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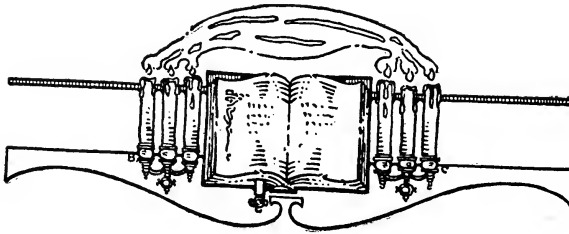
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KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA



Ruler of the Balkan Nation Whose Declaration of War on the Side of the Entente Was the Chief Military Event of Last Month.

QUEEN MARIA OF RUMANIA



The Beautiful Ruler, With King Ferdinand, of the Fifteenth Nation
to Enter the Great European War.

THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period October, 1916—December, 1916

INTRODUCTION

JUST before the beginning of the Autumn of 1916 the world war had been once more extended by the entrance of Rumania on the side of the Allies. The declarations of war had been made in the last days of August, but it was during the ensuing Fall that practically the whole of the campaign leading up to the taking of Bucharest was carried out. More important military events, however, were occurring on the western front, where the French and British Armies had begun their great offensive in July. The fighting on the Somme was characterized by some of the bloodiest struggles since the beginning of the war, struggles in which the Allies slowly but surely pushed ahead, though not to the extent they hoped. The German lines were bent but not broken, and thus no strategic result was gained by the Allies such as would enable them to "roll up" the enemy's lines. By the end of November the Somme offensive was at an end. But this did not conclude the drama of the western campaign. Suddenly and in the most unexpected manner the last weeks before Winter set in became memorable for another battle at Verdun, where the French won back the whole net result of the German gains earlier in the year.

The Somme offensive at the beginning of September was on the line Péronne-Combles-Bapaume, the immediate objective being Combles. The British were north of the Somme; in the centre they were co-operating with the French, who in turn were holding the allied right

wing. The thirty-mile front extended from north of Thiépvall down to Vermandovillers. Unity of action having been re-established in the various sectors, a series of attacks was begun by the Allies after terrific and precise artillery preparation. So well were these attacks carried out that the German first-line positions were battered to pieces, the second lines stormed, and even sections of the third-line system of defense taken.

This phase of the offensive began on Sept. 2, when the allied centre advanced to the line Ginchy-Guillemont-Combles-Le Forest-Cléry. The following day there was an eventful battle which wrested Guillemont from the Germans on the British sector and gave the French near Cléry the most important victory since the opening of the Somme offensive. The fighting was more like that of the days before trench warfare, for it was in the open with a plentiful use of the bayonet. Between Maurepas and Cléry, where the bloodiest encounters occurred, the French were opposed to the Second Army Corps of Bavarians, and next to them on the north the Third Division of the German Imperial Guard, while the Brandenburgers tried to hold Guillemont against the British. The French reached the outskirts of Combles and remained firmly entrenched on the plateau overlooking the Bapaume-Péronne highway. Further south they gained a footing on Hill St. Quentin, dominating Péronne itself. At Soyecourt the French charged with the bayonet, took the Germans' machine guns, and turned them on

the enemy. The victory won by the French was in every way brilliant and showed the fine fighting qualities which inspired the people with confidence in the ultimate result of the western struggle.

The British at Guillemont fought with no less vigor. It is estimated that the German gas shells thrown at them numbered 10,000 that day. The machine-gun fire directed by the Germans on the advancing British was like a tornado of hail. Twice it stopped them, but in the end the Germans were driven back and forced to abandon the village, which was now a heap of ruins. In the preceding artillery fire the British had thrown 200,000 shells at the position, which had by the time it was captured also been the target of 3,000,000 bullets. On Sept. 4 the British were fighting at Ginchy, and the following day the French advanced to the north of the Somme to the region east of Le Forest. With the occupation of Ommiecourt the French lines on both sides of the river were straightened out. On Sept. 9 the British attacked on a front of about 6,500 yards from Foureaux Wood to Leuze Wood and took all of Ginchy. On Sept. 11 the French progressed as far as the Béthune-Péronne highway. On Sept. 15 the British took part of Bouleaux Wood, Foureaux Wood, Flers, and Martinpuich, (on the road Albert-Pozières-Bapaume,) thus seizing all the ground between the region northwest of Combles and the Béthune road as far as Courcelette. All this fighting represented a sure and steady gain, and paved the way for the important successes of a couple of weeks later.

The battle on Sept. 15, when the British broke the German third line, was memorable for the first appearance of the "tanks," the huge armored motor cars which, traveling on caterpillar feet, crush over all obstacles and are impervious to bullets and ordinary shell fragments. To the Germans, when they first saw these land dreadnoughts, the "tanks," or "Willies," as they were nicknamed by the British soldiers, seemed like prehistoric monsters breathing destruction from the guns concealed inside.

Although the interior mechanism was manufactured by an American farm tractor company, the "tank" was a British innovation.

The general military situation was now this: The German lines were becoming so badly bent that the Noyon salient might be endangered. If the allied offensive could force the German line between Arras and Noyon, that would be a decisive step toward driving the enemy out of Northern France and Belgium. On the other hand, the further the Allies pushed their apex without at the same time straightening their base line the more they were exposing themselves to flanking movements. The Allies now succeeded in preventing the danger of being outflanked, but they were unable to force the Germans far enough back to gain the strategic advantage that would "roll up" the enemy's lines. Such was the value of the capture of Combles on Sept. 25 and of Thiépval on Sept. 26-27. With the exception of Péronne, Combles was the largest town in this section of the front, and was the most important point that remained in the Germans' hands between the Allies' lines and Bapaume. The French had previously pushed well to the east of Combles, and when the British, on the north, advanced to a point in line with the French, the town was caught in a pocket two miles deep and only a mile across the mouth. It was then only a question of hours to close the pocket, and next day (Sept. 26) the whole position was in the Allies' hands. This fighting was still in progress when, with surprising suddenness, the British cut across the gap which separated their lines north of Thiépval and enveloped that town. This success was even more important than the capture of Combles, for Thiépval was the most strongly defended position in the entire salient. The Allies had been endeavoring to take Combles and Thiépval ever since the opening of the Somme offensive in July. The British made another "push" beyond Le Sars on Oct. 7, thereby gaining a mile on the way to Bapaume, while the French straightened out their base line by wiping out the German

salient between the Chaulnes Wood and Hill 91. On Oct. 11 there was some more severe fighting when Bovent was taken, but this was not as fierce as the previous fighting for Combles, which constituted the greatest effort of the Allies' offensive on the Somme.

The Allies now attempted to push on and capture Péronne and Bapaume. The French took the villages of Sailly and Saillisel, positions of no importance in themselves, but of value in relation to Péronne. The French also captured the towns of Ablaincourt and Pressoir, thus opening the way for a direct attack on Chaulnes. The British advance, though impeded by bad weather, was characterized by severe fighting, particularly along the River Ancre. Altogether the Allies advanced about two or three miles along an extended front. About the middle of November the Somme offensive began to slow down and come to an end.

But the western campaign of 1916 did not end tamely as the slackening of the effort on the Somme and the Ancre seemed to suggest. Suddenly the Verdun region became a new centre of interest. By the surprise attack which the French prepared and carried out in a most masterful manner the net result of the long and terrible assault made by the Germans was wiped out in a day. The French attack, which took place on Oct. 24, was directed against Forts Douaumont and Vaux, both of which were captured with many prisoners and large quantities of material and equipment. The fight was all over in a few hours. The first blow was struck in the region east of the Meuse on a front of nearly five miles. The French troops numbered 80,000 in four divisions. The actual evacuation of Fort Vaux did not take place till the night of Nov. 1. The French, not knowing that the position had been abandoned, kept up their artillery fire for some time afterward. With the storming of the Damloup work the French regained all the permanent defenses of Verdun, which it had taken the Germans eight months to capture at a sacrifice estimated at 600,000 men. There were further operations in the Verdun area, but they belong to a later period.

Events on the eastern front were affected by Rumania's entrance into the war, especially on the southern end of the Russian line. At the beginning of September the Russian general attack was being aimed at Lemberg from the south. The left wing and the centre having effected a junction, the Russians advanced toward Halicz, an important railhead of the communication with Lemberg, and on Sept. 6 gained some ground. On Sept. 7 and 8 a battle was fought between the Zlota Lipa and the Dniester for the possession of Halicz, but the Russians were defeated and the advance on Lemberg was temporarily discontinued. But a couple of weeks later three great battles were begun in Volhynia, in Eastern Galicia, and on the middle Stokhod. From the south, in the Lutsk region, and from the east, across the Stokhod, the Russians directed an offensive against the Kovel line for an attack on Lemberg from the northeast. The German-Austrian lines were bent back, but the Russians were unable to gain their objective. German and Hungarian forces then began a counteroffensive to the northeast of Kovel, on the middle Stokhod, and forced the Russians back. Another Russian offensive against Lemberg was attempted along the road from Brody to Krasne, but this, too, was held back. The fighting in Volhynia, where the Russians tried to break through to Vladimir Volynsky, and especially in the region west of Lutsk, was protracted and sanguinary, but without result. The Russians made many costly but fruitless attacks, which were followed by vigorous counteroffensives. The Teutonic forces on the east Galician front of Halicz-Brzezany made an advance, while on the east bank of the Narayuvka River the Russian positions were captured by German and Turkish troops. On Nov. 9 the Teutons in the region northeast of Baranovitche, southwest of Minsk, in the centre of the line extending from the Baltic to Galicia, scored an important local success by smashing the Russian front along two and a half miles, but without reaping any strategic advantage from the blow. But, as the Russian advance had been stopped, the Germans now had the better of the position on the

eastern front, and they had also regained the initiative.

The full significance of the fighting on the eastern front cannot be appreciated without taking into consideration the Rumanian factor. Actuated by political motives instead of military prudence, Rumania directed its energies on a campaign to win back Transylvania, where the population is of the same race and speaks the same language. The right course would have been to invade Bulgaria through the open gateway of the Dobrudja, leaving just enough troops to hold the passes in the Transylvania Alps. But this policy was not adopted. The Dobrudja was left with a comparatively small force, and when the Teutonic offensive opened from the south on Sept. 2 Rumania was unable to make the stand necessary to prevent the Dobrudja from being overrun.

When the Rumanians opened their attack by advancing on the Transylvanian Alps, a Russo-Rumanian army attacked the Austro-Hungarian front of the Archduke Karl Franz Josef in the southeast Carpathians. The forces of the Central Powers fell back, while the Rumanians gained several temporary advantages. The column advancing on the west took Orsova and that of the centre occupied Kronstadt. But these successes were more than offset by the advance of the Germans, Bulgarians, and Turks, who entered Rumania at three points. The western column moved against the Danube bridgehead, Turtukan, which fell on Sept. 6; the centre moved against the fortress of Silistria, which was taken on Sept. 9; and the eastern column against the fortress of Dobritsch, which was also occupied. Within a couple of weeks of the opening of hostilities, the Russo-Rumanian forces were falling back after being severely defeated. The direction of the Rumanian forces seems to have been very poor, though the fighting quality of the men was good. One episode stands out as one of the most daring adventures of the whole war, but also one of the most foolish. On Oct. 3 16,000 men without artillery crossed the Danube near Rahova (Liahova) on a hastily constructed pontoon bridge and began to

advance in the enemy's country. The pontoon was destroyed by Austro-Hungarian monitors in the river, and, Bulgarians coming from two directions, the Rumanian force was completely wiped out. Reverses now began to overtake the Rumanian armies in every quarter. The first army was driven back by the Teutons after a three-day battle between Hermannstadt and Rothenturm Pass; the second army was thrown back from the Alt River above Fogares to the Rumanian frontier; the Rumanians, who, with the Russians had invaded Hungary through the Carpathians, were forced to retire by a new Teutonic advance; and, finally, the general retirement caused the retreat of the Rumanian Army which had invaded Hungary across the Danube at the Iron Gate near Orsova.

The Teutonic invasion from the north now began to join with the advance from the west by way of Orsova. Pushing rapidly along the Black Sea coast, Mackensen, the German commander, occupied Constanza and then swung his line across the railroad and beyond Cernavoda, where the only bridge east of Belgrade crossed the Danube. The Rumanians destroyed the bridge and retreated toward the Russian frontier for about forty miles, till they reached the hill country in Northern Dobrudja. After several weeks' delay, the Rumanians struck back at Mackensen's left wing and forced him to retreat beyond Hirsova. But he still held Cernavoda and the railroad from there to the sea. The Teuton forces under Falkenhayn after severe fighting occupied Craiova on Nov. 21 and then advanced against the strong Rumanian position on the Alt River. On Nov. 23 Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops recaptured Orsova, thereby gaining control of the 100-mile sector Orsova-Craiova of the great Rumanian railroad. On Nov. 25 the armies of Falkenhayn and Mackensen effected a junction at Alexandria, fifty miles southwest of Bucharest, and on Nov. 28 the entire Alt line was in the hands of the invaders. Bucharest was now doomed.

After some spasmodic fighting on the Saloniki front, another allied offensive began in September. Successes were

gained by the combined French, British, Serbian, and Italian army, but they were only of a local nature. The right wing advanced along the Struma against Seres, the centre against Doiran, and the left against Monastir, (Czerna front.) It was in the last direction that the fighting became more and more concentrated. Here the Serbians, assisted by the French, made a series of vigorous attacks and gained useful positions for further operations against Monastir, which was eventually occupied on Nov. 18. The capture of the Macedonian capital was the first real gain of the Saloniki expedition in eleven months.

Partly through having begun to participate actively in the Saloniki campaign Italy was at war with Germany in the beginning of September. As to Italy's progress against Austria-Hungary during the period under review little had been achieved since the occupation of Gorizia. Efforts to secure a foothold on the Carso Plateau, which blocks the way to Trieste, were mostly spasmodic, until, renewing the offensive with more vigor, a position was established on the western tip of the tableland. The offensive then relaxed. Italy's difficulty was lack of adequate shells, the result of having no source of iron supplies.

Military events of comparatively little importance occurred in Asia Minor. Throughout the three months under review there was desultory fighting between the Russians and Turks in the Gumuskhana region, the Russians gaining slight advantages on Sept. 1 and 2, on Oct. 31, and on Nov. 13. On the Black Sea coast the Russians captured the fortifications of Petra Kala, forty-five miles west of Trebizond. In the Hamadan region of Persia the Russians also made some progress. But the campaign as a whole was not very vigorous because the British expedition in Mesopotamia was not yet ready to move for the purpose of attacking Bagdad and eventually effecting a junction with the Russians and with them commence operations for the complete conquest of Turkey's Asiatic territories.

The only other fighting on land that remains to be chronicled is that for the

possession of German East Africa. In the early part of September a Belgian force captured Tabora, the principal German fort on the railway from Lake Tanganyika to Dar-es-Salaam on the Indian Ocean. This completed the occupation of the western half of the colony. Almost simultaneously the British bombarded and occupied Dar-es-Salaam. The British expedition, under General Northey, which had crossed the frontier from Rhodesia and Nyassaland, defeated the Germans in two battles at Lupembe on Oct. 30 and Nov. 19. From the north the colony had been invaded by General Smuts, with South African and other British colonial troops. This force made good progress and effected a junction with General Van Deventer's column. From still another quarter, the south-east, German East Africa was invaded by the Portuguese from their East African colony, Mozambique. All these different expeditions gradually converged and completed the occupation of the country, so that the remnants of the German forces were no longer able to carry on even guerrilla warfare. By the end of November this valuable colonial possession, with an area of 384,000 square miles, had virtually passed out of German hands.

Aerial Warfare

One of the most brilliant exploits of the aerial war was that of Captain de Beauchamps of the French Army, who on Nov. 17 flew to Munich in Bavaria, dropped bombs on that city, crossed the Alps, and concluded his adventurous journey at Venice in Italy. The same airman had in September made a raid in company with another French officer on the Krupp works at Essen. In October a Franco-British air squadron bombarded the German Mauser works at Obendorf. In November British naval airplanes twice attacked the German submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge. A famous airman disappeared from the scene on Oct. 28, when Captain Boelke of the German Army was killed through colliding with another German airplane. More noteworthy among aerial events was the series of

Zeppelin raids over England. During the period under review 80 people were killed and about 200 injured in England from this cause. The two worst raids occurred on Sept. 23 and 25. In the first of these the Zeppelins reached London, as they did again on Oct. 1. The development in the English aerial defense system was shown by the fact that six Zeppelins were brought down and destroyed during the raids between Sept. 2 and Nov. 28. The German airplane which dropped bombs on London on Nov. 28 was also destroyed on the other side of the Channel.

Naval Engagements

There was no naval engagement of first-class importance, but a certain amount of raiding by minor craft. On Oct. 27 ten German destroyers made a foray in the English Channel. They sank the British destroyer *Flirt* and disabled the destroyer *Nubian*. The British transport *Queen*, which was empty at the time, was also sunk. The British Admiralty reported that two of the German destroyers were sunk in the attack. On Nov. 23 six German destroyers made a raid at the entrance to the English Channel at the north end of the Downs, bombarded Ramsgate, and sank a patrol ship. Another raid was directed against the English east coast near Lowestoft on Nov. 25, when an armed trawler was sunk and the crew captured. Among the more important war vessels lost were the Russian battleship *Imperatriz Maria*, 22,500 tons, sunk by an internal explosion, with a loss of 150, near the mouth of the Danube on Oct. 20; a German light cruiser of the *Kolberg* class, torpedoed by a British submarine in the North Sea on Oct. 21; a British mine sweeper torpedoed on Oct. 23; and the British hospital ships *Britannic*, (50 lives lost,) and *Braemar Castle* in the Aegean Sea on Nov. 21 and 24.

The German submarine campaign during the months of September, October, and November was responsible for the sinking of over a million tons of shipping belonging to the Entente and neutral nations. The Entente loss consisted of 439 vessels with an aggregate tonnage

of 778,500, and neutral nations lost 179 vessels representing 241,600 tons. Norway was the greatest sufferer among the neutrals. One of the most sensational episodes of the whole war was the extension of submarine activity right across the Atlantic to within sight and sound of the American coast. Such was the exploit of the German war submarine U-53, which made an unexpected appearance at Newport, R. I., on the afternoon of Oct. 7. After a few hours' stay the U-53 put to sea again. There was at once a state of panic in shipping circles. It was certain that the U-53 would create havoc among merchant ships whose skippers never expected to meet the submarine peril on this side of the Atlantic. Wireless warnings were sent to every possible ship. But, despite this, the U-53 next day caught a number of ships off Nantucket and sunk five. Three were British, one Norwegian, and one Dutch. Among the more important vessels destroyed in the European war zones were the American Petroleum Company's steamer *Antwerpian* on Sept. 13; the *Marina*, with forty-nine Americans on board, on Oct. 31; the British passenger steamer *Arabia*, with two Americans on board, on Nov. 7; the American steamer *Columbian*, on Nov. 10, and the *Chemung*, also an American steamer, on Nov. 28. As explained elsewhere, the United States Government protested in regard to the sinking of several of these and other ships.

Casualties and Costs

With the end of the Summer the cost of the war in human life had once more mounted up. The British casualties during the three months ending Nov. 30 were 12,086 officers and 288,599 men, a total of over 300,000. It was calculated that at this time British losses since the beginning of the war were between 1,200,000 and 1,300,000. The German official lists for the single month of November showed a total number of casualties, excluding naval and colonial services, of 166,176 officers and men, making the total German losses in killed, wounded, and missing since the outbreak of the war not far short of 4,000,000. In the

absence of official casualty lists in most of the belligerent countries, it was estimated that the losses of other warring nations since August, 1914, had now reached the following figures: France, 3,700,000; Russia, 8,500,000; Italy, 800,000; Serbia, 480,000; Belgium, 220,000; Rumania, 200,000. The number of killed or died from wounds or disease was over 4,500,000 for all the belligerents, while the total of all casualties was calculated at between 18,000,000 and 19,000,000.

The cost of the war measured in terms of money was now at its height. The nations at war were still spending about \$100,000,000 a day, and war debts were being piled up in billions of dollars. On Sept. 22 the French Chamber of Deputies voted a new credit of \$1,767,600,000 to cover the last quarter of the year, making a total of \$12,200,000,000 since the beginning of the war; on Oct. 11 the British House of Commons passed its thirteenth war vote for a sum of \$1,500,000,000, bringing the total since August, 1914, to \$15,660,000,000; and on Oct. 28 the German Reichstag authorized a new credit for \$2,856,000,000. Both the French and German war loans were successfully floated, for in both cases sufficient time had been allowed for previous expenditures to flow back to the depositaries where they would be ready for reinvestment. In addition to the French Government four leading cities of France—Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles—issued bonds for an aggregate sum of \$110,000,000, which was taken up by New York bankers. This money was required chiefly for the purpose of alleviating the suffering caused by the war, whereas the Government loans were for the prosecution of the war.

Economic Conditions

The economic conditions which were most seriously felt in the belligerent countries were those arising from the shortage of food. In Germany the undernourishment of the great industrial populations became so alarming that Field Marshal von Hindenburg was constrained to address a letter on Sept. 27 to the Imperial Chancellor demanding that more effective means be taken to deal

with the problem. "This is," von Hindenburg declared, "a matter of the existence or non-existence of our people and our empire." Austria-Hungary was in just as sorry plight. In England the gravity of the food problem forced the Government to propose the adoption of drastic remedies, it being announced on Nov. 15 that it had become necessary to set up a food dictatorship. The necessity of economizing fuel also had its effect upon domestic and social life. Lighting was restricted, and in France and Great Britain early closing regulations for stores were enacted. Railway services for everything but war purposes were reduced. In order to reserve as much cargo space as possible for munitions, foodstuffs, and other absolute necessities, the importation of luxuries and non-essentials was more and more severely limited. Paper for magazines and newspapers was in this category. The submarine warfare was the chief anxiety on the side of the Allies in so far as they were dependent upon external sources of supply. But Germany's sea-borne commerce was altogether cut off by the British blockade in the North Sea. Despite this, Germany was importing food indirectly by way of Holland, a fact that led the British Government to announce on Sept. 14 that it would not permit the Netherlands Overseas Trust to accept any further American consignments and that assurance would not be granted for American shipments destined for either Holland or the Scandinavian countries. This virtual embargo on all food products from the United States was supported by figures showing that enormous increases had taken place in the quantities of foodstuffs imported into Germany from Holland since the war, as compared with quantities before the war.

The 1916 harvest in Germany was, according to Dr. Helfferich, Secretary of the Interior, much better than that of 1915, and the increase in foodstuffs was expected to amount to several million tons. The British blockade had cut off supplies of cattle feed and limited thereby meat and milk products; but the deficiency was being met by economies. He scoffed at the idea that Germany could

be starved. Nevertheless, as will be seen in the next volume, the food problem became more serious and the hardships of the working classes in the cities and industrial centres continued to grow more severe. But there were other problems of an economic nature, the solution of which was necessary to maintain Germany's ability to carry on the war. These had to do with the utilization of the people's energies, and so in November plans were completed for a system of civil conscription.

While Germany was holding out with increasing difficulty, Great Britain was actually developing new strength. Thus, in munitions the output which before the war took an entire year to produce was now being turned out in periods like these: Eighteen-pounders, three weeks; field howitzers, two weeks; medium-sized shells, eleven days. The monthly output of guns had increased twelve-fold, machine guns fourteen-fold, high explosives sixty-six-fold, and so on. Before the war there were only three important Government munition factories; now there were 4,000 Government-controlled firms at work. The number of persons employed in munition-making had grown to 2,250,000, of whom 400,000 were women. The staff supervising the work numbered 5,000. People of all classes were engaged, many of whom had never before the least notion of what factory life was like, a circumstance which many students of social science believed would bring a new democratic spirit into British life. Another social change that became more pronounced in Great Britain was the decrease in drunkenness. Statistics of the number of men convicted for drunkenness in nine of the largest English cities for the period of January to September in the two years, 1915 and 1916, showed a decrease of over 46 per cent., and in the four largest cities of Scotland for the same periods of nearly 33 per cent. The loss of man-power through alcohol was giving the movement for complete prohibition an ever-growing impetus. Some of the arguments of the prohibitionists were very telling; one in particular, that the suppression of alcohol would save \$30,000,000 a day—more than the war

was costing—astonishing if it were true. The facts adduced were that the liquor traffic was using up 500,000 workers, that alcohol had required a consumption of 3,000,000 tons of coal since the war, that it had crowded out 60,000,000 tons of necessary freight on the railroads and 50,000,000 cubic feet of cargo space in ships, and that it had taken away 3,000,000 tons of foodstuffs, with enough sugar to last the whole nation eighty days, and to that extent forced up the cost of living.

The Situation of Greece

When Rumania at last threw in her lot with the Allies it seemed that Greece would no longer remain neutral. But King Constantine's pro-German proclivities still held the nation back and intensified the suspicions of the Allies that, if the opportunity presented itself, Greece would try to take an active part as the friend of the Teutonic Powers, despite the fact that the majority of the Greek people supported Venizelos in his desire to intervene on the side of the Allies. On Sept. 1 the Allies held a naval demonstration at the Piraeus with a fleet of twenty-three warships and seven transports. The following day they seized four German steamers in the port, and in a note to the Greek Government demanded control of the posts and telegraphs and the expulsion of German agents and spies. The posts and telegraphs were surrendered to the Allies on Sept. 4. The revolt headed by Venizelos against King Constantine was now rapidly spreading in Macedonia as a result of the Bulgar invasion and the proclamation of martial law in several cities. On Sept. 11 Premier Zaimis resigned and was succeeded by M. Dimitrakopoulos. On Sept. 12 there occurred an event which Venizelos stigmatized as an act of betrayal. The Fourth Army Corps, which was in garrison at Kavala, surrendered to the Germans and was sent in a body as prisoners to Germany, while the inhabitants of the town fled in thousands from the invaders. The Greek Commandant stated that he had received instructions to give up the fortress to the advancing German and Bulgarian troops without making any attempt to resist.

The Allies began on Sept. 19 to blockade the Greek coast from the mouth of the Struma to the mouth of the Mesto. Greece was thus now in a sorry plight. Part of her territory was occupied by Bulgarians and Germans; Athens, the Piraeus, and Saloniki were in the hands of the Allies; and the country was torn by dissension. But this was not the end of the gradual invasion of the sphere of King Constantine's sovereignty. At this point Venizelos decided upon bold measures. Leaving Athens on Sept. 25, he placed himself at the head of the revolutionary movement in Crete. Before his departure he summed up the situation by saying that Greece had suffered all the agonies of a disastrous war while remaining neutral. The cost of the Bulgarian war indemnity, of the lost military equipment, of the property destroyed by the invader, and of the loot taken from the cities amounted in the aggregate to over \$40,000,000.

Matters had now reached such a crisis that he could not resist the cry of his compatriots to save them from extermination by Bulgaria. He had exhausted every means of inducing those who governed Greece to take up arms in defense of the country. "Do not think I am heading a revolution in the ordinary sense of the word," Venizelos declared. The movement was not directed against the King or his dynasty, but was made by those Greeks who could no longer stand aside and let their countrymen and their country be ravaged by the Bulgarians. Venizelos and Admiral Condouriotis landed in Crete on Sept. 26, and the same day a Provisional Government was set up "with full authority to organize the forces of the country with the object of joining the Allies and fighting by their side against all their enemies."

Meanwhile Admiral du Fournet, the allied naval commander, presented an ultimatum to the King's Government demanding that it should hand over to the Entente Powers the entire Greek fleet, with the exception of the battleships Lemnos and Kilkis and the armed cruiser Averoff, which were to be disarmed and have their crews reduced to one-third.

The forts on the seacoast were to be dismantled and the two which could fire on the mooring place of the allied fleet surrendered. The King's Government was given until Oct. 11 to accede to these demands. The King complied, as he did also with the further demands for the allied control of the Greek police, the prohibition of the carrying of arms by Greek citizens, the stoppage of the dispatch of war munitions to Thessaly, and the lifting of the embargo on Thessalian wheat. The French and British took possession of various public buildings in Athens. These measures were followed by anti-Entente riots in Athens, but the landing of a few hundred French marines with machine guns soon quelled the disturbances. The Provisional Government in Crete was joined on Oct. 12 by General Zimbrakatis as Minister of War, and preparations were begun to mobilize the Greek Army.

On Oct. 17 the Entente Allies formally recognized the new Government, refusing at the same time to acknowledge King Constantine's latest Cabinet, headed by Professor Lambros. Except in Athens and the Peloponnesus, Greeks everywhere rallied to the support of the Venizelos Government. The conduct of King Constantine still being unsatisfactory to the Allies and seeming at moments to be leading to actual hostilities against them, additional drastic measures were adopted. Another ultimatum was presented to the King's Government on Nov. 15, and a complete blockade of the Greek ports begun. But the King saved the situation by giving assurances. On Nov. 21, in consequence of orders issued by the Allies, the diplomatic representatives of the Central Powers left Greece. On Nov. 24 King Constantine received still another ultimatum, this time the demand being for the surrender of the artillery and ammunition belonging to the Greek Army. At this point the situation was further complicated by the action of the Provisional Government, which, with its headquarters now at Saloniki, declared war against Germany and Bulgaria on Nov. 25. Venizelos repeated his professions of loyalty to the dynasty, but the stain that had been placed on the Greek

Nation by disregard of the Graeco-Serbian treaty, he declared, must be wiped out. On Nov. 28 the Greek Crown Council voted to support the King's Government in refusing to surrender the arms and ammunition demanded by the Allies. The following day the allied warships arrived in the Piraeus and moored alongside the quay with the intention of using forcible means to gain compliance with the Allies' demands if King Constantine could be persuaded in no other way. How the King and his Government eventually yielded is described subsequently.

No Peace in Sight

The determination of neither side to yield was once more shown in the declarations made in September by M. Briand, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, and Mr. Lloyd George. The French Premier at the opening of the Chamber of Deputies on Sept. 14, after surveying the situation created by Italy's declaration of war against Germany and Rumania's decision to cast off her neutrality, said that the Entente Allies had now seized the initiative and reduced the Teutonic Empires to the defensive. There could be only one end, M. Briand proclaimed, and that was "peace through victory, a solid and durable peace, guaranteed against any return of violence by appropriate international penalties." A couple of weeks later Mr. Lloyd George told an interviewer that, since the fortunes of the game had turned a bit, the British were "not disposed to stop because of the squealing done by the Germans or for Germans by probably well-meaning but misguided sympathizers and humanitarians." There must be, said the British War Minister, as he was then, "such punishment upon the perpetrators of this outrage against humanity that the temptation to emulate their exploits will be eliminated from the hearts of the evil-minded among men."

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag on Sept. 28, made a scathing attack on Rumania, and, having reviewed the military situation, said that the aims proclaimed by Germany's enemies were be-

coming increasingly clear—they were "lust of conquest and annihilation." The Germany which England wanted to lay at her feet was "a country without military defense, a country crushed economically, boycotted by the entire world, and sentenced to lasting economic infirmity." When Mr. Asquith, the British Prime Minister, moved the vote for a new war credit of \$1,500,000,000 in the House of Commons on Oct. 11, he declared that the war could not be allowed "to end in some patched-up, precarious, and dishonoring compromise masquerading under the name of peace." Viscount Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, speaking before the Foreign Press Association in London on Oct. 23, indorsed Mr. Asquith's attitude and said: "Germany talks of peace; her statesmen talk of peace today. What sort of peace do they talk of? They say Germany must have guarantees against being attacked again." Viscount Grey then went back to the origin of the war and argued that in July, 1914, no one thought of attacking Germany, but that Germany was determined to fight. To this speech Herr von Bethmann Hollweg replied on Nov. 9 and gave the German view of the origin of the war. The most interesting point in the German Chancellor's speech was, perhaps, his announcement that Germany was at all times ready to join a league of nations, "even to place herself at the head of such a league to keep in check the disturbers of peace." This reference to a league to enforce peace was curious in view of the subsequent discussions initiated by President Wilson's utterance on the same topic.

Apart from the section of Radicals and Socialists in Great Britain who continued to agitate for the opening of peace negotiations, the only quarter in the Entente countries where there was any serious leaning toward a compromise with Germany was to be found in the heart of the Russian bureaucracy. This was one of the important facts in the political upheaval which led to the overthrow of Boris Stürmer, who had become Premier of Russia in February, 1916. Stürmer, a reactionary of the worst type, had made himself thoroughly unpopular by his

fierce onslaughts on the new Liberal forces and particularly by his autocratic contempt for the Duma. Stürmer is of German ancestry, and, like many other members of the Russian bureaucracy, was under German influence. Soon after he assumed office rumors of a separate peace between Russia and Germany began to circulate. It was known that a certain group in the Czar's Court favored such a peace. Stürmer himself took the position of Foreign Minister, and when he appointed A. D. Protopopoff to be Minister of the Interior a storm of indignation broke loose. Protopopoff had had an interview with the German Minister to Sweden at Stockholm, about which all the world knew. Russians who were loyal to the Entente cause were seriously perturbed about the two men who now had Russia's destinies in their hands. When Stürmer and Protopopoff did not seize the opportunity they had had of forestalling Germany's move to make Poland an independent nation, it seemed to the critics of the Government that the two statesmen were playing into Germany's hands.

Disorganization of food supplies and a general condition of chaos throughout the administration intensified popular feeling to such an extent that when the Duma met on Nov. 14 the extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of all factions and groups uniting to attack the Government. Conservatives and reactionaries joined with Socialists and revolutionaries to support the powerful indictment made by Paul Milukoff, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, against the Stürmer régime. Milukoff openly accused the Government of seeking a separate peace with Germany, and mentioned the name of the woman, Mme. Wasiltchikoff, who influenced Stürmer's policy. From all sides came the demand for the Premier's resignation, but he held his ground and threatened to dissolve the Duma. Before he had time to carry out this threat the Ministers of War and Marine, General Shuvayeff and Admiral Grigorovitch, made an unexpected appearance before the Duma on Nov. 27 and definitely declared that the army was with the Duma and the people. This dramatic turn of events left Stürmer with no alternative

but to resign. Trepoff became the new Premier.

Poland's Plight

The condition of Poland was now worse than that of any other country in the vast arena of the world conflict. Nearly all the young children, as well as several million adults, had perished from hunger, disease, and the ravages of war. The damage to property ran to billions of dollars. Scores of cities and towns and thousands of villages and hamlets had been razed to the ground. Whatever civilization there was before the war looked like being wiped out altogether. These considerations, as well as the motives attributed to the Central Powers by their enemies, undoubtedly influenced the dramatic move which was made when at Warsaw and Lublin on Nov. 4 the conquered provinces of Russian Poland were proclaimed a new Polish Kingdom and promised autonomy under a constitutional government. The new national State was to receive the guarantees needed for its free development "by its intimate relations with" the Central Empires. Although the "solemn and irrevocable guarantee" of autonomy was not to be made good until after the war, steps were at once taken to carry out what the Allies believed was the real purpose of a merely political manoeuvre, namely, the organization of a Polish Army. The proclamation of Nov. 4 stated that there was to be a national army, organized, instructed, and commanded "by common agreement." Another proclamation on Nov. 10 pointed out to the Poles how the conditions of warfare obliged the Central Empires "for the present to keep the administration of your new State still in our hands," but the new Poland would, nevertheless, receive without delay and by degrees those public institutions which would guarantee her consolidation, development, and safety. "Of these," the proclamation continued, "the Polish Army is the most important. The struggle with Russia is not yet terminated. You desire to join in it. Therefore, step to our side as volunteers in

order to help complete our victories over your oppressor."

It was difficult to discover how Polish Nationalists regarded the German promise of freedom. Their views in the allied countries were colored by pro-ally influences and in Poland itself by the presence of Teutonic armies. In a neutral country like the United States, where the Poles could express themselves freely, the general opinion seemed to be that the promise of autonomy had been made by the Central Empires to secure half a million more troops. The fundamental objection to the new Polish Kingdom itself was that it was to be created only out of the conquered Russian provinces and that there was to be no reunion with Prussian Poland and Austrian Poland, no revival of the ancient kingdom which had been wiped out by the last partition.

Deportation of Belgians

While promises of political liberty were being used to enlist the good-will of the Poles, in another of the countries conquered by Germany events were occurring in which the question of human rights was raised in its fundamental form by accusations of enslavement. This was in Belgium, many of whose inhabitants were being sent to Germany to work. The Belgian Government said that its people were being treated like slaves; the German authorities replied that nothing more was being done than was required in the interests of the Belgians themselves.

The beginning of the dispute was the decree, issued at the German General Headquarters on Oct. 3, which subjected to forced labor all able-bodied Belgians who, either from unemployment or from any other reason, were dependent on others for their maintenance. The individuals to whom this decree applied might be obliged to work outside the locality where they resided, that is to say, in the words of the Belgian Government's protest, "deported into Germany in a state of semi-slavery." The deportation of able-bodied men began en masse, and by Oct. 24 more than 15,000 had been taken from the two provinces of Belgian

Flanders alone. Whole trainloads were sent to Germany; others to the invaded departments of France, in open trucks and under the most miserable conditions, after having been "examined like cattle." At Bruges, the Burgomaster, an old man of 80, was deposed for refusing to help the German authorities, and the town was fined \$25,000 for each day's delay in complying with the decree. Up to Oct. 24 the deportations had taken place chiefly from the districts close to the German front, but after that date the registration of the unemployed in all the occupied territory began.

In the Belgian Government's protest, issued at Havre on Nov. 9, Baron Beyens, the Foreign Minister, accused the German Government of deporting Belgians for the purpose of releasing German workmen for military service. The German authorities, said Baron Beyens, sought to justify these deportations on the grounds that there was a danger lest extensive unemployment would throw too great a strain upon the public charities, that the work the deported Belgians had to do was not for war purposes, and that Belgian industry was suffering from workmen who preferred to live on charity and from British measures which prevented raw materials from being imported into Belgium. The reply to this was that there would be no lack of work in Belgium if the Germans had not made a clean sweep of the raw materials and machinery belonging to Belgian manufacturers.

In addition to the 15,000 Belgians deported from Flanders, over 30,000 had been exiled from Antwerp up to Nov. 10. In Brussels the deportations provoked a riot in the course of which thirty Germans were killed and wounded, while the Belgian casualties were still more numerous. The number of exiles from Ghent up to Oct. 26 was 5,000, from Salzaete 5,000, and from Oudenarde 5,000. Altogether, Germany was trying to get 400,000 Belgians as an addition to her labor force.

The German view of the situation was presented by General von Bissing, the Governor General of Belgium. He argued that by cutting off raw materials Eng-

land was trying to get Belgian industries into her own hands and that the "evacuation" (the word he used in place of "deportation") of Belgian workmen to Germany was no hardship, but a blessing both to the workmen themselves and to Belgium. Unemployment had greatly increased and consequently also the public support of the unemployed. The Belgian municipal authorities had been directed to provide work, but a great deal of it was unproductive and only augmented the burden of debt. All unnecessary public works were stopped, and unemployment again increased. Efforts were made to induce England to let Belgian industries have raw material, and Germany pledged herself not to use the resultant manufactured products, but England refused.

General von Bissing admitted that part of the product of the German wagon factories, where 16,000 Belgians were working, was being used by the German Army, but he denied that there had been any compulsion to work in war industries. The pay was better. In Belgium the workmen received only an average of \$1 a day; in Germany they got \$1.90. Thirty thousand Belgians had voluntarily gone to work in Germany, while all families left behind were being cared for by German social welfare organizations. The Belgian workers preferred not to remain idle and the flow back of their earnings to Belgium was in every way beneficial. The "evacuations" were conducted humanely, and only in isolated cases was there hardship.

Cardinal Mercier, the Belgian Primate, on behalf of the Belgian Bishops, addressed a protest to the neutral nations in which he declared that not merely unemployed but all able-bodied men were being "carried off pell-mell, penned up in trucks, and deported to unknown destinations, like slave gangs." Only clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and schoolmasters were exempt. Belgian finances could be protected by remitting the war levies, which continued at the rate of \$8,000,000 a month, and also the heavy requisitions in kind. The Germans had reduced 400,000 Belgian workmen to unemployment through no fault of their own, and now

that they were inconveniencing the German occupation they were being reduced to slavery. The truth was, Cardinal Mercier said, that every Belgian workman deported to Germany meant freeing another man for the German Army.

The United States Government took a serious view of the matter, and Secretary of State Lansing directed the American Embassy in Berlin to take it up informally and personally with the German Chancellor and try to persuade him that the deportations should be stopped. This was followed by the presentation of an official protest from the United States Government, in which the deportations were described as a "contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants in conquered territory." The effect of the German policy, it was added, would in all probability be fatal to Belgian relief work.

A number of minor events remain to be recorded. On Nov. 21 the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, died in his eighty-seventh year, after a reign of sixty-eight years, the longest of any European monarch in modern times. He was succeeded by the Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, his grand-nephew and eldest son of the Archduke Otto, younger brother of the murdered Archduke Francis Ferdinand. A month previously the Austrian Premier, Count Stuerghk, had been assassinated by Dr. Friedrich Adler, son of Dr. Victor Adler, and, like his father, a conspicuous figure in the Socialist movement. The motive was entirely political. Herr von Koerbe became the new Premier.

Russia also had a new Premier, as recorded previously, and so had Japan, where Count Terauchi succeeded Count Okuma on Oct. 4. The appointment of Terauchi was viewed with misgiving in the United States on account of his military record and the belief that he would embark on an aggressive policy in the Far East. But it was stated that he was well-intentioned toward America and that his administration need cause no

anxiety. In Japan itself, however, the appointment was not popular.

In Germany Herr von Jagow resigned the Foreign Secretaryship on Nov. 21 and was succeeded by Dr. Zimmermann. Political events were approaching a crisis in Great Britain toward the end of November, but the overthrow of the Asquith Cabinet did not take place till after the close of the period under review.

In Ireland the situation remained unchanged. The rebellious elements were quiet but sullen, and beneath a surface of seeming tranquillity there was a fiercely smoldering fire of resentment against the British Government's refusal to trust the Irish to govern themselves. The agitation to extend conscription to Ireland was kept up by the Unionist Party. In a debate in the House of Commons on Oct. 18 the proposal was bitterly denounced by John Redmond, the Nationalist leader. He drew attention to the fact that Ireland had contributed 157,000 men, all volunteers, of whom 95,000 were Roman Catholics, while there were also 10,000 Irishmen in the navy. Conscription, he said, would aggravate a situation which could be dealt with in only one way, namely, by putting the Home Rule act into operation.

In other parts of the British Empire the chief episodes were the resignation on Nov. 13 of Sir Sam Hughes, the Canadian Defense Minister, and the national referendum in Australia on Oct. 28 on the question of conscription for service abroad. This was a unique experiment in democratic government. The people decided against conscription. The voting followed almost the same lines as the cleavage between the Labor Party and their opponents, and was another demonstration of the political power of the Australian working class.

United States and the War

The United States Government continued to have its hands full with diplomatic matters arising out of the war. The thorny question of submarine warfare became one of increasing gravity. According to a British Admiralty announcement on Nov. 15, German submarines had sunk thirty-three vessels without warning between May 5 and Nov. 8,

thus violating the pledge given by Germany to the United States in May. The two cases which caused most concern were those of the British liner *Arabia*, sunk in the Mediterranean on Nov. 6, and the British freighter *Marina*, sunk off the Irish coast on Oct. 28. The only American on board the *Arabia* was saved, but the evidence that the vessel had been torpedoed without warning constituted proof that Germany had violated the pledge given after the Sussex affair. Six American lives were lost when the *Marina* went down. The United States Government made vigorous protests in both cases. Germany admitted the facts, but asserted that the submarine commanders believed the vessels to be armed transports. The United States regarded these explanations as very inadequate. Germany's lawless submarine campaign was being carried on in spite of pledges and under the thinnest of disguises, for in addition to the sinking of the *Arabia* and the *Marina* other episodes were accumulating, and in a few weeks no fewer than ten cases had become the subject of diplomatic exchanges between Washington and Berlin. Now that many merchantmen were carrying guns for defense, Germany insisted that they must be treated as auxiliary cruisers. This plea the United States emphatically refused to accept, having definitely ruled that a merchantman might carry a defensive gun at the stern without altering its status.

Other questions that occupied the Department of State were the British trade blacklist regulations and the seizure of neutral mails by the Allies. The United States Government, in a note dated July 28, 1916, had protested against the blacklist. It was defended by the British Government in its reply of Oct. 10 as an entirely legal regulation applied solely to the acts of British subjects. The British Foreign Secretary included among the grounds of justification the fact that the war was far from ended and that there was "still a long and bitter struggle ahead." The protest in regard to the seizure of neutral mails, made on May 24, 1916, was replied to on Oct. 12 by

the British and French Governments in a joint note. They refused to concede any of the points in question, thus leaving the matter in as unsatisfactory a condition as when the United States first protested.

The effect of the war on America was seen in several important developments. When Congress adjourned on Sept. 8 it had made the largest naval appropriation ever passed by any legislative body in time of peace. The bill provided for the construction of 157 vessels of all classes, with 813,000 aggregate tonnage. Among the new vessels were to be ten battle-ships and six battle cruisers. This program, covering three years, would make the United States the second greatest naval power.

