed, the Austrian attack on Italy had been repulsed, and the Italians had advanced well toward Trieste; Brusilov was still advancing and his offensive seemed destined to succeed; Rumania had just declared war upon Austria-Hungary and had crossed the mountains into Transylvania. On the Somme the great British offensive was pounding the quaking German line. It seemed that the Central Powers must soon yield.

Both German and Allied hopes were disappointed. Verdun did not fall; the German line on the Somme was not broken; the Russian recovery, though brilliant, lacked the final ounce of strength necessary for success; though the Austrians could not drive down into the Italian plain, they were able to prevent the Italians from seizing the key to the Adriatic; Rumania's high hopes of annexing her scattered children were blasted, and the enemy held her capital, her seaport, her granaries, and her oilfields. The great naval battle of Jutland had shown the German sailors to be possessed of greater skill and better guns than had been suspected, but the British fleet, though somewhat battered, continued to hold undisputed command of the seas.

### THE SUPPLY OF MUNITIONS AT LAST SUFFICIENT.

The end of the year saw more men in the field than before. Kitchener's New Armies had shown their quality, and the British Parliament had definitely adopted a policy of conscription. Both in France and Great Britain the question of munitions was no longer a nightmare. The supply was ample and continued so until the end of the war. Russia was short toward the end of the year in spite of large shipments from Japan and the United States,

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which the government apparently made no real effort to send forward to the fighting line. Russia was, in truth, on the point of collapse though this fact was not realized by her allies.



Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven was the most distinguished student of war in the German Empire. He was Quartermaster General under von Falkenhayn and later Deputy Chief of the General Staff.

The Western Front was the scene of the heaviest fighting yet seen on both the French and the British fronts. During January there were small operations, some of them bloody, but nothing approaching a general engagement. In February, however, came the German attempt to break through at Verdun. This was neither a single battle, nor a siege, but a whole series of operations continuing through many months. It was marked by great bravery and grim determination on the part of the German forces, and by bravery no less remarkable and by unbelievable endurance on the part of the French.

### **V**ERDUN A SOURCE OF DANGER TO THE GERMAN LINE.

From the beginning of the war Verdun and its ring of nearly forty forts

had projected as a salient into the German lines. Situated on both banks of the Meuse it was feared by the Germans as a possible base from which an attack might be launched upon Metz and upon their communications. The French valued it highly, not only as one of their major defenses, but also as a symbol of French invincibility.

The Allies were hoping to break through during 1916. To forestall them, by paralyzing the French offensive, on February 21 after two days of preliminary bombardment, a perfect hail of steel descended upon a small section of the French defenses. A thousand pieces of artillery were engaged, some of them the great Krupp and Skoda howitzers which had so easily destroyed the Belgian forts. The French lines were pulverized, but the French withdrew, to new positions, always selling the ground they left at a high price. During the first week great German gains were made and the German people were informed that the fortress was on the point of capture; but the French held on, regaining occasionally a bit of the lost ground.

### **T**HE LATER ASPECTS OF THE VERDUN BATTLES.

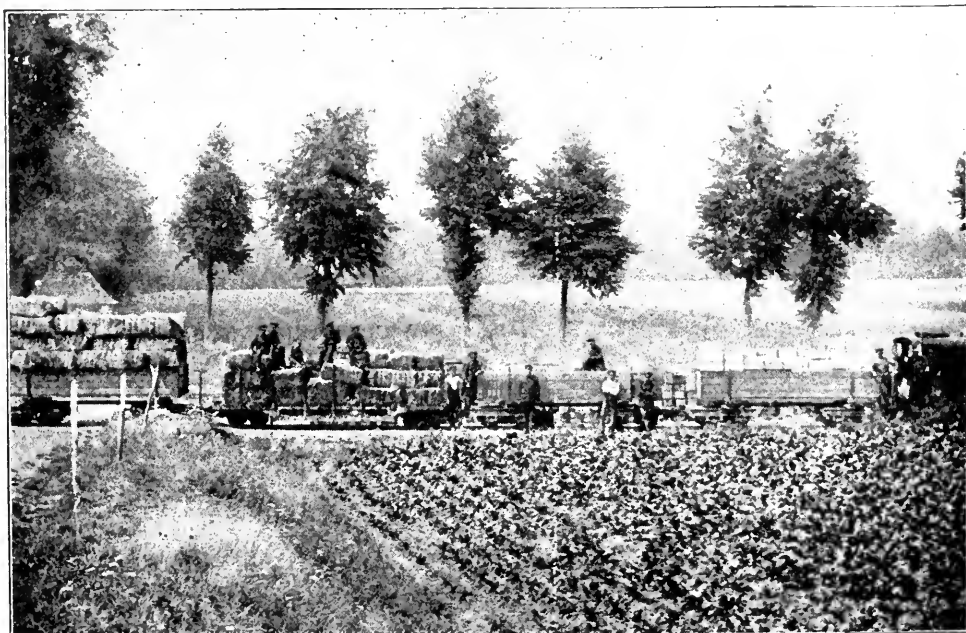
These crushing attacks continued until April 9, about which time they were brought to a standstill. Then followed a period in which the German attacks were intended not so much to take the fortress, as to prevent the French from reinforcing the British armies on the Somme. About the middle of July the French regained the offensive, and for five months the Germans struggled to hold what they had already taken, only to lose in a few days in October, and again in December, what they had gained so painfully in weeks and months. The casualties on both sides were enormous, but the whole campaign was a French victory, for they held fast. General von Falkenhayn, the Chief of the German General Staff, paid the penalty for failure, and was relieved by General von Hindenburg at the end of August.