Another step forward in the career of the United States as a world power was the purchase of the Danish West Indies for \$25,000,000, which was ratified by the Senate on Sept. 6.

The Presidential election turned very largely on the issues of America's position among the nations. Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican candidate, took his stand on an ultra-imperialist policy, while Woodrow Wilson, who sought reelection as the Democratic nominee, emphasized no less the nation's need of

preparedness to meet the new emergencies arising out of the world conflict, but relying at the same time largely on his record of having kept America out of the war and having, during an extremely difficult period in the nation's history, maintained American prestige and safeguarded American interests. After a closely contested election on Nov. 7, the result of which was in doubt for several days, Mr. Wilson was re-elected.

The one other neutral nation which was vigorously upholding its rights was Sweden. Replying to the British protest against the Swedish decree which distinguished between submarines armed for warfare and so-called commercial submarines, the Swedish Government, in a note dated Sept. 9, refused to yield what it held was its sovereign rights in treating equally the merchant ships of all nationalities. Premier Hammerksjold defined Sweden's attitude clearly in a statement on Oct. 4 when he said that whenever his Government had taken a step displeasing to one or other of the belligerent groups it had been dictated, not by partisan reasons, but solely by the consideration of Sweden's necessities.

At the end of November the war had been in progress two years and four months.



PERIOD XXV.

How England Met the Submarine War—The Titanic Struggle in Picardy—Preparing the Somme Offensive—The Battle Front in Russia—Rumania's Intervention—The Moslem Revolt in Arabia—Canada and the War—Deportation of French Civilians—A Peace That Will Last—What Would German Victory Mean?—Fight for a Republic in China.

THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES

New Aspects of the Conflict

THE outstanding events of the last month were the declaration of war by Italy against Germany, the entrance of Rumania on the side of the Allies, and the practical surrender by King Constantine of Greek sovereignty to the Allies.

The importance of Rumania's decision lies not only in the fresh troops she supplies and opening the gates which heretofore have barred the Russians from Bulgaria and Hungary, but in the moral influence of her action on the neutrals. The Rumanian statesmen from the very beginning have been closely watching the situation; they have had access to the fullest and most secret information; moreover, they have been in a position to observe critically and thoroughly at first hand the march of events, and have not hesitated to confess frankly that if they yielded their neutrality it would be to take sides with the forces which Rumania was convinced would win. Now that they have unsheathed the sword and aligned themselves against the Teutons, Bulgarians, and Turks, the act serves notice to the neutral world that the most formidable uncommitted nation of Europe after two years of investigation feels sure that the cause of the Central Powers is lost.

The action of Greece implies practically the same conclusion. King Constantine undoubtedly intended to maintain neutrality, though the sympathies of his consort and of the entire royal entourage were decidedly pro-German. The

deathblow to his prestige came when the Bulgarians invaded Greek soil and occupied Greek fortresses. A flame of indignation swept over Greece, revolutionary parties were formed in Thessaly and Macedonia, and some garrisons were forced to yield their forts to the revolutionists. Finally, when Bulgaria seized the important port of Kavala, the allied powers saw their opportunity; a large fleet was assembled at Piraeus, and instant demand was made that the posts and telegraph be turned over to the Allies, and that German propagandist agents be expelled from Greece. These demands were at once complied with, and the Allies are now practically administering Grecian affairs. The Zaimis Cabinet has tendered its resignation, and Nikolas Kalogeropoulos, a distinguished Greek lawyer friend of Venizelos, has formed a new Cabinet. The voice of ex-Premier Venizelos is paramount. The elections will be held in October. If they go, as is confidently expected, in favor of Venizelos, the King will face the alternative of abdicating or formally joining the Allies.

Italy's declaration of war against Germany simply gives the formal and final touch to the dissolution of the Triple Alliance and commits Italy irrevocably to a policy hostile to the aims of the Central Powers. She has been practically at war with Germany since her declaration against Austria in May, 1915, but the formal declaration late in August last has political significance, and may have influenced the final decision of Rumania.

Military Developments

THE first impression following the Rumanian action was that it meant the early ending of the war, but this opinion gradually altered, and within two weeks it was generally noted that as her enemies multiplied, Germany's backbone stiffened. The grandiose structure of Pan Germanism was shaken, however; the problem of the Central Powers had become one of keeping their empires intact, and to this end they were prepared to fight with desperation, and to expend the uttermost farthing and the last able-bodied man in their realms if necessary.

"The nippers are gripping." The ring of steel begins at Riga and now extends southward in an unbroken line through Transylvania, Macedonia, lower Hungary, Trent, Tyrol, Alsace-Lorraine, Western France, and Flanders, to Ostend and Antwerp. It is being contracted each day, but very slowly, and if this pressure can be resisted as effectually as at present, many months must yet elapse before German soil is reached.

The Rumanians have suffered severe territorial losses on their southeastern border—lands which Bulgaria has long sought—but have advanced with the Russians in Transylvania and Bulgaria. The full manoeuvre of the Rumanian-Russian campaign is not yet defined. The Allies have begun a serious upward pressure from Saloniki, and have already reconquered some Serbian territory. The Italians are making progress, driving for Trieste, the Trentino and Tyrol. The French have the advantage at Verdun, and are gradually recovering the outlying fortresses they lost there. On the Somme the Anglo-French offensive is blasting its way through the German trenches, gaining a few thousand yards every few days, but the Allies have not been able to break the German lines, and at their present rate of progress will be unable before Winter to bend them back far enough to flank them and drive the enemy out of France; but backward the Germans are moving, surely if slowly; it is clear that, unless new forces can be levied and new instruments of warfare introduced, they must in the end be forced to their own frontiers.

Stormy Days for Premier Tisza

RUMANIA'S entry into the war caused the sudden collapse of the recently patched-up peace between the Hungarian Government Party, led by Premier Tisza, and the four groups forming the Opposition, led by Counts Michael Karolyi, Albert Apponyi, Julius Andrassy, and Stephan Rakovski. The Opposition attacked the Premier fiercely for the failure of the Foreign Office to avert Rumania's participation on the side of the Entente Powers, for the advance of the Rumanians into Transylvania, and for the critical food situation in Hungary. Scenes of great excitement were enacted at the session of the Hungarian Diet on Sept. 5 and at subsequent sessions. The Premier was greeted by the Opposition forces with shouts of "Resign!" Ex-Premier Andrassy urged a change in leadership in view of the serious position in which the country found itself. Premier Tisza, however, showed no disposition to retire. Meanwhile the Bulgaro-German invasion of Rumania in the Dobrudja district lessened somewhat the vigor of the Opposition's attacks. The leaders even expressed themselves to the effect that the adding to the Cabinet of some Ministers without portfolios from their own ranks would satisfy the Opposition. The latter scored a victory on Sept. 13 in the withdrawal from the Government Party of Count Bela Serenyi and his resignation from the office of Minister of Agriculture. The political situation in Hungary is so dependent upon the position of the army that there is certain to follow a political crisis in case of further Russo-Rumanian successes across the Carpathians.

Hungary's Hard Lot

THE position of the Kingdom of Hungary at the present stage of the war is singularly hard. After fighting for her independence, which she would have won in 1848-9, but for the intervention of Nicholas I. of Russia as the defender of imperialism, Hungary, taking advantage of the Austrian Emperor's difficulties after Sadowa in 1866, made herself practically independent without fighting. The Magyars, who are only

10,000,000 out of Hungary's 20,000,000 population, then tried to dominate the Slavs and Rumanians within the boundaries of Hungary—and these include Croatia and Slavonia—disfranchising them and dictating to them in many ways. This treatment by the recently liberated Magyars of the Rumanian element in Transylvania was given by the Rumanian Government as one of its chief reasons for entering the war on the side opposed to Austria-Hungary.

Yet Hungary's position is exceptionally hard: though practically an independent kingdom, she has no independent army, practically no control over the valiant and hard fighting Hungarian regiments in the Austrian Imperial Army. According to the agreement, (the *Ausgleich* of 1867,) which binds the two parts of the Dual Monarchy together, there is only one War Ministry in the empire, that at Vienna, and it is practically beyond the control of the Budapest Parliament. Hence the sharp discontent in the Magyar capital; Hungary sees her eastern provinces given up to the Rumanian invader, knows that there are many valiant Hungarian regiments who might have fought to keep that invader back, but is unable to send them to the frontier passes. They have already been dispersed along other fronts, nominally by the Vienna War Ministry, but really by the Great General Staff of Germany, in accordance with German, not with Hungarian needs and strategy. After keen discontent, a compromise has been reached at Budapest, under which the critics of the Opposition have agreed not to quarrel under the enemy's guns.

The Forces of the Hellenic Armies

RUMANIA, with a population of about 8,000,000, affirms that she will be able to put 800,000 men of all arms into the field, in furtherance of her national ambition for a Larger Rumania of 12,000,000 souls. Even if her armies lose heavily, the nation, should it be successful, will greatly gain. Greece had, before the two Balkan wars, a population of 2,600,000; these wars gave her new territories with a population only slightly less, so that, in 1914, she counted some

four and a half millions; about equal to the population of Ireland, with about the same area. If she is able to do as well as Rumania promises to do, she will be able to put into battle something over 400,000 men, or, let us say, ten army corps.

We may reach about the same result in another way. Each belligerent nation which had universal military service has been able to put into the field an army six or seven times as numerous as her peace army, by drawing on all reserves. But Greece has a peace army of 60,000; six times that number will give us 360,000; seven times that number gives 420,000—much the same result as before. Since military service in Greece is compulsory and universal, with very few exemptions, practically every man in Greece above the age of 20 has had a full military training, and has been trained well. The Greek service rifle is the *Männlicher-Schoenauer*; the field artillery is armed with *Schneider-Canet* guns, very similar to the famous French "75." As for leadership, King Constantine, whose courage was questioned in the disastrous war against Turkey in 1897, showed himself in the Balkan wars of 1912-3 a soldier of considerable force and skill. And, as incentive in this war for nationality, there are still large colonies of "unredeemed" Greeks at many points throughout the Turkish Empire, notably in the splendid historic territories of Ionia, facing Greece across the Aegean Sea.

The new Greek Premier, who organized a Cabinet on Sept. 16, is *Nikolas Kalogeropoulos*, one of the cleverest lawyers of Greece. He holds the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Paris. He is regarded as friendly to *Venizelos*, and though he announces that Greece will maintain "benevolent neutrality" toward the Allies, it is believed this cannot continue long.

A Lost Italian Dreadnought

USELESS and needless to speculate on the cause of the loss of a fine Italian dreadnought named in honor of the most universal genius of Italy, *Leonardo de Vinci*, reported to have sunk in

the harbor of Taranto under the instep of the Italian boot. The cause is obscure. The fact of the loss remains. This fine battleship was one of a group laid down from 1909 to 1912, six in number, and several of them bearing splendid historic names: Dante Alighieri, Conte di Cavour, Giulio Cesare, (Julius Caesar,) Leonardo da Vinci, Duilio, and Andrea Doria—named for the authors of works as various as the Divine Comedy, the Commentaries on the Gallic War, and United Italy. Two of these ships, the poet and the statesman, displace 19,000 tons and carry a primary armament of twelve 12-inch guns; the other four were built to displace 21,500 tons each, and to carry thirteen 12-inch guns; among these is the Taranto wreck.

Italy began, in 1914, a group of still larger battleships, four in number, to be called the Cristoforo Colombo, the M. Colonna, the F. Morosini, the Carracciolo. These new ships were to displace 28,000 tons, excelled by only two ships in the British Navy, the battle cruisers Queen Mary and Tiger, the first of which went down at the battle of Jutland; equaled, in the German Navy, by the battle cruiser Derfflinger, by the Lützow, likewise sunk in the battle of Jutland, and perhaps by two or three new ships, one called after Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The four Italian superdreadnoughts were designed to carry a primary armament of eight 15-inch guns, a stronger primary battery, it would seem, than any in the United States Navy, though paralleled by all the newer British and some of the newer German ships. But Italy has always had a liking for the biggest guns. She was said at one time to have primary batteries of 17-inch guns on some of her warships, and it was said that these were the biggest calibre guns ever mounted on shipboard. But just what stage of completion the Cristoforo Colombo and "her" three sister ships have reached, it would be difficult to say. By the way, is it not, to say the least, an odd fact in nomenclature, that Dante and Caesar, George Washington and Kaiser Wilhelm are all spoken of as "she" when their names are given to ships?

Germany's and England's Losses in Men

IN the month of July, 1916, the Germans lost 121,824 men, divided as follows: Killed, 21,196; died of sickness, 2,062; missing, 15,334; severely wounded, 17,807; wounded, 5,654; slightly wounded, 50,157; wounded but remaining with units, 9,614. The total German losses, exclusive of colonial forces, from August, 1914, to August, 1916, are 3,135,177, of whom 784,400 were killed or died of wounds or sickness, 357,617 missing and prisoners, and 425,175 severely wounded.

In August, 1916, the British lost in killed, wounded, and missing 4,711 officers and 123,234 men. In the first two years of the war the British casualty list of officers alone aggregated 41,219. Up to Jan. 28, 1916, the British losses of men were 525,345. No cumulative list of losses of men since that time has been published, but, assuming that the ratio of losses of officers to men has remained constant, the number of men killed, wounded, and missing in the twenty-four months is about 1,000,000.

The Munitions Miracle

THE miracle wrought in the production of munitions in England is reported by the Minister of Munitions as follows: The output which before the war took an entire year to produce is now turned out in periods as follows: Eighteen-pounders, 3 weeks; field howitzers, 2 weeks; medium-sized shells, 11 days; heavy shells, 4 days. The monthly output of guns has been increased twelve fold over the pre-war production, machine guns fourteen fold, rifles three fold, small-arms ammunition three fold, high explosives sixty-six fold, and trench bombs, thirty-three fold. In one week of the western offensive the British consumed more light ammunition than was produced in eleven months before the war, while all the heavy ammunition manufactured in eleven months before the war would not have met the requirements of the army in Picardy and Flanders for a single day. Today 2,250,000 persons are employed in England as munition workers, of whom 400,000 are women.

Mail for War Prisoners

SWITZERLAND handles all mail to and from prisoners of war free of cost. In April of this year the Swiss Post Office forwarded to prisoners of war 326,241 letters daily and 102,209 parcels, weighing up to twelve pounds; it also handled an average of 7,994 money orders a day. From the beginning of the war to the end of 1915 the Berne Transit Bureau forwarded to the belligerent countries 74,256,858 letters and postcards addressed to prisoners of war, besides 19,028,192 large and small parcels. During the same period the Swiss Post Office transmitted 3,066,597 money orders aggregating \$8,654,336. All this was done free of charge and cost the Swiss Government over \$2,000,000. Letters and parcels from prisoners to correspondents in the United States are handled by our Post Office free of charge, but postage is required for forwarding from this country.

Mercantile Marine Losses

THE Bureau Veritas, an authoritative French marine publication, has collated statistics of the war losses of the mercantile marine, which differ widely from the figures given out by German authorities. The losses from Aug. 1, 1914, to May 1, 1916, as reported by the French publication represents a total of 1,475 vessels with gross tonnage of 3,324,-

725. The world's tonnage is 50,000,000, hence the loss is a little over 6 per cent. The chief sufferers are tabulated as follows:

	No.	Steam.	Sail.	Total Tons.
British	641	543	98	1,448,699
French	63	45	18	157,987
German	441	354	87	1,106,457
Austrian	49	48	1	173,417
American	3	1	2	7,202
Dutch	20	20	..	48,452
Norwegian	100	76	24	116,434

The German losses represent 18 per cent. of Germany's total at the outbreak of the war; England's loss is 7 per cent. The Germans seized in their ports sixty-three vessels with a tonnage of 142,936. Great Britain's seizures total 490,032 tons. Portugal seized German vessels with a total of 196,407 tons. The seizures are not included in the reports of losses. The Hamburg-American Company alone has lost during the war 48 vessels out of 205; the Hansa Line of Bremen 36 ships out of 74; the Kosmos Line 29 out of 59; the North German Lloyd 28 out of 142.

The losses from May 1, 1916, to Sept. 1, 1916, which were quite heavy among the Allies, are not included in the above. In August, 1916, alone the German Admiralty claims its submarines destroyed 126 hostile ships, totaling 170,679 gross tons; also thirty-five neutral ships carrying contraband, totaling 38,568 tons.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

PURCHASE OF DANISH WEST INDIES

THE Senate on Sept. 6 ratified the treaty between the United States and Denmark for the purchase of the Danish West Indies for \$25,000,000 without an opposing vote. Agreement to the sale by all political parties in Denmark, with the early consummation of the transaction, is confidently expected. The United States thus secures 33,000 square miles of new territory. In comparison with previous purchases of this kind the price is high. The Louisiana Purchase comprised 828,000 square miles

and cost us (in 1803) \$15,440,000. We paid Mexico in 1848 \$15,000,000 for the 529,189 square miles in which California was included, and in 1867 we paid Russia for Alaska \$7,200,000. In 1853 we paid \$10,000,000 for the Gadsden Purchase, lands in Arizona and New Mexico, 45,000 square miles, and in 1898 we paid Spain \$20,000,000 when we took over the Philippines, Guam, and Porto Rico. For Florida, in 1819, the price was \$5,000,000, and that recently paid for Panama was \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 annually for the Canal

Zone. In the purchase of these islands the amount of territory acquired evidently had no bearing on the price. Our Government paid the exorbitant amount asked not only to secure the islands, but to prevent their going to any other power.

The discussion leading up to this purchase reopened questions concerning the Monroe Doctrine. The enlarged interpretation given to Monroe's dictum in our own day had raised the question whether the acquirement of these Danish islands by any other European power would not be an intolerable violation of the principle at stake. The event, therefore, lends timeliness to an article elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in which the historic development of the Monroe Doctrine is traced.

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OUR NEW NAVAL PROGRAM

THE United States Congress which adjourned Sept. 8, after a session lasting nearly ten months, made the largest naval appropriation ever passed by any legislative body in time of peace. The bill provides for the construction of 157 new vessels of all classes, and will put the United States second among the naval powers of the world. Provision is made for 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 50 destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, 58 coast submarines, and 13 auxiliary vessels, all having a total displacement of 813,000 tons. The program covers three years.

The cost of the vessels authorized, plus the 20 per cent. additional for expediting the construction, amounts to \$654,000,000; the total cost of vessels from 1883 to 1915, inclusive, was \$700,000,000. The bill also carries these important provisions: \$13,700,000 for a Government armor plant, projectile plant, and laboratories, and \$3,500,000 for naval aeronautics and a naval flying corps. The commissioned personnel of the navy is increased by 1,525; 900 in the line, 330 in the Medical Corps, 130 in the pay corps, 70 in the construction, 20 in the engineers, 25 in the Chaplains, 50 in the dental surgeons.

The enlisted force of the navy will be increased by 24,000 men, of whom 25

are annually appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to be midshipmen; he is also to appoint annually from civil life 30 Ensigns for engineering duties, graduates of engineering institutions. The Marine Corps is increased about 5,000, with 300 new commissions.

The Secretary of the Navy expects that the construction of all the vessels provided for in the program will be under way by March 1, 1917, and that all will be completed well within the three-year period.

* * *

AVIATION IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY

A FEATURE of the new Army bill enacted at the recent session of Congress is the provision for aviation. It provides for the training of 1,000 aviators, half of whom will be active and half in the reserve service. The plans call for an equipment which will include aeroplanes of all the various military types, for a thorough system of training, for the mobilization, and so far as possible the standardization, of the various industries which can be utilized in the manufacture of aeroplanes or their equipment for military purposes, and, lastly, for means by which any young man who can pass the mental, physical, and moral test of the regular service may obtain the practical and theoretical instruction necessary to equip him for a commission as an officer of the aerial reserve service.

There will be established a system of training schools, which are expected to be second to none in the world. The machines manufactured especially for training purposes will be of types to fly from thirty-eight to sixty miles an hour, and designed with the idea of obtaining a machine easy for a novice to operate.

* * *

NEW FEDERAL REVENUE LAW

THE new revenue bill doubles the initial income tax, making it 2 per cent. on incomes over \$3,000 in the case of unmarried persons or over \$4,000 for persons "at the head of a family." An additional tax is levied on incomes exceeding \$20,000, increasing to 13 per cent. on incomes of over \$2,000,000. All

the existing stamp taxes are abolished. There is a tax of 50 cents on each \$1,000 stock (market value) of corporations in excess of \$99,000.

A 30 per cent. duty is assessed on dye-stuffs to begin at once, also on medicinals and flavors, the duty to be reduced gradually after five years. A 35 per cent. tax is put on blended wines and 10 cents a gallon on brandy spirits. The law also provides for a Federal inheritance tax beginning at 1 per cent. on estates up to \$50,000, 9 per cent between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000, 10 per cent. over \$5,000,000.

A tariff commission is authorized, the President to appoint and designate the Chairman. Salaries are fixed at \$7,500 a year. The commission's duties are to investigate trade conditions and changes in case of production and to report its findings from time to time to Congress; it has no executive authority; \$300,000 is appropriated annually for the work of the commission. Copper smelters, under the new law, are to pay a tax of 1 per cent. on gross receipts up to \$1,000,000, 2 per cent. up to \$10,000,000, 3 per cent. in excess of \$10,000,000.

* * *

GREAT BRITAIN'S WONDERFUL WEALTH

ACCORDING to British Treasury experts, Great Britain has provided for the interest and sinking fund of its colossal war debt twice over by the imposition of new taxes. The total debt July 29, 1916, was, in round numbers, \$14,000,000,000; if the war continues to March, 1917, it is estimated the debt will be \$17,000,000,000. The present debt averages $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest; add 1 per cent. sinking fund, and the total annual charge on the debt now is \$745,000,000. Prior to the war the expenses, including interest charges, was \$1,000,000,000 per annum. The revenue for the current year, due to the imposition of extraordinary income and excise taxes, will be \$2,500,000,000. Deducting one billion dollars as the normal rate of expenditure, there still remains one and one-half billions for new interest and sinking fund, which is twice the amount now required. Even if the national debt reaches twenty

billions, with interest at 5 per cent. and 1 per cent. sinking fund, the present revenue will meet all current expenditures, as well as the colossal war drain, and will still leave a comfortable surplus.

* * *

OUR TRADE WITH HOLLAND

ENGLAND has become so aroused over the extraordinary increase of Holland's importations of food products, a large proportion of which find their way into Germany, that she has laid a virtual embargo on all food products from the United States to Holland. On Sept. 14 notice was given that she refused to allow the Netherlands Oversea Trust to accept any further American consignments and declined to grant assurance for American shipments destined for either Holland or Scandinavian countries. Under this order only cargoes for Scandinavia and Holland, when accompanied by assurances of their innocent destination, will be allowed by the Allies to proceed.

The embargo on Holland doubtless arises from the following statistics recently procured by Great Britain: In the first six months of 1914 the shipments of butter to Germany from Holland were 7,671 tons, in the same period of 1916 19,026 tons; cheese jumped from 6,312 tons to 45,969 tons, cocoa from 1,025 tons to 3,302 tons, eggs from 7,868 tons to 20,328 tons, meat from 5,820 tons to 40,248 tons, potato flour from 20,985 tons to 52,298 tons, spirits from 447 hectoliters to 37,638. The shipments to England from Holland in the same period showed enormous reductions as compared with the same period in 1914.

* * *

THE MEXICAN CONFERENCE

THE troubles on the Mexican border seem now to be fairly on the way toward a satisfactory solution through the labors of the joint high commission which has been in session at New London, Conn., since Sept. 6. The commission consists of three of Mexico's ablest men and three Americans of like endowment, namely:

Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior.

George Gray of Wilmington, Del., former Federal Judge.

Dr. John R. Mott of New York, General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation.

Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Cabinet.

Alberto J. Pani, President of the Mexican National Railways.

Ignacio Bonillas, Sub-Secretary in the Mexican Department of Communications.

The first two weeks of the conference have been devoted to a broad discussion of the economic and political problems that underlie the whole question of the Carranza Government's ability to restore security of life and property in Mexico as well as along the border. At this writing (Sept. 20) a plan to guard the border by a mixed American and Mexican patrol operating within a restricted neutral zone is under consideration. The fact of chief significance thus far, however, is that the members of the commission have met in a spirit of accord and mutual respect, and that both countries are confidently expecting a workable program at their hands, in which the early withdrawal of General Pershing's expedition from Mexican soil and the recall of most of our National Guard regiments from the Rio Grande will be the salient features. It is expected that an American loan will figure indirectly in the effort to increase the efficiency of the Mexican Government.

* * *

GERMANY'S FOOD PROBLEM

DR. HELFFERICH, Germany's Secretary of the Interior, states that Germany, notwithstanding her industrial progress prior to 1914, did not neglect food production; hence he scoffs at the idea that the nation can be starved. In consequence of scientific cultivation agricultural schools, irrigation, drainage, rotation of crops, and artificial fertilization, the harvests from 1909 to 1912 compared with the period of 1883-86 show an increase in area cultivated of 5.8 per cent., but the increase in crops was 87.7 per cent., making the increase in the net return per hectare 77.7 per cent. He says without any imports whatsoever Germany's breadstuffs are more plentiful per capita than they were thirty years ago, also that the imports of meat and butter were comparatively light, and that

the production of sugar has increased 10 to 12 per cent., and will easily meet the requirements without any importations. The blockade on importations of cattle feed has rendered difficult, he says, the keeping of live stock and limited meat and milk products, but this deficiency is being met by economies. He states that the 1916 harvest is much better than in 1915, and that the increase in breadstuffs over 1915 will amount to several million tons.

* * *

DRUNKENNESS AND WAR

THE official reports show that there is a decided decrease of drunkenness in London. During the first eight months of this year the total convictions for drunkenness in the London district were 20,477, against 37,570 in the same period in 1915 and 45,540 in the corresponding period of 1914. Some decrease is attributed to the absence of men at the front, but the decrease in convictions of women is almost in the same proportions; the statistics of female convictions are, respectively, for the first eight months of 1914, 1915, and 1916, 12,164, 11,231, and 6,797.

The average weekly number of convictions for drunkenness from January to June last was 835 in England and 454 in Scotland, as compared with 1,558 and 754, respectively, from January to June, 1915.

Beer charged with duty for home consumption in England and Wales during the first six months of 1915 totaled 11,439,306 barrels, against 10,782,533 in the first six months of this year, and in Scotland 676,381, against 651,209.

Whisky cleared for home consumption in England and Wales for the first six months of 1915 amounted to 13,258,158 gallons, compared with 11,254,933 in the first half of this year, and in Scotland 3,685,935 gallons, against 2,688,915.

* * *

THE SITUATION IN IRELAND

AN American Consul returning from Europe has recently put it on record that, while in Ireland there is outward tranquillity, there is still much fermentation beneath the surface; that,

while no troops fight more loyally and gallantly at the front in France than those recruited in Ireland, (and the official army reports fully bear this out,) there is still much unrest in the southwest of Ireland, in the regions about Cork and Killarney in particular. He adds, and this is ominous, that a new rebellion is to be financed from the United States. Charles Stuart Parnell, by far the ablest leader Nationalist Ireland has produced in our days, a man who united passionate patriotism with a dry, scientific intellect, once said that Ireland was almost ideally unfitted for guerrilla warfare (and that is what a "rebellion" means) because it is like a basin, with a rim of mountains near the edge, but with the whole centre of the country an open plain. The entire coast is dominated by the English Navy, and must continue to be, so long as that navy is in possession of the sea; the whole centre of the country is indefensible by guerrillas; therefore any attempted military operations are foredoomed to fail.

The "rebellion" of 1798 demonstrated this. Foreign aid had been promised; because of England's command of the sea, even before Trafalgar seven years later, no effective foreign aid could be sent. Guerrilla warfare broke out at different points along the "rim" of the basin, (Wexford, Down, Mayo,) but these efforts were neither correlated nor simultaneous, and ended in early disaster. Today such a "rebellion" is even more certain to fail; no foreign aid, except, perhaps, a submarine crew or two, can possibly be sent; English garrisons, using railroads, can reach any point in the country within a few hours. Their possession of modern artillery would make the result of armed conflict a mathematical certainty. Only disaster and misery could result to Ireland, as was the case with the recent uprising in Dublin. It is quite clear that any one financing or otherwise abetting a "rebellion" in Ireland is not seeking the well-being of Ireland, which could not conceivably come from it, but is seeking to embarrass England; to help, not Ireland, but the nations fighting England. For the sake of Ireland every one must hope that

these efforts, if they really exist, will be wholly abortive.

* * *

SOCIAL RELIEF WORK IN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA

ONE of the effects of the war throughout the civilized world has been the unparalleled intensity of relief work carried on by diverse social bodies both in belligerent and neutral countries. While the full extent of such work can never be measured with any degree of accuracy, the statistics based on the activities of the major organizations in a certain country are instructive in themselves. Thus we find that in the first two years of war the people of England have voluntarily contributed more than \$250,000,000 to the work of the various British organizations engaged in relief activities at home and at the front. The leading fund in England is the Prince of Wales Relief Fund, the receipts of which now total more than \$30,000,000.

Russia's relief work is more astounding than that of England. This is partly due to the fact that the Russian social bodies are engaged in certain activities—such as supplying clothes to the soldiers at the front—which in England or France are the work of the Government exclusively. Russia's leading social organization, the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, has handled in the first two years of the war the enormous sum of 2,500,000,000 rubles. On July 16, 1916, the Zemstvo Union had on its hands 1,500,000 pieces of underwear, while all supplies on hand were insured at the sum of 23,000,000 rubles. In the two years the union has supplied the Government (for the army) with 78,000,000 pieces of underwear, while it expended for its own relief work 50,000,000 more such pieces. All other items included, the union supplied the Government with 131,000,000 articles. The union's order department is now turning out for the Government 5,000,000 pairs of warm boots, 4,000,000 Winter coats, 5,000,000 pairs of gloves, and 10,000,000 pairs of socks. From Aug. 3, 1915, to Aug. 10, 1916, the union manufactured for its own activities goods worth 36,000,000 rubles. Up to Jan. 14,

1916, 7,000,000 rubles were spent on medicine alone. The Central Committee of the union had purchased since November, 1915, 27,253 horses, 1,261 motor cycles, and 60 motor boats. A special factory maintained by the union had manufactured articles of a sanitary character to the value of 1,450,000 rubles. If it be remembered that the Zemstvo Union is only one of many social organizations doing work of like nature, the amazing extent of Russia's social awakening and progress may be realized.

* * *

THE Government of the United States has notified the allied Governments, in discussing the submarine merchant vessel Deutschland, that it cannot subscribe to the doctrine that all submarines shall be treated as vessels of war. The United States holds that the determination of the status of a submarine must be based on consideration of the facts in each individual case, and that the rule of conduct for a neutral Government must be the same with respect to this type of vessel that it is for other craft. Submarines may be merchant ships or warships, and their status is determined by the character and purpose of their armament, the ownership of the vessel, and whether they are privately owned or owned by a Government and commissioned as part of the naval forces of that Government.

* * *

THE foreign trade of the United States for the first seven months of 1916 reached the staggering total of \$4,394,040,948, an increase of nearly \$1,500,000,000 over the corresponding period last year. The exports from Jan. 1, 1916, to Aug. 1 were \$2,926,221,372; imports, \$1,467,819,574. Prior to the war our highest aggregate of exports and imports in an entire year, 1914, was \$4,258,504,805; hence our foreign business in seven months is now practically up to the

previous maximum in twelve months. The British Empire is our best customer, representing nearly half the total. Our balance of trade with the United Kingdom alone in seven months is \$854,000,357. Our trade with Japan is nearly twice as large as last year. In seven months our trade with Germany was only \$5,931,635, and with Austria \$564,593. We imported from Germany in the first seven months of 1915 goods valued at \$36,094,099, but the figures fell to \$4,813,452 in the same period of 1916. Our sales to the A B C South American republics increased 100 per cent., and our imports from those countries increased over 50 per cent.

* * *

IN the first ten weeks—up to Aug. 12—of the Russian drive in Bukowina and Galicia, the Austro-Germans lost as prisoners to the Russians 7,757 officers and 350,000 men, besides 405 guns, 1,326 machine guns, 338 bomb throwers, and 292 caissons. Adding the losses of the next eighteen days—up to Sept. 1, 1916—the total number of prisoners captured by the Russians since the beginning of the drive is considerably in excess of 400,000. The British and French up to Sept. 10, 1916, in the drive in Picardy, which began July 1, captured 54,000 prisoners.

* * *

EMILE VANDERVELDE, Belgian Minister of State, recently told a London audience that on the day after the battle of the Yser the Belgian Army was reduced to a few thousands; the country, all save a little corner, was occupied by the invader, its finances were in ruin, and most of its young men of military age were on the other side of the German lines. Yet today Belgium has an army of 200,000 men, well armed and equipped, which is doing its share, pro rata, on the western front, holding the twenty-odd miles of trenches from the North Sea to Bixschoote.



How England Checked the Submarine War

By Alfred Noyes

Alfred Noyes, whose fame as poet is enshrined in English and American literature, served for a while at the Dardanelles and later visited the United States, where he was warmly received. On his return to England he began studying the British Admiralty methods for coping with the German submarines. With the co-operation of the Admiralty, he has been able to shed the first real light on this mystery. His articles, which are given here in abbreviated form, are copyrighted in America by The New York Tribune Association.

THERE has been some discussion in America as to whether Mr. Wilson's notes, or some other more secret and certain power, caused

the Germans to abandon their deadliest sea weapon. Inasmuch as this weapon ceased to trouble the English a little earlier than it ceased to sink neutrals, the latter alternative might be accepted as probable, even without further knowledge, but further knowledge absolutely confirms this probability. Nothing is more striking in the conduct of this war than the way in which the British method of "slow and sure" has justified itself. The superficial clamor for sudden and sensational proofs of "what England is doing" began in the first fortnight of the war. Neutral countries even wondered why the first month of the war had produced no great historian. In the meantime, England was making the history of the next thousand years; and that can only be done on vast and deeply sunken foundations, which must be laid in silence. Results, and solid results, of granite and oak were England's aim. These are now appearing; and while her great new armies are demonstrating what England has created on that side,

it is now possible to give a glimpse of the far-reaching method that destroyed the menace of the German submarine.

It was done in silence, and silence was one of the weapons. Submarines went out and never returned. Other submarines went out, perplexed, against a mystery; and these, too, never returned, or returned in mysteriously diminishing numbers. Nothing was said about it till the destruction of the fiftieth was quietly celebrated at a small gathering in London; and then neutrals began to inquire, with a new note of curiosity, "What is England doing?" We heard tales of steel nets—as vague as the results would have been but



ALFRED NOYES

for certain great preliminaries of which we never heard. A few days ago I had the opportunity of seeing the finished system, and this threw a flood of light on the immense work that must have gone before in even this one branch of our sea warfare.

A Mysterious Fleet

To begin with, a body of men, larger than the United States Army, was chosen from the longshore fishermen and trawler crews. They were gradually drilled, disciplined, and trained and put into naval

uniforms. This force is now over 100,000 strong. They were chosen, of course, on an entirely different principle from that of the army. They were tough sea-dogs, of all ages, inured to all the ways of the sea, but not at all to any form of discipline. This in itself implies very great preliminaries, for the finished product is fit to man a battleship.

In the meantime, their fishing-boats, trawlers, and drifters were gradually taken over by the Government and fitted out for the hunt, some three thousand of them. To these were added a fleet of fast motor boats, specially built for scouting purposes. They were stationed at various points all round the island. Night and day, in all weathers, section replacing section, these trawlers and drifters string themselves out from coast to coast; while on shore thousands of workers are turning out their own special munitions and equipment—nets, mines, and a dozen mysteries which may not be mentioned.

From one of their bases a patrol-boat took me out along one of the longest lines of the flotilla. This innocent line of trawlers, strung out for some fifty miles, had more nightmares in store for the German submarines than a fleet of battleships. It was an odd sensation to approach trawler after trawler and note the one obviously unusual feature of each—the menacing black gun at bow and stern. They were good guns, too—English, French, and Japanese. The patrol-boat carried a Hotchkiss, and most of the trawlers had equally efficient weapons. There were other unusual features in every trawler, drifter, and whaler, features that made one catch one's breath when their significance was realized. About this I may say very little; but in the matter of the nets it was demonstrated to me that within twenty-five minutes any submarine reported in most of our home waters can be inclosed in a steel trap from which there is no escape. The vague rumors that we heard in the earlier stages of the war led one to suppose that these nets might be used perhaps in the English Channel and other narrow waters. But I have seen traps a hundred miles long, traps that could

shift their position and change their shape at a signal.

A submarine may enter their seas, indeed, and even go to America. She may even do some damage within their lines. But, if she does this, her position is known, and, if there be any future damage done, it will probably have to be done by another submarine. For she has called upon a thousand perils, from every point of the compass, to close upon her return journey. I have actually seen the course of a German submarine—which thought itself undiscovered—marked from day to day on the chart at an English base. The clues to all the ramifications of this work are held by a few men at the Admiralty in London. Telephone and telegraph keep them in constant touch with every seaport in the kingdom. But let the reader consider the amount of quiet organization that went before all this. Even the manufacture of the nets—which do not last forever, even when made—is an industry in itself; and that is one of the least of a thousand activities.

Sailors' Awful Ordeal

[Mr. Noyes refers to the three English sailors who were captured from a trawler by a German submarine:]

They endured eighty hours' nightmare under the sea that shattered the mind of one and left permanent traces on the other two. Periodically revolvers were put to their heads, and they were ordered, on pain of death, to tell all they knew of our naval dispositions. They saw a good deal of the internal routine of the German submarine also; and noted, characteristically, that the German crew—on this boat, at any rate—were very "jumpy," too "jumpy" even to take a square meal. They munched biscuits at their stations at odd moments. On the third morning they heard guns going overhead, and watched the Germans handing out shells to their own guns. Finally a torpedo was fired, and they heard it take effect. Then they emerged into the red wash of dawn and saw only the floating wreckage of the big ship that had been sunk, and, among the wreckage, a small boat. They were

bundled into this, told they were free to row to England or Nineveh, and the submarine left them—three longshore fisherman, who had passed through the latest invention of the modern scientific devil, two who could still pull at the oars, but the other too crazy to steer, as his little personal part of the price paid by England for sweeping and patrolling the seas of civilization.

Many were the tales of neutrals, towed to port, battered but safe, by these indefatigable auxiliaries. One was towed in, upside down, by fixing an English anchor in one of her German-made shell holes; she was towed for a hundred miles, at a quarter of a knot an hour, and arrived for the Admiral at the base to make his inspection.

Attack on the Gulflight

The attack on the American steamship *Gulflight* was narrated to me as follows by the skipper of his Majesty's drifter *Contrive*:

"We had shot our nets, and about noon we saw a large tank steamer coming up channel at a good pace. She was coming in our direction, and I soon saw her colors, the Stars and Stripes, at the stern—a fine big ensign it was and spread out like a board. When she was about two miles off, to my horror I saw a submarine emerge from the depths and come right to the surface. There was no sign of life on the submarine, but she lay stationary, rising and falling in the trough, and I knew instinctively that she was watching the steamer. She had undoubtedly come from the same direction as that in which the steamer was going, and it did not take me long to realize what had actually happened. I took in the situation at a glance. The submarine had passed the *Gulflight*, (for that proved to be her name.) She had deliberately increased speed to lie in wait for her and get a sure target rather than attempt to fire a torpedo when overhauling her, with the possible chance of missing and wasting one of those expensive weapons, even on an American.

"The submarine was painted light gray and had two guns; but I could not

see any number. For five minutes she lay motionless—and then, having fixed the position of her prey, and taken her speed into consideration, she slowly submerged in its direction. I knew what was coming, and it came—a dull, heavy explosion and a silence, and then, as if to see the result of her handiwork, the submarine again appeared. She did not stay up long, as smoke was soon seen on the horizon, and I knew the patrols had been looking for her. She knew it, too—and submerged. I hauled in my nets and proceeded at full speed to the sinking ship to try and save the lives of the crew. Our boat was launched, and I went aboard. By this time the *Gulflight's* bows were well down and her fore decks awash, and she looked as if she would sink at any minute. She was badly holed in her fore part. The Huns, I thought, had done their work well.

"Ten minutes later I saw the patrol vessels racing up for all they were worth, and one of these vessels took off the crew, two of whom were drowned. The Captain of the *Gulflight* died of shock. Soon four patrol vessels were on the spot, and three of these vessels put men aboard with wires in double quick time. The fourth—a big trawler, with wireless (which I now know in naval language as a 'trawler leader')—steamed round and round in the vicinity, keeping a careful watch. In less than two hours the *Gulflight*, her Stars and Stripes still flying above water, was being towed at a good speed to port, with the trawlers in attendance."

Frightfulness Frightened

[Mr. Noyes tells how the trawlers have driven German submarines out of English waters, and narrates as follows a moving story of submarine frightfulness, which is an epic of unspeakable cruelty.]

It was on a fine Summer morning that the fishing trawler *Victoria* left a certain port beloved of Nelson to fish on the Labadie Bank. She carried a crew of nine men, together with a little boy named Jones—a friend of the skipper. He held under his arm a well-thumbed copy of "Treasure Island." Perhaps it was this book that had inspired him to

the adventure, for, though nobody quite believed at that time in the existence of the twentieth-century pirate, there was adventure in the air, and it was only after much pleading that he was allowed to go. This vessel, of course, was unarmed and used only for fishing. For a week all went well. There was a good catch of fish, splashing the rusty-red old craft with shining scales from bow to stern, and piling up below like mounded silver. The crew were beginning to think of their women at home and their accustomed nooks in the Lord Nelson and Blue Dolphin Taverns.

They were about 130 miles from land when the sound of a gun was heard by all hands. The boy Jones shut his book on his thumb and ran up to the bridge, where he stood by the skipper. In the distance, against the sunset, they saw the silhouette of a strange-looking ship. At first it looked like a drifter, painted gray, with mizzen set. But the flash of another gun revealed it as a submarine. The skipper hesitated. Should he stop the ship and trust to the laws of war and the good faith of the enemy? The lives of the crew and the little boy, who had been left in his charge, were his first thought. Yes, he would do so, and the order was given. The engines ceased to throb. Then, as the ship rolled idly, he was disillusioned. The gun flashed again, and he knew that he was facing an implacable determination to sink and destroy.

It was only a forlorn hope, but he would risk it, and not a man demurred at his decision. The engines rang "full speed ahead" and the Victoria began to tear through the green water for home. The submarine opened a rapid fire from two powerful guns, and the first to fall was the little lad Jones. The skipper kept steadily on his course, with the boy dead at his feet. But the submarine gained rapidly and continued to pour a devastating fire on the helpless craft. The skipper was struck next and blown to pieces. The bridge was a mass of bloody wreckage and torn flesh. The next shell shattered the tiny engine room and killed the engineman. The Victoria lay at the mercy of the enemy. The

submarine continued to close on her, and kept up a rapid fire, killing the mate and another engineman and severely wounding another. The four men who were left tried to save themselves. The boat had been smashed to splinters, and they jumped into the water with planks.

Careless of the men in the water, the submarine steamed up alongside the Victoria and sealed her fate by placing bombs aboard her. There was a violent explosion, and her wreckage, strewn over the face of the waters far and near, was the only relic of her existence. Not till nearly two hours after this were the four numbed and helpless men in the water taken aboard the submarine. They were placed down below, and, one by one, closely examined by the commander as to the system of patrols in the neighborhood. Dazed as they were, and hardly responsible for their actions, they one and all refused to answer their captors. Late that night they were told that the submarine was about to submerge, and, so far as they could gather, they proceeded below the surface for over twelve hours. They knew enough about the system of netting to know that they were in constant danger of being trapped in the belly of the sea and drowned, hideously, in the darkness, but not a man spoke. During the night they were given some coffee and a biscuit each, and the wound of one man, who had been badly lacerated by a shell, was dressed by the ship's surgeon. They lay in the semi-darkness, listening to the steady beat and hum of the engines and wondering what kind of a miracle could bring them to the light of day again.

Abandoned at Sea

On the next morning the trawler Hirose fell a victim to the same submarine. She was no sooner sighted than she was greeted with a hail of shot. She stopped and lowered a boat, while the enemy dashed up. The commander of the submarine shouted through a megaphone: "Leave your ship. I give you five minutes." The crew complied—there were ten hands all told—and were ordered aboard the submarine, while the Hirose was blown up. After being

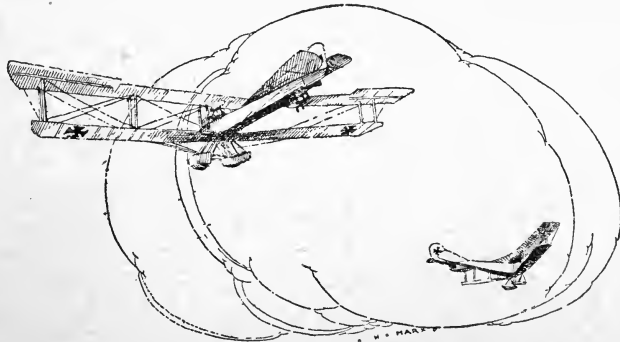
given six biscuits each the crew of the Hirose were put back in their boat. The survivors of the Victoria were ordered on deck and placed in the same boat. The submarine steamed away and shortly afterward dipped.

It was very dirty weather at this time. A strong gale blew and the rain drenched them. There were fourteen men crowded in a small trawler boat, a hundred miles from home. By dint of baling out the water continually, till their arms were numbed, they managed to keep afloat. Twenty-four hours later, at 6 o'clock in the morning, they were picked up by the collier Ballater about sixty miles off the Smalls Lighthouse. Their condition was then indescribable. Soaked through and through, with the boat half full of water, battered to and fro by every wave, they had lost all hope, and were lying exhausted. Their bodies were stiff with cramp, and they were hauled on board the Ballater with difficulty. But there, at least, they found the rough comfort of the sea. Each man was stripped and his clothes dried in the engine room. Hot coffee and food and blankets kept them alive till they reached port.

But the ordeal had left its mark upon them all; and when examined as to his experiences on board the submarine, the boatswain of the Victoria—a man of over sixty years—seemed to be too dazed to give any coherent reply. All that he could remember was the scene on the deck of the Victoria before the crew took

to the sea; and his description was that of a shambles, where six of his mates lay drenched with blood, some with their heads blown off, others screaming in agony, with arms and legs blown off; and in a chaos of escaping steam and wreckage the little boy Jones lying dead on the bridge.

The sinking of these fishing boats suddenly ceased, except on rare occasions; and, for certain reasons, it is now an acknowledged fact that when a submarine sees one it submerges or bolts immediately. Details must not be given; but these smaller fishing boats now form a class to themselves, and they are known among the other auxiliaries as "mystery ships." Only one hint I may give here. There was once upon a time a simple fishing boat shooting her fishing nets for simple fish. A submarine appeared and gave her men "five minutes, you swine!" Immediately there was a panic, which had been part of their drill in port. Two of the crew went on their knees for mercy, and others hauled at the boat like men possessed. * * * I must pass over the details once more; but the resultant picture was this: A dummy boat on deck in four pieces, and a fine big gun leveled straight at the submarine, attended by gunners of his Majesty's navy "like gods in poor disguise." There were two Germans kneeling for mercy; and after they had scrambled into safety there was an abolished submarine and oil upon many troubled waters.



The Titanic Struggle in Picardy

By the Editor

FIGHTING on the Somme has continued with unabated fury throughout the month just past.

The British and French armies, which come shoulder to shoulder near Combles, have kept up their slow, steady, forward push, with the constant accompaniment of a smashing hail of great shells which no defenses can withstand. At Bouchavesnes on Sept. 13 General Foch's men achieved what the Germans had believed impossible—they broke through the last line of the original German system of fortified trenches. Walls of reinforced concrete, powerful earthworks, vast mazes of barbed wire—all had been pounded into chaos. New trenches, of course, had been built behind the old, but the significance of the achievement remains. The last month also was marked by the appearance of a new type of armored motor car, which promises important results.

In the first two and one-half months of this offensive the Allies have taken 54,000 German prisoners, some thirty-odd villages, and a devastated section of France nearly thirty miles long and five or ten wide. The aggregate losses in killed and wounded are necessarily heavy on both sides.

Stubborn Thiepval

Two or three crises of more intense battle are seen to flame up from the level of the month's events. Around the fortified village of Thiepval, at the north end of the British sector, some of the fiercest fighting of the war has raged for weeks. On Aug. 21, after a bombardment of indescribable intensity, the British infantry went over the ground in waves across the tangled web of trenches and redoubts, capturing 200 prisoners and establishing themselves within a few hundred yards of the beleaguered German garrison of Thiepval; yet a full month later those heroic Germans still hold the Thiepval hills. The quality of their resistance may be guessed from this description of

the bombardment of Aug. 21, which is typical of many others since then:

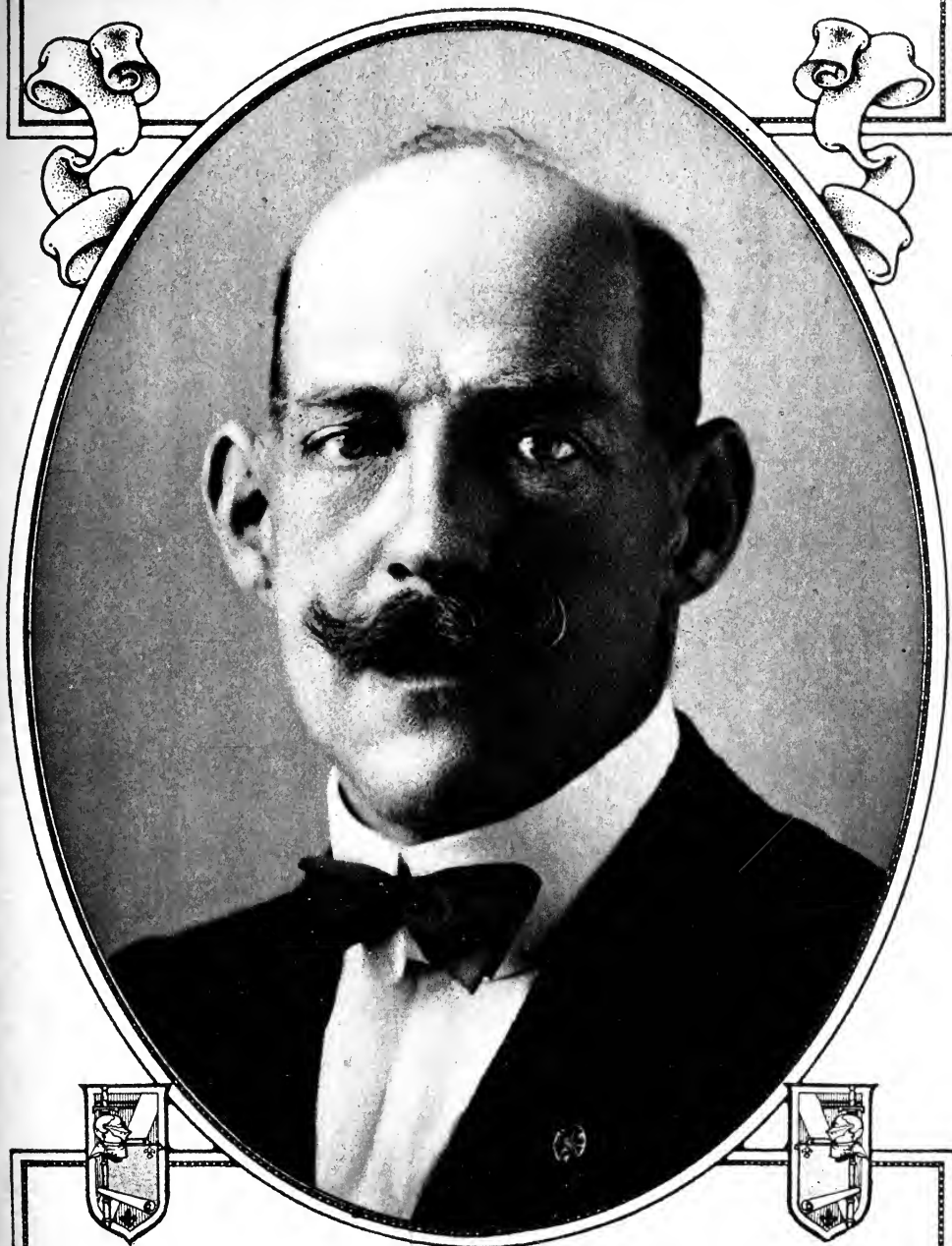
"Suddenly, as if at the tap of a baton, the great orchestra of death crashed out. It is absurd to describe it; no words have been made for a modern bombardment of this intensity. One can only give a feebly inaccurate notion of what one big shell sounds like. When hundreds of heavy guns are firing upon one small line of ground and shells of the greatest size are rushing through the sky in flocks and bursting in masses, all description is futile. I can only say that the whole sky was resonant with waves of noise that were long drawn, like the deep notes of violins, gigantic and terrible in their power of sound, and that each vibration ended at last in a thunderous crash. It seemed as if the stars had fallen out of the sky and were rushing down to Thiepval."

Work of French Guns

While the British were pounding thus with strokes of Thor at the northern end of the Picardy front, the French were wiping out German trenches to the south along thirty miles of front with a storm of steel that lasted seventy-two hours. An artillery Lieutenant detailed to watch a small section of German trench tells what he saw:

"At first there was a series of earth fountains along the trench line, followed by great cones of smoke, which slowly collected over the wood itself, until the latter was hidden. Through glasses I could see that whole sectors of trench had closed up, burying the defenders. Constantly human limbs and bodies were visible among the upthrown earth and débris. At intervals a gray-green form would leap swiftly backward from the trenches, but the hazard from the incessant rain of steel fragments was too great, and gradually there grew a line of motionless bodies among the brushwood. I counted thirty-seven after three-quarters of an hour.

KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE



Who Attempts to Remain Neutral in Spite of the Greek Nation's
Pro-Ally Sentiments.

(Photo from Pach Photo Neus.)

GREEK ROYALTY AND MINISTERS



Queen Sophia of Greece,
Sister of the German Kaiser.
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



Crown Prince George of
Greece.
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



Eleutherios Venizelos,
Former Premier of Greece.



Alexander Zaimis,
Present Premier of Greece.

"After eighty minutes I signaled, 'trench demolished,' and the bombardment ceased. I would have defied any one to point out where the trench had been. There was nothing but a line of hollows, hillocks, and shell holes. As the smoke cleared, I saw how excellent had been the aim on the communication trenches. Two open roads, each twenty feet wide, had been blasted through the wood. It was only the bodies, lying thick along both, that showed they had indeed been communication trenches.

"I continued to watch. Here and there a wounded wretch dragged himself painfully amid the tree stumps. Perhaps a few survived in the deepest dugouts, but as a practical unit the half battalion had ceased to exist. And, remember, that was a tiny sector. Add the total of such cases along the whole front, and you will realize why our victory is certain."

An Old-Style Battle

Near the centre these operations came to a dramatic climax on Sunday, Sept. 3, in the pitched battle that wrested Guillemont from the Germans on the British sector and gave the French near Clery the greatest victory since the offensive began. It was a battle of the old-fashioned kind in the open, a battle with bayonets between great forces. Between Maurepas and Clery, where the bloodiest fighting occurred, the French faced the Second Army Corps of Bavarians, crack troops ever in the forefront of battle, and next to them on the north was the Third Division of the German Imperial Guard under command of the Prince of Prussia. Opposite the British front the Kaiser's heroic Brandenburgers fought to hold Guillemont—fought fiercely, and failed. Nearly 80,000 of Germany's finest troops met this historic Anglo-French assault and had to give way.

The French reached the outskirts of Combles and remained firmly entrenched on the plateau overlooking the Bapaume-Peronne State road. Further south they gained a footing on Hill St. Quentin, dominating Peronne itself. More important still was the moral effect of having proved that not even Germany's best troops, in equal or superior numbers, and fully prepared for attack, could check a

French offensive. The French came out of the trenches cheering and singing, the Germans rushed to meet them. At Soyécourt the French charged with the bayonet, took the enemy's machine guns, and turned them upon their former owners. It was a great battle in the old-time sense, and a clean-cut victory.

The Fight for Guillemont

The British, at their end of the line, were fighting in like manner for Guillemont. Aviators who looked down upon the scene saw it as a mad football scrimmage of struggling figures. At midday the British went forward steadily in waves after a hurricane of fire from their heavy guns. The Germans flung 10,000 gas shells at them, enveloping them in poisonous vapors for hours, and German machine guns swept the ground with a storm of bullets; but the British took cover in the dips and hollows of the shell-tortured earth and reached the village.

For two weeks Guillemont had been the most completely devastated spot on the western front, for the British had been pounding it with every calibre of gun. It had ceased to be a village and become an iron and lead mine. More than 200,000 shells had burst in this once quiet hamlet of French homes, and 3,000,000 bullets had traversed the junk heap that now remained.

Twice the British had charged into and through the town, only to be forced out by the Germans. Now, sapping forward and connecting up the shell craters into trenches, they worked their way again to the village. The Germans, however, had established themselves in a small trench salient forty yards away, where the British guns dared not fire on them for fear of hitting their own men. Here the Germans had a machine gun that swept the English trenches; but the Britons and Irish, defying it, dashed through, cleaned out the nests of other machine guns in the village, and took up a strong position beyond in a sunken road.

South of Guillemont, one section of the Prussian Guard resisted desperately in Falfemont Farm and wedge wood, and

here bombing and hand-to-hand fighting continued until the British captured the position next day. The scene is thus described by Philip Gibbs:

"The way to the trenches was the most amazing scene of the war—more terrible and wonderful and as great a battle picture as any I had seen before. Everywhere along the way which leads to the country between Hardecourt and Maurepas, there is great desolation and ruin of all the things that grew or stood upon the earth. Here, for two miles or so, a long avenue of trees is a highway of violence. Not a tree stands whole, and their great trunks have been slashed and broken by the shell fire and lie with ragged stumps—great giants—across the unending shell craters there.

"On one side was Maurepas, a few brick ruins standing in the midst of bare black trunks and naked branches. In a turmoil of shell craters on the other side was Guillemont. I could see every tree in it and one solitary shell of a barn and a few black German crosses to their dead and blown-out dugouts on the southern side."

Irish regiments played a gallant part in the taking of Guillemont, and a week later it was the men from Munster, Dublin, Connaught, and the west and south of Ireland who captured Ginchy. They came out of the battle weary and spent, and left many good comrades behind, but they still marched proudly. "A great painter," says an eyewitness, "would have found here a subject to thrill his soul—that long trail of Irish regiments, some of them reduced by losses and with but few officers to lead them. Ahead of them walked one Irish piper, playing them home to the harvest fields of peace, with a lament for those who will never come back."

New Armored Monsters

Another day of great remembrance for the British was Sept. 15, when their soldiers broke through the German third line and went out into the open country to deal new blows to the war machine that had seemed so incredibly strong before the days of Verdun. A new element was introduced that day in the form of enormous armored motor cars that travel

on caterpillar feet right across shell craters, over German trenches, through brick walls and ruined houses, smashing their way through everything like monsters from prehistoric ages. As for trees in their way—"they simply love trees," as one officer remarked. They wear a steel armor that makes them impervious to bullets and ordinary shell fragments; in short, they promise to play the rôle of veritable dreadnoughts on land.

Tommy Atkins promptly dubbed these modern ichthyosaurs "tanks" or "Willies," greeting them with roars of laughter as they crawled with uncanny nonchalance across craters and earthworks until they poured their fiery breath into the enemy trenches. One writer compares them to toads of vast size emerging from the primeval slime in the twilight of the world's dawn. They have furnished both humor and aid to the Allies on the Somme since the day of their début. The fact that their mysterious internal organs were manufactured by a farm tractor company in Peoria, Ill., does not alter the other fact that in their armored form they are a British innovation. They seem destined to do deadly work as they sprawl across enemy trenches, enfiling them with machine-gun fire, and themselves as indifferent to rifle bullets as a rhinoceros to mosquito bites.

The Fall of Falkenhayn

The battle of the Somme has an evident connection with the recent fall of General von Falkenhayn from the position at the head of the Kaiser's Great General Staff. A press dispatch of Sept. 19, which states that the headquarters of the Great General Staff have been removed from the western front to the eastern, apparently confirms the triumph of Hindenburg's policy over that of Falkenhayn and of the Berlin Court faction which had dominated military affairs since the beginning of the war, and earlier. A Rotterdam correspondent tells the story substantially as follows:

In January, 1916, there was a bitter controversy between Generals Falkenhayn and Hindenburg regarding the conduct of the war. Hindenburg was utterly opposed to any big offensive in France.

He advised striking another blow immediately at Russia, and was already preparing a new offensive there behind Courland. General Falkenhayn, however, refused to give him the additional forces necessary for this purpose, and Hindenburg's plan was overruled in favor of an offensive against Verdun. The German Crown Prince is believed to have been the sustaining power behind Falkenhayn in making this disastrous decision.

Before the failure at Verdun was fairly written into history the Anglo-French drive on the Somme came to

emphasize the extent of the error. The Kaiser at last turned to Hindenburg, elevating him to supreme military power in place of the Court favorite, Falkenhayn, but too late to undo all the harm that had been done to Hohenzollern prestige. For the deposition of Falkenhayn necessarily involved a certain discrediting of the Crown Prince and his ultra-militaristic following. Thus the radical change in the General Staff is taken by the outside world to indicate the extent of a reaction in Germany against the faction primarily responsible for the war.

Italy and Germany Formally at War

THOUGH Italy has been at war with Austria since May 23, 1915, and has been practically in the same hostile relations with Austria's ally, Germany, for an equal length of time, the formal declaration of a state of war with the latter nation dates only from Aug. 28, 1916. Official notification of the event was transmitted to the United States in the following note to Secretary Lansing from Count Macchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador, who was then sojourning at a Massachusetts Summer resort:

From Royal Italian Embassy.

Beverly Farms, Mass, Aug. 28, 1916.

To Mr. Secretary of State:

I have the honor to address the following communication to your Excellency in the name of the King's Government:

Systematically hostile acts on the part of the German Government to the detriment of Italy have succeeded one another with increasing frequency, consisting of both an actual warlike participation and economic measures of every kind.

With regard to the former, it will suffice to mention the reiterated supplies of arms and of instruments of war, terrestrial and maritime, furnished by Germany to Austria-Hungary, and the uninterrupted participation of German officers, soldiers, and seamen in the various operations of war directed against Italy. In fact, it is only thanks to the assistance afforded her by

Germany in the most varied forms that Austria-Hungary has recently been able to concentrate her most extensive effort against Italy. It is also worth while to recall the transmission by the German Government to Austria-Hungary of the Italian prisoners who had escaped from the Austro-Hungarian concentration camps and taken refuge in German territory.

Among the measures of an economic character which were hostile to Italy it will be sufficient to cite the invitation which at the instance of the Imperial Department of Foreign Affairs was directed to German credit institutions and bankers to consider every Italian citizen as a hostile foreigner and to suspend payments to him; also the suspension of payments to Italian laborers of the pensions due them by virtue of a formal provision of the German law.

The Government of his Majesty the King did not think that it could longer tolerate such a state of affairs, which aggravates, to the exclusive detriment of Italy, the sharp contrast between the *de facto* and the *de jure* situation already arising from the fact of the alliance of Italy and of Germany with two groups of nations at war with one another.

For these reasons the Royal Government has, in the name of his Majesty the King, notified the German Government through the Swiss Government, that, as from today, Aug. 28, Italy considers herself in a state of war with Germany.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the assurances of my highest regards.

MACCHI DI CELLERE.

The Army Behind the Army

By Lord Northcliffe

Owner of The London Times and London Mail

Lord Northcliffe's article was written at the British front in France just before the storming of Pozières in August.

TAKE this powerful pair of field-glasses in your hand. They were captured in a German dugout, and bear the famous mark of Zeiss of Jena. Adjust them carefully and look well over to where dark clouds of shells are bursting so rapidly that they form what looks like a dense mass of London fog, with continuous brief and vivid flashes of explosions. That is Pozières. That is how Fricourt looked and how Longueval is looking on the day this is penned. From behind where we sit ensconced in an old German trench there come night and day the bang and the far-traveling scream of British shells. It does not seem possible that any one can emerge alive from those bombarded villages.

From north to south is an irregular chain of watchful observation balloons. High and glittering in the sunshine are planes, directed as often as not by boys who in happier times would be in the boats or the playing fields. Their heroism during the last few weeks has never been equaled, except in this war.

Along the Somme

The battles of the Somme are not, of course, so easily witnessed as those which can be seen from the heights around Verdun, but they are a great deal more visible and understandable than the depressing artillery duels in the plains and swamps of Flanders. Neither photographs nor maps give much real impression of the great panorama, which is, indeed, only possible for an onlooker to understand when accompanied by one who has witnessed the steady conquest of the German trenches from the beginning of the movement which was made on July 1. What is easy to realize, and so cheering to our soldiers, is that we give the Germans full measure and more in the matter of guns and shells. A

couple of hours in any place where the battles can be properly observed is enough for the nerves of the average civilian, for to see battles properly one must be well in reach of the enemy, and so when we have had our fill we make our way along a communication trench to where a small and unobtrusive motor has been hidden.

Presently we come to the roads where one sees one of the triumphs of the war, the transport which brings the ammunition for the guns and the food for the men, a transport which has had to meet all kinds of unexpected difficulties. The last is water, for our troops are approaching a part of France which is as chalky and dry as the South Downs of England.

A Great Organization

Some researches with a view to placing on record the work of the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John in their relations to the wonderful Army Medical Service in France have brought the writer into touch with almost the most splendid achievement of the war, the building up of the great organization that lies between the Somme and the British Isles.

Communication being as urgent as transport, the Royal Engineers have seen to it that the large area of Northern and Northwest France in which our armies are operating has been linked up by a telephonic system unique. It is no mere collection of temporary wires strung from tree to tree. The poles and wires are in every way as good as those of the Post Office at home. The installation might indeed be thought to be extravagant, but cheap telephoning is notoriously bad telephoning. A breakdown of communications which might be caused by the fierce wind and electric storms which have happened so frequently in the war might spell a great inconvenience or even

worse. An indistinct telephone is useless. And so, marching with the army, and linking up a thousand essential points, is a telephone service that cannot be bettered. Today it would be quite possible for the Commander in Chief, if he so desired, to call up London from beyond Fricourt, for our wires are already in places where we saw them burying the blackened corpses of dead Germans, and where the sound of great guns makes it sometimes necessary to shout in order to make one's self heard in a conversation.

Army Telephones

Every officer or head of department of importance in the British zone has a telephone at his hand, so that he may give and receive orders, not absolutely secret, by the quickest and most popular means of communication. Where necessary, the English telephones are linked up with the trunk lines of the French Government, for which purposes interpreters are placed in the exchanges. The speed of communication is remarkable. It varies, of course, with the amount of business, but I have seen a man call up Paris, London, and the seaport bases in France all within an hour.

Supplementing the telephonic system is a telegraphic link, and there is also the wireless. The Army Signal Corps is to be congratulated on a fine achievement. Over and above these there are the motor dispatch riders, some of whose experiences during the war have been as thrilling as those of our air boys. The noisy nuisance of our peace-time roads at home has been a prime factor in the prompt waging of war. Motor cycles and portable telephones appear in the most out-of-the-way spots. Far beyond Fricourt I met these cyclists making their way in and out and around the shell holes.

A few days later when visiting one of the workshops at the base I saw the wrecks of similar machines twisted and smashed out of all recognition by shrapnel, each speaking of an adventure, and perhaps a tragedy. The fact that these derelicts were being examined for possible repair is a portent of the rigid economy with which, on the French side

of the Channel at any rate, and perhaps on both, the war is now being conducted.

An Aeroplane's Staff

The war plane of 1916 flies upward and away with the speed and grace of a dragon fly. She has been made perfect and beautiful for her flight by skilled expert mechanics. When she returns after, let us hope, her conquest, the boys who have escorted her in the air (one of these I met was at school last year) hand her over again to those attendants to see if she has any rent in her gown or other mishap which may be speedily mended. When, therefore, you see an aeroplane you must realize that each machine has its staff. Speed and efficiency being prime essentials of victory, her caretakers must be skilled and young. As for her supplies, there must be at hand a great quantity of spare parts ready to be applied instantaneously, and there must be men, in case of need, who can either alter or even make such parts. There must be those who understand her camera and its repair, her wireless and its working, men who have already learned the mysteries of the newest bombs, rockets, and machine guns. I take the aeroplane as an instance because of its prominence in the public eye.

What applies to an aeroplane applies in other degrees to every kind of gun, to every form of motor or horse transport, ambulances, field kitchens, filters, and to a thousand articles which at first sight do not necessarily seem to be part of war making.

The army behind the army is full of originality. It has already improved, on the spot, much machinery which we had thought to have attained perfection. This is a war of machinery as well as of bravery, and among Germany's many blunders was her forgetfulness of the British power of quick improvisation and organization in unexpected circumstances, which is a secret of our success in building up the empire in strange lands.

The army behind the army is being squeezed for men for the front. In some places it can legitimately bear more squeezing, and it is getting it. On the other hand, owing to their own burning desire or by the pressure of the authori-

ties men have left the anvil, the tools, the lathe, or the foundry for the firing line who in the end would have killed more Germans by the use of their own particular skill in the workshop.

Our L. of C. in France (line of communication) has developed to what must be one of the largest organizations in the world. It represents 6 per cent. of the whole of our forces in France. It has to deal with more spheres of human industry than I should be allowed to mention. Its personnel is being revised continually by medical examinations that eliminate fit men for the trenches. The task is a delicate one. An organization absolutely essential to victory has at length, and after infinite labor, by promotion of the skilled and rejection of the incompetent, been set on its feet. We must make changes with caution.

Economy and Salvage

At various times I have personally observed the great organizations of the Clyde, the Tyne, of Belfast, of Woolwich, Chicago, in and around Paris, at St. Etienne, and in the Creusot works, in Hamburg, in Essen, and at Hoechst on the Rhine, and I say without hesitation that, making allowances for war time, our lines of communication organization, super-imposed as it is upon the over-worked French railways and roads, and in a country where there is no native labor to be had, is, in August, 1916, as near perfection as ever it can be. And I say more, that, difficult as economy and war are to mate, I have on the occasion of this visit and in contrast to the days of 1914 seen nothing wasted. In the early months of the war there was waste at home and abroad arising from lack of control of our national habit of spending money with both hands. I remember a certain French village I visited where every tiny mite was filling its mouth with English bread and jam. Today there is enough food and a greater variety of foods than before, but there is no waste that is visible even to an inquisitive critic.

Coming to the front, not only in the high commands and among regimental officers and along the line of communication, is a pleasing proportion of Scotch

folk who, while generous in the giving of ambulances, are not accustomed to waste anything in war or at any other time. Today, almost before the reek and fume of battle are over, almost before our own and the enemy dead are all buried, the Salvage Corps appears on the bloody and shell-churned scene to collect and pile unused cartridge and machine gun belts, unexploded bombs, old shell cases, damaged rifles, haversacks, steel helmets, and even old rags, which go to the base and are sold at \$250 a ton. It is only old bottles, which with old newspapers, letters, meat tins, and broken boxes are a feature of the battlefields that do not appear to be worthy of salvage.

Regarding the utilization of waste products there is as much ingenuity and industry along the lines of communication as would satisfy the directorate of the most highly overorganized German fabrik. At one place I saw over 1,000 French and Belgian girls cleansing and repairing clothing that had come back from the front. They work and talk and sing with alacrity, and I witnessed the process of the patching and reconstructing of what looked like an impossible waterproof coat, all in the course of a few moments. Such labor saves the British Nation hundreds of thousands of pounds, and is considered well rewarded at a wage of half a crown (62½ cents) a day.

Elsewhere I saw men using the most modern Northampton machinery for soling and heeling any pair of old boots that would stand the operation, and such footgear as was useless was not wasted, for by an ingenious contrivance invented on the spot by a young Dublin bootmaker the upper parts of such boots were being converted into bootlaces by the thousand.

In the army machine shops the waste grease is saved and the oil which escapes from every such establishment is ingeniously trapped and sold to local soap makers at the equivalent of its present very high value.

Workmen Translated

Since the early days of chaos and muddle we have conveyed across the seas

machine shops and mechanics which must exceed by twice or thrice the total of those in a humming town like Coventry. Such factories have had to be manned, and manned with labor able to meet the sudden emergencies of war. The labor has all had to come from home. Clerks, engineers, fitters, mechanics, quickly settled down to the monotonous regularity of military life and the communal existence of the barracks, huts, and tents in which they live. True it is that every consideration possible has been shown for their happiness, comfort, and amusement. They have their own excellent canteens, reading rooms, and places of entertainment. They are not forgotten by the Y. M. C. A. or by the Salvation Army and Church Army, whose work cannot be too highly spoken of. They are individually looked after by their own heads of departments with solicitude and kindness. The gramophone, the joy of the dugouts, the hospitals, and the billets, is a never-ending source of entertainment.

The workers are by no means unable to amuse themselves. They are well provided with cinematographs and frequent boxing tournaments. Gardening, too, is one of their hobbies, and from the casualty clearing stations at the front to the workers' huts at the bases are to be counted thousands of English-made gardens. The French, who know as little of us as we do of them, were not a little surprised to find that, wherever he sojourns, the British workman insists on making himself a garden.

Huge bakeries, the gigantic storehouses, (one is the largest in the world,) factories, and repair shops are filled with workers who are a visible contradiction of the allegations as to the alleged slackness of the British workman. The jealousy that exists in peace times between most army and civilian establishments does not seem to be known.

The War Atmosphere

The authorities at home seem to hide our German prisoners. In France they work, and in public, and are content with their lot. Save for the letters "P. G." (prisonnier de guerre) at the back of their coats it would be difficult to realize that comfortable-looking, middle-aged

Landsturm Hans, with his long pipe, and young Fritz, with his cigarette, were prisoners at all.

The war atmosphere and the patriotic keenness of the skilled mechanics and labor battalions in France have enabled the Commander in Chief, Sir Douglas Haig, who has personally visited the bases in hurried journeys from the front, to accomplish what in peace time would be the impossible. Transport alone is a miracle. The railways are so incumbered that it is frequent to see trains nearly a kilometer (five-eighths of a mile) in length. As one travels about in search of information mile-long convoys of motor lorries loom quickly toward one from out of the dense dust, and it is by this combination of rail and road that the almost impossible task has been achieved of keeping pace with the German strategic railways, which were built for the sole purpose of the quick expedition of men and supplies.

Vast War Schools

Scattered through the army behind the army are schools where war is taught by officers who have studied the art at the front. Here in vast camps the spectator might easily imagine that he was at the front itself. Here the pupils fresh from England are drilled in every form of fighting.

There is something uncanny in the approach of a company to a communication trench, in its vanishing under the earth, and its reappearance some hundreds of yards away, where clambering "over the top," to use the most poignant expression of the war, the soldier pupils dash forward in a vociferous bayonet charge. At these great reinforcement camps are gas mask attacks, where pupils are passed through underground chambers, filled with real gas, that they may become familiarized with one of the worst curses of warfare. The gas itself is a subtle and at first not a very fearsome enemy, but the victim is apt to be overcome before he is aware of it.

And at these miniature battlefields, all of them larger than the field of Waterloo, are demonstration lecturers who teach bombing, first with toy bombs that explode harmlessly with a slight puff,

and then with the real Mills bombs which have a noisy and destructive effect altogether disproportionate to their size and innocent appearance. The various types of machine guns are fired at ingenious targets all the day long. There are actual dugouts in which pupils are interned with entrances closed while gas is profusely projected around them, so that they may learn how to deal with the new weapon by spraying it and flapping it away when the entrance is uncovered at a given signal. Crater fighting is taught with an actual reproduction of a crater, by a lusty Sergeant who has seen much of the actual thing, and tells the men what to do with their bombs and with Germans.

German Prisoners

In the centre of one of these schools there arrived, while I was on the scene, a great number of German prisoners on their way to the base. I do not know how many young soldiers just landed from England were being trained that day. Certainly many, many thousands, and I do not wonder that the prisoners were amazed at the spectacle before them. One of them frankly confessed in excellent English that his comrades were under the impression that we had no men left. The food supplied to these German prisoners here, as everywhere, was excellent, and they did not hesitate to say so. Temporary baths and other washing arrangements were fitted up for them, they had an abundance of tobacco, and were just as comfortably off in their tents as our soldiers not actually in barracks. Their condition on arrival here, as elsewhere, was appalling. Imprisoned in their trenches by our barrage of fire, they had been deprived of many of the necessities of life for days, and on their arrival ate ravenously. Most of them were Prussian Guards and Bavarians, and the number who had the Iron Cross ribbon in their buttonholes was eloquent testimony to the type of enemy troops our new armies have been fighting.

In one great branch of the clerical departments is kept a complete record of every British soldier from the hour of his arrival in France to his departure, or death. Think of the countless essential correspondence and forms that must

necessarily be filled up to achieve that end efficiently and with accuracy.

Another department, which exists for the satisfaction of relatives and possible decisions in the Court of Probate, keeps an exact record of the time of death and place of burial of every officer and private soldier in France, whether he comes from the British Islands or the dominions. Such establishments necessarily demand the use of much clerical labor.

It should be remembered always, in regard to such a department as that which follows the course of every soldier in France, that a Tommy is a difficult person to deal with. It is more than possible that there is a considerable number of men who have been reported as missing and dead who are not missing or dead at all. One case was discovered while I was at a certain office. It was that of a soldier who had been reported missing for more than a year, but who was found in comfortable surroundings doing duty as an army cook in a totally different part of the field to that in which he disappeared.

A Pathetic Duty

There are countless departments of which the public knows nothing. I have only space and time to deal with one more. It is that which watches over the recovery of the effects of dead men and officers. There are separate departments for each, but I only saw that affecting the men.

The work begins on the battlefield and in the hospitals, where I saw the dead bodies being reverently searched. A list is carefully made there and then, and that list accompanies the little familiar belongings that are a part of every man's life to one of the great bases on the lines of communication. The bag is there opened by two clerks, who check it once more, securely fastening it, and sending it home, where it eventually reaches the next of kin. I watched the opening of one such pathetic parcel during the final checking. It contained a few pence, a pipe, a photo of wife and bairn, a trench ring made of the aluminium of an enemy fuze, a small diary, and a pouch. It was all the man had.

They told me that nearly every soldier carries a souvenir. In one haversack was found a huge piece of German shell which had probably been carried for months. The relatives at home set great store on these little treasures, and though the proper officials to address are those at the War Office, London, the people in France are often in receipt of indignant letters from relatives asking why this or that trifle has not been returned.

One of them which arrived that day

said: "I gave my son to the war, you have had him, you might at least return all his property intact. Where are the pair of gloves and zinc ointment he had with him?"

The work of collecting these last mementos of the dead is carried out with promptness, care, and very kindly feeling, despite the monotony of the task, which begins in the morning and goes on to the evening, a task which is increasing daily with the size of the war.

Preparing the Somme Offensive

By a French Officer

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from L'Illustration]

IT will be one of the greatest claims to honor of the French General Staff that during the very height of the battle of Verdun they staged the offensive on the Somme. The Germans, on their part, had had, from the close of the battle of Champagne (September-October, 1915) to the last days of February, 1916, four months of relative calm on the western front, to prepare their undertaking on the Meuse, (Verdun.) On the contrary, it was while victoriously resisting the most powerful effort of the German Army that our high command conceived and realized another battle.

What the preparation of an offensive is we shall try to indicate by broad strokes. The region behind the battle front is an immense workshop, in which the instruments of battle are manufactured; arms, munitions, material of every kind, brought regularly to the advanced depots and put at the disposal of the leaders for the execution of their plans. The representatives of the nation, the people, all will co-operate, each according to his rôle. The advanced position becomes a great storeyard, in view of the coming battle.

First, the ground must be prepared. The engineer corps construct railroads: lines of normal gauge, with large capacity, along which circulate enormous

tonnages of munitions, supplies of every kind, and also the heavy guns mounted on rails; lines of twenty-four inches gauge, which will make it possible to carry munitions far forward, and which will form a network serving all the depots. It is necessary to lay the rock ballast, and for this purpose quarries are opened and worked, a system of military trains established. And when the track has been laid it is necessary to construct the stations and platforms. Plank villages thus rise from the earth in a few days.

To fix the position of munition depot is a problem. It must be hidden from the enemy's view, as much as possible in a dead angle, in order that it may escape artillery fire. About the depots, along the roads everywhere, it is necessary to dig shelters, to establish first-aid posts, to burrow into the earth. While these excavations are going on other forces of men build new roads, widen the old roads, mend them, regulate traffic on them. Further forward they are working at the trenches, at the connecting trenches, which must be wide and numerous, and at the troop quarters. This is only a part of the task. Add the reconnoissance of artillery emplacements, the installation of platforms, the organization of the ground. And all this activity, carried out through several

weeks, must escape the notice of the enemy, his observers and aviators must discover nothing of it. But we, on the contrary, must be perfectly informed as to what is going on within his lines.

It has been told how, before the release of our offensive and during its opening days, the German Drachen were rendered incapable of accomplishing their work by our aviators. Since that time the enemy "sausages" have only attempted a few ascensions at long intervals, and quickly interrupted by the apparition of one of our pilots. And just as the captive balloons were unable to remain in the air, so the German aviators were unable to pass behind our lines. But if the enemy was ignorant of our preparations, we were well informed as to his organization. The position of his lines, the defensive works, the gun emplacements, had all been sighted and measured.

The destruction caused by our artillery was regularly followed. In order to learn the effect of a shot several means are employed. The first is to send patrols to find out the condition of barbed-wire entanglements and defensive works. But human testimony is always fallible; the conditions of observation during the night are bad; it is possible to see one point and not see a neighboring point, or to be completely prevented from seeing anything by bullets or machine-gun fire. But we have at our disposal an eye which makes no mistakes: the eye of the photographic lens—and aerial photography is yet another new tool for our aviators.

Every evening before the battle of the Somme was begun a map of the German trenches was drawn up, in accordance with what the photographs revealed. On it was distinctly marked what had been completely destroyed, what was not, and what was incompletely indicated. Thus, the corps were informed as to the work of their artillery and as to what remained to be done. The conditions of a complete preparation were wanted. And they were gained, to the complete satisfaction of our infantrymen. The German first-line trenches were leveled; the nets of barbed wire,

however closely woven they might be, were annihilated; the most substantial organizations were knocked into ruins.

One of the first problems of armies during a campaign is that of communications. It can be imagined to what a degree, in a war in which the fronts have become stabilized, among an infinity of wheels and organisms, this problem is complicated, and what an amount of new works an offensive will require. In this domain the installation of telephone lines dominates everything. It could never have been imagined beforehand to what an extent they would be employed. In August, 1914, if the General Staffs of the armies were connected by telephone with their army corps, that was as far as matters went. In the war of movement there were, to carry orders, connecting agents and messengers.

Today not a service but has its telephone line, and in constant use. For the artillery, the telephone is the indispensable auxiliary; it is by telephone that the observers in balloons communicate with the batteries. Therefore, how much work and what consumption of telephone wire! On July 15, 1916, 12,420 miles of wire were in use in the army of the Somme. A thousand telephone operators were employed. Wireless telegraphy also renders precious services, particularly in the control of gunfire. But each of these organs of the army would deserve a special study, and our purpose is only to show what a battle is.

When these immense works of organization have been accomplished, when what would require a year and more in normal life has been realized in a few weeks, when everything is in place, the hour of battle arrives. The date is chosen, the hour is fixed, the moment when the assault is to begin.

Then from the lines of departure, from which they have started, to the enemy positions which they are approaching, the actual fighters have to play their part. In the complexity of the conflict, the dispersion of the action, and the episodes of the battle, the high command of the army does not intervene. It will recommence its activity as soon as the general devel-

opment of the situation becomes known to it; up to that moment it is the leaders of the small units who orient the battle. It is they who work for success. But behind them the immense, minutely regulated machine is carrying on its work.

To begin with, it is necessary to be informed, quickly and well, as to the positions attained. Reinforcements must be pushed forward, and the battle must be fed. All the experiments which have been made are utilized in order that connections may work as perfectly as possible. Heliographs, flags, optical signals, Bengal fire, runners when the lines are cut—every system is put into use. But the services of the infantry airmen have been particularly remarkable. And the officers detailed to orient the artillery, going forward with the waves of the assault and followed by a telephonist unrolling his reel, keep the firing batteries perfectly informed as to the points hit and the shots to make. The barrier fire follows the movements of the infantry in their advance.

The infantry has reached the objectives which were fixed for it. It must now stop there and consolidate its position. Behind it also begin the organization of the conquest and the preparation for the next battle.

First the communications. The telephonists install a new network, utilize the newly won emplacements, place their apparatus. The French advance on the north and on the south of the Somme, and during the first ten days of the battle they install 500 miles of new telephone wires. The blocked passages of the deeper trenches, broken down by shells, are put in order. The materials

and the workmen must be brought forward, then, to begin with; the loose earth in the enormous holes left by the large-calibre shells must all be removed and replaced by pebbles; then earth must be added and the whole rammed down hard. And this difficult task has often been performed under enemy shells.

Each day the ravages of the day before must be repaired. The arrival of supplies must be made secure, the passage of carts and movable kitchens must be provided for; new emplacements for batteries and for observers must be sought; drinking water must be brought—13,200 gallons, at least, for each army corps; the crews of well sinkers must be pushed forward to the conquered villages, the water must be sampled, tested for poisons, for it may always be feared that the conquered Germans, before abandoning a position, may have poisoned the wells. The depots of munitions and material must also be moved forward, the troops who are to take up positions in an unknown territory must be oriented, the traffic control must be organized.

And in the rear, while the front is being organized, the animation redoubles and extends. The convoys come up in order, the regiments march toward their destined stations, the wagons of the sanitary department go and return, and the railroads are busy. Along the road reserved for motor traffic the regulating commission exercises its function, as it was organized in the Verdun region, each of its divisions assuring good circulation along a fixed space.

Everything is order and method. Each one knows his rôle—and fills it.



The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. See map on page 48]

IN the period beginning July 20 the struggle was, above all, an artillery duel; under the protection of their cannon, the British troops, with unwearying tenacity, gained ground little by little, dislodging the enemy by grenade attacks and hand-to-hand fighting. These encounters took place along the whole front, from the Leipzig redoubt, close to Thiepval, to the Delville Wood, which touches Longueval. Between this village and Bazentin, the enemy, during July 20, was pressed back to a depth of a kilometer, but he resisted fiercely throughout the night. Our allies had reached the Foureaux Wood, ("High Wood"); they were there subjected to a bombardment with the aid of asphyxiating shells and were compelled to abandon the northern part of the wood.

On July 23 the battle suddenly assumed a new vigor, from Pozières, on the road from Albert to Bapaume, as far as Guillemont, between Montauban and Combles. It attained its greatest height of fury on the two wings. Pozières, which stretches along an exceedingly gentle slope, with a windmill at 160-Meter Hill, is the culminating point of the whole region in which the boundaries of Picardy and Artois meet. The vistas are immense. For this reason the Germans had made of Pozières a redoubtable fortress, which it was necessary to smash to pieces with shells, though even then its defenders were not driven out. English and Australian troops launched in an assault succeeded, only after midnight, in carrying the advanced trenches, and were then able to enter the village, which is built chiefly along the two sides of the highway. The village had to be taken house by house; on Monday morn-

ing, July 24, the Germans were still in possession of a considerable part of the village; two guns and 150 prisoners were gathered in by the Australians. On Tuesday, July 25, the Germans retook several houses on the north side of the village, from which they were finally driven on Wednesday morning, July 26. Having made themselves masters of this position, to which the enemy attached great importance, the British troops turned toward the west, that is, toward Thiepval.

In the centre, Longueval, which the enemy had retaken, was carried on July 23; the enemy in his turn captured that portion which marches with the Delville Wood. This wood and, in the direction of Guillemont, the ground occupied by the Waterlot Farm, were also twice taken and retaken. The battle was carried on furiously by hand-to-hand fights and grenades. At the close of Tuesday, July 25, our allies had made a certain amount of progress, in spite of continuous bombardment. All the enemy's attempts to advance were repulsed.

On Thursday, July 20, while the British troops were developing their movement between the Leipzig redoubt and the approaches of Guillemont, the French troops were attacking on both sides of the Somme. To the north the movement started from Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, and was directed toward the point where the great winding dry ravine, which begins near Combles, comes out on the Somme. Our progress halted at the lip of this ravine near the narrow-gauge railroad which runs up it. Thereafter our soldiers in this sector limited themselves to consolidating their positions; only the artillery intervened, to support

the English in their attacks between Delville Wood and Guillemont. We took 400 prisoners.

A more extensive movement was developed on the same day, Thursday, July 20, to the south of the Somme and the highway from Peronne to Amiens, at first from Barleux to Soyécourt, then toward Vermandovillers, one and one-quarter miles to the north of Chaulnes. The whole of the first line of the enemy trenches was carried. Few details of this fighting have been given; yet they were very important, as they raised to 2,900 the number of prisoners taken on this day on both banks of the Somme. Thirty officers surrendered, three guns and thirty machine guns were taken. The enemy attempted to counterattack at one point only, to the south of Soyécourt. A battalion launched against our lines was crushed by our barrier fire, and retreated in disorder. On July 23 a new attack took place during the night; it was not more successful. On the morning of the following day our troops, in a local action, carried an enemy battery of mine-throwers to the south of Estrées and several machine guns.

During the evening we resumed our attacks in the neighborhood of Estrées, to dislodge the enemy from a group of houses which they had fortified on the south side of the village; the movement was successful. At the same moment another attack gave us possession of trenches between Soyécourt and Vermandovillers. In these engagements 117 prisoners and 3 more guns were taken.

The enemy took the offensive only to the south of Chaulnes, near Maucourt, where, on the morning of July 21, he tried to reach our lines; he was driven back by a bayonet charge.

From this time until Sunday, July 30, quiet reigned on both banks of the Somme. To the south reconnaissances or scouting movements of the enemy were repulsed at Soyécourt, Vermandovillers, and Lihons-en-Santerre, then once more, on July 29 and 31, at Lihons.