During 1915 great British armies had been in process of formation. English youth from the most exalted to the



#### TESTING BOMBS FOR TRENCH MORTARS

The trench mortar is an effective weapon at close quarters. A small charge of powder throws a bomb into the enemy trenches where it explodes either by contact or by a time fuse. The fish tail is attached to steady the projectile in its flight, and prevent it from turning over. This is a French factory.



#### THE LIGHT RAILWAY CARRYING SUPPLIES TO THE FRONT

Motor and horse transport both had their uses for which nothing else answered; but the light railway was also extensively used, and tracks were laid everywhere behind the lines. No great attempt was made to make the roadway smooth, but nevertheless the engines and cars generally stayed on the track. When the road had served its purpose the rails were taken up and relaid somewhere else. Rails which were the principal means of transport in one region today might be serving the same purpose a dozen or more miles away a fortnight later.

Picture; British Official



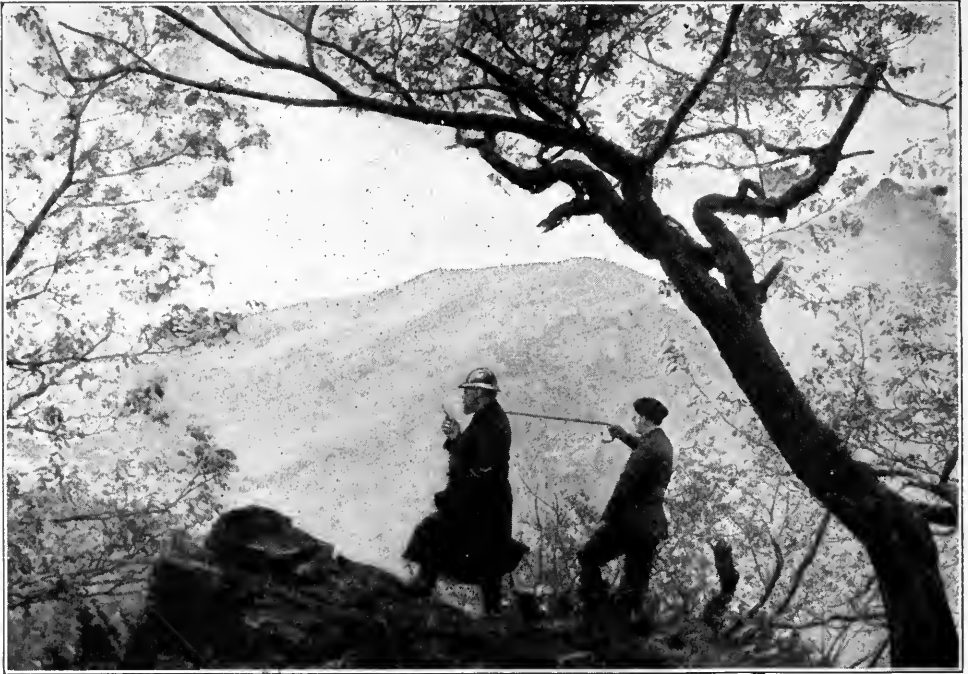
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humblest was in the ranks learning a new trade. In the spring of 1916, division upon division had been landed in France. There were heavy guns enough, and the gunners could not complain of scarcity of ammunition. Where was this new force to be tested?

### THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME.

The point chosen was the western side of the salient which the Germans

bombardment on June 24, followed on July 1, by an assault by the British on a front of twenty miles, and half as much by the French. On the British left little or no gain was made, but on the right about seven miles of the German first line trenches were taken. The French had been more successful. The losses were appalling and the hope of an immediate break in the German lines soon died.



A FRENCH RELIEF POST IN ALSACE

had pushed past Noyon. Here, on both sides of the Somme River, the British and the French were to push forward. The sanguine had hoped that they might break through and cause a general German retreat. At least they would relieve the pressure on Verdun. Before the end of the five months Verdun was no longer in danger, and the contest had settled into a war of attrition, an attempt to reduce Germany's man-power as she had attempted to bleed France.

The attack was hastened a little on account of the situation at Verdun but not unduly. The battle, or series of battles, began with a grand artillery

### GENERAL HAIG DETERMINES TO CONTINUE THE FIGHTING.

General Haig determined to continue the fighting and for two weeks he slowly blasted his way toward the German second line, breaking through it on a narrow front, on July 14. For more than a month more he struggled to widen the breach in the first and second lines and to clear the country between. This was the first open fighting in the West since trench warfare began. The French likewise moved forward and were approaching Comblès at the middle of August. Combined British and French attacks followed and during September the Germans



#### A GERMAN ARTILLERY REGIMENT ON THE MARCH

A German artillery regiment is here shown on its leisurely way to the front early in the war before there was any shortage of horses. Later horses became fewer and less able to work on account of the scarcity of fodder, and the men were compelled to march instead of riding at their ease.

Picture, Henry Ruschin



#### GENERAL VON HEERINGEN AND STAFF AT GREAT HEADQUARTERS

General von Heeringen was a good soldier though he proved unequal to the task laid upon him. Here he is seen with his staff upon the steps of Great Headquarters saluting the troops marching by, and calling for a "Hoch" for the Kaiser and the Fatherland. This picture was issued by authority of the General Staff and was widely circulated in Germany.

N. Y. Times Photo Service

were driven from their third line into the low ground beyond. Martinpuich, Courcellette, Delville Wood, Combles and the rest were taken, and Bapaume and Péronne were threatened.

Just when the Allied forces, having broken through the supposedly impregnable German defenses, were ready to press their advantage, Nature intervened. Five weeks of almost continuous rain turned the pitted, tortured ground into almost bottomless quagmire through which progress was impossible. Tanks, first used in the engagements earlier in the autumn, were now useless, artillery could not be advanced, and supplies were brought forward with great difficulty. The great offensive was smothered in the mud, an ignominious end to perhaps the greatest battle History records.

It is believed that the Germans lost 500,000 men, the British at least as many, and the French half as many, a terrible price to pay for a few square miles of shell-torn ground. The advantage remained, however, with the Allies, and incidentally these gains forced the German retreat in 1917.

### **R**USSIA'S GREAT OFFENSIVE BEFORE REVOLUTION AND DISSOLUTION.

The Central Powers boasted that the Russian disasters of 1915 including the fall of Warsaw, had destroyed Russian military effectiveness. They were mistaken, for before the end of that year, the Austrians were being driven headlong in Bukovina. In the beginning of 1916, the Russians showed wonderful recuperative power. Alexiev, the real commander under Tsar Nicholas, had brought order out of military chaos and from the fragments of armies had welded a powerful force. Striking early in June on a long line from the Pripet Marshes to the Rumanian border he destroyed two Austrian armies and weakened the force the Central Powers might have brought against the Italian and the Western Fronts; but his blows could not be driven home and the Russian advance gradually slowed down and then stopped, never to revive in force.

The Russian generals had shown ability, and the Russian soldier fought

magnificently, but treason had begun to show itself in the government and even in the court itself. The Premier, Stürmer, was openly in favor of a peace with the Central Powers, and the Tsaritsa, herself, influenced by the monk Rasputin, seconded his efforts. With her and others of the autocracy the motive was not, perhaps, so much pro-Germanism as a realization that, with the downfall of the German Empire, autocracy in the adjoining states was likely to perish also. Whatever may have been the motives the result was the same. The army was purposely hampered and the offensive of 1916 was the last expiring flare of Russian resolution.

### **R**UMANIA COMES INTO THE WAR AND IS OVERWHELMED.

The decision of Rumania to join the Entente was hailed with delight, and the invasion of Hungary on August 27 was expected to be of material assistance. The invasion failed, and German, Austrian, and Bulgarian troops swarmed into Rumania, and before the end of the year, two-thirds of the country was in enemy hands. Some supplies, chiefly oil and wheat, which the Rumanians were unable to destroy, went to aid the Central Powers, which needed them sorely. We now know that the country was pushed into the war by Stürmer, and then abandoned, with the hope that by the sacrifice calamity might be averted from Russia. Four small nations, in turn, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, had been sacrificed to the God of War, and the end seemed little nearer.

During the year the British fleet tightened the blockade of Germany. All the resources of German science and invention were mobilized to provide substitutes for the many articles no longer procurable, but for food, particularly fats, no substitute could be found, and the pinch of hunger, or rather malnutrition, began to be felt.