On July 30 we resumed the offensive to the north, in conjunction with the English. It will be remembered that we had there occupied a line formed by the

railroad which follows the hollow of the dry ravine at Combles, beginning at 139-Meter Hill, a kilometer (1,086 yards) from Hardecourt, and reaching to the Somme. At the level of Hem our front left the ravine to go direct to this village, before which we held the Monacu Farm. This represents a distance of four and one-third miles. The whole sector was covered in a single advance movement. During the forenoon the enemy's trenches fell into our hands, to a depth varying from 217 to 869 yards. The Combles ravine was crossed; our soldiers reached the first houses of Maurepas, a large village which covers the hillside on the left bank, and half surrounded that fortified position. Toward Hem, between the Albert road and the railway station, we carried a small intrenched wood and a quarry. Finally the Monacu Farm was completely in our hands.

This success gave us assured possession of the highway crossing the Somme and the canal to Feuillères; it gave us a direct communication between the two groups of Hardecourt and the loop of the Somme. The only fixed bridge downstream is at Eclusier; to make use of it, to go from Feuillères to Monacu, represents a detour of more than nine miles, while from Feuillères to Monacu is not 540 yards. This makes clear the importance of our gain and the immediate attempts of the enemy to drive us from Monacu Farm and the Hem Wood.

Repulsed in the afternoon, after extremely violent attacks, the Germans returned to the charge during the evening and a part of the night. At one time, they gained a footing in the farm, but a superb assault by our soldiers drove them out. During the whole of Monday, July 31, they redoubled their efforts, without penetrating our lines. In the evening, exhausted by their terrible losses, they gave it up. Our defense was supported by the batteries in the loop of the Somme; from the steep hills which dominate the valley they enfiladed the assaulting massed troops and mowed down whole lines.

This support enabled us to carry a powerful fortified work which the enemy still held between Hem Wood and Monacu.

The British troops had less respite than the French. From July 27 to July 30 the struggle was continuous, the enemy preparing his assaults by an intense bombardment with asphyxiating shells. On the morning of July 27 the Germans, who, during the night, had lost a trench to the north of Pozières and Bazentin-the-Less, threw themselves on this work and retook it; our allies forthwith took it back again. At the same time they attacked the parts of Longueval and the Delville Wood which had remained in the possession of the enemy, and there began a fierce fight which lasted until the following day, but they required the whole day of July 28 to make themselves masters of these positions. Toward Pozières a terrible hand-to-hand fight was begun and lasted from July 27 to July 28, when it was still undecided.

Throughout the whole night a fierce fight continued in the approaches of Delville Wood, where the enemy had already sacrificed two or three regiments, (8,000-12,000 men,) which were nearly annihilated, then the hand-to-hand fights slackened; the artillery duels were resumed until July 30. On that day, Sunday, the English took part in our movement across the Combles ravine, carrying on the struggle between Longueval and Guillemont. The battle was bloody, but won for our allies valuable gains to the east of the Trônes Wood and the Waterlot Farm.

Then the British troops set themselves to consolidate the ground they had conquered and to extend their front a little beyond Bazentin-the-Less.

To the north of the Somme the Monacu Farm, the east of which was held by French troops and which had been the object of violent counterattacks, was the goal of fierce assaults during the night of Aug. 2-3; the attack extended across the railway as far as Hem Wood on a front of 1,086 yards. The Germans were repulsed; they had suffered such heavy losses on this side since July 30 that it was necessary to relieve their units. Our organization at the mouth of the Combles ravine was also reinforced. On Aug. 7 we advanced against a line of trenches between Hem Wood and the

Somme and took them by storm. One hundred and twenty prisoners and a dozen machine guns were taken.

During the forenoon of Tuesday, Aug. 8, the Germans tried to regain the ground lost; two attacks were repulsed, and 100 more prisoners fell into our hands. We did not stop at this success: joining our efforts with those of our allies, who were advancing against Guillemont, we made progress toward the east from 139-Meter Hill to the north of Hardecourt and along the whole front as far as the Somme, winning a depth of 300 to 500 yards of trenches along a winding line of three and three-quarter miles. Night counterattacks to the north of Hem Wood were repulsed, though one trench was occupied by the enemy; it was retaken on Wednesday morning, Aug. 9. The Germans then began a bombardment of our positions with large-calibre shells.

To the south of the Somme we limited ourselves to checking the attempts of the enemy from Aug. 1 to Aug. 3 against our positions on the approaches of the Deniecourt hamlet near Estrées. On Aug. 5 we attempted minor attacks, which made gains for us in the same region. A few kilometers to the south, toward Lihons and Chaulnes, an artillery action was begun which seems to have been of extraordinary violence. Close to the railroad the Germans had penetrated our advanced lines between Lihons and the railroad; a bayonet charge drove them out.

The English meanwhile continued an effective bombardment of German positions. Guided by their airmen, they were able to make hits against batteries and munitions depots, notably in the valley of the Ancre, at Grandcourt, at Miraumont and, to the north of Pozières, at Courcellette. This fire reached a high degree of intensity between Pozières and Thiepval, where the enemy is powerfully organized. The German artillery, on its side, violently bombarded the region behind the English lines, notably Mametz Wood.

On both sides, there were attacks, often of great violence, especially near

Pozières, whose loss the Germans keenly felt. They extended as far as Delville Wood and Troncs Wood, (not Trônes Wood, as reported.) During the night of Aug. 3-4, the Germans four times attacked Delville Wood and were continually repulsed. In the morning, between Pozières and Thiepval, enemy contingents, bent back by our bombardment, were cut down by machine guns.

On the following night, the British marked certain gains between Pozières and Bazentin. This success was continued during the night of Aug. 4-5, and even extended; the second German line to the north of Pozières was carried on a front of 2,000 yards, in spite of vigorous counterattacks. The struggle continued in the morning and definitely secured for the British troops the possession of a total front of 3,000 yards to a depth of from 400 to 600 yards. In spite of extremely vigorous artillery fire the Australians and their comrades of Old England succeeded in organizing the ground gained. On Aug. 6, the enemy returned furiously to the assault, making use of flaming liquids. A local success, due to this use of flaming

liquids, was immediately wiped out, and a further attempt was also repulsed.

The Germans once more took the offensive on Monday, Aug. 7, after bombarding the positions to the north and northeast of Pozières. At one time reaching the British trenches, they were driven out again. At sunrise, at 9 o'clock, at 4 in the afternoon, these attacks succeeded each other, somewhat feeble toward evening, without taking an inch of ground from our allies. On Aug. 9, to the northwest of Pozières, the Australian troops advanced on a front of 600 yards.

We have already recorded that our left wing took part in a movement against Guillemont in conjunction with the British. The village of Guillemont, situated at the junction of the roads coming from Longueval and Montauban and going to Combles, was reached by British troops on the northwest and southwest.

[Since the foregoing was written the Allies have slowly but steadily pushed forward, taking Maurepas, Guillemont, Ginchy, Flers, Martinpuich, Courcellette, Vermandovillers, Berny, practically surrounding Combles, cutting across the Peronne-Bapaume road, and taking a firmer grip on the whole Picardy front from Chaulnes in the south to Thiepval on the north.]

"We Have Captured the Ridge"

By David Lloyd George

British Secretary for War

[From an address in the House of Commons, Aug. 22, 1916]

I DO not want to give a military estimate of the situation, but I would invite the House to look at the state of things a few months ago and contrast that with the state of things at the present moment. Two months ago the fate of Verdun was in the balance. The fall of Verdun might not have had very important strategic results, but from the moral point of view it would have been a very serious blow to the cause of the Allies. Two months ago the Austrians appeared to be pressing into the plains of Italy. They were advancing, and they were making great

captures of men and guns in the field. The Russians at that time appeared to be held with ease by inferior forces. The Germans were worrying our line along the whole front with incessant attacks, some of them successful, and the new Russian levies and, to a very large extent, our own new armies, were untried. No one knew when put to the test how well they would do. What is the position now? Along the whole of the battle front, east and west, the initiative has been wrested from the enemy almost for the first time. There is only one possible exception, and that is Mesopotamia,

where very largely, owing to climatic reasons, our army for the moment is quiescent. Take the west, along our front and the French front, take the eastern front, where the Russians have won such conspicuous victories—take the notable victories won by the Italians—take the great victories in the Caucasus. The whole situation has completely changed.

The Recent Offensive

I have heard a good deal of criticism of our offensive, and some of the critics imagine that its only justification would be if we were to break through. Not in the least. The enemy had two alternatives. He might have said: "All right, march on, capture trench after trench, we will give you one after the other of these entrenched villages, we might throw in a few French towns. We will give you not merely kilometer after kilometer, we might even give you departments, but we will not let go Verdun, and we will throw our forces on to the eastern front to prevent the break-up of Austria." He might, on the other hand, have said: "Oh, no; rather than let you break through here and drive us back, we will take guns and divisions from Verdun, and we will concentrate our troops in front of you rather than let you have this territory." He chose the latter. That suited us. It relieved the pressure on Verdun and prevented the enemy from withdrawing his forces to support the Austrians. I want those who are thinking of this offensive in terms of yards or kilometers to realize the full effect of this achievement.

One of two things would be a success. Breaking through would be a success, but forcing the enemy to bring his armies there to prevent our breaking through would be an equally great success. The latter we have accomplished. In addition, we have rescued a very considerable portion of French territory from the enemy's grip. But that is not the end of it. The enemy is still powerful, and no one pretends that he is yet at the end of his resources. At the present moment his armies are just as numerous as they ever were, his equipment is as formidable as it ever was. That is true

of the Germans alone, but it is not true of their allies, not in the least.

The British Contribution

And if it is not true of their allies, it is because we have been able to concentrate such great forces that we have held the Germanic power while the Russians were dealing with some of her allies. That has been our contribution, a great contribution and a costly contribution. Not as costly as the enemy makes it out to be. His accounts of our losses have been grossly, ludicrously exaggerated. At the present moment we are pressing him over territory the value of which must be reckoned not by the number of yards, but rather by the importance of the positions we are capturing. Any man who looks at the contour of the map of this particular battlefield will see what it means, and our losses, although deplorable, as all losses must be, are relatively very low, while the enemy, forced to counterattack over ground which is exposed to our artillery, suffers heavily.

We are fighting a very great military power, with gigantic resources and with an enormous population to draw upon. But no one realizes better than the foe what a change has come over the spirit of the scene. He knows for the first time that his forces are being held, that he is now on the defensive, and that makes a great difference in the whole character of the campaign henceforth. But there are many valleys to cross, there are many ridges to storm, before we see the final victory. We shall need more men, more munitions, more guns, and more equipment, and we shall need all the courage and the endurance of our race in every part of the world in order to convert the work which has been begun, more especially during the last two years, into a victory which will be really a final and complete victory.

Pressing the Enemy Back

We are pressing the enemy back. Sir Douglais Haig's report tonight shows how we are gradually pressing him back here and there over ground every meter of which is important at the present moment because of its dominating position in that particular country. It does

GERMANY'S HIGHEST GENERALS



Latest Portrait of General von Hindenburg and His Chief of the
General Staff, General von Ludendorff.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL JOSEPH JOFFRE



Commander of all the Armies of the French Republic at Work in His Headquarters in the War Office at Paris.

not seem to be a very big achievement, but it is all in one direction. We have secured the ascendancy, instead of being pushed back, as we were before Verdun, yard by yard, until the Germans got nearer and nearer to the fortress itself. What is happening now? We are pushing the enemy on the Somme, and the French are doing the same. Near Verdun, instead of being driven back gradually day by day and week by week, the French are regaining ground that they had previously lost.

All that is a change, but in order to convert that into a real victory, a victory which will enable us to impose the only terms that will make it worth our while for having entered into this war, it is necessary that we should get every possible support that this country or the dominions can give us. It is upon that support and upon the equipment of Russia, with heavy guns and heavy ammunition, that victory depends. During the whole of these fateful months the enemy knows perfectly well that if Russia had been equipped with heavier artillery and ammunition her progress would have been much more rapid than it has been. It is upon considerations of that kind, which involve greater sacrifices, still greater drafts upon our tenacity and courage, that the one great question whether we shall see the end of this war in the coming year depends.

Germany's Chance Gone

We have captured the ridge; we can see, at any rate, the course of the campaign. I think in the dim distance we can see the end. The enemy has been driven off the dominant position which he held at the beginning of the campaign, and that in itself is a great achievement. He has lost his tide. He had France not fully prepared, and yet the best prepared of all; the most finely organized country in the alliance was

still, in a sense, unprepared. Russia, also, was unprepared, and Britain with practically no army in the Continental sense. We had an army for policing the empire, but we had no army in the sense of an army for a great Continental campaign. I am the last man to disparage the work which our first expeditionary force rendered. I have no doubt when the history of the whole war comes to be written it will be said that the action of that gallant little force saved the situation.

Now France is equipped, and Russia is rapidly becoming equipped. The Italian equipment is getting along in a way which has amazed even her best friends. We have now in the field one of the greatest armies any empire could command. Germany has missed her chance and she knows it.

Without in the least pretending to predict times and seasons, it would be a mistake for us to anticipate an early victory; that would only produce disappointment; I have never in the least underrated the greatness of our task; I never cried out victory when, as a matter of fact, we were sustaining defeat, as I have always thought it better to tell the people frankly and fairly exactly what was happening, because the people of this country are not the kind of people to be terrified by any facts, and I knew that their exertions would be in proportion to the difficulty of their enterprise. Having always taken that view, and now surveying the whole situation in the light of existing facts and upon the advice of those who are far more competent to express an opinion than I am, I have no hesitation in saying that all this country and the Allies have to do is to march together steadily, work together loyally, as they have done in the past, and then victory, assured victory, will rest in their hands.



A Survey of the Russian Battle Front

By Charles Johnston

WE have been forgetting the north end of the Russian battle line in watching the absorbing drama of the south.

But at the north end also there has been vital fighting. Kuropatkin, who was far greater on the defensive than in attack—and of whom it was said that, at the battle of Mukden, in its time the greatest battle of history, he had ten matured plans for withdrawal but not one for an advance—has gone south to his beloved Turkestan; Ruzsky, one of the hardest hitters in the Russian Army, who shared with Brusiloff the honors of the first great aggressive in Galicia, has taken Kuropatkin's place, or, more truly, has returned to his own post which Kuropatkin was holding for him; and, with the return of the "fighting General," the northern Russian line has moved steadily forward. Not on the grand scale of Galicia and Bukowina, it is true, but there are good reasons for that; first, although Russia has an apparently inexhaustible host of young, well-trained soldiers, and literally mountains of shells, which are pouring in daily from England, from Japan, from Russia's own new munition works in the iron regions of the south and east, and also from America, yet of necessity the enormous calls made both on men and munitions by Brusiloff's vast offensive and now by the new invasion of Bulgaria through the Dobrudja, have left Ruzsky in the north with comparatively limited means. Let us see what he has been able to accomplish with them.

The Dwina Front

Riga, a city of 600,000 population, (as large as Baltimore or Pittsburgh,) and, after Odessa, the greatest port in the empire, was the first goal of Hindenburg's great drive; Dwinsk, with 100,000 inhabitants, was the second. The distance between is about 120 miles, or, along the curved line of the Dwina and

the trenches, more than 150. All along this line, (which is about equal to the line on the western front from Ostend to Rheims,) Ruzsky has been attacking, fighting against lines organized exactly like those we are familiar with in the descriptions of the fighting on the Somme. And the result of this fighting is that, along the greater part of the line, the Russians have captured the German first-line trenches and are firmly installed on the western side of the Dwina.

While the trenches themselves were splendidly organized with reinforced concrete, forests of barbed wire, subterranean caves, deep connecting trenches, the whole well defended by multitudes of machine guns, bomb throwers, rapid-fire cannon, yet, according to Russian reports, the German army defending them was worn, nervous, inadequately fed and clothed, and the trenches were undermanned. But there was no lack at all of munitions, nor of fierce determination to hold the trenches. In general, when Ruzsky's men attacked, after a tremendously heavy artillery preparation, with high explosive shells of the largest calibre, they found that the German defenders had, during the bombardment, practically given up the first-line trenches; only small groups were left, in the deepest burrows, at the telephone stations from which wires, deeply buried in the earth, maintained connections with the second lines. German prisoners who had remained at these first-line telephone stations said that, so tremendous was the Russian bombardment, nothing could stand against it; barbed wire entanglements were mowed down like reeds, concrete trenches were first smashed up into great fragments, as old-fashioned housewives used to pound up their sugar loaves, and then the chunks of concrete were literally pounded into dust.

When the Russian foot soldiers charged with the bayonet, over the stupendous

ruins their own guns had created, the telephonists gave the signal, and the German troops came rushing forward from the second line, in which, during the bombardment, they had taken refuge; fierce hand-to-hand fighting with the bayonet, with gun butts, with grenades began, but within five or six hours the Russians were masters of the first-line trenches. But, when they ran on to the trenches of the second line the tables were turned against them; finding it impossible to take them without prolonged artillery preparation, they contented themselves with retiring to the first-line trenches and consolidating these; they are now working their heavy guns forward to attack the next line, exactly after the fashion of the Somme battle.

While these fights were going on, along a line of about 150 miles, the clouds were full of German albatrosses and Russian aeroplanes, scouting, pursuing each other, taking photographs of each other's position. Again and again the albatrosses have bombed Riga and Dwinsk, while Russian airmen have bombed the German trenches, depots, and field railroads. The net result of all this is that the Russians are now firmly settled on the west side of the Dwina and are preparing to attack the German second line, the German first line being already in their hands.

Dwinsk to the Pripet

The next sector of the eastern front, from Dwinsk to the Pripet River, (a tributary of the Dnieper, which runs east and south into the Black Sea at Kherson, east of Odessa,) a distance of about 300 miles almost due north and south, a distance equal to a direct line from Ostend on the Strait of Dover to Strassburg, the great German intrenched camp in Alsace. On the German side this sector is commanded by Prince Leopold of Bavaria, a veteran, 70 years old, to whom is accredited the capture of Warsaw. On the Russian side, General Evert commands, a robust fighter who won distinction by blocking the first Austrian thrust north from Lemberg against Lublin and Kholm, while Ruzsky and Brusiloff cut at and captured Lemberg and Halicz from the east. The most

vital point on this long line which, for the most part, runs through enormous forests of pine, wet and marshy under foot, is the junction at Baranovici, an important station on the direct railroad from Warsaw through Brest-Litovsk to Moscow. In this region there has been severe fighting, which seems to be approaching a decision favorable to the Russians.

The Pripet to Rumania

From the Pripet southward, as far as the Rumanian frontier, the Russian line is under the general command of Brusiloff, and this is, of course, the sector in which the really decisive and dramatic struggle is taking place.

We may make the purpose of this fighting clear by naming four cities, two of them, Kovel and Vladimir-Volhynski, in Russian territory now held by German armies; two, Lemberg and Halicz, in Austrian Galicia. The German commands have undergone several recent changes, but it seems that Generals Linsingen, Boehm-Ermolli, and Bothmer, under the nominal direction of the Austrian Archduke Charles Francis, the heir to the throne of the Dual Monarchy, are in command of the sectors from north to south. General von Pflanzer-Ballin, who commanded the extreme southern sector, has just retired owing to ill-health.

When Brusiloff tore the first great breach in the Teutonic defenses at Lutsk and Dubno, his next objective was Kovel, with Vladimir-Volhynski somewhat to the south; there were strong Teuton defenses between, first along the Styr, then along the Stokhod, and against these a section of Brusiloff's forces, commanded by General Kaledin, who has just been made a full General for his distinguished services, was immediately directed, but for the last month or six weeks Kaledin has made almost no headway, though he has taken a good many prisoners. Here, then, is the first point at which Brusiloff is now being held up.

Last month saw the able and resourceful Teuton commander, General Count von Bothmer, in a very dangerous position. Three of Brusiloff's Generals were

hemming him in: Sakharoff had outflanked him on the north by the capture of Brody and an at first rapid advance along the Brody railroad toward Lemberg. Stecherbatchoff was pressing his whole line hard from a base near Tarnopol. The volatile Letchitski, to the south, had far outflanked him by taking successively Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, Kolomea and Stanislavoff, and getting behind him along the Dniester River—the midrib of Galicia. Bothmer, thus very seriously threatened, managed to extricate himself—but with the loss of a considerable portion of his army. He is said to have lost 50,000 prisoners and probably as many killed and wounded. And he probably had not more than 300,000 men all told when the Russian drive began, on June 4, while the intervening months brought continuous losses. It is difficult to believe that Bothmer has more than a third, or at most a half, of his original force. With these he has withdrawn to Halicz, and is there putting up a very stiff fight; but Letchitski, who has won for himself very ample elbow room south and west of Halicz, is once more working up behind Bothmer's position, and the fate of Halicz is, apparently, only a matter of time.

On Familiar Ground

It should be kept in mind that General Brusiloff knows, with close personal knowledge, the whole region in which the four armies under him are fighting. When the war broke out, he had been stationed for several months at Vinnitsa, in Russian Podolia, on the railroad a short distance to the east of Tarnopol. Earlier he was stationed at Lublin, and several times conducted manoeuvres about Lublin and Kholm. He fought westward and eastward through Galicia on the Tarnopol-Halicz-Baligrad line. He won at Halicz one of the earliest Entente victories, just before the Battle of the Marne. So he is now playing the great game on a very familiar chess-board.

But we should not forget the ability of the Teuton Generals opposing Sakharoff and Kaledin. We should add to those

already named the Austrian General Koevess, a really able soldier, especially skilled in mountain warfare, who was withdrawn from Gorizia to meet the Russian threat at the Carpathians—with disastrous results for the Austrian forces about Gorizia. Largely to him, it would seem, has fallen the task of holding the Carpathian passes in Galicia and Bukowina against the flying wings of General Letchitski's army, but his position is suddenly and markedly weakened by Rumania's entry into the war, which now introduces a new threat against these passes, this time from the Hungarian side.

Should Rumania make to the north progress as extensive as she has made to the west through the Transylvanian Carpathians, then General Koevess will shortly find himself outflanked and forced to withdraw his forces into the interior of Hungary, as the Austrian armies in Transylvania have been withdrawn. Indeed, the whole face of the problem, from the Pripet River southward, has been suddenly altered, and altered in a sense very favorable to Russia. This will be clear, if we remember that Orsova, the most westerly point won so far by the Rumanian armies, is about 100 miles west of Lemberg, and still further west of Halicz; and that the upward push of the Rumanian armies, on anything like the level of Orsova, would mean the outflanking of every Teuton position which is now to the east of our old friend, Przemysl; this would give Russia possession of full two-thirds of Galicia, and Russia has already a far firmer hold on Southern Galicia than she had at any time in 1914. The complete conquest of the Bukowina has effected that, and Rumania's declaration has confirmed it.

Rumania's move, indeed, puts a new aspect on the whole problem of the Russian line. It makes, as we have seen, the defense of Halicz by the Teuton powers more precarious; and Halicz is the key to Lemberg. Indeed, it was Brusiloff's Halicz victory, in the beginning of September, 1914, which completed the rout of the Austrian forces holding Lemberg. In the same way the loss of Lemberg would be a serious danger to the Teuton

possession of Vladimir-Volhynski and Kovel, and might easily hurry their evacuation.

Consolidation of Bukowina

So we come to the southern end of the immensely long Russian line in Bukowina, where it now joins the northern end of the Rumanian battle front. The Russians are still fighting in the hill country, among the Carpathian beech woods, which give Bukowina its name, but the whole of the level country along the Pruth and Southern Sereth and Moldava, is firmly in their hands; is already "consolidated" along Russian

lines. The country about Czernowitz is singularly picturesque and attractive, and the little metropolis itself, which in normal times has about 95,000 inhabitants, has decided charm. The Pruth, on which it stands, winds picturesquely through rich corn fields and meadows, between its osier-fringed banks; and, within the city, well built houses and gold domed churches are mirrored in its quiet waters. The city itself is full of gardens, rich in trees, so that it nestles amid verdure. Russians say it looks like Kieff—on a much smaller scale—and Kieff is the most picturesque town in the Russian Empire.

Balkan Developments

By a Staff Contributor

[See other Balkan articles, pages 57-84; also military events, pages 41-46]

THE problem of what we may, perhaps, begin to call the Battle of the Balkans is intensely interesting, and not a little perplexing. To begin with, it is quite clear that we are very far from having all the facts. For example, we have practically no knowledge of how many of the Teuton-Turkish troops are engaged, under Field Marshal von Mackensen, or on his initiative, in the attempted invasion of Dobrudja; compare with this vagueness the precise knowledge of the western front, where, the French authorities tell us, Germany has 122 divisions, or 2,240,000 men. When Turtukai was taken, one party called it a great fortress; the other said it was a mere earthwork. The Bulgarians said they had taken 20,000 Rumanian prisoners; the Rumanians retorted that they had not that many men on that sector. If this be anywhere near the truth, how many Bulgars, Turks, and, perhaps, Teutons are these Rumanians and their Russian allies holding back on the Silistria-Varna line? All this is still obscure, and will only be made clear as the fight progresses.

Again, there are some 350 miles of the

great River Danube, across which Bulgarians and Rumanians—or at least their territories—face each other; why has no fighting been reported from anywhere on this long, easy line?—nothing beyond a few gunshots fired across the river, at widely distant points like "Tekia, Widin, Lomorjehovo, and Ivichton," to quote a recent dispatch. We need much more information here also. The Iron Gates of the Danube, where the river cuts through the extension of the Carpathians, mark a region very like the Highlands of the Hudson; the "Iron Gates" themselves were ridges below high water, very like Hell Gate, and now, like that once perilous passage, blasted out and cleared. From this point, not far below Orsova on the Rumanian-Hungarian frontier, down to the Dobrudja, (whose high plateau forces the Danube northward out of its direct course,) the great river flows between low banks, among marshes. Armies can easily cross it; have repeatedly crossed it ever since Trajan's day; twice, for example, in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78; twice during the invasions of Serbia in the present war. Why has no army crossed it now?

We must, of course, take the Dobrudja

fighting in its relation to the Rumanian invasion of Transylvania, and also in connection with the Saloniki offensive of the Entente Allies. First, why did the bulk of the Rumanian armies go west, to Hungarian Transylvania, instead of simply crossing the Danube southward and attacking Sofia, not more than seventy or eighty miles from the great river? The reason seems to be political; in Transylvania, (which is a part of Hungary,) and in the Bukowina, (the "Beech-land" which is a Crown land of Austria,) there are some 4,000,000 Rumanians, speaking the same tongue as the people of Bucharest and Jassy; and their union with the present Rumanian Kingdom is as much a part of Rumanian national policy as, for Italy, is the winning of Trent and Trieste. Rumania, knowing Austria's weakness there, knowing that practically all the native Hungarian troops were employed elsewhere, determined at once to seize the "unredeemed" Rumanian territory, leaving the Bulgarian problem to be handled later—perhaps by other than Rumanian forces.

For there are two wholly contrasted reasons which dictate the sending of Russian troops into Bulgaria. The first, the obvious reason is, to defeat the government of the Coburg Ferdinand, as an enemy of the Entente Powers. The second, and the more vital reason, perhaps, is to meet half way the pro-Russian, anti-Teuton movement among the Bulgarians themselves; evidences of which we may see in the fact that Radko Dmitrieff, the ablest Bulgar soldier of the first Balkan war, whose victories over the Turks at Lule Burgas and Kirk Killisse astonished all Europe and decided the war, has been fighting, since 1914, as a Russian officer in the Russian Army; in the fact that General Savoff, the fine organizer, who made the modern Bulgarian Army, was imprisoned at the outbreak of the present war, because he refused to fight for the Coburg Ferdinand against Russia's allies; in the fact that more than a thousand skilled Bulgar officers are even now in Russia, because they wholly disapprove the Coburger's pro-Teuton policy; in the fact

that Bulgar regiments have again and again mutinied, as a protest against the same policy.

If Rumanian forces invaded Bulgaria, they would meet with violent animosity, because of old rivalries, but far more because it was Rumania's intervention that caused Bulgaria's downfall in the "four weeks' war" in the Summer of 1913; because Rumania then took from Bulgaria the Silistria region, to the south of Dobrudja, nearly 3,000 miles in area. It is precisely there that the Teuton-Bulgar-Turks have now struck; doubtless in pursuance of a promise given by Kaiser Wilhelm that if the Coburger joined the Teutons they would win back for him every inch of territory of which Bulgaria was "robbed" by the Bucharest Treaty of August, 1913. A Rumanian invasion across the Danube, therefore, would fire intense animosities; Russian intervention will find the Bulgarians half friends; for Bulgarians remember that their land is strewn with the graves of Russian soldiers who died to liberate Bulgaria, even though Russian politics did much to estrange what is nevertheless a very real gratitude.

It would seem, then, that the Entente Powers, and especially Russia, are not without hope that Bulgaria (though not the Coburger's party) may yet swing around and at the eleventh hour join the Entente, which now grows daily stronger. Perhaps we have here, in these purely political considerations—or, rather, race considerations—the key of the problem we began by stating: Why there has been no real fighting along the 300-mile Ruman-Bulgar frontier on the Danube.

Political considerations obviously enter into the direction of the Russian invasion through the Dobrudja. This move would seem to be directed, not really against Bulgaria, but rather against Turkey; or, to name the real goal, against Constantinople. It seems fairly certain that England has overcome her long hostility to the presence of Russia there; Russia's defeat of the projected invasion of India by her Armenian-Persian campaign under Generals Yudenitch and Baratoff did much to disarm English questionings. And it has been pretty



FIGHTING FRONTS IN THE BALKANS, SEPT. 15, 1916 (SEE KEY IN UPPER CORNER.)

openly declared—notably by the well-known Russian statesman, Professor Milyukoff—that an explicit agreement exists, assigning Stamboul to Russia in the event of Entente triumph. But possession is nine points of the law; therefore Russia is very naturally desirous of finding herself in actual possession of Constantine's city when the great day comes. And the way thither leads through the Dobrudja and Varna. Russian armies were already within sight of Stamboul in January, 1878, when Disraeli called a halt; but Disraeli is no more;

and his Russophobe policy has followed him.

This would be a reasonable explanation of both the Rumanian movement westward (instead of southward, across the Danube) and of the defense of the Dobrudja by Russian (not by Rumanian) forces. There remain certain things to be accounted for; for instance, the slowness of Russia's advance, which allowed Mackensen's forces to capture Turtukai, Silistria, and a group of fishing villages on the Black Sea. The reason, doubtless, is the extreme difficulty of transporting

the big guns which, to a large degree through the initiative of Mackensen himself, at the Dunayets, have become an integral part of field warfare. There are no north-and-south railroads through the Dobrudja, and very few roads up and down that high, very arid plateau; there is only the Bucharest-Constanza (Kustendji) railroad running east and west, across the fine Danube bridge, one of the largest in Europe, completed, with French Creusot material, by the late King Carol in 1895. So it is exceedingly difficult for Russia to bring her big guns to bear, and, till they are under way, her progress must lag.

On the Bulgarian side, on the contrary, there is a railroad from Varna to Dobric; another from the Varna-Sofia railroad to Rustchuk, thus running along the back of Mackensen's positions; while, from Rustchuk eastward along the Danube, on its south bank, there is a good highway, running through Turtukai to Silistria, evidently used in the movement which captured these two posts. The Turks, it may be noted, will fight very willingly to take Dobrudja, which belonged to them as recently as 1877, and which still has a quarter of a million Turk inhabitants. But one doubts that Turkey can have many available troops.

This would seem to go some distance toward clearing up the northern side of the Balkan battle. We come now to the southern side; to the fighting which radiates from Saloniki, at a distance of some 75 miles from that city, and on a front of some 150 miles. It seems difficult to believe that there are more than 200,000 troops to the north of the fighting line, including Bulgarians, as the main element, with some Germans and Austrians, and, perhaps, some Turks. The problem of this relatively small force, of five or six army corps, at most, is a very serious one. It can draw supplies of munitions along the railroad which traverses the Morava and Vardar Valleys from the Danube and Germany; but their sideways distribution, in mountainous country, is not easy. This relatively small force, then, has two tasks—to defend the valley of the Vardar, up which an allied advance will push toward Nish, seeking

to cut the railroad from German bases to Sofia, and to defend the Struma Valley, up which English and Italian troops are already making a thrust which will be aimed at Sofia itself, the capital and the heart of Bulgaria. It was Rumania's thrust at Sofia, in July, 1913, which brought Bulgaria to her knees and ended the second Balkan war. The Italo-British drive may have the same result, in the next few months, while the Franco-Serbian drive up the Vardar accomplishes two things—liberates devastated Serbia and cuts off Teuton aid from Bulgaria.

If the present Rumanian action about Orsova and the Iron Gates of the Danube, which has already made a good deal of headway, continues very successful, we may, very probably, see a Rumanian thrust southward from Orsova, largely or even wholly on Serbian territory, directed toward Nish, and intended not so much to defeat Bulgar troops as to cut off Bulgaria's Teuton allies, therefore not restrained by the political considerations which, we have conjectured, keep back Rumanian invasion of Bulgaria from the north.

It is always perilous to prophesy, yet it is interesting to speculate on the possible outcome of the Balkan battle. On the one hand it is difficult to see where the Teuton-Bulgar-Turk allies are to get any considerable reserves, while, on the other, there must be unlimited Russian forces available for the Dobrudja drive, large Italian forces ready to strengthen the move up the Struma, with at least considerable French and British contingents ready to support Sarrail. And at neither the northern nor the southern front have the Teuton-Bulgar-Turk forces made any great headway; in the south, indeed, they seem to be either held stationary or losing ground. Therefore, if we take the question of coming reserves into account, as we must, it is evident that the odds against Bulgaria and her allies are exceedingly heavy, while the Generals opposed to them, men like Sarrail and Mahon, will not make many mistakes.

We have said nothing of Greece, because the position of Greece has not been finally decided.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Situation on Three Fronts

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See Map of Balkan Front, Page 39]

THE principal event of the period which forms the subject of this review—up to the middle of September—was the intervention of Rumania on the side of the Allies. Rumania's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, with a statement of the reasons for her action, came on Aug. 28. Germany promptly declared war on Rumania; Bulgaria and Turkey followed suit a few days later.

Rumania's entrance into the war has, besides its military importance, an economic significance. Economically Rumania is the loser. Through her commercial agreement with the Central Powers she had garnered in enormous profits. Naturally the Central Powers on their part, cut off as they are from the outside world by the British blockade, had gained advantages from the possibility of receiving goods from Rumania—advantages which are not to be underestimated. However, the abundance of this year's German harvest more than counterbalances the stopping of the Rumanian source.

The military significance of Rumania's action lies primarily in the intention of the Allies to extend still further the general offensive on all theatres of war. The Rumanian offensive has two possibilities:

1. The forcing of the Transylvanian Alps, which form the continuation of the Carpathians, and the invasion of Hungary either from the southeast or south.

2. An invasion of Bulgaria from the north, in conjunction with the Russian forces for whom the Rumanian border was opened with the declaration of war.

For both cases the condition and the strength of the Rumanian Army constitute the decisive factor. The numerical strength of that army is hardly under-

rated when estimated at 400,000 men. As for its equipment, the infantry is armed with Mannlicher rifles dating from 1893, 6.5 millimeter calibre; the artillery with Krupp guns, model 1908, 7.5 centimeter calibre, and 12-centimeter howitzers. The machine guns are constructed after the Maxim type.

On the opposing side considerable Turkish forces are at hand for the new campaign. Since the conclusion of the Dardanelles enterprise of the Allies the Turkish main forces which had been massed partly at Constantinople and partly in the new big military camp at Tchatalja, west-northwest of the capital, have not been heard from. It was said that they were being kept in readiness for the event of an allied attempt to break through from Saloniki in order to cut the communication between the Central Powers and Turkey, established by the Serbian campaign. Such, too, would be the ultimate aim of a Bulgarian invasion by the Russians and Rumanians. The realization of this aim, however, would for Turkey be the gravest blow, and the Turks may be expected to exert their entire available strength to avert it.

The Rumanian Attack

The Rumanians opened attack even before the declaration of war by proceeding against Rotenturm Pass, Toerzburg Pass, and Toemoes Pass, in the Transylvanian Alps. At the same time a Russo-Rumanian army attacked the front of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Heir Apparent, Karl Franz Josef, in the Southeastern Carpathians, at Toelgyes Pass and Bekas Pass. The result was the withdrawal of the forces of the Central Powers, in accordance with the general basic idea of the whole war—to rest on the defensive at certain points and to

take the offensive on other fronts designated therefor.

The Rumanians advanced at three points: Far to the west, near the "Iron Gate," where the Czerna empties into the Danube, Orsova was occupied. In the centre they pushed through the Transylvanian Alps from the south in the direction of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt. The open Hungarian city of Kronstadt (Brasso) fell into their hands. They advanced as far as the Gyorgyo Mountains north of the town. Kronstadt is of military importance as an intersection, being the converging point of several lines leading across the mountains into Rumania. The city had, therefore, been fortified in former times, but is today completely open.

Thirdly, there was the Rumanian advance from the east, across the wooded Carpathians against the Ersik heights, the Rumanians being aided here by Russian forces.

The withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian lines to previously selected positions was based upon the military advisability of shortening the front. A front running along the whole frontier, from Dorna Watra before the Borgo Pass of the wooded Carpathians to Orsova, at the "Iron Gate," would have been 600 kilometers long. The defense of all frontier passes in south and east was hardly possible; to hold the entire 600-kilometer front would have presented enormous numerical difficulties. The present plan of the Austro-Hungarian high command is to oppose a further advance of the enemy on the line that has been reduced to less than half its original length.

The Austro-Hungarian troops also have taken up new positions in the Csik Mountains, withdrawing to the heights west of the Csik Szerada.

The Teutonic Offensive

On Sept. 2 the Central Powers and their allies opened the offensive against Rumania from the south. Bulgarian, German, and Turkish troops crossed the Dobrudja frontier and entered Rumania. The Southern Dobrudja forms the territory which Bulgaria had to cede to Rumania at the peace of Bucharest, Aug. 10, 1913, after the second Balkan war—

although Rumanian troops had had no actual part in that conflict.

The border was crossed by three columns—in the east, in the centre, and in the west.

1. The western column of invasion advanced against the Danube bridgehead Turtukan. German troops took a part in this advance. The bridgehead was constructed to defend the crossing of the Danube to Oltenita, on the left bank. From Oltenita a railway runs directly to Bucharest. The distance between Oltenita and the Rumanian capital is sixty kilometers as the crow flies.

2. The advance of the central column was directed against the fortress of Silistria. This stronghold, too, was taken.

3. The advance of the easternmost column was aimed primarily against the fortress of Dobritsch, (Hadshi-Oglu-Basadshik.)

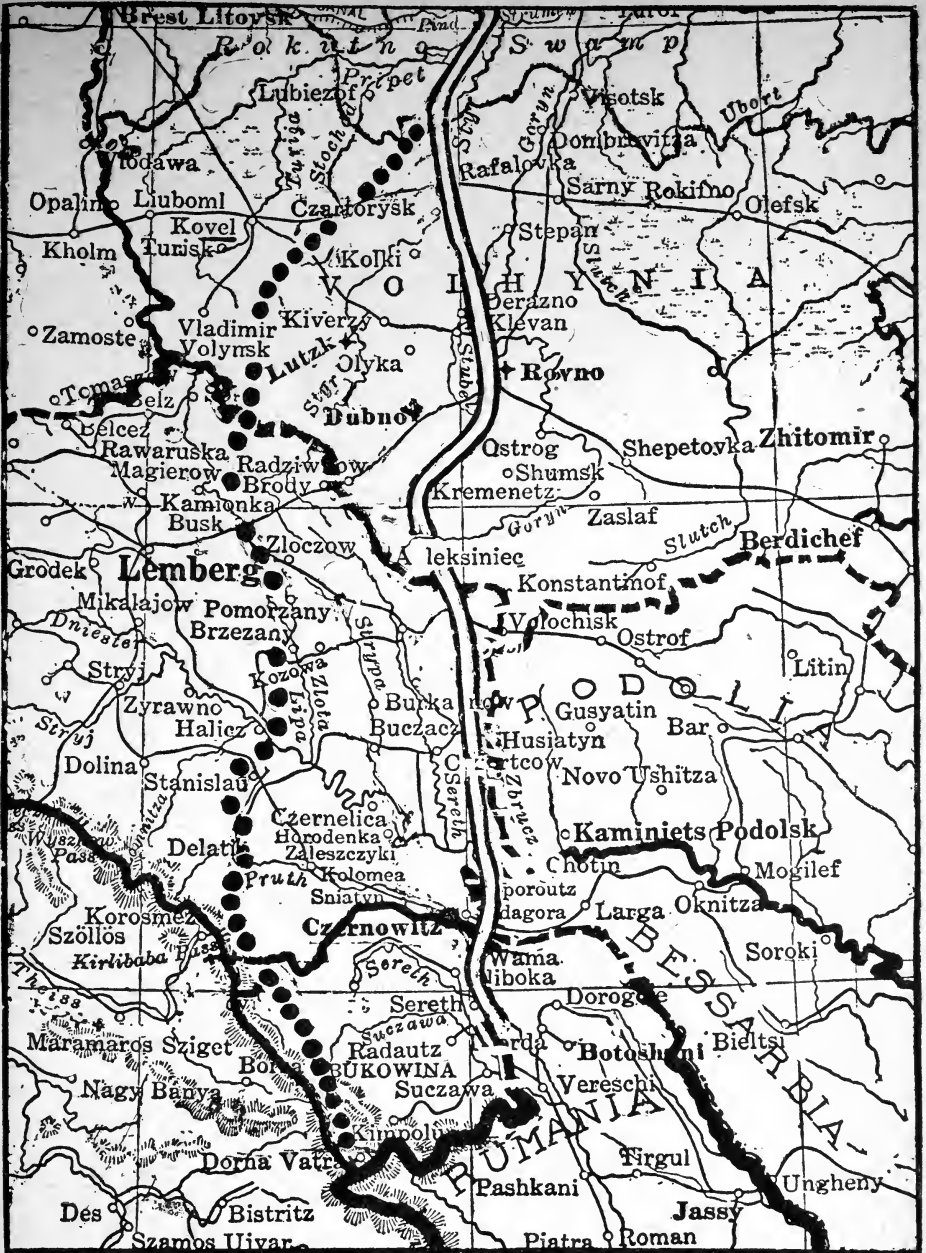
On the left wing and in the centre the Bulgarian troops are strengthened by Germans, on the right by Turks. Russian forces, on the other hand, are aiding the Rumanian right flank.

On Sept. 3 Dobritsch fell. Three days later the Danube bridgehead Turtukan had fallen, and on Sept. 9 the fortress of Silistria was stormed. On Sept. 7 the Rumanian Black Sea ports of Baltchik, Kowarra, and Kali-Akra were occupied.

Turtukan is to be regarded as an advanced position of the Rumanian capital and principal fortress, Bucharest. It is at this point that the great Moltke considered that the Danube could best be crossed.

With the occupation of Turtukan and Silistria, the crossing of the Danube at two important points of the Dobrudja is within reach of the attackers' guns. Oltenita, on the northern bank of the river opposite Turtukan, already is under bombardment. And from Oltenita a railway leads directly to Bucharest. The Rumanians only have left the second Danube bridgehead, Czernavoda, east of Silistria. This bridgehead is connected by rail with the principal Rumanian port, Constanza, on the Black Sea.

The entire land defense of Rumania is organized after the so-called central system. Bucharest is the principal fortress,



RUSSIAN BATTLE FRONT IN GALICIA AND VOLHYNIA: DOUBLE LINE MARKS RUSSIAN POSITION BEFORE THE PRESENT DRIVE, AND DOTTED LINE THAT ON SEPT. 15

the pulse of that system; and, as its capital, it is the heart of the kingdom. The fortress, one of the strongest in the world, is the work of General Biralmont, the famous Belgian fortress builder who also constructed Liège, Namur, and Ant-

werp. The present war, however, has considerably reduced the value of fortresses.

The Russo-Rumanian troops have begun to retreat northward, and thus have opened for the attackers the cross-

ing of the Danube. At this writing comes an official statement from the Berlin War Office reporting Field Marshal von Mackensen's right on the line from Rasova across the Southern Dobrudja through Cobadin to Tuzla, a line about twelve miles from the Czernawoda-Constanza stretch protected by the historic rampart, Trajan's Wall.

The development up to date of the offensive by the combined Bulgarian, German, and Turkish forces under the chief command of Field Marshal von Mackensen against Rumania from the south already has had its effects upon the military situation on the northern front. The Rumanian advance in Transylvania, after first slackening, has now come to a standstill at Sepsi-Szent-Gyorgy, slightly to the north of Kronstadt. The shortening of the Austro-Hungarian line has been carried into effect.

The military expert of The London Times already has asserted that Rumania must be "saved." The rescue, he emphasizes, must be effected upon the main theatres of war, for a rambling about in the whole world would be folly for the Allies. Rumania will remain an incidental theatre of war, even though the campaign in that country is in close military connection with the great Russian offensive.

Russian Offensive Fails

The "grand offensive" of the Russians has meanwhile resolved itself to two operations on separate fronts.

When on June 5, in accordance with the allied military conference in Paris, the great general offensive began on the eastern front, ushering in the united attack on all main theatres of war, the task mapped out for the Russians was the "rolling up" of the entire Teuton front through a break in its southern line, from Baronovitchi, north of the Pripet Swamps, down to the Rumanian border of the Bukowina. This general strategic idea of the Russian drive was analogous to that of the Anglo-French offensive on the western front, which also was aimed at the "rolling up" of the entire German front.

But the Russians have progressed

neither from the lower Stokhod north of the Sarny-Kovel railway, nor against this line from the south, from the Lutsk region. The new Russian attacks on the lower Stokhod thus far can be regarded only as demonstrations. Nor has the advance from Brody in a westerly direction even begun.

Thus, all that is left at present of the "grand offensive" in the east is the fighting in the region between the Zlota Lipa and the Dniester and the advance across the Carpathians. The battles on these two theatres of war are extremely violent and in themselves of great strategic importance, but they are in no inner military connection whatsoever with the task originally set to the "grand offensive."

The battles in the Carpathians have completely lost their original tendency. They gravitate toward the Northern Rumanian front, which stretches from the wooded Carpathians down to the "Iron Gate." The result of the Carpathian battles, too, is influenced by the course of the campaign in Rumania.

Thus we have left of the "grand offensive" really only the developments between the Dniester and the Zlota Lipa. These are described by Russian military experts as a "Russian general attack." The general attack is aimed at Lemberg from the south. After crossing the River Koropiec and occupying positions in the terrain of that river, the Zlota Lipa and the Khowanka, the Russians reached Podhajze and occupied Maryampol, on the Dniester. By this operation the Russian left wing (army group of General Letchitsky) had effected a junction with the centre (army group of General Schterbatscheff) on the comparatively short front Stanislaw-Maryampol.

From this line the advance on Lemberg was continued. It was aimed primarily against Halicz, the important railroad of the communication with Lemberg.

On Sept. 6 the Russians had won some ground in the direction of Halicz. In the battle of Sept. 7 and 8, between the Zlota Lipa and Dniester, they attempted to seize Halicz by means of swift successive mass attacks against Buraztyn, (about seventeen kilometers northwest of

Halicz, not far from the railway to Lemberg.)

Had the Russians succeeded in breaking through there they would have gained, with the possession of the city, the control of the railway as well. The attempt was frustrated "by a cleverly mapped out and as cleverly executed plan of defense on the part of General Count von Bothmer," in the words of the official German War Office statement. In the same report the highest praise was expressed for the Turks' fighting on Count Bothmer's front.

Since then the Russian advance against Lemberg has been—temporarily, at least—discontinued.

Field Marshal General von Hindenburg has been called from the east front to become Chief of the German General Staff of the Army in the Field, succeeding General von Falkenhayn.

Simultaneously came the appointment of General Ludendorff, Hindenburg's former Chief of Staff, as Quartermaster General. This post once before received a significance quite out of proportion with its usual functions. In peace time, from 1881 until 1888, a Quartermaster General was the "right-hand man" of Field Marshal Count Moltke, then Chief of the General Staff of the Army, and was in the absence of the latter Acting Chief of the General Staff. General Ludendorff will be Hindenburg's right hand.

The fact that these two men have been simultaneously taken from the immediate command on the front and intrusted with the chief direction of the whole war, as far as the German arms and operations are concerned, indicates the seriousness of the entire war situation.

The new army chief, after personally inspecting the military situation in the west, has effected a regrouping of that front. The front as a whole has been divided into three main sections, commanded, respectively, by Field Marshal General Duke Albrecht von Württemberg, Field Marshal General Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, and the German Crown Prince. The regrouping is analogous to the changes made on the eastern front.

Fighting on the Somme

The break which was to usher in the "rolling up" process on the western front was to be effected on the line Peronne-Combles-Bapaume. The storming columns of the Allies have in the course of the period under discussion regained their unity of action in the various sectors of the 45-kilometer front extending from north of Thiepval down to Vermandovillers. The German first-line positions were battered to pieces, the second lines were stormed, and even sections of the third-line system were conquered.

The British are operating north of the Somme; in the centre, at the point of their junction, French and British cooperate, and the allied right wing, south of the Somme, is held by the French.

After careful artillery preparation the Allies are attacking alternately on the left, in the centre, and on the right. Thus, on Sept. 2 the centre advanced to the line Ginchy-Guillemont-Combles-Le Forest-Clery, and on Sept. 4 the French on their right wing pushed from the line running from Barleux to south of Chaulnes as far as Soyécourt, the outskirts of Berny, the northern edge of Deniecourt, and into Vermandovillers and Chilly. At the moment of writing the abandonment of Deniecourt is admitted by the Berlin War Office.

Sept. 4 saw the beginning of the battle for Ginchy, on the Anglo-German front. On the following day the French advanced their lines north of the Somme to the region east of Le Forest. With the occupation of the village of Ommiecourt the French lines on both sides of the river were straightened out. On Sept. 9 the British attacked on a front of 6,000 meters from Foureaux Wood to Leuze Wood; all of Ginchy was taken by them. Two days later the French progressed as far as the Béthune-Peronne highway. On Sept. 15 the British took part of the Bouleaux Wood, High Wood, (Foureaux Wood,) Flers, and Martinpuich, (on the road Albert-Pozières-Bapaume,) thus seizing all the ground between the region northwest of Combles and the Béthune road as far as Courcellette.

The territorial gain made by the Allies is in itself no factor. The row of villages, woods, and road intersections taken by them can be valued from a strategical standpoint only if these points are serviceable to the attackers in the realization of their basic offensive idea. But not even the artillery preparation of these "main blows" has fulfilled its mission, namely, to wipe out the hostile infantry in its trenches or reserve positions and to destroy its supplies and communications behind the front.

For every position that the Germans give up on their front a new one is built behind the front; that is to say, a new

front is established. This means that the cohesion of the defense has been nowhere broken. And as long as the front holds, no matter whether it is taken one or two kilometers forward or backward—as long as it holds, the defensive, not the offensive, is successful.

What are kilometers in the face of the basic idea of a general offensive which means to carry the victory over tremendous fronts and areas? Not even the line Bapaume-Combles-Peronne, geographically and strategically the immediate objective of the "grand offensive," have the attackers been able to take in two months and a half!

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From August 15 to September 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See Map of Balkans on Page 39]

LAST month brought about in several of the war theatres a situation which promises more interesting results than anything which has happened in Europe during the current year. The most important of these was the entrance of Rumania as one of the Entente Powers. This action was not entirely unexpected. Despite her recent commercial treaties with the Central Powers, it was generally felt that Rumania would sooner or later line up squarely with the Entente. The question was definitely settled when Italy declared war against Germany.

This was purely a technicality. A state of war between Italy and Germany had actually existed for some time, but, for commercial and diplomatic reasons, the formal declaration was avoided. Italy's hand was in a measure forced by her own participation in the campaign at Saloniki. Sooner or later the Italian forces on this front would of necessity have come into conflict with the German troops, and then to have

maintained a semblance of peace would have been a farce. But Italy's action, while in itself it meant nothing in a military way and added not at all to the difficulties of the Central Powers, did cause Rumania to make a decision.

In such a cataclysm as that now tearing Europe, the smaller nations, if they wish to take sides, must, in order to avoid being swallowed up, choose the side which will eventually win. This was just as true the day Bulgaria declared war as it is today. But Bulgaria was too greedy to wait, she did not have sufficient information, the war had not reached a point where mature judgment was possible. Rumania is in a much more fortunate position. For two years she sat still, friends with all of her turbulent neighbors, studying, analyzing, weighing chances and probabilities. Her decision was made as a result of the most sober judgment, the most exhausting consideration, with the envoys of both parties constantly on the field, filling her ears with tales of the present and

promises of the future. If, then, Rumania decided to join the Allies, it was only because she was convinced that the Teutonic Powers were on the decline and that the laurel wreath of victory was eventually to be placed on the banners of the Entente.

Rumania's Importance

From a military standpoint, the entrance of Rumania into the war carries with it an importance which cannot well be discounted. Those powers which are adversely affected may, for the purposes of home consumption, declare that the situation has not been altered, and that Rumania will soon be crushed under the iron heel and take her place beside Belgium and Serbia. But this view will not stand the light of reason. The fact is that Rumania has injected into the war at a critical period, and at a critical point geographically, the gravest menace which the Teutonic allies have yet had to face.

The first of these has to do with numbers. Rumania has had the conscript system—compulsory military service where every one must serve and did serve. Under pressure of abnormal recruiting, Rumania could put into the field nearly a million men. Under ordinary methods this would be reduced to about 750,000. She had enrolled, equipped, and mobilized at the time she declared war about 600,000. She brings this force into the war with its proper proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers entire, untouched by casualties. She brings it in at a time when her enemies have lost a considerable proportion of their effectives. She brings them into a field where their presence will be most strongly felt. And more, she has extended the front which the Central Powers must defend by something like 900 miles.

The logical answer to this increase caused by Rumania would be, as von Falkenhayn is said to have advocated, to shorten the lines at some other point. But where? On the Russian front it is impossible without retiring to Warsaw, abandoning all conquests in Russia, abandoning Galicia and the Carpathians, and risking a serious invasion into Hungary and the defeat of a necessary ally.

This is, of course, out of the question. The only front where a shortening is possible is in France, and here, for political reasons, Germany does not dare retire.

Campaign in Transylvania

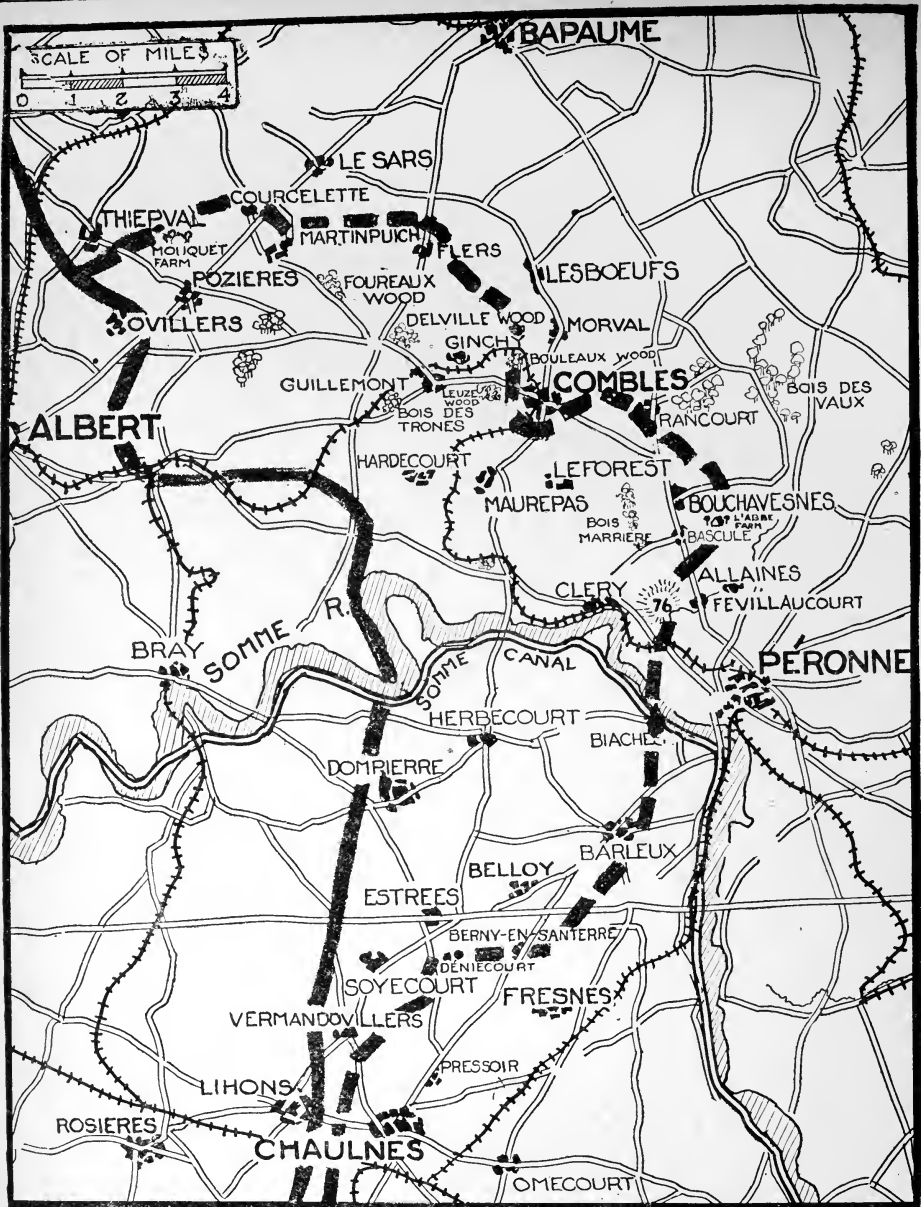
Striking at the weakest link of the Central Powers, Rumania moved at the Rumanian "irredenta"—Transylvania—and almost without opposition took possession of the passes which lead from Rumania into Hungary. Her advance since the passes fell into her possession is noteworthy, and indicates that the Austrians, as they have claimed, decided not to offer any material defense of Transylvania on account of the great length of line involved, due to the peculiar way in which Transylvania juts eastward into Rumania. This line could be reduced many miles by retiring before the Rumanian Army, permitting it to draw a chord across Transylvania, connecting the two tips of the arc formed by the Rumanian boundary. This chord generally follows the line of the Maros Valley. It is still some distance west of the Rumanian line, for, although the Austrian defense has been perfunctory, it has nevertheless retarded the advance.

This move by Rumania will have two objects. The occupation of Transylvania is one, and will popularize the war among those sections of the Rumanian population which may still be averse to it. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Russians are just north of the Carpathians and are struggling for possession of the passes which lead across to the plains of Hungary. Before these plains are reached, however, from Southern Bukowina, the maze of mountains which constitute Transylvania must be crossed.

The Russian fighting has resulted in the flattening out of the Austrian right wing against the wall of the Carpathians, while their centre is battling desperately along the Dniester River in defense of Lemberg.

Teutons in the Dobrudja

In answer to the Rumanian attacks on their western frontier, the Teutonic allies have begun an offensive against the



BATTLE OF THE SOMME: BROKEN LINE INDICATES POSITION OF ALLIES ON SEPT. 15.

southern border of the Rumanian province of Dobrudja. The Danube River is, for the greater part, the southern boundary of Rumania, separating it from Bulgaria. Where Dobrudja begins, however, the Danube turns north on its way to the Black Sea. This leaves a part of the southern Rumanian frontier entirely

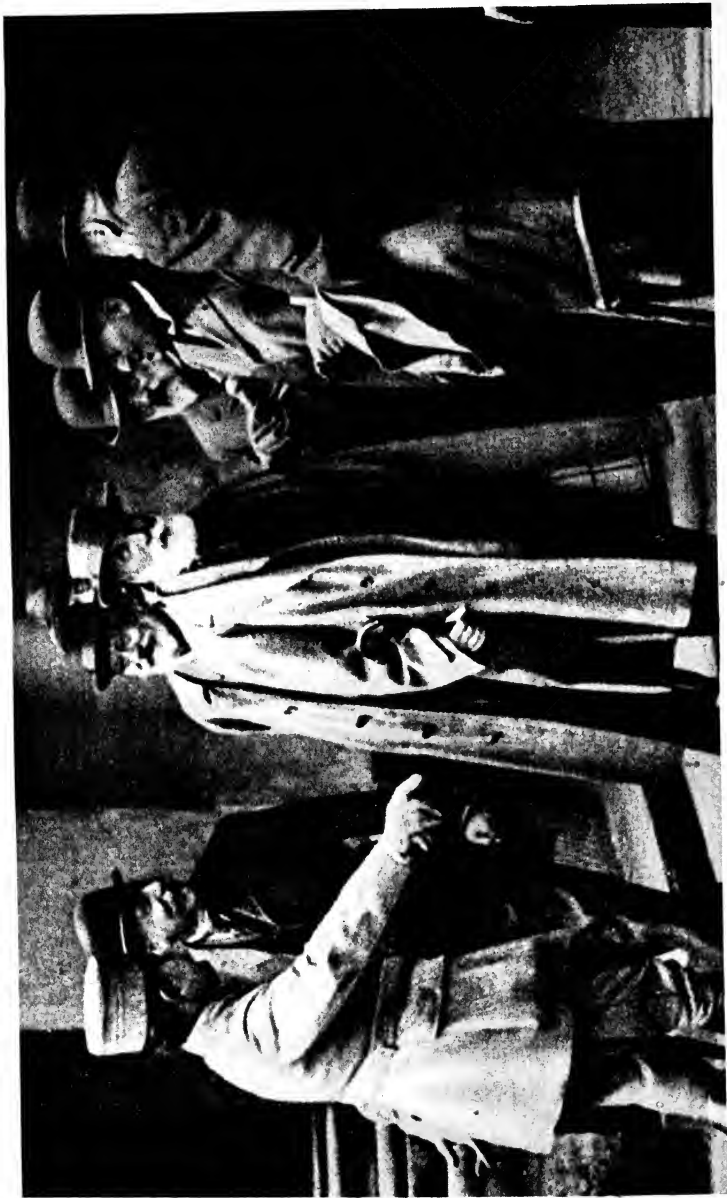
open to attack. It is all open country, and to hold it against a large body of troops on the scale on which the greater part of the French front is held would require a force of about 200,000 men. Rumania had no such force available for this purpose while she was engaged in the fighting in the west. This, there-

A NOTEWORTHY GROUP OF ENTENTE RULERS AND COMMANDERS



Left to Right: General Joffre, President Poincaré, King George of England, General Foch, and
- General Sir Douglas Haig.
(Photo from Central News Company.)

ANATOLE FRANCE AND FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY



From Left to Right: Marcel Prevost, De Segur, Jean Richepin, Anatole France, Ernest Lavisse, Eugene Brieux, Frederic Masson.

fore, was the location of the Teuton counter-movement.

Rumania depended for the defense of Dobrudja almost entirely upon the Russian forces on the Bessarabian frontier at Reni. These forces, however, obviously did not get into position in time, and the small Rumanian element which was on the border was easily overcome. The Teutons then advanced as far as the Danube west of the railroad which divides Dobrudja, but before they could carry their movement along the whole line from the Danube to the sea the Russians arrived and checked them. The check appears to be purely temporary, and there is reason to believe that the Teutonic forces are present in sufficient numbers to force their way to the river.

In connection with this advance, two things may be noted: First, the Danube River, for its entire length from the Black Sea to the Serbian frontier, is the natural defensive line of Rumania. The second, which is a corollary, is that no advance the Germans can make south of a line through Constanta carries any threat to Rumania as long as the Danube is not crossed. As the bridges over the river are few and far between—in fact, the only one in Dobrudja is at Cernavoda—the Germans, in spite of their initial successes, have accomplished very little.

Fighting on the Somme

The month has been characterized on the western front by a succession of heavy French attacks, and by several strong British drives toward the north. In all cases these attacks have met with success, and it seems now that the last line of German trenches has been reached in more than one section of the front. The French attacks have been directed principally against Combles, the largest town, except for Peronne, in that section of the front. Both Combles and Peronne are still held by the Germans, but the French advances north of the Somme now seriously threaten both places. Combles

indeed has been pocketed by the French on the south and the British on the north, and its fall at any time would surprise no one. Peronne has not been touched as yet, and indeed it seems that the French do not plan any direct action against it. They can from their present positions both north and south of the river reach the defenders with their guns, but their position as a result of recent successes will enable them, when they are ready to move in that direction, to reach the German lines from three sides, and in all probability flank them out of the town without subjecting it to direct fire.

The German situation in the west is becoming extremely dangerous as a result of the Somme movements of the Allies, and it is beginning to appear that a radical change will have to be made in their lines in order to prevent them from being broken. They are being badly bent now, bent so far that the entire Noyons salient will soon be thrown in danger. Before they are broken it will probably be necessary to draw them in and increase the number of defenders per mile of line. The battle of the Somme is just beginning. Before it ends it may prove the deciding factor in the western fighting.

Not a great deal has happened on other fronts. There has been some spasmodic fighting about the Saloniki position, but the allied offensive seems to have just been begun. Previously, such fighting as there was developed only into a movement in which Bulgaria was the principal participant. On the Russian front the fighting has been equally spasmodic. The Russian main effort has been concentrated about Halicz and has apparently resulted in the taking of the main defenses in the south. The city holds out, however, so that there has been no real change in the situation. Italy has been able to do but little since the fall of Gorizia. The Carso Plateau still blocks her path to Trieste, and such fighting as has occurred has been in the attempt to gain a foothold on the edge of the plateau. It has been entirely uneventful.

\$25 Reward for Each Enemy Sailor Drowned

A recent record of proceedings of the British prize court, which is in daily session at London, reads like a tale of the Middle Ages, when pirates sailed the seven seas. On Tuesday, Aug. 22, the court is thus officially reported by the London Telegraph:

IN the prize court yesterday the President, Sir Samuel Evans, awarded prize bounty amounting to £12,160 to Vice Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee and the officers and crews of his Majesty's ships *Invincible*, *Inflexible*, *Carnarvon*, *Cornwall*, *Kent*, and *Glasgow*, in respect of the destruction of the four German warships *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Nurnberg*, and *Leipzig*, in the battle of the Falkland Islands, on Dec. 8, 1914.

Commander Maxwell Anderson, R. N., counsel in support of the claim, stated that it was estimated that the total of the crews on board the enemy vessels was 2,432 persons, and thus the bounty at the rate of £5 per head amounted to £12,160. This was, he continued, the first case of a fleet action to come before the court during the present war. It would be recollected that on Nov. 1, 1914, a British squadron encountered a German fleet off the coast of Chile, and his Majesty's ships *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* were unfortunately overpowered and sunk. Whatever others might have thought of this twist of the lion's tail, it appeared that the German Admiral was under no delusion himself.

As at that time it was clean fighting, it was perhaps as well to put on record that the German Admiral, when he took his fleet into Valparaiso, refused to drink the toast of "Damnation to the British Navy," and apparently had a premonition that his own end was very near. On Dec. 8 a British squadron was lying in the harbor of Port William, Falkland Islands, under the command of Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee, K. C. B., C. V. O.,

when the German Pacific Squadron came into view. What followed was described in an affidavit by the British Admiral. He stated that he was in command of a squadron composed of the following of his Majesty's ships:

Invincible, (Captain T. P. H. Beamish, flagship.)
Inflexible, (Captain R. F. Phillimore, C. B., M. V. O.)
Carnarvon, (Captain H. L. D'E. Skipworth, flying flag of Rear Admiral A. P. Stoddart.)
Cornwall, (Captain W. M. Ellerton.)
Kent, (Captain I. D. Allen, C. B.)
Glasgow, (Captain I. Luce, C. B.)
Bristol, (Captain R. H. Fanshawe.)
Macedonia, (Captain R. S. Evans, M. V. O.,) an auxiliary.

While the squadron was at anchor in Port William on Dec. 8, at about 8 A. M., the shore signal station reported that two enemy cruisers were in sight. Steam was at once raised for full speed, and the *Kent* proceeded out of harbor to investigate. Smoke from other vessels could be observed over the horizon, and later other enemy vessels appeared in sight. Accordingly, the British squadron, with the exception of the *Bristol* and the *Macedonia*, proceeded to sea, and, clearing the harbor entrance at 9 A. M., the signal was hoisted for general chase. The enemy squadron of warships consisted of the five German cruisers *Scharnhorst*, (flying the flag of Admiral Graf von Spee,) *Gneisenau*, *Leipzig*, *Nurnberg*, and *Dresden*.

The affidavit continued: "At about 1 P. M. *Invincible* and *Inflexible* were within range of the enemy, and fire was opened at long range. Shortly after fire was opened the enemy squadron, in obedience to orders from their Admiral, scattered, *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* turning to port, while the light cruisers *Leipzig*, *Nurnberg*, and *Dresden* turned to starboard in an endeavor to escape.

"The pursuit of *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* was continued by *Invincible* and *Inflexible*, with *Carnarvon* in support, and at about 4:17 P. M. *Scharn-*

horst was sunk. At about 6 P. M. Gneisenau was sunk under the combined fire of Invincible, Inflexible, and Carnarvon. Kent, Cornwall, and Glasgow had continued the pursuit of the light cruisers, and at about 4:30 P. M. Kent and Cornwall came within range of Leipzig and opened fire. Kent, Cornwall, and Glasgow gradually gained on Leipzig and Nurnberg, but Dresden, increasing her distance, drew away to starboard, and finally made good her escape. Kent continued her chase of Nurnberg, which vessel she sank at about 7:10 P. M., while Cornwall and Glasgow overhauled Leipzig and sank her at about 9:23 P. M."

Admiral Sturdee added that, saving the Dresden, which, as explained, out-distanced her pursuers, all the enemy ships were destroyed and sunk by the gunfire of his Majesty's ships under his command. Bristol and Macedonia took no part in the engagement. Bristol was unable to leave harbor with the remainder of the squadron, and the Macedonia, being a vessel of small fighting value, had neither the speed nor the power to take any part in the chase. These two vessels left harbor later, and were detailed to look for the auxiliaries accompanying the enemy. Two auxiliaries were found and destroyed, while a

third escaped. The vessels destroyed were unarmed. No survivors were rescued from the Scharnhorst, but from the Gneisenau, Nurnberg, and Leipzig, a small number of prisoners were taken. From these and from information in possession of the Admiralty, Admiral Sturdee estimated that the crews of the enemy ships destroyed were as follows:

Scharnhorst, 872 persons.
Gneisenau, 835 persons.
Nurnberg, 384 persons.
Leipzig, 341 persons.

Commander Anderson said, as would be seen, the enemy vessels were disposed of by different ships; but, subject to his lordship's approval, the claimants desired to claim as in one action. The engagement started as a general action or chase, but after a time it became a series of separate actions.

Clive Lawrence, for the Crown, said he raised no objection to Admiral Sturdee's estimate of the number of persons on board the destroyed vessels.

The President, declaring the number of persons on board the four destroyed enemy vessels to be 2,432, pronounced that Admiral Sturdee, the officers, and crews of his Majesty's ships Invincible, Inflexible, Carnarvon, Cornwall, Kent, and Glasgow were entitled to prize bounty amounting to £12,160.

The Invader: A Parable

By Anatole France

Famous Member of the French Academy

Xerxes, at the head of an immense army, invades Greece. Having learned that Leonidas, King of Sparta, is getting ready to defend the pass of Thermopylae against him, he sends for Demaratus, son of the former King of the Spartans and an exile from his country, and addresses him.

XERXES—You know that the Greeks gathered to defend this pass are commanded by Leonidas. A spy, sent by me, has observed those of them who are on this side of the wall which they have raised to close the passage. They were Spartans. Having

placed their arms against the wall, they were giving themselves naked to athletic games or carefully combing their hair. I cannot believe that they thus prepare to die fighting. On the contrary, they seem to me to be behaving in a very ridiculous manner, and I conjecture that they will retire within four days. What do you think, Demaratus?

Demaratus—O King, ought I to give you a pleasant or a truthful reply?

Xerxes—Tell the truth, and I promise you will not have to repent it.

Demaratus—O King, do not fear words of dissimulation from me. I have al-

ready told you what kind of men the Greeks are. They do not nourish vast desires and are content with what they possess. They fear the divine Nemesis which humbles those who rise too high, and they observe proportion in everything. Wisdom is their faithful companion: it preserves them from yielding to tyranny within and from practicing it without. But when I announced to you, O King, the way in which they would act toward you, you laughed at me. This time listen to me more favorably. They have come to defend this pass against you, and that is what they are preparing themselves for. Now this is their custom: before sacrificing their lives they encircle their heads with fillets and crowns.

Xerxes questions Demaratus about the Greeks, the forces they are preparing against him, and the quarrels which divide them.

Demaratus—It is true, O King, that, judging according to their sentiment of what is good and what is bad, the Greeks quarrel often and struggle, town against town, citizens against citizens. It is true that the people of Athens are not unanimous as to the way in which it is advisable to govern the city. Among the citizens some regret the tyrants and aspire to confine authority to the well-born men; others, led by brilliant, clever, and daring orators, are striving to maintain the popular government; and, again, it is true that the latter having prevailed, men who passed for just have been exiled. But these dissensions ceased at your approach, O King. The leaders of the aristocracy have been recalled to their native land, and they are today governing in conjunction with the friends of the people.

Xerxes—What does that matter to me? Heaven is on my side. Alone among men the Persians know the true gods. I have given the immortal gods the surest testimony of my piety. I have sacrificed white horses and young men to them that they may make me victorious. The Greeks worship neither the sun nor the stars and are very ignorant in matters divine. The Athenians do nothing to please the heavenly powers and refuse to shed the

blood of human victims. They defiled themselves in Lydia with horrible impieties. At Sardis they burned the temples and the sacred woods. Heaven will punish them for their crimes, and their ruin is assured. I shall wage war against them to win high renown in the eyes of men and to teach all peoples what it costs to invade a country that belongs to me. My plan is to conquer not only Greece, but all Europe. Europe is beautiful; there the sky is soft and the earth fertile and all sorts of fruit trees are cultivated. Of all mortals I alone am worthy of its possession.

Demaratus—O King, take in good part what remains for me to tell you. Listen, I speak to you as to a sacred host. King, do not avenge yourself too cruelly on the Athenians. The vengeance of men are odious to the gods. Son of Darius, if you believe in a god, if you believe you are in command of an army of immortals, you do not want my advice. But if you recognize that you are a man and that you are in command of men, consider that fortune is like a wheel which turns ceaselessly and throws down those whom it has raised. It never happens, it never will happen, that a mortal should from birth to death experience constant good fortune. For the loftiest heads are reserved the most terrible calamities. I have spoken out because you have forced me to. Now may what you desire come to pass, O King!

At these words Xerxes sent Demaratus away without anger. He was not annoyed with him, because he thought he was out of his mind.

However, he was soon aware that the Spartan was not mistaken. The Greeks remained steady and resolute and would have blocked the way had not a man of Malis named Ephialtus shown Mardonius a little-known path which was not guarded and by which the barbarians penetrated into Greece. Seeing themselves outflanked, the Greeks, with the exception of 400 Thebans, 700 Thespians, and 300 Spartans, who allowed their lives to be sacrificed for their country, withdrew to fight elsewhere. The Persians, having seized Athens, which was devoid of

combatants, massacred the old men, plundered the temple, and burned the citadel. Meanwhile, the Athenians, who had retired in 380 galleys, destroyed 1,200 Persian ships in the Straits of Salamis.

Xerxes returned to Asia alone in a fisherman's boat. He left Mardonius in Greece with 300,000 men. The barbarians ravaged Attica, burned what remained of Athens, and passed into Boeotia. A year after the flight of the great King Mardonius was vanquished and killed at Plataea, at the foot of

Cithaeron. And at the same time the Persian warships which had escaped the disaster of Salamis were sunk by the allied Athenians and Spartans at the promontory of Mycale.

Thus the words of Demaratus came true to the last particular. Neither abundance of gold nor the number of ships nor the multitude of men prevailed against the courage and wisdom of the Greeks. Europe had heard the last of an insolent threat and no longer feared the yoke of the barbarians.

Retaliation for Interference With American Trade

THE United States Congress, in the closing hours of the recent session, adopted a law which confers on the President the power to take drastic retaliatory measures against any foreign Government that interferes with our commerce or mails in palpable violation of international law. As finally agreed upon, the first of the retaliatory authorizations reads:

Whenever any country, dependency, or colony shall prohibit the importation of any article the product of the soil or industry of the United States and not injurious to health or morals, the President shall have power to prohibit, during the period such prohibition is in force, the importation into the United States of similar articles, or in case the United States does not import similar articles from that country, then, other articles, the products of such country, dependency, or colony.

That whenever, during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged, the President shall be satisfied that there is reasonable ground to believe that under the laws, regulations, or practice of nations the importation into their own or any other country, dependency, or colony of any article the product of the soil or industry of the United States and not injurious to health or morals is prevented or restricted, the President is authorized and empowered to prohibit or restrict during the period such prohibition or restriction is in force the importation into the United States of similar or other articles, products of such country, dependency, or colony, as in his opinion the public interest may require; and in such case he shall make proclamation stating the article or articles which are prohibited from importation into the United States, and any person or persons who shall import or at-

tempt or conspire to import or be concerned in importing such article or articles into the United States contrary to the prohibition in such proclamation shall be liable to a fine of not less than \$2,000 nor more than \$50,000 or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both, in the discretion of the court. The President may change, modify, revoke, or renew such proclamation in his discretion and the Senate agree to the same.

The second retaliation measure, based on the same war conditions, gives the President authority to withhold clearance to vessels of a belligerent nation "making or giving any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage in any respect whatsoever to any particular person, company, firm, or corporation, or any particular description of traffic in the United States or its possessions or to any citizens of the United States residing in neutral countries."

The law also gives authority to the President to deny American facilities of commerce to citizens in the United States of an offending belligerent nation, and authorizes him to use the land and naval forces of the Government to enforce the retaliatory provisions.

These measures were drawn by the State Department and have the approval of the President. It is construed that this action is our reply to "the blacklist" adopted by the allied powers, the interference with United States mail by the Allies, and the embargo on certain American products by Germany and Great Britain.

The Desecrated Birthplace of La Fontaine

By Gabriel Alphaud

[Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

[*La Fontaine, the famous French writer of fables, was born at Château-Thierry, and his birthplace is still reverently preserved by the State as a shrine.*]

IN the Elysian Fields, whither it has gone to join the souls of other vanished sages, the shade of La Fontaine must feel some inquietude. He did not love children, not even his own, whom he saluted one day in a crowd without recognizing them. "Youth is without pity," he wrote of them. Now the school children of the Aisne have been driven by the German invasion as far as Château-Thierry, where they are living today in the house in which the fabulist was born. Their shouts disturb the haunts where the philosopher prolonged the reveries he had begun in the highways and meadows of the neighborhood.

Against the façade of this house, with its softened tones of age, the crime of treason against beauty had been committed before the war: back of the grille of forged ironwork, and in the inner court, a horrible whitewash, insolent in its whiteness, covered the panels of the walls. It is in the apartments themselves that a new upheaval—though for a good cause—has just taken place. The pictures of Desbrosses, of Lhermite, of Teniers, of Vithoos, the drawings of Daubigny, relics of La Fontaine's birthplace, which had been transformed into a municipal museum, have been removed. School mottoes and geography maps have replaced them: in the halls and rooms now are found classes of boys and girls. The shade of La Fontaine is compelled to desert the precipitous street, paved with loose cobblestones, and to descend to the banks where the Marne, peaceful and beautiful, flows between two paths of fine sand.

Never, indeed, has the Marne seemed more graceful or flowed in an atmosphere more simple. Its recent immortality, the noise made in the world by the victory that has rendered it famous, has not altered its habits: in its new glory it seems to have acquired a new indifference, an indifference to battle, to cannon.

Not far from it, however, the great guns of the warring nations still mingle their wild voices day and night. These voices were heard by Château-Thierry and the Marne for the first time on Aug. 31, 1914. It was the retreat. On the 2d of September, in the afternoon, the enemy entered the town by the Soissons road. With their rifles on their shoulders, in columns by eights, and keeping parade step, the regiments of Von Kluck filed in and stacked their arms in Champ de Mars square on the right bank of the river. Their patrols were stationed on the crossings and streets in every direction on both sides of the bridges. After a lively combat the soldiers who formed our rearguard had cut their way out with rifle and bayonet, and had disappeared.

An order was given by Prussian authority to occupy and barricade the principal houses. On the public square the Court House was immediately invaded. In the hall where President Magnaud had once decreed as a "good Judge" the acquittal of the poor woman who had stolen bread, the Prussians put everything to pillage. The clerk's records, torn, shredded, honeycombed, served to build improvised loopholes at the windows and doors.

On the other side of the river, facing the Court House, lies a beautiful estate. The buildings on the north wing are used as a factory. Those of the south wing have been transformed into a

château of sumptuous appearance. Between the two a park spreads the foliage of its magnificent forest trees, hiding the factory from the château. The Prussian command chose the château as the headquarters of its General Staff, and from the first hour announced—already!—its intention of seizing the important stocks of copper in the factory.

The estate had been left in charge of two old servants, Hector and his wife Fanny, who has a blue-ribbon reputation as a cook. Hector received the German officers who first appeared. They spoke French without the slightest accent. They knew the inhabitants and contents of the house, the names of the two domestics, even the fact that Fanny cooked certain dishes divinely, especially rabbit à la royale. The news that she had remained, with the affirmation that she would prepare appetizing meals on condition that the estate be not molested, put the German officers into a good humor.

A last quick inquiry, made in a tone of apparent indifference, sought to discover whether the stocks of copper were still there. This was enough to cause the wily Hector to invent diplomatic stratagems each day, with a view to making von Kluck's officers forget the supplies which they coveted. The fare was exquisite, the best wines came from the cellars for every meal, old liqueurs and choice cigars were lavished upon the guests. Chance also favored Hector. Through the edges of the battle of the Marne the German officers went and came and went again, giving the place to others and taking it back by turns. On the 9th of September, after seven whole days of occupation, General von Kluck suddenly gave the order for his army to retreat toward the north. The copper was saved.

A piquant detail: When von Kluck's order reached Château-Thierry it was about noon. A fat Prussian General quartered in the château was preparing to sit down at the table and enjoy a juicy beefsteak which Fanny had declared to be unusually good. Though he sprang to the saddle on receiving the order, he demanded that Hector serve the

steak to him as he sat on horseback; and as events moved swiftly, the General, in order not to lose a mouthful, seized the enormous slice of meat, all hot and sticky with sauce, carried it in his right hand, and with his left gave the reins to his beast for flight. He was wise in his Teutonic gluttony, too, for six other German officers who were at a table a few paces away in the Swan Hotel, and who refused to believe in the victorious return of the French, were made prisoner in the turn of a hand by two little "glaziers." One of them fired on the group from the rear court, which opens on the street. The bullet went through the wall and carved a beautiful spider's web in the dining room mirror, at the centre of which it still remains in full sight. "Surrender!" cried the chasseur, as he leaped over the threshold; and the six German officers, seeing a second French military cap appear behind the first, surrendered.

The City of La Fontaine was freed, but not all the Department of the Aisne. Out of thirty-seven cantons, barely eleven were to regain their liberties and the joys of their native land. Today out of 841 communities only 265 have escaped German occupation. Of the 550,000 inhabitants who lived in this department before the war, 125,000 now occupy the soil on which they were born and welcomed. Many have taken refuge in other provinces, notably in those of Yonne, Loiret, Orne, and Aude. There are 12,000 in Paris. About 15,000, civil and military, are prisoners in Germany, where their number is diminishing daily, thanks to the work of repatriation. Few remained on this side of the German lines: the frontier populations particularly detest the invader.

Château-Thierry, a sub-prefecture of 7,500 inhabitants, might have kept this number; but after the victory of the Marne the report spread of a second victory on the Aisne. Those who had fled before the enemy believed their whole department liberated, and flowed back, impelled by love of the earth, by devotion to their buried dead, by the passion of their griefs and hopes. The firing line stopped them. They refused to depart again, in-

toxicated anew by the odor of their native soil, plunging their gaze beyond the horizon to the belfry or village, to the cherished field or house where they had known the happiness of home. Thus Château-Thierry and the liberated cantons saw their population doubled.

In the town itself, where most of the houses had been left uninjured, it was relatively easy to reorganize a normal life. It was less easy, however, in the hamlets and farming communities, where the peasants, despoiled of everything by the soldiers of von Kluck, no longer had linen, furniture, or food. From all over France came help for these. Prefects and Sub-Prefects might be seen in their silver-embroidered uniforms and gold-laced caps, transporting, now in rude wagons, now in luxurious automobiles, great sacks of supplies for the ruined villages. Everybody was shouting at once in more than 200 communes: Food, more food, still more food! It seemed as if it would never be possible to satisfy them. Salt, which caused so many insurrections in the ancient days of the salt tax, was lacking everywhere; it had never before seemed so indispensable. Then it was clothes and bedding. In each community there were episodes of rare beauty. At Epieds three women who were still suckling their infants took refuge. Under their weight of misery and hunger they had crept into a muddy shed and were sleeping on a pile of dirty straw. A poor old woman of 80, wrinkled and broken, found them there, and called the attention of the officials to their plight. By way of example she returned a quarter of an hour later carrying in her trembling hands a woolen comforter which she had brought, with the slow steps of an old woman, from her home.

"The Germans have robbed me of everything," she said; "but I still have this. I already have one foot in the grave, and am perhaps more accustomed to suffering. Give it to them, monsieur, for the babies."

Two years have passed over these miseries. In the freed territory life has returned, and acts of devotion have multiplied. Soissons is under shell fire. Of 14,000 inhabitants scarcely 400 have re-

mained, among whom are a baker who fills his ovens daily, two grocers, a butcher who sells fish, wine, preserves, and one photographer. Mme. Macherez and Mlle. Sellier labor tirelessly at a task which the War Cross has made famous and which the Audiffred prize of 15,000 francs has further magnified. Do you know the latest of Mlle. Sellier's lovely deeds? She is the daughter of well-to-do parents. Feeling too highly honored by the mention of the institute, she has refused its gold and begged Mme. Macherez to take her 7,500 francs and devote the whole to the misfortunes of the devastated village.

The capital of the Aisne today is Château-Thierry. In its Town Hall are assembled all the administrative services of the department. * * * Nor do all the provisions come from Paris. The fields sown by the peasant of the Aisne furnish anew their tribute, in which is found once more the savory perfume of the soil of the Ile-de-France. From the Marne to the Aisne there is not a corner left fallow.

The families scattered by the war are gradually reuniting. In the evening, "between dog and wolf," at the hour when light vapors rise from the river and spread along the lanes like a protecting and favoring veil, it is not rare to see the girls and young men of the neighborhood going arm in arm to gay betrothal parties. Some of the men, decorated with the War Cross, have undergone glorious amputations; their love is all the livelier on that account; in their arms the girls seem more beautiful, and are all laughter. The couples flee under the foliage of the fine trees, far from the populous section where stands the statue of the fabulist. Yet he would not be the one to say unkind things to them if he were living. La Fontaine described himself as "a light thing," lovable and loving, lively and delicate, whom a pretty face, a prepossessing manner, a fresh laugh, a floating lock of hair, a white hand carelessly arranging the fold of a gown, have always rendered amorous and dreamy. His frivolity, his skepticism, his indulgence would bestow upon the romantic couples only the happiest of smiles.

Rumania's Intervention

By a British Commissioner

FOR months Bucharest had been a hotbed of intrigue second only to Saloniki and Athens. The question frequently asked was, Would the assumed sympathies of a Hohenzolern King, comparatively fresh from Germany and German influences, prevail over the natural Franco-Italian tendencies of the Rumanian Nation and cause a Teutonic orientation? Kingly influence and German relationship had helped to bring Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers, in opposition to her old friend and liberator, Russia. It was known that Constantine and his consort prevented Greece from entering the arena against Germany; and there was a natural anticipation that Rumania might abandon her neutrality and array herself on the side which appeared to be invincible.

The Critical Period

When I was in the Rumanian capital the allied diplomacy had been discredited in the Balkans, and British arms had been defeated at Gallipoli. The Macedonian enterprise was beginning to develop, but not having reached its present formidable pitch of strength was none too hopefully regarded. Russia had not displayed signs of that offensive which it was hoped would dislodge the Austro-German armies from the positions they had secured all along the line from the Baltic provinces in the north to Volhynia in the South. There was a deadlock on the western front, though we were constantly hearing of the projected allied drive in the Spring. Italy, toward whom Rumania was looking with interested eyes, was engaged in a terrific struggle with Austria in the Alpine passes, and the prospects of Italia Irredenta becoming Italia Redenta were none too hopeful. But on Italy seemed to depend the prospect of the recovery by Rumania of her lost territory. Should Italy wrest back the Trentino and Trieste, Rumania might

very likely recover her territory of Transylvania.

A Secret Treaty

It was understood that a treaty existed under which Italy had promised to Rumania the restoration of Transylvania after the war on certain conditions. Germany and Austria were aware of this, but were not greatly alarmed, as neither felt that Rumania's assistance was necessary. What chance, it might be asked, had Rumania, on the one hand, of getting back her lost province with the aid of Italy or any other country, or, on the other hand, of fulfilling that aspiration with the aid of the Teutonic Alliance? Italy was at a deadlock with Austria, Austria was not willing to relinquish an inch of territory in return for Rumania's active support, and Germany would not bring pressure to bear on her ally in Rumania's behalf. The fact is, the Teuton Powers were beguiled, if not besotted, with their successes, or, at any rate, the successes of Germany, and could not see a cloud on the horizon.

Definite Entente Promises

Meanwhile Russia had been negotiating, and had made definitive and alluring promises to Rumania. They included the cession of the Bukowina, together with armed assistance in wresting Transylvania from Austria. As previously said, neutrality would bring Rumania nothing, save in the event of a Teuton triumph, when probably she would come still more under the Austrian yoke. Entry on the side of the Central Powers gave no promise of post-bellum advantage. On the other hand, the promises of Italy and Russia, or perhaps it should be said the Entente round table, were definite. And at length Russia was able to show her ability to bring them to fulfillment by sweeping through Bukowina and capturing the whole of that Austrian crownland.