### **T**HE BRITISH FLEET AND THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND.

The British battle fleet kept guard in the North Sea, though smaller units were everywhere, combating sub-

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marines, sweeping for mines, convoying transports, protecting merchant vessels. The Italian and the French fleets were occupied in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, but no important engagement occurred during the year. A Russian fleet in the Gulf of Riga helped to repulse a German assault upon that port, and another in the Black Sea aided in the capture of Trebizond.

fleet under Admiral Jellicoe. The Germans followed fast, but when the British Grand Fleet loomed up in the mist, attempted to flee in turn. In the early hours of the night the greatest battle in marine history occurred. The night was dark, the seas swarming with German submarines and other torpedo craft, and Admiral Jellicoe after he had succeeded in getting between the German fleets and



**WOUNDED CANADIAN SOLDIER CARRIED BY GERMAN PRISONERS**

German prisoners are here being used to carry to the rear a stretcher improvised from a blanket and a pole in which is a wounded Canadian soldier. The Germans have been furnished with tobacco and are apparently glad to be where they are, and their patient is bearing up under misfortune as well as could be expected.

©Underwood and Underwood

On the afternoon of May 31, Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, with a fleet of cruisers, supported by a squadron of four battleships, fell in with a squadron of German cruisers under Vice-Admiral Hipper. A running fight ensued during which the *Indefatigable* and the *Queen Mary* were sunk, as the German gunnery was excellent. The fight carried Beatty into the neighborhood of the main German fleet, under Vice-Admiral Scheer, whereupon Beatty naturally turned northward hoping to lure the German fleet toward the main British

their base did not press his advantage home. The morning light showed that the German fleet had escaped during the night.

### THE COURSE AND THE RESULTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT.

This then was the course of the engagement. Beatty with his cruisers while engaged in a reconnaissance fell in with an inferior force of German cruisers under Hipper similarly engaged. Hipper fled fighting, hoping to lure Beatty within reach of the main German fleet. He was successful, whereupon Beatty turned toward the

main British fleet with the same hope. When the main German fleet met the main British fleet, it in turn sought to escape and was successful.

The British Admiralty frankly acknowledged its losses, three battle cruisers, three armored cruisers, eight destroyers, 114,000 tons in all, and 5,613 officers and men. The German losses as first announced were much smaller. Later additional losses were grudgingly acknowledged, but the final total announced, was only 63,000 tons and 3,966 officers and men. The British claim that the German losses were much larger, but, be that as it may, the German fleet did not again risk an engagement during the war and the British fleet remained in command of the seas.

### THE DETERMINATION TO RENEW RUTHLESS SUBMARINE WARFARE.

Submarine warfare was marked by vacillation upon the part of the Germans. They were anxious to use the weapon to the fullest extent, but they hesitated to defy the United States. On September 1, 1915, the United States government had been assured that no more passenger ships would be torpedoed without warning, and for several months the promise was kept, with some exceptions, but soon the discussion over armed merchantmen arose. An unsuccessful attempt was made in the Congress of the United States to pass a resolution warning American citizens not to travel on armed ships. In spite of the supposed restrictions on the freedom of action of the submarine commanders, about a thousand British ships were sunk during 1916.

### THE SITUATION OF THE NEUTRAL POWERS EVER MORE DIFFICULT.

The lot of the neutral powers grew steadily more difficult. German submarines sank their ships while the Allied blockade interfered with their commerce and even with their food supply. Portugal, long closely associ-

ated with Great Britain, gave up the vain effort to preserve neutrality, March 10, 1916, and sent a contingent to France. Though some individuals in Holland made fortunes by selling food stuffs to both belligerents, the cost of maintaining the army and the hindrances to commerce more than counterbalanced this advantage. The other neutrals were equally unhappy.

The United States was evidently moving toward war. The diplomatic correspondence with the German authorities was increasingly unsatisfactory. German sympathizers continued to destroy lives and property and to foment discord among the various elements of the population. The deep-rooted love for peace in the United States was giving way to the realization that war was inevitable. Though some votes were cast for the re-election of President Wilson on the ground that "he kept us out of the war," the Germans seem to have had no illusions on that score. Meanwhile the President held his majority in Congress well in hand and prevented the passage of a resolution warning Americans not to travel on armed merchant vessels. It was evident that the participation of the United States was a matter of months at most.

### FAILURE TO END THE WAR BY MILITARY FORCES EVIDENT.

The year 1916 was the year of the soldier. On every front, on both sides, the commanders had had liberty to force a decision if it could be done by lavish expenditure of men and materials of war. They had spent both freely, but no decision had been reached and none seemed in sight, although Russia was already in the early throes of revolution. Many men on both sides, as well as in the neutral states, were beginning to question whether a decision could be reached by military force; and during the next year we are to see a series of abortive attempts to secure peace by negotiation.







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