It remained for Rumania to open the

way for Russia to bring about the downfall of Austria and of her other traditional enemy, Bulgaria, and at the same time to win back Transylvania. Moreover, simultaneously with Russia's success in the Bukovina came Italy's capture of Gorizia. Is it to be wondered at that Rumania came in on the side of those who were in the best position to enable her to realize her national aspirations?

Life in Bucharest

After one had spent a few days in the bright and handsome capital of that country—the city of joy or pleasure, as its name literally signifies—it was not difficult to realize that the sentiments of the people, the politicians, and of the army were decidedly pro-Entente, while interest in the fortunes of the Italian and French armies was considerable. The Rumanians pride themselves on their Latin origin, which is indicated in their name; their language has obviously a Latin foundation, and here and there in the country are Roman remains from the days of Trajan. The Rumanian capital may be likened to a small Paris or Vienna, with its prosperous population of over 350,000, its spacious streets and shady squares and boulevards, its palaces and other large public buildings, its baroque cathedrals and churches, its fine opera house and theatres, and its nocturnal gayety.

Much money was also being spent in backstairs intrigue by the representatives of nations which need not be named. The baser sort of politicians and publicists had been captured by this means, and announcements of Teutonic victories were made in grandiloquent fashion in some of the newspapers, which any one acquainted with Latin, or the French and Italian languages, had little difficulty in reading. My own mission was peaceful, entirely non-diplomatic and uncommercial; nevertheless I found myself the subject of persistent and unwelcome attentions and was "shadowed" everywhere I went. The hotels were filled with international spies who noted my going out and my coming in, and whom I could rarely shake off until I found myself in my own room at the

hotel—then under German management. When at length it was recognized that I was merely interested in the medical and sanitary aspect of the war I was left more or less to myself.

Just then Germany was more concerned with Rumania as a country rich in corn and oil than as a potential fighting factor. German agents were to be met everywhere endeavoring to negotiate the purchase of wheat, petroleum, cattle, horses, hides, poultry, eggs, cotton materials, and many other things which were scarce in Germany.

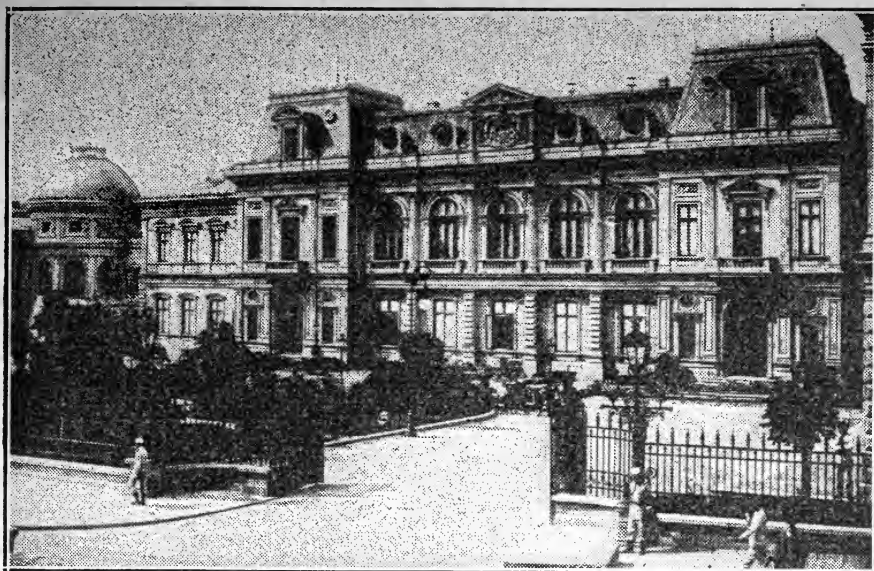
Cornering Rumanian Wheat

Russian agents were also busily buying, and so, too, were a few British, though Great Britain could not get delivery. But that did not prevent the Rumanian authorities from selling to British representatives a considerably greater quantity of wheat than was sold to Germany. The latter purchase, moreover, was held up by the fact that the British wheat monopolized a large number of the railway cars which were needed to transport the grain, sold to Germany, across the frontier. A straw will show the direction of the current; and this incident, which gave great annoyance to Germany, was instructive.

German agents were always ready to outbid other buyers and offered extravagant prices; there was a good deal of smuggling over the border, and a few Rumanian officials were blindly complaisant. But presently higher authority stepped in and prevented Teuton buyers from getting more than their share. This happened particularly in connection with petroleum. It was impossible to allege that Russia, which has its own extensive oilfields, stood in need of this commodity. Therefore Germany was getting practically the whole of Rumania's export of petroleum. But the Government intervened and placed an embargo on the article, giving as the reason that the country was being drained of oil which it needed for its own use. This was a serious blow.

German Interests Dominant

Not only were the Rumanian oilfields



ROYAL PALACE AT BUCHAREST, RUMANIA.

principally owned and worked by Germans, but many other industries of the country were under similar control. Rumania's public indebtedness is principally to Germany, and there were German banks at Bucharest and other cities and towns. Many hotels had German managers, with Teutonic staffs; in fact, Germany had much the same position in Rumania that she had secured in Russia and Italy. But it cannot be said that the Teuton elements of the population were esteemed or popular, and the disesteem in which they were held was due largely to their arrogant airs toward the local population. German agents boasted in the cafés and public places of what would happen when Germany had won the war, as she was certain to do, and they were disposed to threaten. This minatory tone was adopted by the German press in discussing the hold-up of grain purchases in Rumania.

For some weeks early in the present year German papers and magazines published and commented on the alleged orientation of the Rumanian Government toward military intervention on the side of the Quadruple Entente, and these papers were freely circulated in Bucharest. Sensational telegrams were given a place in the leading journals of Berlin,

Cologne, Munich, and other cities, stating as an accomplished fact the dispatch by Germany and Austria of an ultimatum to Rumania. The news was only published to be contradicted the next day, but obviously it was intended to have an alarmist effect at Bucharest. It was modified to the extent of saying that the position was very grave, and that the Cabinet of Bucharest was on the eve of a decisive declaration.

Bratiano's Attitude

But the Prime Minister, Joan Bratiano, was not to be drawn. He remained calm and sphinx-like, professing no desire beyond that of keeping his country out of the war. Nevertheless the tone of hostility and menace on the part of the semi-official German press was maintained, and, as the "Correspondant" said, was evidently intended to intimidate the country. For instance, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of Sunday, Jan. 30, contained a long telegram upon the attitude of Rumania. It was really a criticism, veiled but hostile, of "the kind of neutrality which finds favor in Rumania—a neutrality which delays decision up to the point when events render the decision more easy and also as little dangerous as possible." The article

concluded in these terms: "It is not necessary to theorize in order to understand what will be the decision of Rumania if the French and English in the South East and the Russians in the immediate neighborhood of Rumania realize some sort of a decisive success. Up to the present they have not achieved such success, and, to speak modestly, it is extremely improbable that they will do so."

All of which goes to show that Germany was counting on certain contingencies and that she was willing, if possible, to bully Rumania into following her fortunes. But Bratiano is not the sort of man to be bullied, and the King maintained then, as later, a strictly constitutional attitude, and did nothing to influence, or at any rate to circumvent, his Ministers.

German Press Threatens

One may also take note of the remarks of the Berliner Tageblatt with regard to the non-delivery of the wheat shipment referred to. "Rumania," it said, "has sold to the two Central Empires 50,000 carloads, or 500,000 tons, of wheat. But she has rendered the transport of these cereals extremely difficult, not to say impossible, since she has, on the other hand, sold 80,000 carloads, or 800,000 tons, to England. All the available Rumanian cars have been loaded with grain for that country. It is true that they have not been dispatched, that they cannot get out of Rumania, but the immediate consequence of this last sale is that there are no cars for the transport of grain into Germany."

The same paper, after having allowed it to be understood that the sale of grain to England might well be fictitious, and entered into merely in order to prevent Germany from receiving what she had bought, went on to speak on the military situation as follows: "While not actually ordering mobilization, the Rumanian Government maintains under arms four-fifths of the army. The greater part of these troops and of heavy artillery are concentrated to the south along the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier, and on the north on the Austro-Hungarian border, while the troops on

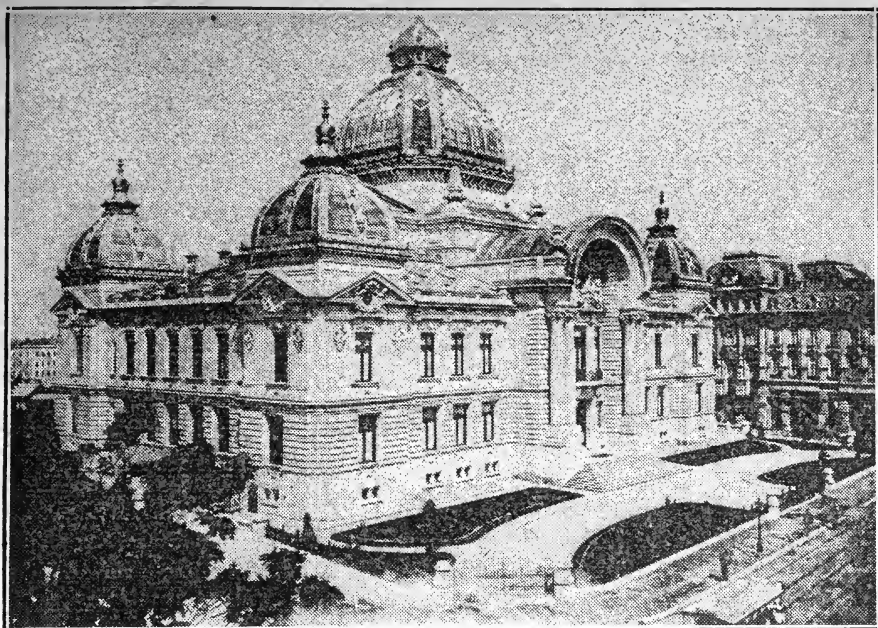
the Bessarabian (Russian) frontier have not received any reinforcement. The position merits on the part of the Central Powers the most serious attention, for the Quadruple Entente declares that it will have Greece and Rumania on its side at the moment of the great offensive which is preparing on all fronts. It would thus be as well for the two empires to oblige Rumania to change its attitude. They have the means." Whether or not they had the means, they did not succeed in frightening Rumania or compelling her to change her attitude.

Rumania Collects Guns

While Rumania stated that she intended to maintain neutrality unless compelled to defend herself from aggression, she was receiving substantial war supplies from Russia, Germany, and other countries; in fact in the matter of purchasing arms and ammunition she maintained strict neutrality. Austria, Japan, Great Britain, and other countries all helped to swell her stocks of big and little guns. Before the war and in its early stages she had received large quantities of Krupp guns and Mannlicher rifles from Germany; also payment from Germany later for wheat and other supplies in guns and shells, a fact which has greatly annoyed the press of that country, which now talks about perfidy. Germany, having taken the initiative in showing that she considers all fair in war, is scarcely in a position to reproach Rumania or any other country with that sin.

But, while Russia, Japan, and Germany were thus filling Rumanian arsenals, she herself was busily occupied in manufacturing munitions, until her army was able to enter the field in a state of thorough equipment. The fact indeed is clear that Rumania, like Italy, came into the war when she was ready to do so, and it may be added she came in on the signal of that country, the gesture being Italy's formal declaration of war against Germany.

Looking back at things as I saw them in Bucharest, there was almost ostentatious esteem manifested for the French, Italians, and Russians in of-



NATIONAL BANK OF BUCHAREST, RUMANIA

ficial and political circles. As for the Court, the Queen's sympathies were openly pro-ally, quite as much as the Queen of Greece's sympathies were pro-German. Moreover, it was said that Queen Marie had at least as much influence over her husband as Queen Sophia has over hers. Her parentage would account for her sympathies, and she is proud of the fact that she is the daughter of an English Prince and a Russian Princess of the house of Romanoff. This beautiful and brilliant woman received with marked favor Russian and British officers and envoys as well as representatives of other allies of the Entente who on occasions attended her Court. On the other hand, her intercourse with German and Austrian representatives was formal, and her attitude toward them correct but cool.

A Visit to Queen Marie

The day after my arrival at Bucharest I paid my respects at the royal palace, a Romanesque and handsome building. Together with a Court official, who had accompanied me from my hotel, I was ushered into a lofty and handsome

salon, in which were a few fine portraits, including a characteristic oil-painting of the late Carmen Sylva in national costume, and another of her husband, King Carol, in uniform. We were told that her Majesty would be with us shortly, and I do not exaggerate when I say that a little later I found myself in the presence of one of the handsomest and most queenly women in Europe.

It is not polite to talk about a lady's age, even if it be recorded in the Almanach de Gotha. Suffice it that although her Majesty has several children, including a grown-up son who is a keen and capable officer in the army, she looks a young woman, and is radiantly beautiful. Above middle height, of superb figure and carriage, with regular but mobile features and glorious eyes, she is "every inch a Queen," and it was easy to realize that she is, as I had often heard, the most popular woman in Rumania, more beloved even than was Carmen Sylva herself. She referred to the objects of my visit, and asked me what institutions I had seen or intended to visit, what opinions I had formed

with respect to the army medical and Red Cross establishments, and how they compared with others I had seen elsewhere.

A Fortunate Remark

The Queen seemed pleased when I said that the Russian sanitary department and Red Cross establishments were among the best in Europe. I described to her the wonderful hospital trains given by the Czar, Czarina, and other members of the Russian royal house, and added that so far from Russia having anything to learn from other European countries, in certain respects she could give them points. I had not realized when I spoke that the Queen is half Russian herself, her mother being the daughter of the Czar Nicholas I. But her gratification at my remarks was manifest, and I was subsequently enlightened as to the reason.

Questioning me as to the general health of the various armies of the Entente, she paid a high tribute to English nursing, and said she had secured a few English nurses for hospitals in which she was interested, and wished she could get more, while she would be glad if American nurses and doctors would also turn their attention to Rumania. The tone of her Majesty's conversation suggested that she knew that before long Rumanian hospitals would be needed for wounded men; indeed, there was little reserve in her references to the possibilities of the future. Apart from an occasional thoughtfulness in tone, the Queen's vivacity was remarkable, and she seemed to radiate high spirits. Though far from lacking in dignity, her manners and speech occasionally bordered on the unconventional. Her English was colloquial, with barely a trace of foreign accent.

"You are to see the King, of course?" she asked. I replied that I should have that honor if his Majesty would deign to see me. "But, of course," replied the Queen, "what are you here for if not to see the King?" To this I did not venture a reply. An attendant appeared at some signal and received an order from the Queen in a low tone. "The King

will be here very soon," she said, and went on with the conversation.

View of King Ferdinand

Shortly afterward his Majesty appeared, and received me graciously. Rather tall, slender, and erect, with aquiline aristocratic features, pointed beard and mustache, thick hair worn à la brosse, and turning to gray, he looks soldierly and kingly, which not all Kings succeed in doing. He, too, spoke English, but more slowly than his consort, his remarks being carefully prepared in his mind before he spoke them. Like the Queen, he was interested in sanitary questions affecting the army, and gave me details which showed that he regarded such matters scientifically. The Queen repeated to him what I had said about Russia, and his Majesty paid a tribute to the organizing ability of Prince Alexander of Oldenburg, head of the Russian Sanitary Department of the Army, and added questions with respect to Russian medical administration.

His Majesty struck me as a grave and courteous gentleman, with a definite viewpoint of his own. I subsequently learned from the official who accompanied me that the King is a man of firmness and force of character. He fully recognizes the position and responsibilities of a constitutional monarch, whose first duty is to safeguard the interests and advance the national aspirations of the people, in accordance with the advice of their representatives. He has been heard to say: "I am a Rumanian first and all the time. I am no longer a German Prince. I have many near and dear German relations and friends, but I have no German ties or entanglements. Those who refer to me as a Hohenzollern Prince might as well call me a Bourbon or Hapsburg Prince. I am neither one nor the other. I am a Rumanian and King of Rumania."

Rumanian Preparedness

When the crucial moment came for him to decide he maintained his constitutional attitude, summoned his Council of Ministers, and acted as they advised; and, the die being cast for war, he at once went to the front and assumed

command of his army, of which he is officially Inspector General. At its full strength, including all reserves, it totals over 800,000 men, and it is well drilled and well armed. For a long time past more than half the army has been on frontier and garrison service, and in strict and constant training, with plenty of field duty. As the German papers stated, they have been stationed on certain frontiers and outposts, and when war was declared were ready, to the last cartridge and button.

The soldiers may not be veterans, in the sense that the Serbs and Bulgars are, but they are well set up and well drilled, the cavalry arm being particularly fine, scarcely second to the Cossacks. To a man, they all receive preliminary training between the ages of 19 and 21, while the full period of service is twenty-five years, covering seven years in the regular army, twelve in the reserve, and six in the militia. The fact that they will fight side by side with Russian troops, which will pass through Rumania to the southern border in order to face Bulgaria, has led to the Rumanian Government adopting the same restrictions with respect to strong liquor which were decreed by the Czar at the outset of the war. The Rumanian peasant or soldier is not such a drunkard as was the *mushik*, but enforced abstinence will be all to his advantage.

Peasants Are Prosperous

Since the war began there have been erroneous statements with respect to Rumania which call for correction by the submission of facts. It has been said, for instance, that the country suffers as the result of its land laws. Few agricultural countries have escaped this aspersion, and few deserve it less than Rumania. Certainly the revolt of 1888 was agrarian, and was fomented by Moldavian peasants, who, on visiting the capital, were disappointed at not receiving a promised allotment of land. But the peasantry as a whole are a

prosperous and contented lot, and the productiveness of the soil and the good tillage are proved by the heavy crops of wheat and maize. Rumania is also a large dairying and egg-producing country. Her total grain exports amount to about \$200,000,000 annually.

There are large agricultural syndicates or co-operative societies all over the country, having for their object the purchase of machinery by installments, also implements and seed, as well as the marketing of the members' produce in order to avoid the intervention and profit of the middleman. Besides that great trade waterway, the Danube, Rumania has about 2,500 miles of railway, which tap the agricultural districts, touch all the strategic points, and radiate to the frontiers.

The Jewish Question

Something remains to be said about the Jewish question in Rumania, as that also seems liable to be misunderstood and magnified. Rumania's difficulty, or it might be said the difficulty of the Jews, is not as great as it is in Russia. But they are deprived of many elementary rights of citizenship which must be extended after the war, if the inclusion in Rumanian territory of Transylvania and Bukowina is to be justified. In the latter countries the Jews possess rights and privileges which are not accorded to the Jews of Rumania and Russia. The fact that the Russian authorities are commencing to give the Jewish question consideration is hopeful, and when the final terms of peace come in for consideration the matter will have to be dealt with in its entirety. Civilization and justice will be content with nothing short of extending the same rights to the Jews of Russia and the Balkans as those which are enjoyed by them in the United States and Great Britain, and which are not withheld from them by the Central Powers. On the whole the entry of Rumania into the war augurs well rather than ill for the Jews of that country.

Honorable Neutrality Impossible

By Take Jonescu

Leader of the National Democratic Party in Rumania

M. Jonescu, foremost of the pro-Entente statesmen of Rumania, made a historic address last Winter in the Chamber of Deputies, urging his countrymen to enter the war on the side of the Allies. After many months, Rumania has followed his counsel. The more significant portions of the speech in question, printed below, now have historic interest.

THOSE who lived in the time of Jesus Christ had no idea of how the history of humanity was to be affected by the coming of Christianity. During the barbaric invasions nobody took into account what transformations they involved. Nobody knew that therefrom might result the death of civilization for a thousand years. If people had realized the meaning of these things they would have made better defense against them. At the time of the French Revolution people had no idea of the tremendous consequences it was to bring, of the far distance they would reach. Today, gentlemen, I think we are confronted, not with an ordinary war which will simply involve a certain changing of frontiers, with things after that very much as they were before. We are faced by a catastrophe involving the whole of the human race; we have before our eyes the declining twilight of one world, preceding the dawn of another and a new.

And note, gentlemen, how grave is the problem with which humanity is faced today! You see Italy, instead of accepting a gratuitous increase of territory, throwing herself of her own free will into the horrors of war. And it is not alone the people of Europe who are throbbing with excitement today. Have you never asked yourselves what these new nations are doing in the great conflict—the young republics founded by the Anglo-Saxons across the ocean? Why is it that we see Canada, Australia, New Zealand enrolling from 7 to 8 per cent. of their populations as volunteers for the front? Is it for love of the motherland?

Sentiment does not move humanity to such a degree as that. How is it the conscience of the United States of America has become uneasy? Out of love for England? Nothing of the sort, gentle-

men. To attack Great Britain has always been recognized as a safe and popular note by orators in the United States; it is known as "twisting the British lion's tail." Why, then, is it disturbed, this democracy of a hundred million souls, engaged in making the most glorious experiment imaginable; the creation of a civilization without prejudices, with no class distinctions, with no monarchy, no militarism, no hindrance of any sort—a civilization based solely on the nationalist sovereignty carried to its extremest limits?

This entire movement can have but one explanation, namely, that we are confronted with a transformation of the human race, a transformation which expresses itself in the form of a general massacre. It is a struggle between two worlds, and we shall see which of the two shall succeed in obtaining the mastery. Were it otherwise this war would not be possible, and it would not be waged with the fury that distinguishes it from all others.

Gentlemen, the truth is that in this war, which was most certainly provoked by the Germans, we see the last attempt made by a single people to secure for itself a universal hegemony.

If the German soldier were to win today the first result would be that the same military force, which is the greatest in the world, would also be the greatest naval force, and there would be no more independence, no more liberty for any one in the world, not even for the great American democracy. If ever the day should come when one and the same State had domination not only on land but also on sea—the day on which the Roman Empire should be reconstituted in conformity with the affirmation once made by the Emperor William that the

time would come when all men would be happy to call themselves German, just as formerly one exclaimed joyously, "Civis Romanus sum," then the free life of each one of us would be at an end.

Well, and what is the basis of this attempt that is being made? Is it founded on some higher state of civilization? Is it justified by a superiority of such a nature that it should have the right to dominate the whole world, with the rest of us content to run behind the conqueror in his triumphal car?

Is there a single hypothesis among all the hypotheses forming the basis and the poetry of science; is there one of all the discoveries which have contributed to the progress—the material progress—of modern life; is there one among all the ideas that have roused the world to enthusiasm; is there one of all the creations of art which would be lost if we were to remove Germany's contribution? No, gentlemen, the treasure possessed by the human race would remain intact, a little reduced, to be sure, but in no wise diminished in quality. It would remain as it was before. What is there in the assets of Germany to set against the extraordinary productions of our neo-Latin civilization? One thing alone there is that is characteristic in Germanic culture, and that is its political organization, which to us is a puzzle.

How is it possible to reconcile an ultra-modern economic organization with a political organization dating from the Middle Ages? How reconcile a teaching so generalized, a material well-being so highly developed, with a political system which enables one man to declare, "My will is the highest law," or, "I owe my power not to the assent of the German people, but solely to the Divine mission with which I have been intrusted on earth"?

Such are the characteristics of German civilization, of the far-famed Kultur. And, gentlemen, that springs, unhappily, from the manner in which the unity of Germany has been formed.

If this German unity had sprung from the Liberal movement of 1848 a great new nation would have been added to the existing Liberal nations of Europe.

But German unification is the product of Prussian "caporalism," with regard to which a very intelligent Teuton holding a high position remarked to me five or six months ago: "You are right, all you say is true; there is nothing more antipathetic than Prussian 'caporalism,' but it is invincible, and we are forced to accept it just as we accept the Deluge or the locust, just as we accept, in fact, all the ills that Fate may send us."

But, gentlemen, that is not the fact. While M. Diamandy was speaking of the battle of the Marne some one replied that it was just an engagement like any other. To which I retort: It was not a battle, it was a historic moment, it was the proof that even the brute force of "caporalism," in a State in which one man can proclaim that the highest law is his own will, may be vanquished by the armies of a democratic republic wherein abuse of liberty was mistaken by fools for moral decline and loss of virtue.

And if such is the meaning of the war now raging, how can it be supposed that it can end with the customary peace, the sort of peace in which so many gold-laced, decorated plenipotentiaries will discuss a lot of nothings around a green cloth? Can one imagine that it will end like a duel with button-tipped foils, in which the swordsman hit exclaims, "Touche!" and after shaking hands and putting the weapons in their case the two adversaries go off and drink to each other's health!

No, gentlemen, today it is a war of nations rather than a war of armies; the conscience of all the races is awakened; this war must and will go on until one of the two sides shall have been crushed in such a manner that the victor shall be able to impose his rule upon the vanquished. No other peace will be acceptable to the nations.

If Germany is victorious her rule will be the rule of the mailed fist, the reign of a single people chosen by God; if the others win—and they will—the law they will impose will be the law of justice, in order that the whole world may enjoy the benefits of civilization.

Such is the problem. But you will ask me: "What! Is Germany to disap-

pear?" Who can imagine any such thing? It is Austria that might and should vanish away.

Austria ought to have disappeared long ago. When she has vanished from sight a general sigh of relief will be heard; every one will be glad that at last she has paid the price of centuries of wickedness, for you may search the pages of her history through and through and you shall not find that she has done good to any one of any sort, while many and many have been the sufferers from her treachery and her brutality. What would I not give to any one who should point out to me a single good action ever done by this monarchy?

And things being as they are, gentlemen, can you doubt on which side victory will rest? I forget who it was said just now that it was childish to introduce the idea of morality into international politics.

How slight must be his acquaintance with the philosophy of history. Individuals, like peoples, pay the price of the offenses they commit against morality. In the one case punishment follows immediately, in the other case it is delayed, but there would be no order in the universe, life would be without value were it not that we have the conviction of the existence of a moral law above us.

And if, gentlemen, the problem is as I see it, if the events through which we are passing are as I have attempted to describe them, how can one talk of neutrality? Is there a single State throughout the world which will not be affected, which will not be transformed by the results of this war? No, gentlemen, there is not one. But note this difference: There are some States which will suffer from the consequences of the war without power to have their say, because they let their sword rust in its scabbard; others there are which, while suffering no less severely from the effects of the conflict, will at least have a hearing; their utterance will either be that of the conqueror, who decides, or that of the vanquished, who, having done his duty, may rightly claim the respect of the victor.

Jonescu's Later Comment

In the light of the foregoing speech, the following statement by Take Jonescu after Rumania had declared war is of added interest:

Rumania's entry into the war is simply the outcome of the entire history of the Rumanian people. A Latin colony established astride the Carpathians between the Black Sea and the Tisza, the Magyar invasion had separated us into two. In spite of centuries of political separation, the intellectual life of all Rumanians has been one and the same, and in every epoch the national aspiration in the two sides of the Carpathians has been for union and a single independent State.

Never before this war has the principle of nationality, the corollary of national sovereignty—that is to say, the right of every people to live according to its own genius—been declared as the foundation of political right in Europe. This principle was first declared by immortal France, but it has been English statesmen of this present epoch who have given it its definite consecration. So, too, are the British people for this principle. Yet more than any conquest do they value being champions of right and liberty. I know no greater good fortune than to be able to assist in the realization of this national ideal while serving at the same time the cause of civilization and permanent future peace. Such is the case of the Rumanian people at this moment.

For two years I never ceased maintaining that if Rumania had nothing to claim for herself she owed it to her own feeling of dignity and honor to draw the sword on the side of the crusaders for the right. The creation of a great Rumania, which will convert us into a State of 14,000,000 inhabitants, is not only a Rumanian but a European interest. We must put Germany into such a position that she will find it materially impossible to start again that tragedy of armaments à outrance which fatally led to this monstrous war.

We must put between Germany and the Orient, which she covets, States sufficiently strong and representing mili-

tary worth sufficiently great to be able to resist all intrigues and sufficiently distant from the German spirit to be by the nature of things soldiers of civilization against German stupidity. Magna Rumania will fulfill these three conditions. With our amazing racial fecundity, we shall have in forty years between Tisza and the Black Sea a State of 25,000,000 inhabitants, and for France, England, Russia, and Italy this will be some recompense for their enormous sacrifices.

The whole nation has received the declaration of war with a satisfaction that is marked with the greatest dignity. Nothing could prove better how necessary and inevitable war was. Our armies have seized all the passes of the Carpathians with extraordinary rapidity, yet that has turned nobody's head, for the Latins of the Danube have a sense of measure and self-command.

You will read in the official com-

muniqés of the fighting on the Dobruja frontier. There, too, we are defending a cause that is not only our own, but also that of the Allies, and I might say of Europe. In order that the Turk shall be driven from Europe it is necessary, first of all, to subdue Bulgaria, or rather her rulers, who are the real cause of Bulgaria's madness. In my belief it is the duty of Europe not to repeat the mistakes of last Autumn, but to bring to bear upon the Balkan front sufficient forces to solve the Bulgarian problem. In any case, in dealing with a primitive people like the Bulgarians, a display of force is the first requirement.

As for the ultimate victory of the Allies, that has been as clear to me as sunlight for a long time past. Today, more than ever, the possibility of our common victory is definitely guaranteed, not only by our military superiority, but also and in especial degree by our moral strength.

Text of Rumania's Declaration of War

RUMANIA'S reasons for entering the great conflict on the side of the Entente powers were stated in her declaration of war on Austria-Hungary, issued on Aug. 28. Following is the text of that document, which took the form of a note handed to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister to Rumania, at the close of the historic meeting of the Crown Council in Bucharest, where the die was cast for war:

The alliance concluded between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, according to the statements of those Governments, had only a conservative and defensive character. Its principal object was to guarantee the allied countries against attack from the outside and to consolidate the state of affairs created by previous treaties. It was in accordance with these pacific tendencies that Rumania joined this alliance.

Devoted to the development of her internal affairs and faithful to her resolution to remain as an element of order and equilibrium on the lower Danube, Rumania never has ceased in her devotion to the maintenance of peace in the Balkans. The last Balkan wars, by destroying the status quo, imposed upon her a new line of conduct, but her

intervention gave peace and re-established the equilibrium.

For herself she was satisfied with the rectification of her borders which gave her the greatest security against aggression and repaired certain injustices of the Congress of Berlin, but in pursuit of this aim Rumania was disappointed by the failure of the Vienna Cabinet to take the attitude Rumania was entitled to expect.

When the present war broke out Rumania, like Italy, declined to associate herself with the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary, of which she had not been notified by the Vienna Cabinet.

In the Spring of 1915 Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary. The Triple Alliance no longer existed and the reasons which determined Rumania's adherence to this political system disappeared.

Rumania remained in the peace group of States, seeking to work in agreement in order to assure peace and to conserve the situation *de facto* and *de jure* created by treaties. Rumania then found herself in the presence of powers making war for the sole purpose of transforming from top to bottom the old arrangements which had served as a basis for their treaty of alliance. These changes were for Rumania proof that the object she pursued in joining the Triple Alliance no longer could be attained and

that she must direct her efforts in new paths, especially as the work undertaken by Austria-Hungary threatened the interests of Rumania and her national aspirations. Consequently Rumania resumed her liberty of action.

The neutrality which Rumania imposed upon herself in consequence of a declaration of war made independently of her will, and contrary to her interests, had been adopted as the results of the assurances that Austria-Hungary, in declaring war against Serbia, was not inspired by a spirit of conquest or of territorial gains. These assurances have not been realized.

Today we are confronted by a situation de facto threatening great territorial transformations and political changes of a nature constituting a grave menace to the future of Rumania. The work of peace which Rumania attempted to accomplish, in a spirit of faithfulness to the Triple Alliance, thus was rendered barren by the very powers called upon to defend it.

In adhering in 1883 to the group of Central Powers, Rumania was far from forgetting the bonds of blood constituting between them a pledge for her domestic tranquillity, as well as for the improvement of the lot of the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary. In fact, Germany and Italy, who reconstituted their States on the basic principle of nationality, could not but recognize the legitimacy of the foundation upon which their own existence reposed.

As for Austria-Hungary, she found in the

friendly relations established between her and Rumania assurances of tranquillity both in her interior and on our common frontiers, for she was bound to know to what extent the discontent of her Rumanian population found echo among us, threatening our good relations.

For a period of thirty years the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary not only never saw a reform introduced, but, instead, were treated as an inferior race and condemned to suffer the oppression of a foreign element which constitutes only a minority amid the diverse nationalities constituting the Austro-Hungarian States.

All the injustices our brothers thus were made to suffer maintained between our country and the monarchy a continual state of animosity. At the outbreak of the war Austria-Hungary made no effort to ameliorate these conditions. After two years of the war Austria-Hungary showed herself as prompt to sacrifice her peoples as powerless to defend them. The war in which almost the whole of Europe is partaking raises the gravest problems affecting the national development and very existence of the States.

Rumania, from a desire to hasten the end of the conflict and to safeguard her racial interests, sees herself forced to enter into line by the side of those who are able to assure her realization of her national unity. For these reasons Rumania considers herself, from this moment, in a state of war with Austria-Hungary.

Proclamation of the King of Rumania to His People

King Ferdinand issued the following proclamation to his people on Aug. 28:

RUMANIANS! The war which for the last two years has been encircling our frontiers more and more closely has shaken the ancient foundations of Europe to their depths.

It has brought the day which has been awaited for centuries by the national conscience, by the founders of the Rumanian State, by those who united the principalities in the war of independence, by those responsible for the national renaissance. It is the day of the union of all branches of our nation. Today we are able to complete the task of our forefathers and to establish forever that which Michael the Great was

only able to establish for a moment, namely, a Rumanian union on both slopes of the Carpathians.

For us the mountains and plains of Bukowina, where Stephen the Great has slept for centuries. In our moral energy and our valor lie the means of giving him back his birthright of a great and free Rumania from the Tisza to the Black Sea, and to prosper in peace in accordance with our customs and our hopes a dreams.

Rumanians! Animated by the holy duty imposed upon us, and determined to bear manfully all the sacrifices inseparable from an arduous war, we will march into battle with the irresistible élan of a people firmly confident in its

destiny. The glorious fruits of victory shall be our reward.

Forward, with the help of God!

FERDINAND.

To the army the King addressed the following Order of the Day:

Soldiers: I have summoned you to carry your standards beyond the frontier, where our brothers are waiting for you impatiently and with hearts filled with hope. The memory of the Great Voivodes Michael the Brave and Stephen

the Great, whose remains lie in the earth which you are going to set free, call you to victory as men worthy of the victors of Razboeni, Capugareeni, and Paehna. I have summoned you to fight side by side with the men of the great nations to which we are allied. A desperate struggle awaits you. We shall bear these hardships manfully, and with God's help victory will be ours. Show yourselves worthy of the glory of your ancestors. In the centuries to come the whole race will bless you and sing your praises.

The First Use of Asphyxiating Gas

By JOSEPH REINACH

French Journalist and Author

Germany, with all the other powers, signed this declaration of The Hague:

"The contracting parties agree not to use projectiles which have for their sole aim to spread asphyxiating or deleterious gases." The ink was hardly dry on the paper when German chemists received instructions, secret but precise, from the Imperial and Royal Government, while all other peoples, civilized or even half-barbarous, held themselves bound by their word.

The abominable felony, which had been long prepared, was committed for the first time on April 22, 1915, in an attack against the division of General Putz in the neighborhood of Lange-marek, Belgium, a yellow smoke, coming from the German trenches and driven by the north wind, suddenly swept down on our lines. Marshal French's report said:

"The effect of the poisonous vapors was so violent that all action was made impossible over the whole ground occupied by the French division." Hundreds of men fell asphyxiated, writhing in frightful pain. Others, stupefied and staggering, coughing streams of blood, fell back in all haste out of the zone of

the gas; they abandoned thirty cannon. There had not yet been, in all history, so infamous a victory. There shall not be one to cost the victors dearer.

Had the English been the victims, instead of being only the witnesses, of such treachery, they could not have experienced more horror. Necessarily, it released our allies and ourselves—the chemistry of war was created. Several hundred English chemists set to work, coolly, resolutely, patiently. To those who saw them at their work they were the executioners of justice. The German lines, which extend more than sixty miles in Belgium and France, facing the English lines, know now what it costs a people to become the accomplices of a Government of treachery, ferocity, and crime. There is sometimes even human justice. There may be pity for the individual. No one in the world will have pity for the army and nation—for they have chosen to stand and fall with imperial felony. Honor, after their fashion, and profit they may have had from it—but not victory. And they must pay for it. Two hundred dead German soldiers in one row, dead from English gases, tell the rest.

Bulgaria's Part in the European War

By Radoslav Andrea Tsanoff

A Native of Bulgaria, now Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas

Professor Tsanoff is a Ph. D. of Cornell University. Since 1912 he has lectured on the Balkan situation in New York and New England as well as in Texas. The tragic Summer of 1913 he spent in his native land, and in August of that year the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent him on an informal mission to London.

THE European war, if not in its ultimate implications, is at least in its immediate provocation a Balkan conflict—a conflict for Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean dominion. It should not be forgotten that the Serajevo outrage was the initial casus belli, and its inevitable connections with Bosnia and Herzegovina and the road to Saloniki, with the Berlin Congress and the Sick Man of Europe, with the Drang nach Osten politics on the one hand and Peter the Great's "testament" concerning Constantinople on the other, suggest the underlying causes of the present Russo-German conflict, with which the Anglo-German and the Franco-German conflicts are chronologically, but not logically, associated.

In this conflict for the Eastern Mediterranean and for Balkan dominion the century-old enemy of Balkanedom, Turkey, has ranged her arms on the side of the Austro-German alliance. Only the day before yesterday rivers of Balkan blood spilled themselves in a war the avowed object of which was the expulsion of Islam from Europe. Yet Bulgaria is today fighting in league with her oppressor of half a thousand years, the Turk—fighting in opposition to Rus-

sia, which liberated her from the Turk less than forty years ago. Now, even if this course were inexcusably base, still it would demand explanation. Nations do not stoop to ingratitude for no cause whatever. Before praising or condemning Bulgaria's step we must first of all understand its motives. And to this end a very brief survey of Bulgaria's immediate past is indispensable.

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Bulgarian Nation, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea, and from the Black Sea to the Lake of Ochrid, reaching the climax of a death struggle to shake off the ecclesiastical oppression of the Greek Patriarchate and the political-economic tyranny of the Turk. The first struggle ended successfully with the recognition by the Sultan of a national Bulgarian Church in 1870; the second revolt, for political independence, after claiming thousands of martyrs, led



FERDINAND I,
Czar of Bulgaria

to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and to the treaty of San Stefano, which reconstituted an independent Bulgaria, including practically the entire Bulgarian folk. But Western Europe feared that an independent Bulgaria would become Russia's pawn in the Balkans, that the Czar would use Bulgaria as his road to the Medi-

terranean instead of the one through Constantinople and the Dardanelles, which had been closed to him after the Crimean War. At the Berlin Congress, accordingly, England, Germany, and Austria dismembered the Bulgar land that had just awakened to freedom after 500 years of bondage. In the end, one section of Bulgaria was given freedom, another was accorded partial autonomy, a third was definitely assigned to Rumania, a fourth to Serbia, while the fifth, comprising Macedonia and Western Thrace, was actually handed back to the Sultan.

In spite of the political obstacles with which she was confronted, however, little Bulgaria made a cultural endeavor which today challenges a parallel. During the quarter century from 1887 to 1912, for instance, she multiplied her railroad mileage almost nine times; her telegraph service trebled; her postal service increased twentyfold; her imports doubled; her exports quadrupled; for every vessel that entered and cleared her ports in 1887 there were thirty in 1912. But her greatest effort was directed in the line of public education. In 1880 Bulgaria was as illiterate as any country could well be. In 1910 one-tenth of her population attended the public schools. The illiteracy of the Bulgarian Army, which was 70 per cent. in 1887, has been so reduced that the younger regiments of Bulgars are less than 10 per cent. illiterate. There are as few Bulgars who cannot read and write in the regiments formed today as there were men who could read and write in the regiments formed thirty-six years ago. The Greek Army is 30 per cent. illiterate, the Rumanian over 64 per cent., and the Serbian population over 11 years of age shows an illiteracy of almost 79 per cent.

Forty-five years ago everything ever printed in the Bulgarian language could have been assembled on one library table. Today Bulgaria has over 350 periodical publications; the world's literature may be read in Bulgarian translations, and several Bulgarian writers have seen their works translated in many European languages. Open the International "Who's Who in Science"

and you will find that Bulgaria contributes as many names as all the other Balkan States put together. In the Balkans Bulgaria has become the home of genuine ethnic and religious tolerance; with a truly representative electoral system; with labor-protection laws such as many States in America cannot yet boast; a country economically solid and democratic, five-sevenths of her sons owning the farms they till. What more could Bulgaria desire?

Only this, and this above all: The liberation of those Bulgars whom the Berlin Congress had handed back to the Sultan. This aim inspired the bloody Macedonian insurrections; it led Bulgaria into the Balkan Alliance and the war of 1912. The history of the Balkan war needs no rehearsal here. Suffice it to recall that Bulgaria found herself confronted by the main Turkish Army, crushed it decisively, drove it back to the very gates of Constantinople, and for half a year held it there in check.

But the victory whereby Bulgaria had liberated the Balkans from Turckdom fanned the old envy of her allies. In refusing to relinquish the "uncontested zone" in Macedonia and to arbitrate about the "contested zone," Serbia broke here treaty of alliance with Bulgaria; Greek cunning conspired with Rumanian cupidity and Turkish rancor to overwhelm Bulgaria and to rob her of almost all the fruits of her war of liberation. By the treaty of Bucharest, August, 1913, Bulgaria lost 1,000,000 Macedonian Bulgars to Serbia and Greece and 286,000 of her prosperous Dobrudja citizens to Rumania. The Fall of 1913 found Bulgaria diplomatically isolated, territorially robbed, and to all appearances crushed into abject helplessness.

Yet such has been the irony of fate that, within one brief twelvemonth after the Bucharest Treaty, Serbia's dream of empire involved her in a conflict threatening her very existence as an independent State. The course of the great war, its military and its diplomatic history, has disclosed several striking developments in the Balkans. It has accentuated with increasing clearness the importance of Bulgaria's position. In a



small way, hers is the same advantage which Germany and Austria enjoy in Europe and which has given them the name of the Central Powers. No Balkan State could make a move without reckoning with Bulgaria. The geographical position which had proved Bulgaria's undoing in 1913, when her neighbors, surrounding her on all sides, succeeded in isolating her, proved a tower of strength to her now that her neighbors either were engaged or planned to be engaged each in a different direction. The policy of Rumania and Greece necessarily depended on that of Bulgaria. Again, Bulgaria, which touches both of the neutral Balkan States, is likewise the only European neighbor of Turkey.

The strongest trump in Germany's hand has been her central position, the fact that she held the inner line, allowing the transference of troops at will from one front to another. In this chain of military coherence, one link was missing. This needed link was Bulgaria. Germany needed the raw resources of Turkey; Turkey needed German guns, ammunition, and equipment. Only through Bulgaria could Berlin communicate with Constantinople overland.

On the other hand, the Entente's greatest source of weakness was the absence of communication between east and west. To remedy precisely this situation the forcing of the Dardanelles was thought imperative. The success of the Dardanelles expedition would have achieved two ends—with one stroke it would have severed Germany from Turkey, and so frustrated the menace to England's dominion over Egypt and India, and also established oversea communication between Russia and her allies. Here again the importance of Bulgaria's position was paramount. With the help of a Bulgarian army striking directly at the Turk, the Anglo-French fiasco in the Dardanelles could easily have been transformed into a triumph; with a benevolently neutral Bulgaria refusing to allow the transportation over her railroads of German ammunition for Turkey, the armies of Enver Pasha would soon have been exhausted, for all ammunition sent by way of Rumanian Constanza was liable to attack by

the Russian Black Sea fleet. With a Bulgaria friendly to Germany, however, the Anglo-French expedition faced a Sisyphean task. Bulgaria held the key which could either unlock the Constantinople gates for the Entente or lock them to Germany. The fact that of all the neutral States Bulgaria alone possessed both a Black Sea coast and an Aegean coast gave her a position of inestimable value and made her sympathies precious beyond belief to both hostile coalitions. One doubts if the most astute of diplomats could have anticipated the gain in power which Bulgaria acquired by securing in 1913 the strip of coast line on the Aegean.

But, once the European war had begun, neither Germany nor the Entente appreciated the importance of Bulgaria's position any better than did the Bulgarian people, Government, and Czar. Ferdinand's manifesto of Oct. 14, 1915, declares: "Exhausted and worn out, but not vanquished, [in 1913,] we had to furl our flags and wait for better days. The better days have come much sooner than we had reason to expect." In the Fall of 1913 Bulgarian emissaries were waiting in cold European anterooms, begging for recognition of the ethnic and political justice of their cause. In the Fall of 1914 emissaries of the European powers were in Sofia, returning Bulgaria's calls.

In modern history there is scarcely an equally dramatic instance of poetic justice. Sofia, the geographic heart of the Balkan peninsula, once more became its political centre of gravity. Once more Bulgaria beheld the possible realization of her national ideal, her one ambition. And this one ambition of all Bulgars was and is: That political Bulgaria become coextensive with ethnic Bulgaria. This means today the restoration to Bulgaria of the Macedonian districts of which Serbia and Greece robbed her, and of the Dobrudja region which Rumania extorted from her at the treaty of Bucharest. Only the at least partial attainment of this national idea could justify the spilling of Bulgarian blood in this war. Bulgaria, accordingly, asked herself this question: Would the liberation of Macedonia and Dobrudja be more likely of attainment if she abandoned her

neutrality than if she remained neutral? And in case she did enter the war, which of the two hostile groups could more sincerely and more reliably assure her of the realization of this national ideal?

It has always been England's policy to crush her most dangerous Continental rival by using for that purpose the allied forces of that power's Continental enemies. A hundred years ago Great Britain used Germany and Russia to crush France. Sixty years ago the Russian Czar became the great danger to civilization, and Britain used Europe's armies to crush Russia. The last few decades have registered sufficient German progress and vitality to make Germany the immediate source of Britain's alarm. It may be that the more astute British statesmen still realize that Russia, their present ally, is their inevitable future enemy, but for this moment Britain is entirely anti-German. She not only seconded Russia's move toward Constantinople, but herself tried to batter open for Russia the Dardanelles gates, as if to scratch out from the British creed that article for which the Light Brigade charged at Balaklava.

On this doubtless fascinating chess-board of war tiny Bulgaria unfortunately appears merely as a pawn, and so it happens that, while for Britain Russia is the distant and Germany the immediate danger, for Bulgaria the case is exactly reversed. Germany's immediate aim is economic dominion over the Near East, and that immediate aim need not preclude—indeed, it may demand—a strong and friendly Bulgaria to guard the German caravan's flank. But Russia's immediate aim is political mastery over Constantinople and the Dardanelles. This means Adrianople and Thrace, and how much more of the Black Sea coast it does or may mean the Bulgar mind finds it very uncomfortable to contemplate.

Thus, realizing with increasing clearness that in the present conflict England had left the destinies of the Balkans in the hands of Russia and that Russia was there the decisive factor, Bulgaria saw that fighting on the side of England meant really fighting for Russia. The

great question for the Bulgars, therefore, early resolved itself into this: Was it to Bulgaria's interest to fight for Russia? And, since Bulgaria's relation to Russia is a deeper relation than one of interest, a second more momentous question arose: Was Bulgaria morally bound to join Russia?

The entire history of modern Bulgaria registers a constant effort on the part of the Bulgarian people to remain grateful and loyal to the great Russian Nation, their liberator, without yielding to the machinations of the Russian Government. The interest which imperial Russia has taken in Bulgaria, however, has always been measured by its expectation of cowering or bringing Bulgaria into ultimate submission. This Russian policy is quite easy to understand if one looks at things from the point of view of Russian imperial expansion. Constantinople and the Dardanelles are Russian ambitions far more properly than even Antwerp is a Germanic ambition, and a Russian expansionist may well shed tears at the way in which Russia's outstretched arm is forever being balked from reaching the high seas—in China, in Persia, in the Near East. But can Bulgaria grieve that the Russian appetite has not yet been satisfied at her expense? Any nation must needs look at a world conflict primarily from the point of view of its own self-preservation, and this is the way in which Bulgaria has looked at this war.

The geographic position of Bulgaria made her naturally a possible bridge of Russian advance on Constantinople; the geographic position of Serbia, on the other hand, made her a wall of protection for Russia against the Austro-German advance on Saloniki. Bulgarian loyalty was thus a necessary part of Russia's plan of "benevolent assimilation"; but Serbian loyalty was essential to the very security of Russia in the Near East. Now the fact that the Serb, toward the end of the century, was courting Viennese favor and was fast becoming Austria's economic vassal, worried imperial Russia. Consequently the Belgrade tragedy of 1903 resulted in an entire change of things Serbian. The Russian Minister at Belgrade replaced

the Austrian as commanding adviser. As Serbia chose to be Russia's tool instead of Austria's, Russia proclaimed this guardian of her own imperialistic interests the guardian of Slavdom's interests in the Balkans. Of necessity Russia's Balkan policy now demanded the subordination of Bulgarian to Serbian interests. The bridge of advance could be neglected, but the wall of defense was carefully kept in repair and fortified.

And then came the Balkan Alliance—a distinct trump card in Russia's hand, for through it Russia expected to acquire diplomatic mastery at Sofia and Athens as well as at Belgrade. Bulgaria's obstinate independence alone blocked the success of this Russian plan. Her whirlwind campaign against the Turk riveted the world's attention on herself. The Balkan Alliance, which Russia had construed as an anti-Austrian coalition and which she regarded as an addition to her own forces, was transformed by Bulgaria's victories into a distinctly Balkan union, friendly perhaps, but certainly not subservient, to Russia. When Bulgaria single-handedly inflicted on the Turkish armies at Lule Burgas a defeat more crushing than any the Turk had suffered in all his wars with Russia, the Czar's Government realized that Bulgaria, which had been independent in her weakness, was not likely to become servile when grown strong.

It need not be stated baldly that Russia thereupon ruined the Balkan Alliance. Certainly the great Russian people viewed with genuine sorrow the Serbo-Bulgarian friction. But just as certainly imperial Russia watched Serbia's initial treachery grow and take shape as envy of Bulgaria's victories nourished it, and she tolerated this treachery. Russia watched Serbia repudiate her treaty of alliance with Bulgaria, a treaty which the Russian Czar himself had sanctioned, watched her seize the Bulgar land of Macedonia and terrorize its Bulgar natives, make a new alliance with Greece and Rumania to destroy her Slavic ally, cause the tragic war of 1913, and rob Bulgaria at the Treaty of Bucharest. Were the interests of Slavdom paramount

in the eyes of Russian diplomacy, it should have moved heaven and earth to avert such a Slavonic catastrophe. But in 1913 Russia forgot the Slavic cause, and Slavic Bulgaria was once more dismembered, this time with Russia's consent, if not with Russia's connivance. It was over Russian pontoons that Rumania crossed the Danube to invade Bulgaria in 1913.

Time speedily brought its retribution. Within less than a year Russia and Serbia themselves were fighting a battle of life and death. And then Russia called on Bulgaria, in the sacred name of Slavdom, to fight her enemies, to save her ward Serbia from destruction. But how could Bulgaria be appealed to in the name of Pan Slavism, when this is not a Pan Slavistic war? Russia's own allies oppose the Pan Slavistic idea no less than do her enemies, while millions of Slavs are actually fighting—and fighting willingly—on the Teutonic side. Bulgaria experienced the deepest sorrow at such a Slavic tragedy, but surely neither her Slavic ideals nor her own political interests threw her on Russia's side.

And what ideals or interest could draw her to the help of Serbia? Serbia claimed she was fighting to liberate her kinsmen from the Austrian yoke, yet she herself exercised in Bulgar Macedonia a reign of terror and tyranny such as no Austrian, no Turk, or Russian ever exercised anywhere, as any one may convince himself by reading the "Report of the International Carnegie Commission." For over a year, while Rumania, brought by the logic of events to recognize the folly of her immediate past, was making overtures to Bulgaria for the return of Dobrudja, while even Turkey came to terms with Bulgaria, Serbia, gasping in the throes of death, fought with one hand to "liberate" the Austrian Serbs, while with the other she tortured the Macedonian Bulgars.

From Bulgaria's point of view any talk of moral ideals in this war is futile claptrap. It is part of the campaign of both sides to call themselves champions of liberty and saviors of civilization. Actually this war is a gigantic clash of

the most sordid interests imaginable. In such a conflict of interests, then, Bulgaria also had to seek her own national interests, nor sacrifice them on the altar of passion and impulse. To Britain and France, who spoke of the principle of nationality, Bulgaria recalled the Treaty of Bucharest, the blackest violation of that principle. Russia's pleas for Slavdom Bulgaria answered by offering to forget Russia's crucifixion of Slavdom in 1913, if Russia showed herself ready to vindicate her sincerity in 1915. To maintain her despotism in Macedonia, Serbia was using some 60,000 troops. Bulgaria told the Entente: If you are really fighting for justice and the rights of small nationalities, compel Serbia to restore Macedonia to us. This step would begin the correction of the worst political crime in Europe, the Treaty of Bucharest. It would release 60,000 Serbian troops to be employed where they belong, toward Bosnia and Herzegovina. If you undo now the work of the Treaty of Bucharest, Bulgaria will join your side.

But the Entente either would not or could not compel Serbia to relinquish the Bulgar-inhabited regions of Macedonia. Instead, Serbia kept importuning the Entente to allow her to invade unmobilized Bulgaria. Bulgaria was thus brought to realize clearly that she could expect from the Entente nothing at all commensurate with the sacrifices demanded of her, since the composition of the Entente's powers necessarily called for the support of Serbia's ambitions. The Entente offered Bulgaria, in exchange for her army, a portion of Serb Macedonia—that is, in case Serbia should obtain Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and a few other Austro-Hungarian provinces. To match this Entente proposal Germany offered Bulgaria all of Serb-ruled Macedonia in exchange for Bulgaria's benevolent neutrality; and in case she joined actively the Teutonic cause the Bulgar-inhabited districts in the Timok and Morava valleys, which the Berlin Congress had awarded to the Serb. To join the Entente under such conditions would have been suicidal folly for Bulgaria.

And then, in the Fall of 1915, the

Austro-German drive through Serbia began. That drive was bound to reach Macedonia, which both European coalitions recognized as Bulgarian by right. For Bulgaria to oppose this German drive meant to defend Serbia, the State which had robbed her, without any hope of adequate restitution. To contemplate idly the Teutonic advance would have been a criminal neglect of her own most cherished interests. Yet the Entente sent an ultimatum demanding that she break relations with the Central Powers. Instead she entered the field against Serbia, and thus found herself opposing the Entente.

Has Bulgaria been astute in her choice? Time alone will tell. Needless to say, her belief in Germany's ultimate victory was an important factor in determining her decision. Two brief months in 1915 sufficed for Bulgaria to complete her military task in Serbia. The Anglo-French expedition sent to Saloniki is still where it was the first week of fighting, and late reports made it likely that, after having taken time to sow, reap, and gather her crops, Bulgaria will still be able to anticipate General Sarraill's forces and to change the long-propheesied allied offensive into a defensive.

With military prophecies, however, the present writer is not concerned. It is idle to speculate whether Bulgaria will win in the end. Far more important is it to reach a judgment as to whether she deserves to win. Was Bulgaria's decision morally worthy? It was and is motivated by her determination to free once for all her oppressed kinsmen. But in so doing Bulgaria helps Germany's cause? True enough, but if Germany's cause is no better than that of her foes it is hard to see how it is any worse. Between the two hostile coalitions one may make a military choice, as Bulgaria has already done; but a moral choice cannot be made. It seems scarcely necessary to recount here Germany's iniquities, as they have been made abundantly familiar to us all. But perhaps those who still believe that the Entente is fighting for the principle of nationality should remember that in October,

1915, René Viviani pronounced in the French Chamber the Entente's guarantee of the infamous Treaty of Bucharest. And when the case of Belgium is cited it must not be forgotten that for the past twelvemonth the Entente has been making of Greece a second Belgium. That Greece has not made armed opposition nor risked inviting Belgium's fate may be a reflection on Greece's self-respect, but it certainly does not alter the case as far as the Entente is concerned.

In a word, Bulgaria sees in this war the conflict for world-supremacy of two selfish coalitions, and, if she finds herself on the side of the Central Powers, it is not because she hates England and France and Russia, and loves Germany and Austria, but because in this particular situation Germany appears to be both readier and abler to permit small Bulgaria to realize, not her place in the sun—Bulgaria has no such celestial ambitions—but her humble station on our long-suffering Mother Earth.

Bulgaria's Claim on Macedonia

By a Bulgarian Diplomat

THE Bulgarian Prime Minister frankly and openly declared to an American correspondent last Fall, before Bulgaria went into the war, the wishes and aims of Bulgaria. He said that Bulgaria wanted Macedonia, and that whoever gave it to her would have her on his side. The Allies, from fear of offending Serbia, refused to hand over Macedonia to Bulgaria and order Serbia out of it. They only promised to satisfy the Bulgarian demands after the war, due regard being paid to the compensations in territory that Serbia might get from Austria.

The Serbians also pretended to make concessions to Bulgaria, but after the war, and on conditions unacceptable to the Bulgarians. After the sad experience Bulgaria has had with Serbian treaties and promises she is not to blame if she refused to accept any such "wild goose chase." They knew well enough that after the war the Serbians would have played the same trick that they played in the Balkan war, namely, refuse to evacuate Macedonia.

It is not to be supposed that any one of the Allies, after an exhausting war of two, three, or four years, would have been willing to drive them out of Macedonia, but would have proposed a compromise between the two countries. A compromise would have been unfavorable to Bulgaria, for the Serbians being in

possession of the country would have had in their hands the bigger end of the stick. Hence Bulgaria would either have had to submit to what Serbia was willing to cede to it or to fight again for her rights. In the latter case all Europe would have been against her, for every one would have considered her as a disturber of the peace.

Another consideration which influenced the conduct of Bulgaria was, no doubt, the fact that when Germany and Austria decided to invade Serbia and open a way for themselves to Constantinople Bulgaria would have had to oppose them or to allow them a free passage through her territory. In the former case she would have suffered the fate of Belgium, in the latter case she would have incurred the displeasure and enmity of the Allies. The Allies would have been in no position to succor her against an Austro-German drive.

The whole question of how Bulgaria should regulate her conduct between the two warring parties depended upon a satisfactory solution of the Macedonian question. The Bulgarians regard Macedonia as theirs by all the rights which a nation can advance for the possession of a country. These claims are based upon the following considerations:

1. The Christian population of Macedonia up to the Shar Mountains is overwhelmingly Bulgarian. This has been

testified to by all impartial travelers (English, French, Russian, German, &c.) who have visited the country.

2. The people of Macedonia have always called themselves Bulgarians and their sympathies have always been with Bulgaria. There are thousands of them here in the United States and they all openly declare that they are Bulgarians and not Serbians. We have in Bulgaria over 100,000 Macedonians who, during the Turkish régime, fled for refuge into Bulgaria. We have Macedonians as politicians, teachers, merchants, Government functionaries, &c. Over 300 officers in the army are from Macedonia, and some of them rank as Generals and Colonels. In Serbia you will not find even 100 Bulgarians who have taken refuge there, for Serbia for them has always been an alien country.

3. The San Stefano treaty of 1878, concluded between Russia and Turkey after their war, has drawn officially the boundaries of the Bulgarian element in the Balkan Peninsula. That treaty was drawn up by Russia and not by Bulgaria, and it includes almost the whole of Macedonia. The Bulgarians swear by that treaty and demand that the wishes of the late Czar Liberator of Russia should be executed.

4. Serbia never claimed Macedonia before 1892, and it was only in order to compensate herself for the loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina that she began

her intrigues and propoganda in Macedonia.

The Berlin treaty of 1878, which supplanted that of San Stefano, provided for Macedonia, as it did for Armenia, some sort of an autonomous government. This provision of the treaty has not been put in practice because, besides the Turks, the Serbians and the Greeks were opposed to autonomy in Macedonia. Why? Because they know perfectly well that under an autonomous administration, under the guarantee of the European powers, where people would be free to express by their votes their opinions, the Bulgarian element will decidedly come to the front, and that everybody will see that Macedonia is a solid Bulgarian country.

The writer of a recent editorial says that Bulgaria "went to war for no reason except the brazenly announced desire for plunder." Is the desire of France to regain Alsace-Lorraine, of Italy to get the Trentino, or of Serbia to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, a "desire for plunder"? Just as much right as these countries have to their respective claims, so much has Bulgaria to Macedonia. In claiming Macedonia, Bulgaria takes her stand upon the principles for which, we are told, the Allies are fighting, namely, the liberty of the small nationalities to dispose of their destiny as they think best, and the right of peoples to say under what Government they choose to live.

Bulgaria's Lost Claim: An Answer

By a Student of History

FOR a correct understanding of the merits of the Serb-Bulgar controversy on the subject of Macedonia and the points raised by "A Bulgarian Diplomat," a brief review of the history of the Balkan Peninsula until the accession of the Turk rule and a glimpse into the principal events that preceded and followed the emancipation of Bulgaria and the Turkish-Balkan war of 1912-13 are necessary.

In the first part of the seventh century

the dwellers of the Balkan Peninsula consisted of the Greeks, Illyrians, whom we now designate as Albanians, and the Rumanians, who are largely settlers drawn from various parts of the Roman Empire upon the conquest by Trajan of Dacia in 105. These historical facts serve to show that the Turks, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Montenegrins are ethnologically alien to the Balkan Peninsula. In about 638 a group of Serbs and Croats, whose original home was along the Carpathian

Mountains, were invited by the Emperor to Constantinople, where he arranged to employ them against the Avars. Eventually they settled in the Macedonian district and established a powerful kingdom, (with occasional lapses,) which was utterly destroyed by the Turks in 1389.

In about 660 a nomadic people, originally from the steppes of Asia, in the vicinity of the River Volga, reached the Balkan Peninsula, and settled in Maesia. These Nomads were of the same Ughur or Finnish stock from which the present Turks, the Finns, and the Hungarians sprung.

They were Bulgarians. Here they established a tremendous empire and extorted tribute from the Greeks and Serbs; but they also lost their independence to the Turks in 1389.

With the decline of the Bulgar power in the first part of the eleventh century, the Macedonian district passed successively under the rules of Bonifae, Marquis of Monserrat, Byzantium, and Serbia; and the Turks conquered it from the Serbs in 1389 and held sway over it until 1913. The widespread state of anarchy and massacre that ravaged Bulgaria in 1876-7 was the immediate and driving cause of the war of Russia against Turkey. Czar Alexander, in his famous manifesto, issued on April 23, 1877, declaring war against Turkey, said: "Our desire to ameliorate the lot of the Christian population of Turkey has been shared by the whole nation, which now shows itself ready to bear fresh sacrifices to alleviate the position of the Christians in the Balkan Peninsula." In this war for the liberation of Bulgaria little Serbia fought on the side of Russia. The treaty of Berlin confirmed the provisions of the treaty of San Stefano dealing with Bulgaria, except that it made Bulgaria a tributary principality to the Sultan instead of an independent State, and it also severed Eastern Rumelia from the Bulgaria of the San Stefano treaty and placed it under the political and military rule of the Sultan; it, however, was united to Bulgaria in 1885.

The Turkish misrule in Macedonia, particularly during 1903-8, was retaliated

by bomb and dynamite outrages in which the Greek, Bulgarian, and Serb bands participated, both against the constituted authorities and against one another. It is a matter of history that the Revel program of 1908, agreed upon between the King of England and the Emperor of Austria, was to sever the Macedonian provinces from the domination of Constantinople and make them into an autonomous State. It was at this psychological moment that the Young Turk Party, to thwart the proposed disruption of Macedonia from the Sultan's rule, demanded the restoration of the Constitution of 1876, which Abdul Hamid granted. The Young Turk rule, a most doubtful experiment, brought no relief to a long-suffering people, and its hopeless incompetency was emphasized by the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the overthrow by Bulgaria of the Turk suzerainty, the reaction of 1909, and the Turco-Italian war. These evidences of the collapse of the Young Turk rule, succeeding each other in quick order, furnished Pashitch of Serbia and Venizelos of Greece an excuse to form the Balkan League, whose prime purpose was to liberate the co-religionists and co-nationalists of the contracting parties from the Turk's yoke.

The treaty of the league stipulated for concerted action against a common enemy, but it did not map out the respective territorial shares of the members of the league in the event of the success of the proposed campaign. The treaty also contained the all-important provision that, in the event of any disagreements arising among the members of the league with reference to any subject or point under said treaty, such disputed subject, or point, including division of conquered territory, if any, should be referred to the Czar of Russia, and his finding should be binding upon the appellants.

On Oct. 12, 1912, the Balkan League began a successful war against Turkey. Under the treaty of London of May 30, 1913, Bulgaria acquired all Thrace to the Enos-Media line, together with parts of Macedonia to the west of Bulgaria. Ferdinand of Bulgaria disapproved the arrangement made by Dr. Daneff (his

plenipotentiary at London) and demanded a larger share in Macedonia. This Serbia declined to give, but offered to refer the controverted subject to the Czar, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of the league. Ferdinand indicated his readiness to accept the Serbian offer, provided the Czar would announce or make known in advance the nature of his decision, which was manifestly an unfair and inadmissible attitude. Whereupon Ferdinand took a trip to Vienna in the month of June, 1913, and entered into a treaty with Austria, which treaty provided that Bulgaria would attack Serbia and that in the event of the defeat of Bulgaria, Austria would come to her rescue.

Bulgaria treacherously attacked Serbia and Greece and received deserved severe punishment at the hands of her betrayed partners of yesterday, while simultaneously Rumania threatened Sofia. Bulgaria acknowledged defeat, but Austria was restrained by Germany from entering the Balkan controversy. Consequently, Bulgaria submitted to the treaty of Bucharest, under which her total gain in territory was reduced to

5,000 square miles, whereas Greece acquired 18,700 and Serbia 16,000.

From the foregoing it would appear that Bulgaria has only herself to blame for her unenviable moral and material position, and that Serbia has not been guilty of any bad faith, such as is alleged by the Bulgarian diplomat. The Bulgarian claim of title to Macedonia does not derive its sanction and force from any of the untenable and hypothetical grounds and considerations urged by the Bulgarian diplomat, nor is it founded on any unfulfilled agreement or treaty. As a matter of expediency and fairness, in all probability, Bulgaria should have been given a part of the Serbian Macedonia, because, while Serbia has potential opportunity for expansion northward, Bulgaria can have elbow room only in Macedonia and in Thrace. But in view of the perfidy of Bulgaria, which caused the destruction of a substantial portion of the manhood and womanhood of Serbia, and which prolonged the world war probably by one year, it is difficult to see how Bulgaria can justly expect now to receive any compensation in Macedonia at the expense of Serbia.

A Romantic War Story

The following story of a lost baby Prince is vouched for by a Petrograd correspondent:

Prince Cyril Gedroic is an officer in the Austrian Army, and joined his regiment in August, 1914, leaving his wife and baby at his castle near Brody. During the first great Austrian retreat the Princess fled, and in the general confusion her baby was left behind and lost. A Russian officer found the infant alone in a ditch some miles from Brody. He picked it up and sent it to Russia to be cared for. No one knew the infant was a Prince and heir to huge estates, but Baroness Natalie Ostroff adopted it and took it to her home at Tiflis, in the Caucasus.

Recently the story of the foundling was published in a Russian illustrated paper, with a photo of the child. A Russian prisoner taken by Prince Gedroic's regiment happened to have in his pocket a copy of the particular issue and, by chance, Prince Gedroic was the officer who examined this prisoner. Glancing casually over the paper, the Prince recognized his lost baby.

Diplomatic representations through Sweden ensued, and the little Prince Vladzis Gedroic, aged two, was soon on his way back to Austria under the care of two nurses and a special courier.

Greece—The Neutral With No Friends

By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides

The author of this article, a Greek journalist, has just returned to America after several months' study of the situation in Athens and other Balkan capitals.

GREECE'S position in the European war has been difficult from the outset. The conflict, as every one knows, started from Serbia, and Serbia was up to a certain extent the ally of Greece. But that alliance, it was argued, was strictly Balkanic in its character, had for unique purpose to prevent an undue aggrandizement of Bulgaria at the expense of Serbia and Greece, and never took into account the possibility of a European conflict, which might closely affect the territorial interests of the two allied countries.

At the outbreak of the great war, Greece made this plain to Serbia, and a perfect understanding between the two Premiers, Venizelos for Greece and Pashitch for Serbia, was soon reached. Greece, according to this understanding, was not to send any of her troops against Austria, but would keep an eye on Bulgaria; besides this, Greece also undertook to help Serbia in ways other than military; thus she offered her ally the use of the Port of Saloniki, put her merchant marine at the disposal of Serbia for the transport of any ammunition and supplies needed by the Serbian troops, and finally did everything in her power to facilitate the Serbian struggle.

Central Powers Offended

Now, this is more than any neutral could do without risking his own interests. Germany and Austria had every reason to be dissatisfied with the neutrality of Greece, for it was openly favorable to the Entente, as often declared by the Greek Government, not only when presided over by Venizelos, but even when under the guidance of Gounaris and Zaïmis, who have never been so strongly for the Entente as the statesman from Crete.

Greece, according to the Teuton esti-

mate, has been the backer of the Serbian campaign from the very beginning, when the Allies, hard pressed on other fronts, could do little for their Balkan ally.

Few people will deny today that Greece has done for Serbia what no other neutral, with the possible exception of the United States, has done for the Entente; this was so partly from political considerations and more because of the nation-wide sympathy felt in Greece for a brave friend fighting against the common foe. For thus were Austria and Germany regarded by Greece, because they coveted Saloniki, because they aspired to Balkan dominion, and because they had given unqualified support for years past to Turkey and Bulgaria, the two traditional enemies of Hellenism.

German Propaganda

Germany and Austria, never having given a token of sympathy to Hellas, knew what the Greek feelings were toward them at the outbreak of the war. They were perfectly aware that sentiment was entirely with the Allies in this war so far as Greece was concerned, and accordingly they could never look at what happened down there in any other light than one of hostility and contempt.

Nevertheless, in such a conflict as this it was essential for the Teuton coalition not to let Greece side openly and militarily with the Entente; an effort had to be made to swing Greece to the Central Empires, and this was attempted by means of an official propaganda, at the head of which was placed Baron Schenck—some called him Baron Check—official representative of the German Wolff Agency. Greece looked at this propaganda in the same humor as America looked at Dr. Dernburg. Nevertheless, its activities became apparent when a

KING LUDWIG III. OF BAVARIA



Latest Photograph of the King of Bavaria.
(Photo from Press Illustrating Company.)

GENERAL VON SAKHAROFF



Lieut. Gen. V. V. von Sakharoff Is in Command of One of the Russian Armies Now Facing Hindenburg on the Eastern Front.

certain number of Athens newspapers started a campaign against the Allies.

This was soon after the King refused to let the country take part in the expedition of the Dardanelles, and when Venizelos resigned for the first time. From that moment the Entente Allies began looking on Greece with suspicion. The workings of the German propaganda brought about the effect earnestly desired by Teuton diplomacy; Greece remained a neutral—a benevolent neutral toward the Entente, it is true, but nothing more.

Greek People Displeased

Venizelos, the man in whom the Entente had absolute confidence, was not in power when this German propaganda began taking a more serious aspect; Gounaris was openly denounced as being pro-German, King Constantine's name was introduced in the controversy, and Greece for the first time impressed the diplomats of the Allies in Athens as actually swinging to Germany and Austria.

The people, on the other hand, knew one thing—that they were misrepresented, as far as their sympathies were concerned. Therefore they seized the first opportunity presented to them at the general election of June 13, 1915, when they gave Venizelos and the Liberals 180 Deputies in a total of 316. On the strength of this majority Venizelos took charge of the Government, and for some time he was busy allaying the suspicions of the Entente Allies as to the attitude of the Greek people. Things were better up to the day when Bulgaria mobilized her army and subsequently attacked Serbia. Greece immediately ordered a similar measure, and was ready to join in the war as the ally of Serbia, when again this proposal was rejected by the King and the neutralist party, who thought that the Greco-Serbian treaty did not apply to this particular instance; Venizelos fell again, just one year ago, Zaïmis succeeding him.

According to a previous understanding, Zaïmis was to work in Parliament with a Venizelist majority, but a slight inci-

dent one night in the Chamber between Venizelos and the Minister of War brought about the resignation of Zaïmis, and the appointment of the Skouloudis Ministry, wherein all political parties but that of M. Venizelos were represented.

The Allies Suspicious

If the Allies needed any further proof of what they regarded as Greek hostility, the second overthrow of Venizelos, in both instances a majority leader in Parliament, was more than enough for the purpose. Greece immediately was considered a country where allied interests were not safe; added to this feeling was the small allied expeditionary force in Saloniki, which had come there at the bidding of Venizelos, when he, as Premier, thought that Greece was going to attack Bulgaria, and therefore asked the Entente Allies to help the Greek troops with 150,000 men, which, according to the Greco-Serbian treaty, Serbia was bound to give Greece, should the later move against the Bulgars. Now Greece was not going to war, and the Allies had nearly 50,000 of their troops isolated in Macedonia, pursued by the Bulgar and German forces, and viewed with distrust by a mobilized Greek Army of 300,000, which was suspected as being the tool of a pro-German Government.

In these circumstances the Entente ceased to consider Greece a friendly neutral; the occupation of Greek ports, forts, and islands, the embargo on Greek shipping, the search on Greek vessels even when plying in territorial waters, the seizure of Greek mails, including the domestic mail, the forcing of military law on Greek territory, the seizure of the Consular representatives of the Teuton coalition in Greek cities, and finally the blockade of Greek ports, and the upheaval of the Skouloudis Ministry—all these events of recent months are enough to show that Greece paid more dearly for her neutrality than any other nation in Europe.

Some Commercial Abuses

While other neutrals made money out of the European war, Greece, with the exception of her merchant marine, has

been a persistent loser all the way through. A few individuals no doubt made money by exploiting their sympathies for one or the other of the belligerent groups. For instance, one has to be an out and out Venizelist in order to be able to import this or that commodity. The British Legation's Official Commercial Bureau in Athens will not consider any petition which comes from a party known for its anti-Ententist sentiments. This may be all well and good; the merchant who for one reason or another comes out flat-footed against anything the Allies stand for may well be deprived of the facilities afforded by the mistress of the seas to her friends and supporters, irrespective of what international law and The Hague Conventions say. But the system as applied in Greece has opened the gate for many abuses; Ententist sentiment has been so closely connected with the Liberal Party that none but the Venizelist is considered a Simon Pure friend of the Allies.

It is here, then, that the abuse comes in; Venizelos cannot take charge of the commercial interests of his political friends; he is too busy a man for that; he therefore allows the Liberal Club to attend to that end of his political game. This Liberal Club is in a way a miniature Tammany Hall, and its sole purpose is to afford every facility to the friends of the party who need political help in their different transactions with Government offices; in the case of foreign imports into Greece, the British Legation as a rule is satisfied with any importer shown to be in good standing with the Liberal Club, as that is taken to mean that the man is a Venizelist, and therefore an ardent supporter of the Entente.

A Favored Trade Faction

One can imagine what happens between the various competing merchants, who may be stationed in the opposed political camps. Naturally, the one plays the other on the score of political sentiment; Venizelist fights anti-Venizelist in the struggle for the much needed permit to bring imports into Greece, and as it happens always on such occasions, the

ultimate consumer pays the penalty for a system which gives one set of people all the chance to get rich, while it deprives the other of the very means of livelihood. Commercial freedom once abolished, the country pays highest prices for everything that comes from abroad, and this means almost every commodity, as Greece produces little in the way of foodstuffs, clothing, coal, or machinery.

In the case of Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and Rumania, there was the alternative of getting from Central Europe what Britain and her allies, or America, could not supply; such an alternative did not exist in Greece. Therefore, her difficult position. With a merchant marine envied by countries much larger and wealthier than herself, Greece in many instances suffered the trials of Tantalus, and found, much to her surprise, that in this world war she was the only European country without friends. Of course her neutrality is to blame for this; she came out on the first day of the war as a neutral benevolent to the Entente, and thus lost every chance of friendly consideration from the Teutons; she objected to fighting in the Dardanelles and in Macedonia with the Allies, and discovered that her benevolent neutrality was a bad substitute for active co-operation with the Entente.

The only way open to Greece since Rumania's move is to enter the war in order to win her previous position in the favor of the Allies. A national necessity makes it imperative for her to attack the Bulgar and his allies. At this writing, therefore, the world is daily expecting the news that Hellas has declared war upon the Central Powers.

Popularity of Venizelos

What Venizelos did in the five years he served as Prime Minister of Greece has made him the most popular of all political leaders that country ever had. Faith in what he thinks, in what he says, and in what he proposes is so great with a large class of the people that it can only be compared to a child's faith in his father's thoughts and actions. For this

reason you will meet in and out of the realm an astonishingly large number of Greeks who say, when asked for their political views and opinions:

"I am for Venizelos simply and entirely; I do not want to discuss his program; I do not want to think that he may be mistaken; I am for him, no matter what he thinks, what he says, or what he expects to do."

When speaking with such Greeks you immediately realize that no force of argument will shake them; moreover, they refuse to listen to any argument contrary to the opinion they have formed of their leader, and that is the end of it.

Venizelos knows this. He knows also that the Liberal Party, which he formed on his arrival from Crete six years ago, is more than a political group; Liberalism and Venizelism have something of the religious element in them. For the equivalent of this movement one has to come here to America, and learn what the Progressive Party stood for at its first appearance four years ago.

The Cretan statesman, backed by the entire Greek people, condemned and attacked what he termed the "favlokratia" or the "rule of the incompetent," which had made Greece the plaything of politicians and the least considered factor in the Balkan situation. Venizelos sprang into the political life of Greece as the outcome of a revolution and was quick enough to seize the opportunity to put the country on its feet. Following on the steps of this movement came the two Balkan wars, with the subsequent Greek successes. The results of those memorable victories left a profound impression on the Greek people. Greece, considered a decadent nation even by her friends, had shown her ability to live and go forward to a brilliant destiny; a new faith in the country's moral as well as material resources took the place of the enthusiasms of the past, and the whole nation was reborn after 1913.

His Labors for Greece

Venizelos now tackled the problem of extensive internal reforms, tending mainly to a consolidation of the new position of Greece in the Balkans and in Europe generally. To this end, peace, and a

rather long peace, was necessary, and Venizelos prayed and worked for it. It was thus that he tried to revive the Balkan league, with the help of Serbia, Rumania, and even Bulgaria, notwithstanding the fresh memories of the second Balkan war. While Turkey was bent on a campaign of extermination against the Greek populations of the empire, the Cretan statesman busied himself in finding some way whereby the Greco-Turkish differences could be settled without a new war, although he was preparing for such an emergency through the purchase from America of the battleships Mississippi and Idaho, since renamed Lemnos and Killis.

All these efforts were reduced to nought by the outbreak of the European war; a new situation was thereby created, and new possibilities began to face Greece. Hope for the maintenance of Balkan peace vanished when Turkey entered the conflict. What, then, was Greece to do? Venizelos took it for granted that Turkey could not survive her war against Russia, Great Britain, and France; he looked to the dismemberment of the Osmanli Empire as the only logical and inevitable conclusion of the European conflict in the Near East, and only thought of the means by which Greece might help the Allies in the accomplishment of their task in that part of the world. This had been his program in the beginning of the great war, and this is his program today. It is true that many events have happened to change the original aspect of Greece's intervention in the war, but for Venizelos the outstanding fact lies in his belief that, come what may, Hellenic interests can never be anywhere but at the side of those of the Entente.

Greece's Natural Enemies

The average Greek knows this; no matter where his political affiliations lie, he knows that Greece cannot put her fate in the same balance with Turkey, Bulgaria, Austria, and Germany. Turkey for one has always been in the way of everything Greek; Bulgaria has never ceased to be another Turkey in a modified form; Austria and Germany have always been the friends and protectors of Turkey to

the detriment of the most sacred interests of Hellenism. Austria helped delay Greek independence from 1821 to 1827 by continually assisting Turkey; Germany reorganized the Turkish Army, which dealt to Greece the cruel blow of 1897; furthermore, the German and Austrian commercial agent was the only competitor of the wideawake Greek in the Balkan peninsula from the Danube down, and all over Asia Minor.

These facts are so well known in Greece that you cannot even discuss them, because you will find no one to have a contrary opinion. It has been said that an educated class in Greece favors Germany; nothing could be more inexact than this argument. It is true that a large number of Greeks who studied in the German universities and technical colleges have acquired a thorough knowledge of German methods and ambitions; but, curiously enough, the Greeks who know Germany better are those who fear more her preponderance in the Balkans; they know that a German victory in the Greek peninsula will forever seal the doom of Greece.

The King's Position

Venizelos, for one, declared after the beginning of the European war that Greece ought to fight immediately on the side of the Entente. Had King George been on the throne, Greece would have been in the game long ago; but Constantine had other notions regarding his constitutional duties and responsibilities; he considered the whole matter in the light of a

proposition, not only political but military; he weighed the Venizelos arguments on one side and the military considerations on the other and found the former wanting; he gathered about himself in his quality of Generalissimo of the Greek Armies his General Staff, and took counsel with them, and the result was that all of them agreed that Greece's participation in the war, both in March and in October, 1915, would have resulted in the catastrophe that overwhelmed both Belgium and Serbia.

The men who expressed this opinion were the leaders of two victorious campaigns; no one would have doubted their ability in technical matters or their patriotism. The soldiers who fought and won under those leaders, and who are the Greek people itself in its best expression; the men who saw their King and their officers in battle and who knew how deep was their love for the mother country, never for a moment thought that any of them could turn traitor to the Hellenic cause.

No one can assume that Venizelos is a patriot and that the King is not; no one can place absolute faith in the political ability of Venizelos and deny a military ability to the King and the officers of the Greek General Staff.

Now the guns are roaring this side of the Hellenic frontier, while French, British, Serbian, Italian, and Russian troops face the Bulgar-Teuton coalition, and Rumanian armies are fighting in Transylvania. The hour of Greece struck when Rumania intervened in behalf of the Allies.

A Mathematical War Jest

Jugend, the German comic weekly, has a curious little jape headed, "How long is the war going to last?" The question, it says, is the one topic of conversation everywhere. It gives the answer, working it out thus:

"Seventeen French villages have been won back by the English in the course of a week; nevertheless, 2,554 remain yet to be taken. A 150th part of the work of victory has thus been done. It will, therefore, be no less than two years eleven months and two weeks before France is freed of the last Boche.

"But this is by no means the only war aim of the Allies; Germany herself must be beaten and smashed down. Now Germany has, according to the last census, (excluding the towns of over 100,000 inhabitants,) 5,328 communes, so that for their capture it would take six years one week and six days. The war must, therefore, be reckoned as taking eight years eleven months and six days from the beginning of the British offensive to the end, i. e., when the peace negotiations begin."

The Moslem Revolt in Arabia

Proclamation by the Sherif of Mecca

AMONG the far-reaching effects of the European war must be included the schism in the Moslem world caused by Turkey's joining the Central Powers. The Grand Sherif of Mecca, Chief Magistrate of the holy city of the Mohammedans, announced his independence of Ottoman rule last June, and, supported by Arab tribes, captured the Turkish garrisons of Mecca and several other cities, proclaiming a definite rupture between orthodox Mohammedans and those represented by the Committee of Union and Progress, which is now in power in Turkey.

The Grand Sherif, who holds the holy places of Islam, and who is thus the present ecclesiastical master of the situation, has issued a long proclamation denouncing the Young Turk leaders of the Ottoman Empire, notably Djemal Pasha, Enver Pasha, and Talaat Bey, all staunch supporters of Germany and among the most powerful figures in Turkey. Enver Pasha is generally credited with the chief responsibility for Turkey's joining the Central Powers. Djemal Pasha is commander of the Turkish forces in Syria and is reported to have adopted severe measures to suppress the Arab revolt.

Following is the full text of the proclamation of the Grand Sherif of Mecca. If Arabia should continue to replace Turkey as the ruling power of the Mohammedan world, this will be a document of historic importance:

*In the name of God, the Merciful, the
Compassionate.*

*This is our General Circular to all our Brother
Moslems.*

*("O Lord, do Thou judge between us and
our nation with truth; for Thou art the
best Judge.")*

It is well known that of all the Moslem rulers and Emirs, the Emirs of Mecca, the Favored City, were the first to recognize the Turkish Government. This they did in order to unite Moslem opinion and firmly establish their community, knowing that the great Ottoman Sultans (may the dust of their tombs be blessed, and may Paradise be their abode) were acting in accordance with the

Book of God and the Sunna of his Prophet, (prayers be upon him,) and were zealous to enforce the ordinances of both these authorities. With this noble end in view the Emirs before mentioned observe those ordinances unceasingly. I myself, protecting the honor of the State, caused Arabs to rise against their fellow-Arabs in the year 1327, in order to raise the siege of Abha, and in the following year a similar movement was carried out under the leadership of one of my sons, as is well known.

The Emirs continued to support the Ottoman Empire until the Society of Union and Progress appeared in the State and proceeded to take over the administration thereof and all its affairs, with the result that the State suffered a loss of territory which quite destroyed its prestige, as the whole world knows; was plunged into the horrors of this war, and brought to its present perilous position, as is patent to all.

This was all done for certain well-known ends, which our feelings forbid us to dilate upon. They cause Moslem hearts to ache with grief for the Empire of Islam, for the destruction of the remaining inhabitants of her provinces—Moslem as well as non-Moslem—some of them hanged or otherwise done to death, others driven into exile. Add to this the losses they have sustained through the war in their persons and property, the latter especially in the Holy Land, as is briefly demonstrated by the fact that in that quarter the general stress compelled even the middle-classes to sell the doors of their houses, their cupboards, and the wood from their ceilings, after selling all their belongings to keep life in their bodies.

Maligning the Prophet

All this evidently did not fulfill the designs of the Society of Union and Progress. They proceeded next to sever the essential bond between the Ottoman Sultanate and the whole Moslem community, to wit, adherence to the Koran and the Sunna. One of the Constantinople newspapers, called *Al-Ijtihad*, actually published an article maligning (God forgive us!) the life of the Prophet, (on whom be the prayer and peace of God,) and this under the eye of the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire and its Sheik of Islam and all the Ulema, Ministers and nobles. It adds to this impiety by denying the Word of God, "The male shall receive two portions," and decides that they shall share equally under the law of inheritance. Then it proceeds to the crowning atrocity of destroying one of the five vital precepts of Islam, the Fast of Ramadan, ordering that troops stationed in Medina, Mecca, or Damascus may break the fast in the same way

as troops fighting on the Russian frontier, thereby falsifying the clear Koranic injunction, "Those of you who are sick or on a journey." It has put forth other innovations touching the fundamental laws of Islam (of which the penalties for infringement are well known) after destroying the Sultan's power, robbing him even of the right to choose the chief of his imperial Cabinet or the Private Minister of his august person, and breaking the Constitution of the Caliphate of which Moslems demand the observance.

In spite of all, we accepted these innovations in order to give no cause for dissension and schism. But at last the veil was removed, and it became apparent that the empire was in the hands of Enver Pasha, Jemal Pasha, and Talaat Bey, who were administering it just as they liked, and treating it according to their own sweet will. The most striking proof of this is the notice lately sent to the Kadi of the Tribunal at Mecca, to the effect that he must deliver judgment solely on evidence written down in his presence in court, and must not consider any evidence written down by Moslems among themselves, thus ignoring the verse in the Surat-al-Baqara.

Murder and Profanation

Another proof is that they caused to be hanged at one time twenty-one eminent and cultured Moslems and Arabs of distinction in addition to those they previously put to death—the Emir Omar el-Jazairi, the Emir Arif esh-Shibaba, Shefik Bey el-Moayyad, Shukri Bey el-Asali, Abd el-Wahhab, Taufik Bey el-Basat, Abd el-Hamid el-Zahrawi, Abd el-Ghani el-Arisi, and their companions, who are well-known men. Cruel-hearted men could not easily bring themselves to destroy so many lives at one blow, even if they were as beasts of the field. We might hear their excuse and grant them pardon for killing those worthy men; but how can we excuse them for banishing under such pitiful and heart-breaking circumstances the families of their victims—infants, delicate women, and aged men—and inflicting on them other forms of suffering in addition to the agonies they had already endured in the death of those who were the support of their homes?

God says, "No burdened soul shall bear the burden of another." Even if we could let all this pass, how is it possible we can forgive them confiscating the property and money of those people after bereaving them of their dear ones? Try to suppose we closed our eyes to this also, feeling that they might have some excuse on their side; could we ever forgive them desecrating the grave of that pious, zealous, and godly man the Sherif Abd el-Kadir el-Jazairi el-Hasani?

Shelling the Temple

The above is a brief account of their doings, and we leave humanity at large, and Moslems in particular, to give their verdict. We have sufficient proof of how they regard the re-

ligion and the Arab people in the fact that they shelled the Ancient House, the temple of the Divine Unity, of which it is said in the Word of God, "Purify My house for those that pass round it," the Kibla of Mohammedans, the Kaaba of believers in the Unity, firing two shells at it from their big guns when the country rose to demand its independence. One fell about a yard and a half above the Black Stone and the other three yards from it. The covering of the Kaaba was set in a blaze. Thousands of Moslems rushed up, with shouts of alarm and despair, to extinguish the flames. To reach the fire they were compelled to open the door of the building and climb on to the roof. The enemy fired a third shell at the Makam Ibrahim, in addition to the projectiles and bullets aimed at the rest of the building. Every day three or four people in the building itself were killed, and at last it became difficult for the Moslems to approach the Kaaba at all.

We leave the whole Mohammedan world from East to West to pass judgment on this contempt and profanation of the Sacred House. But we are determined not to leave our religious and national rights as a plaything in the hands of the Union and Progress Party. God (blessed and exalted be He) has vouchsafed the land an opportunity to rise in revolt, has enabled her by His power and might to seize her independence and crown her efforts with prosperity and victory, even after she was crushed by the maladministration of the Turkish civil and military officials. She stands quite apart and distinct from countries that still groan under the yoke of the Union and Progress Government. She is independent in the fullest sense of the word, freed from the rule of strangers and purged of every foreign influence. Her principles are to defend the faith of Islam, to elevate the Moslem people, to found their conduct on the holy law, to build up the code of justice on the same foundation in harmony with the principles of religion, to practice its ceremonies in accordance with modern progress, to make a genuine revolution by sparing no pains in spreading education among all classes according to their station and their needs.

This is the policy we have undertaken in order to fulfill our religious duty, trusting that all our brother Moslems in the East and West will pursue the same in fulfillment of their duty to us, and so strengthen the bands of the Islamic brotherhood.

We raise our hands humbly to the Lord of Lords for the sake of the Prophet of the all-bountiful King that we may be granted success and guidance in whatsoever is for the good of Islam and the Moslems. We rely upon Almighty God, who is our sufficiency and the best defender.—The Sherif and Emir of Mecca.

EL HUSEIN IBN ALI,

25th Sha'ban, 1334, (June 27, 1916.)

Does Russia Mean to Keep Her Promises to Poland?

By Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy

Eminent Russian Publicist

[Translated from the Russkoye Slovo of Moscow for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

AT the beginning of the war our public attention was entirely absorbed by the question of the war's significance and its idealistic aims, and we gave little thought to the resources required for its prosecution. We put too much faith in some one whose duty it should have been to take care of that. Later, when that some one proved himself unfit for the position he occupied, when the resources provided by him proved inadequate, the attention of the entire public was directed toward the creation of those resources, and we may now look back on the stretch of road behind us with a feeling of profound satisfaction. The victories of Brusiloff's armies are indubitably also the victories of the Russian people. Without that great upheaval of social forces which occurred in our midst these victories would have been impossible.

Thanks to our successes the question of the war's aims, which seemed to have retreated into the background at the time of our defeats, is again forging to the front. The danger of the collapse of our campaign or the loss of Russian territory, to all appearances, no longer exists. But there is a worse danger facing us—that of losing the spiritual motive of the present war. Nor is it the lesser danger because it lurks within and does not appear upon the surface of events.

Do we recall the feelings with which we approached Lemberg for the first time? That was a bright, spiritual exultation due to a great patriotic and liberative war. We fought not only for the safety of Russia, but for the salvation of other nationalities as well. Russia seemed to us surrounded by the brilliant halo of a liberator. We went forth with the conviction that her defeat would

mean the inevitable enslavement of the European nations and her victory their political renaissance.

Is it necessary to speak of those bitter disenchantments which soon followed? They did not result from our military defeats, they occurred much earlier, immediately after our first victories. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon their causes, for these are universally known. They became possible, first of all, through the construction put on the aims of the war by others than ourselves, by men who failed to rise to the heights of the situation. Hence the attempts to reduce to nil the manifesto of the Grand Duke. Should these efforts be repeated and prove successful, the moral meaning of the great war would thereby be lost, and that loss would create for Russia new dangers.

Our victories bring us again to face a series of important national problems. I will not speak of how they were solved before; but I think it necessary to point out a solution which appears to be the only just and expedient solution.

Our advances in Galicia make imperative some kind of an immediate disposal of the Ruthenian problem. On our attitude toward that problem depends the durability of our conquests in Galicia. In the interests of Russia's greatness it is necessary that we acquire in the persons of the Galicians friends and not enemies, so that their union with Russia may become a blessing, not only for Russia but for Galicia as well. What must we do to achieve such results?

Obviously, we must guarantee the population of the conquered territory full inviolability of their centuries-old order and mode of life and religion, all this independently of whether we regard the Galicians as Russians or as foreign-

ers. If they are Russians, then we must regard their national characteristics with still deeper respect. In that case their native tongue should be considered Russian, their culture Russian, and these should be carefully preserved as valuable variations of our own.

Our militant nationalists judge exactly to the contrary. From their point of view the Ruthenians, if they are Russians, must not study in their native tongue nor profess the faith of their fathers. The same Russian nationalists who, to some degree, recognize the rights of the Poles to an independent national culture, deny such rights to the Ruthenians on the ground that they are Russians. There is a crying paradox in such an attitude toward the Ruthenians. It is indeed absurd, after recognizing them as part of our own nationality, to proceed, on that ground, to find in their dialect and customs the expression of a foreign and hostile national spirit.

It is not difficult to imagine what fruit this paradox may bear in practical politics. If the Russian conquest is to result in the cessation of study in the Ruthenian schools, if it is to become a menace to their very existence, we shall acquire an enemy in every Ruthenian pupil, and in his parents. Even our sympathizers in Galicia will receive the impression that Russian rule means for them not a union with Russia but a heavy foreign yoke. No anti-Russian propaganda can cause us greater harm than a policy in regard to education and religion that would inspire in Galicians the thought that for the guarantee of their religion they must look to Austria, not Russia. If a policy of Russianization is odious as applied to foreigners, then as applied to "Russians" it is also absurd.

The Galicians must be convinced that Russia's aim in Galicia is not to destroy but to protect their national institutions. The official Russian language should be introduced in their schools as a new modern subject only. The dominant language should remain Ruthenian. If we make it our goal to bring about a complete union between Russians and Galicians, we must imbue them with the

conviction from the very beginning that to become Russian does not mean giving up their religious rites and national customs, but preserving them.

Along with the Galician-Ruthenian question there also appears again the Polish question. * * * We already know from the newspapers that the Government intends to confirm the promises made to the Poles in the manifesto of the Commander in Chief and in the renowned declaration of Premier Goremykin. Both Russians and Poles are impatiently awaiting the appearance of the new announcement by the Government. But it is not sufficient to make new promises, they must be made in such a manner as to inspire confidence. And for this purpose it is necessary, first of all, that there be no difference between words and acts.

Both Russians and Poles understand but too well that the Commander in Chief's manifesto was at root contradictory to the old methods of Russia's administration of Poland. If there be given no solemn proof that the manifesto means the abolition of those methods, its moral effect will be equal to zero. Everybody remembers the celebrated orders of Minister N. A. Maklakoff and the circulars of Taube, [Russian Governor of Poland.] They were interpreted as meaning that the Russian civil administration did not hold itself bound by the manifesto of the Commander in Chief, only aiming to turn it into a dead document.

The most rigid of measures will be required to prevent the repetition of such acts. If the Russian Government is really resolved to grant Poland an autonomous government it should from the very beginning change the personality of the administration in Poland. The return of the former administrators, who have by their acts broken or nullified the pledges made in the manifesto, is now morally impossible, especially after the reforms inaugurated in Poland by the Germans. If we want to prove by deeds that we intend to give Poland more, and not less, than Germany gave her, we should appoint instead of Russians men of Polish extraction to the

administrative posts in Poland. Such a step follows logically from the idea of an autonomous Poland. By both Russians and Poles it would naturally be regarded as the touchstone of our sincerity.

If we actually desire to free Poland, and not to replace the German yoke with a still heavier Russian one, we must commence as I have indicated. In order that the Russian Army be met joyfully in Poland, it is necessary that its return shall not signify the return of the former

administrative Russianizers with German names. We must show that these Russianization traditions have once for all been dropped into the past. We must do this, not for the sake of Poland, but for the sake of Russia herself.

To complete our victory over Germany we must not allow her to tear out of our hands the banner of liberation. We must show by deeds to the Poles and the entire world that Poland can receive real national freedom from Russia alone.

Canada and the War

By Spencer Brodney

ALTHOUGH the only self-governing people of the British Empire which had a hand in the making of the war was that inhabiting the United Kingdom, the "dominions beyond the seas,"—the autonomous communities of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland—were just as much involved as if their respective Governments had themselves declared war. One must realize this fact to appreciate what the British Empire means—the most loosely bound together of all empires, and yet, as the war has so vividly illustrated, extraordinarily cohesive when its unity is threatened. All the self-governing dominions—it is now regarded as contemptuous to call them "colonies"—have each and all gone to the assistance of the mother country of their own free will, without so much as a word of exhortation from the Government in London. But for common allegiance to the Crown, the dominions might be regarded more truly as allies, thus swelling the long list of those against whom the Central Empires are fighting.

Of Britain's allies within her own empire, on which we are proudly told the sun never sets, two—Canada and Australia—vie for first place in the extent of the aid they have rendered and continue to render. For the moment we are concerned with Canada's contribu-

tion, which consists not only in men, but also in that mobilization of resources which equips the fighting man, provides him with the lethal weapons of his trade, and finances the whole business of warfare.

Take, first, the number of men who have volunteered for active service. The latest available recruiting figures show that by the 1st of September, 1916, 361,693 men had been enrolled. Of this number a certain proportion is in the preliminary training stage in Canada, where, incidentally, one of the training camps, namely, Camp Borden, in the Province of Ontario, has up to date cost \$1,000,000 to build and equip. After their local training the Canadian troops go to England, where their course of instruction is completed by being assimilated to the methods and discipline of the British Army. The numbers at present in training in Canada and England, respectively, are suppressed by the military censorship, so that it is impossible to tell how many have actually gone to the front.

A hint that the Canadian soldier is the real thing according to English ideas may be gathered from the reports of a recent review held by Lloyd George, the first in his capacity of successor to Lord Kitchener as head of the War Office. This was an inspection of a Canadian division of between 15,000 and 16,000 men. They were in full service

uniform, and included volunteers from all parts of the Dominion. Everything was in perfect campaigning order, down to the field kitchens, from which savory odors were wafted as the procession passed the saluting base. Lloyd George, in his speech to General Sir Sam Hughes, the Canadian Minister of Militia; Major Gen. Dave Watson, who is in command of the division, and the officers and men, was at his most eloquent in expressing admiration of the men and in recalling the prowess of their fellow-Canadians who at the second battle of Ypres saved Calais: "Just as the Rocky Mountains hurl back the storms of the West, so did these heroes in the battle of Ypres break the hurricane of the German fury. Amid the flames and poisonous fumes of Gehenna they held high the honor of Canada and saved the British Army."

At the beginning of 1916 the Prime Minister of Canada pledged the Dominion to raise its contribution in men to 500,000. But eight months after this announcement more than 138,000 were still required to make good the promise. On this score grievous disappointment is being felt among patriotic British Canadians, who point out that for the whole month of July only 8,552 recruits were enrolled, while for August the number dropped to 7,246. If enlistment proceeds at the same pace, it will take a year and a half for Canada to raise her half million of men, and by then the war might be over.

The causes of this slump in recruiting are twofold. In the first place, a young country in which the needs of industrial development are urgent, and which for that reason has constantly to augment its population by subsidized immigration, can ill afford to lose a single man. While the God of War is demanding more and still more victims in the trenches, the manufacturers of munitions, the farmers, and the railways are clamoring for supplies of labor. This difficulty has recently led to important conferences between the Government and representatives of the employers and of the labor organizations. In the hope of finding a method of maintaining productivity and

at the same time providing men for the firing line, the suggestion has been made to adopt on a wholesale scale the solution arrived at in Great Britain, namely, the replacement of men as far as possible by female labor. But this solution is not so easy in Canada, which, unlike the mother country, has no large surplus of women.

The other causes of the slackening of enlistment are to be found in the attitude of the French Canadians, which has led to a certain amount of recrimination on the traditional nationalistic lines. The figures show that if the population east of the Ottawa River had yielded proportionately as many recruits as the rest of Canada the promised half million would by now have been almost reached. Instead, Quebec, the French-speaking province, has contributed only about one-fourth of what would in other circumstances be its quota. An outsider might wonder, even if French Canadians still cherish their old feelings against the English-speaking population, why, seeing that France is Britain's ally, they nevertheless hold back. An answer to this question is supplied by Henri Bourassa, who is a grandson of Papineau, the famous rebel leader, and who is the mouthpiece of French-Canadian sentiment. In an article published in the French Canadian journal, *Le Devoir*, which has recently excited a vigorous controversy, Mr. Bourassa says in part:

The number of recruits for the European war in the various Provinces of Canada and from each component element of the population is in reverse ratio to attachment to the soil and to the traditional patriotism arising therefrom. The newcomers from the British Isles have enlisted in much larger proportions than English-speaking Canadians, born in this country, while these have enlisted more than the French Canadians. The Western Provinces have given more recruits than Ontario, and Ontario more than Quebec. In each Province the floating population of the cities, the students, the laborers, and the clerks, either unemployed or threatened with dismissal, have supplied more soldiers than the farmers.

Does this mean that the city dwellers are more patriotic than the country people, or that the newcomers from England are better Canadians than their fellow-citizens of British origin born in Canada? No, it simply means that in Canada, as in every

other country at all times, the citizens of oldest origin are the least disposed to be stampeded into distant ventures of no direct concern to their native land. It proves also that military service is more repugnant to the rural than to the urban population.

There is among French Canadians a larger proportion of farmers and fathers of large families than among any other ethnical element in Canada. Above all, the French Canadians are the only group exclusively Canadian both collectively and individually. They look upon the perturbations of Europe, even those of England or France, as foreign events. Their sympathies naturally go to France against Germany, but they do not think they have an obligation to fight for France any more than the French of Europe would hold themselves bound to fight for Canada against the United States or Japan or even against Germany in case Germany should attack Canada without threatening France.

English Canada contains a considerable proportion of people still in the first stage of national incubation. Under the sway of imperialism a fair number have not yet decided whether their allegiance is to Canada or to the empire, whether the United Kingdom or the Canadian Confederacy is their country. The newcomers are not Canadian in any sense. England or Scotland is their sole fatherland. They have enlisted for the European war as naturally as Canadians, French, or English would take up arms to defend Canada against an aggression on the American Continent.

Thus it is rigorously correct to say that recruiting has gone in inverse ratio to the development of Canadian patriotism. If English-speaking Canadians have a right to blame French Canadians for the small number of their recruits, the newcomers from the United Kingdom, who have supplied a much larger proportion of recruits than any other element of the population, would be equally justified in branding the Anglo-Canadians with disloyalty and treason. Enlistment for the European war is supposed to be absolutely free and voluntary. If that statement is honest and sincere, all provocations from one part of the population against the other and exclusive attacks against the French Canadians should cease. Instead of unjustly reviling one-third of the Canadian people—a population so remarkably characterized by its constant loyalty to national institutions—those men who claim the right to enlighten and lead public opinion should have enough good faith and intelligence to see facts as they are and respect the motives of those who persist in their determination to remain more Canadian than English or French.

In reply to Mr. Bourassa, British Canadians assert that the war is not a "foreign event" even from the French-

Canadian standpoint, because their liberties and privileges, equally with those of all citizens of the Dominion, as well as those of their motherland, France, are at stake on the battlefields of Europe. It is also alleged by Mr. Bourassa's critics that because of distrust of the France that harried the Catholic Church the French-Canadian priests have thrown the weight of their influence into the scales against any effort to help France. On the other hand, however, should be set down Cardinal Begin's instruction issued a few weeks ago to the Catholic clergy of Quebec to help recruiting. Whatever the merits of this controversy may be, it is recognized on all sides that the attitude of the French Canadians makes it impossible for the Dominion Parliament to enact a compulsory service law, as has been done by New Zealand, following the example of the mother country, and as Australia proposes to do by national referendum.

Despite the difficulties of sending to Europe as large an army as desired, Canada is proud of her contribution of over 360,000 men to date. Still more is she proud of her newly discovered capacity to help in the provision of munitions and the equipment and maintenance of her representatives at the front. When the war broke out Canada had as little idea of supplying shells and other military requirements as the proverbial pig has of flying. But today 3,000,000 loaded shells a month are being delivered to the order of the British War Office, while additional large orders are being executed for the Russian Government. The Imperial Munitions Board in Canada is paying out more than \$35,000,000 a month to Canadian manufacturers on the delivery of shells. It is said that only three of the great industrial corporations of the United States now handle more business on the American Continent than the board.

The Canadian manufacturer is not only producing loaded shells, but is also providing the rifle and entire equipment of every Canadian soldier. Where the part of the Dominion ends and the British Government begins by maintain-

ing him on active service, Canada steps forward and assumes responsibility for settling the bill, so that from first to last the cost of Canada's army will be borne by the Canadian people. Nor has Canada's share in the war been confined to the military side, for, according to an Admiralty statement, ten submarines have been constructed in Canada and sent across the Atlantic to join Britain's undersea fleet.

In the early part of the war the supply of munitions was handled by a Shell Committee appointed by the Canadian Government. When, at the end of 1915, this committee was superseded by the Imperial Munitions Board it had entered into contracts with the British War Office to supply \$340,000,000 worth of munitions, so remarkable had been the ability of Canadian manufacturers to adapt themselves to the requirements of the hour. They have made this change in a very short time and yet demonstrated that they could turn out an article as satisfactory as any in the world, and, what is still more surprising, at a much lower price than was thought necessary. According to J. H. Sherrard, on his retirement from the Presidency of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in June, 1916, "Canadian firms are producing shells today, after one year of experience, at one-quarter of the Woolwich Arsenal cost." (Woolwich is the most important cannon and shell making centre in England, and is part of the army establishment.)

More than 400 Canadian firms are engaged in manufacturing shells, their component parts, and other warlike material. The number of persons employed is at least 250,000, while there

is also a legion of administrators, inspectors, and clerks occupied with incidental matters. The industrial development which the war has stimulated in Canada is indicated in this year's annual report of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, in which the President, Sir Edmund Walker, says: "If the outstanding contracts are filled and the war continues throughout 1916 it seems clear that during 1915 and 1916 there will have been spent in Canada for war supplies considerably more than \$500,000,000. We have learned in meeting the sudden demand upon our industrial capacity to do many things which should count in our future. We have learned to shift our machinery rapidly to new uses, to make objects of a more complicated character, which allow less margin for bad workmanship, to smelt copper, lead, and zinc; indeed, to do many things which before the war did not seem possible in the present stage of our development." Add to this that the grain acreage has been increased to such an extent that Canada is now, after the United States and Russia, the greatest wheat-producing country in the world; and, further, that instead of going outside Canada for money, the Dominion has for the first time in its history financed itself by domestic loans.

Great Britain may well congratulate herself on the practical loyalty and usefulness of the greater Britains beyond the seas, the allies whose growth has been made possible largely by the policy of endowing them with the self-governing rights of nationhood. Of these allies among the "colonial nations" none has proved more valuable than the Dominion of Canada.



The Catholic Church and the War

By Norman Murray

Publisher, Montreal, Canada.

"And while men slept the enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat and went his way."

THE great European war which started in August, 1914, and is still going on with increased fury in September, 1916, has opened the eyes of many people to dangers of whose existence they little dreamed before. Outside of the military clique in Germany, few people in other countries were aware of the ambition for world power which the Prussian Junkers cherished. Another great surprise in store for many who believed in human progress was the policy of frightfulness and terrorism with which the war has been carried on. No one outside of Germany suspected that ruthless war would be made by airships and under-water craft on defenseless noncombatants and even on neutrals.

Another great surprise in store was the indifference and apathy of the Roman Catholic part of the population of the British Empire. The situation in the Catholic portion of Ireland and in Quebec is almost identical, with a little to the good in favor of Catholic Ireland in the matter of recruiting for the British Army. The population of Quebec is about half that of Ireland, with about the same proportion of Catholics and Protestants in each—three Catholics to one Protestant in Ireland, and about four to one Protestant in Quebec.

In Ireland the statistics under the voluntary system give 75,000 recruits from the 1,000,000 of the Protestant population and 25,000 from the 3,000,000 Roman Catholics. In the two largest provinces in Canada the population is for Ontario 2,500,000 and for Quebec 2,000,000. The recruits thus far have been 150,000 from Ontario and 37,000 from Quebec. If Quebec had done as well as Ontario the recruits would have been about 120,000 instead of 37,000. Of the 37,000 men recruited in Quebec, about 7,000 were recruited from the 1,500,000

French Catholic population and the 30,000 were recruited from the 500,000 of the other race. To keep up the same proportion as the other sections of the population French Canadian Catholics would have to contribute 70,000 instead of 7,000. It appears that Catholic Ireland has done at least 30 per cent. better than Catholic Quebec.

Ireland was on the eve of getting the home rule that it was clamoring for for so many years when the war started. The strongest argument that had been used by the anti-home rulers was that with home rule Catholic Ireland would not only start a policy of persecution against the Protestant minority, but could not be trusted in case of war with other powers. Home rule advocates, on the other hand, maintained that with home rule Ireland, as a part of the British Empire, would be as loyal as the other parts of the empire. The recent rebellion in Ireland, however, has shaken the faith of many former sympathizers with home rule in England and Scotland and other places, and it is very doubtful if the Home Rule bill, passed before the war started, will be approved after the war by those in England and Scotland who voted for it before.

In Quebec the Catholic Church has special privileges that no other Church has in Canada, and still she does not seem to be satisfied. She is authorized by the treaty made at the conquest of Canada to collect tithes from her own adherents. Since the war started—and especially since the declaration of war by Italy against Austria—a violent anti-recruiting campaign has been carried on by a section of the adherents of that Church without interference by the Dominion Government. It is suggested by some that the leniency shown to this faction, while strong measures have been taken against others for less heinous

offenses of the same character, is due to the fact that the present occupant of the Ministry of Justice was educated by the Jesuits.

The strangest feature of the whole business is that the party now in power, known as the Tory or Conservative Party, had made an alliance at the time of its election with the extreme ultramontane party. While the Canadian hierarchy is said to have advised its people to do their part like their fellow-countrymen by enlisting in the imperial army, this advice seems to have no effect whatever, while the anti-recruiting party seems to be carrying the province. It has been suggested that the Church is playing a double game, and that, while it openly proclaims its loyalty, it is secretly working the other way through the confessional and otherwise.

In this connection we must try to examine the policy of the head organization of this extraordinary institution. The Church of Rome aims at world power; it claims to be the only supreme agency between God and man on earth. It never favored the rise of any strong political power that it could not control. Its antagonism to the policy of France and Italy in recent years is well known. It still wishes to get the City of Rome and the Lost Provinces under its control. The ultramontanes in Quebec have openly declared that they would not favor the crushing of Austria—their last hope for the restoration of the Pope's lost temporal power—between the upper and lower millstones of Russia's Greek Church and what they call infidel Italy.

What will happen after the war is a very interesting question. For over two hundred years after the overthrow of the power of the Church of Rome in the British Isles, Roman Catholics had practically no political rights at all. The laws against granting them political rights were made by people who had been Catholics and had thrown off the yoke of the Church. Emancipation laws were passed by Protestants who imagined that by giving their Catholic fellow-citizens equal rights they could be depended on to take their part shoulder to shoulder with their neighbors to defend their

country. All these expectations have lately been shattered by the extraordinary attitude of the major part of the Catholic population of Ireland and Quebec. It is true that a small number of them are doing their part nobly with the rest of their fellow-countrymen in defense of the empire, but unfortunately they are a very, very small section, and the heavy burden of the defense of their country, as well as ours, is laid upon the shoulders of the other portion of the population. Fortunately for the empire, however, when the total population of 400,000,000 is taken into consideration, this Catholic section that refrains from doing its share of this serious work is a very small section.

One redeeming feature in Canada is that English and French speaking Catholics are at loggerheads. The quarrel over the bilingual schools in Ontario, which the Quebec Catholics use as an excuse for refraining from taking their part in the war, is between the Irish and French Catholics, and is practically of no concern to other people at all. The Irish have lost the language of their own ancestors, and are now included among English-speaking people. Forgetting their own ancient language, however, and learning the English instead, has not made them more loyal in their co-operation in imperial matters with their English and Scotch neighbors, as some people foolishly imagined.

A strong effort has been made to recruit an Irish Catholic Regiment in Montreal. The movement started off with a great flourish of trumpets, with a Jesuit as chaplain, but it has been a complete failure after more than six months of strenuous work. The ranks have now been opened to Protestant sympathizers, and the recruiting still drags wearily along. Even some of the Catholic clergy have made strenuous efforts to induce their parishioners to rally and fill the ranks of their one and only Irish Catholic Regiment in Canada, but without avail. They had to try and fill it up with Protestants, as otherwise the movement seemed on the point of collapse.

The question now rises: Will people who refuse to take part in the defense

of their country have equal political rights with those who defend their country when the war is over? Will they have the same right to vote and have a share in making the laws with those who have offered their lives for the defense of the country? I think not. There is nothing sure in this world but "death and taxes." Catholics have often been

warned that the only way to secure the continuation of the policy of equal rights was for them to do their share equally with their neighbors of other religious beliefs in times of crisis. As they have failed to respond to the call, if some of their former privileges are ultimately curtailed, they will have nobody but themselves to blame.

Canada's New Imperial Spirit

Captain Papineau's Letter

CONFLICTING racial and religious ideals in Canada, touched to passion by the war, have produced a bitter controversy centring upon the question of recruiting. An active anti-recruiting campaign has been carried on in Montreal since May, 1915, when Italy declared war on Austria, and the propaganda against Canada's part in the conflict has been pressed most vigorously by Henri Bourassa of Montreal, leader of the Canadian Nationalist Party and editor of the French newspaper *Le Devoir*. Some Protestants charge that this hostile campaign of the French Catholics has not been suppressed because of religious favoritism on the part of Mr. Doherty, the Canadian Minister of Justice. An open letter recently addressed to this official contains the following passage:

Henri Bourassa is playing the game that destroyed the Grand Old Roman Empire, as in the classical description of Edward Gibbon, "The empire declined as the Church rose in power." * * * Blackstone says that "all laws ought to be based on common sense," so it may be laid down as a political axiom that people who act the traitor during such a crisis as we are now going through "de facto" forfeit their citizenship and should be treated as traitors. At the conquest of Canada those of Mr. Bourassa's ancestors who did not wish to become British subjects were given the liberty of taking the first ship to France. This treaty is still in force, and Mr. Bourassa is in the difficult predicament of being loyal to neither Britain nor France. The only places in which his recent antics might entitle him to a welcome would be either the Vatican or Austria.

A letter written to Mr. Bourassa by

his cousin, Captain Talbot M. Papineau, is genuine literature. Captain Papineau, a grandson of the French-Canadian Papineau who was proclaimed a rebel in 1837, is one of the younger lawyers in Montreal. A Rhodes scholar and an Oxford man, he obtained a commission in Princess Patricia's regiment in the first weeks of the war, and won the military cross in the trenches at St. Eloi. At the end of March, 1916, when the Canadian troops were suffering heavy losses, he wrote to his cousin, seeking to win him over to a cause which "had proved to be dearer to many Canadians than life itself." The letter begins by asking whether Canada should or could have stood apart from the empire when the war broke out, and supplies the answer:

By the declaration of war, by Great Britain upon Germany, Canada became *ipso facto* a belligerent, subject to invasion and conquest, her property at sea subject to capture, her coasts subject to bombardment or attack, her citizens in enemy territory subject to imprisonment or detention. This is not a matter of opinion, it is a matter of fact, a question of international law. No arguments of yours, at least, could have persuaded the Kaiser to the contrary.

Suppose Germany should win. Then Canada would either have to surrender unconditionally to German domination or attempt a resistance against German arms. Captain Papineau continues:

I can assure you that the further you travel from Canada the nearer you approach the great military power of Germany, the less do you value the unaided strength of Canada. By the time you are fifty yards off the German Army, and know yourself to be holding

about one yard out of a line of 500 miles or more, you are liable to be inquiring very anxiously about the presence and power of British and French forces. Your ideas about charging to Berlin or of ending the war will also have undergone some slight modification.

Suppose Great Britain won, without the help of Canada? Canada might still have retained her liberties, and might with the same freedom from external influences have continued her progress to material and political strength. But would you have been satisfied—you who have arrogated to yourself the high term of Nationalist? What of the soul of Canada? Can a nation's pride and patriotism be built upon the blood of others, or upon the wealth garnered from the coffers of those who in anguish and with blood sweat are fighting the battles of freedom? If we accept our liberties, our national life, from the hands of the English soldiers, if without sacrifices of our own we profit by the sacrifices of the English citizen, can we hope ever to become a nation ourselves? * * * If you were truly a Nationalist * * * you would have felt that, in the agony of her losses in Belgium and France, Canada was suffering the birth pains of her national life.

These arguments might not have convinced you at the beginning of the war. But now that Canada has pledged herself body and soul to the successful prosecution of this war, now that we know that only by the exercise of our full and united strength can we achieve a speedy and lasting victory, now that thousands of your fellow-citizens have died, and also many more must yet be killed, how in the name of all that you hold most sacred can you still maintain your position? * * * Could you have been here yourself to witness in its horrible detail the cruelty of war, to have seen your comrades suddenly struck down in death and lie mangled at your side, even you could not have failed to wish to visit punishment upon those responsible. You, too, would now wish to see every ounce of our united strength instantly and relentlessly directed to that end. Afterward, when that end has been accomplished, then, and then only, can there be honor or profit in the discussion of our domestic or imperial disputes.

Whatever criticisms may today be properly directed against the constitutional structure of the British Empire, we are compelled to admit that the spiritual union of the self-governing portions of the empire is a most necessary and desirable thing. * * * All may not be perfection—grave and serious faults no doubt exist—vast progress must still be made; nevertheless that which has been achieved is good, and must not be allowed to disappear. * * * The great communities which the British Empire has joined together must not be broken asunder. If I thought that the development of a national spirit in Canada

meant antagonism to the spirit which unites the empire today I would utterly repudiate the idea of a Canadian Nation and would gladly accept the most exacting of imperial organic unions.

The remainder of the letter is an eloquent statement of the racial community of French Canadians with the French people, and a warning to M. Bourassa of the effect of his anti-war policy upon the future of his kinsmen.

Unfortunately, despite the heroic and able manner in which French-Canadian battalions have distinguished themselves here, and despite the wholehearted support which so many leaders of French-Canadian thought have given to the cause, yet the fact remains that the French in Canada have not responded in the same proportion as have other Canadian citizens, and the unhappy impression has been created that French Canadians are not bearing their full share in this great Canadian enterprise. For this fact and this impression you will be held largely responsible. * * * Already you have made the fine term of Nationalist to stink in the nostrils of our English fellow-citizens. * * * After this war what influence will you enjoy? What good to your country will you be able to accomplish? Wherever you go you will stir up strife and enmity. You will bring disfavor and dishonor upon our race, so that whoever bears a French name in Canada will be an object of suspicion and possibly of hatred.

Can you make me believe that there must not always be a bond of blood relationship between the Old France and the New? And France, more glorious than in all her history, is now in agony. * * * For Old France and French civilization I would have had your support.

And, lastly, a word of warning from those Canadians who "have faced the grimmest and sincerest issues of life and death":

I say to you that from those who, while we fought and suffered here, remained in safety and comfort in Canada, and failed to give us encouragement and support, as well as from those who grew fat with the wealth dishonorably gained by political graft and by dishonest business methods at our expense, we shall demand a heavy day of reckoning. We shall inflict upon them the punishment they deserve—not by physical violence, for we shall have had enough of that—nor by unconstitutional or illegal means, for we are fighting to protect, not to destroy, justice and freedom—but by the invincible power of our moral influence. Can you ask us then for sympathy or concession? Will any listen when you speak of pride and patriotism? I think not.

BULGARIA'S ROYAL CHILDREN



The Princes and Princesses of the Bulgarian Royal House:
Boris, Heir Apparent; Cyril, Eudoxia, and Nadejda.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE



Owner of the London Times, Daily Mail, and Other English Journals,
Whose War Correspondence Appears in this Issue.

The Civil Work of German Women in War Times

By Dr. Agnes von Harnack

Miss Agnes von Harnack is the daughter of Adolph von Harnack, Professor of Theology at the University of Berlin, who is well known in the United States through his scientific work, and who has had many friends here since his visit to the World Exposition at St. Louis in 1904. Miss von Harnack was the first woman in Germany to study at a university. She studied modern languages, especially English, wrote a thesis on German Romanticism, and took her doctor's degree in 1912. Since that time she has been Principal of a high school for girls. Besides her activity as a teacher, she is prominent as a social worker in the interest of the betterment of woman's position in Germany. Outside of these tasks she is continuing her literary studies and is a contributor to several scientific periodicals.

ALMOST immediately after the outbreak of the war, when people had in some slight degree recovered from the first overwhelming surprise caused by the rapid course of events, the one thought uppermost in every German mind was, "We must devote all our time and strength to working for the Fatherland!" This was comparatively simple for the men who had their appointed tasks. But the problem for the women; and it was of the utmost urgency to them, was very different and very difficult. The men were organized; each was a cog in a smoothly running machine directed by a trained engineer. The women, or the great body of them, were not organized. Each had to find her work and learn to develop her usefulness in co-operation with the others. Enthusiasm and willingness had to be directed into practical channels.

The educated German women were united in one determination—that they and their sisters should not play the rôle women had played in previous wars

—to wait, to endure, to suffer without murmuring, to look on hopelessly without being of help. Even in the Franco-German war of 1870-71 only a small

number of women accompanied the troops as nurses, and while the women at home did much in a quiet way, their tasks were simple and individual. They were of no help to the nation. In 1914 women turned naturally to the Red Cross work, and during the first eight weeks of the war more than 23,000 girls and women in Berlin alone were trained for work in the field hospitals and ambulances. But their work and the work of nurses and women doctors at home, in the war zone, or at the front is not in my province; I wish merely to sketch briefly and in general terms the work of German women for



DR. AGNES VON HARNACK

the civilian population, their united efforts for the nation.

Early in August, 1914, the National Women's Service League, (Nationaler Frauendienst,) a powerful organization of public-spirited women which had branches in nearly every German town,

issued an appeal to all women who had had any training in political economy and social science to place their services at its disposal. These women were organized in local bodies and immediately assumed charge of the work of investigating applications made by the wives of soldiers for State aid. The league members soon learned local conditions, where distress and sickness prevailed, and where the care of children or other help was needed. Some idea of the magnitude of these labors may be derived from the fact that in Berlin alone more than ten million marks are paid out every month to indigent families of soldiers, and that practically all applications for aid are handled by the league. Everywhere the officials welcomed the league workers, since they not only relieved the overworked men, but their tasks were performed promptly and thoroughly. The soldier's wife or dependents found it much easier to deal with the league workers since they found in them a womanly sympathy that saved them from the embarrassment many of them felt.

Relief and advisory committees were formed for districts and presently became local institutions to which the inhabitants repaired for aid, for consolation, and for advice in dealing with domestic problems. The women and girls were tireless in their work and ready and able to meet the wide variety of demands made upon them. Every committee soon had its archives in which each case in its district was recorded, and only the experienced can know how many stairs were climbed, how many miles walked, how many questions asked, before even one case could be dealt with properly. In September and October alone the committees in Berlin delivered food certificates, milk and bread cards, and so forth, to a total amount of more than 130,000 marks.

But the committees' work is broader in scope than the mere giving of aid. Mothers and wives come with all their troubles. Not long ago a bewildered mother arrived in one of the Berlin committee rooms leading firmly by the hand an embarrassed but very obstinate-looking boy of 12. In the purest Berlin

dialect the mother volubly explained to the young lady in charge that she could do nothing with the youngster; he was running wild and paid no attention to her and, since his father was at the front, she wanted the young lady to give the lad a "piece of her mind." Somewhat startled by this rôle of paterfamilias, the young lady nevertheless tried her hand at giving the boy a "piece of her mind" with such splendid results that the grateful mother frequently returns to pour out her thanks. The young lady has a painful impression that her eloquence has inspired the mother with a disciple's zeal, and that she is waiting another opportunity to hear how it is done.

Another branch of work undertaken by the league was the care of children, organized in a special central bureau. In operation, it is aimed to be as thorough as possible, beginning with the care of nursing babies. By personal talks with mothers, the knowledge of rational nutrition was spread throughout the empire, and personal attention was paid to as many children as possible. Success has crowned this work. In Berlin, for instance, in the hot Summer of 1915, the mortality of babies was reduced by more than 2 per cent. below the normal.

For older children, schools and homes were established. In one suburb of Berlin, for instance, the poorest district of the city, about a hundred children selected by the school doctor were taken every day after school to the large gardens placed at their disposal by the municipality. Here they received their meals and worked and played till evening out in the open air, or in stormy weather in big, airy rooms, and then were taken home under proper supervision. For periods of eight or ten weeks the children lived this healthy life, and the rosy cheeks and rugged health to be found in the schools now is due to this excellent work. In this, as in all the other branches of endeavor, volunteers are laboring cheerfully side by side with the paid workers.

The problem of finding work for those thrown out of employment by the war was one of the first undertaken by the league. The aim was to make every

individual, in so far as possible, self-supporting in order to relieve the burden on the State. The war caused an industrial paralysis in certain lines of industry; factories manufacturing ready-made clothing and articles of luxury simply closed their doors. The female workers were hardest hit. The league promptly obtained from the military authorities orders for sewing work of every description, and the innumerable sewed articles which the soldier needs, from the tent on his back to his socks, were soon being made by the women. Knitting socks became woman's universal occupation; every one knitted, old and young. In the workrooms of the league, however, knitting was a serious job and the source of a livelihood. Many women would have become State charges if it had not been for the league's knitting rooms. And an entirely new kind of factory régime was instituted in these rooms. During the working hours, and the occupation is a dull one, volunteers read books, played music, sang, and gave short, interesting, and instructive talks on matters of general and even of philosophic interest.

In this way the work was made not only interesting, despite the fact that from five to seven hundred workers were frequently crowded into one room, but of educational value.

The wage scale that was finally worked out by the league—a problem that was rendered most complicated because of the wide variety of age, skill, types, and diligence—excited the highest admiration of professional industrial experts because of its equity and soundness. Only when the labor market began to improve, the confidence of manufacturers in ultimate victory induced them to open their factories, and the people began buying once more, did the league's workrooms close. Meantime, many links of sympathy and mutual understanding had been forged in them between the working girls and the volunteer helpers of the league.

The basic principle underlying the work of the league is to make every applicant for aid, in fact, every one in

whom the league is interested, in so far as possible self-supporting. The aim is to bolster self-respect and the feeling of personal responsibility so that any development of the begging habit may be nipped in the bud. There are, however, many cases in which applicants for relief cannot be expected to rely on themselves and their own unaided efforts, cases of hopeless poverty, of incurable disease, or in which all the normal activities of life had been disorganized by the war. And in such cases the response of the well to do has been most generous. The league has only to ask to get money or other assistance poured forth with a lavish hand. Sometimes zeal is excessive and has to be restrained. If it is necessary to provide clothing for a family, for a young man entering an apprenticeship, or for an expected child, the clothes collecting department is always prepared. Volunteer workers labor day after day sorting the steady stream of donations and directing their repair and alteration by skilled needlewomen and other workers. Inventiveness has free reign here, and when one examines at the end of the month the practical results it is almost impossible to realize that the pretty and serviceable garments had been developed out of unlikely material.

Educated women devoted themselves to the schooling of the children. While on the battlefield youthful blood flowed in streams and human life had become the cheapest of things, the women at home realized that their most important duty lay in healing youth, in educating it to capable manhood, and in nourishing it with everything valuable and beautiful which could be offered by knowledge and art.

A great number of schoolteachers had gone to the front. Women took their places, a thing hitherto unknown in Germany. Women teachers, candidates for degrees at the universities, even students were employed in boys' schools. Old schoolmasters shook their heads, but the work had to be carried on, and the women were ready and trained. To the satisfaction of every one, these women were completely successful in their work

and earned the regard and respect of their pupils.

Even to the girls' schools the war brought new tasks. By descriptions, by maps and charts, the positions of the armies were explained to the children; the many economic and political questions brought to the fore by the conflict were discussed and elucidated. Through the children, these discussions and explanations reached the parents and helped to educate the popular mind generally.

In addition, an effort was made to develop the feeling of national responsibility in the minds of the pupils. On almost every teacher's desk throughout Germany is a collection box in which the pupils deposit their savings. Every month these boxes are opened, and quite a little ceremony is made of the occasion. The children dispose of their collections as they see fit. Each class has its own particular work; one buys materials for presents to be sent to the soldiers at the front, another undertakes the care of a sick child and saves money with a view to sending its little protégé to a convalescent home, a third collects newspapers, a fourth provides a nearby hospital with games which the members of the class construct themselves. All this not only affords the children pleasure, but it has a real civic and educational value. The burden on the teacher is a heavy one, for she has to devise means of keeping the children interested and to act as guide and friend for them in their selected activities. The league opened in Berlin in the Winter of 1915-16 a State exhibition: "School and War." It was an impressive exhibit of the tremendous value of this work. By this work in the schools, the experiences of the war are engraved on the hearts of our children, and they will never forget its lesson.

In many houses throughout Germany the father is absent. To many he will never return. It would be culpable in the extreme to neglect the growing youth in these homes. The league is active in getting hold of girls and boys over school age who are enjoying a novel and dangerous freedom. Volunteer work-

ers of the league, women of education and social position, are engaged in organizing boys' and girls' clubs and in keeping closely in touch with their charges, over whom they exercise a tactful care.

The civil work of German women; however, has not been confined to looking after the welfare of children and of soldiers' dependents, important as that work is. They have taken in hand the organization of their own domestic economy. In recent years it has been the fashion abroad to regard the German woman as pre-eminently the housewife, concerned exclusively with her kitchen, her children, and her church. In fact, in England and America the idea that German women were anything but housewives, cooks of skill and resource in producing food whose first quality was substantial, nutritive value, whose social standing was vested purely in the ability to keep house well and economically, received no credence.

As a matter of fact, for the last decade the German woman was paying attention to many other things than her house, and the housewife type was rapidly disappearing. German women were entering the professions, and the other forces of our modern social structure were forcing the housekeeping type into the background. Germany came more and more to live on imported goods. The war instantly changed that. Food could no longer be imported, delicacies were out of the question, the women had to learn to keep house and supply the table in a rational manner from Germany's own resources. It took a little time for the women to realize this, but when they did they acted quickly and successfully. The housewives throughout Germany were organized into guilds, sometimes associated with local institutions, sometimes as independent bodies.

The first task undertaken was a rigid training in economy. Nothing must be wasted! The war broke out just at the season of the fruit harvest, and immediately preserved fruit kitchens were improvised everywhere. Volunteers toiled over the stoves, putting up the rich fruit harvest, so that none should go to waste.

This was true not only of the small towns, but even in Berlin. In one of the capital's most beautiful and wealthiest suburbs, throughout August and September, every morning the heavily laden fruit carts from the Central Market in the city appeared at 8 o'clock. Beside the driver of the first cart sat two of the ladies of the suburb who went to the market every morning at 6 o'clock in order to procure the choicest fruit. The carts were unloaded in the yard of the schoolhouse and their contents carefully weighed. Then a crowd of young girls, with handcars of every description, busied themselves distributing the fruit to the houses of the women who had agreed to put up preserves on that particular day. If there was any surplus, the ladies who bought the fruit and other volunteers prepared the preserves in the school kitchen. They were at their post every day while the harvest lasted. The preserves were collected weekly from the houses and stored in the schoolhouse. In three months this suburb put up more than 20,000 pounds of preserves, which were distributed among hospitals, hospital trains, and children's homes. The work was continued in the late Summer of 1915 and in 1916.

The organization of housewives did more than preserve fruit and vegetables. The public had to be taught how to live differently—not worse than in peace times, but differently. A people is most conservative where its eating is concerned. Men cling to food habits when all others disappear. And the task confronting the housewives was nothing less than teaching the nation to alter its food habits, its ideas of a menu, its eating custom. At first, the means tried was mass meetings in which lecturers expounded the new principles of dietetics, and speakers from the audiences described their experiences.

Many a woman who had never before even thought of addressing an audience found herself on the platform exhorting and advising her neighbors out of her own experience.

Meetings were not enough, however. Women came in droves, listened intently, applauded enthusiastically—and then

went home and, after a brief struggle against the family tastes, gave up, and tried to adhere to the pre-war dietary. Rapidly, of course, the sale of many staples was restricted and the import of others ceased altogether, thus throwing the established menu into chaos. Then the housewives' guilds began practical demonstrations in neighborhoods, showing how the available foodstuffs could be best employed.

Cooking recipes were invented and experimented with, cooking evenings and cooking parties organized, and consulting and advisory bureaus opened throughout the country. The solution of the dietary problems is ascribable altogether to the work of the housewives' guilds.

The marked increase in the cost of living was due in no small degree to the activities of the middlemen, who bought low, held stocks in reserve, and then forced the selling price as high as they could. The housewives determined to overcome this situation by opening up co-operative retail shops, operated by volunteers, where good wares could be purchased at little more than wholesale cost. These shops presently controlled the food price situation in their localities, many of them in crowded districts taking in more than one thousand marks on a single afternoon. And these shops proved particularly valuable as a market for the fruits and vegetables grown by members of the housewives' unions.

For, early in the war, the policy of cultivating every scrap of ground was put into effect by the women of Germany. The organization of girl scouts and many large girls' schools undertook the cultivation of untilled tracts, and every day crowds of young girls and women could be seen marching under the guidance of a specially trained teacher to their fields. The product of these fields was turned over to the various relief agencies. The work itself proved of great health value to the volunteers, and many an anaemic society belle became husky at this work.

In the poorer quarters of the cities the task of public alimentation was carried out with detailed thoroughness. Popular

kitchens and so-called middle-class kitchens were opened, and the women in charge took care that these eating places and cooking places were made as bright and attractive as possible. Something dainty and appetizing was to be had for even the simplest meal.

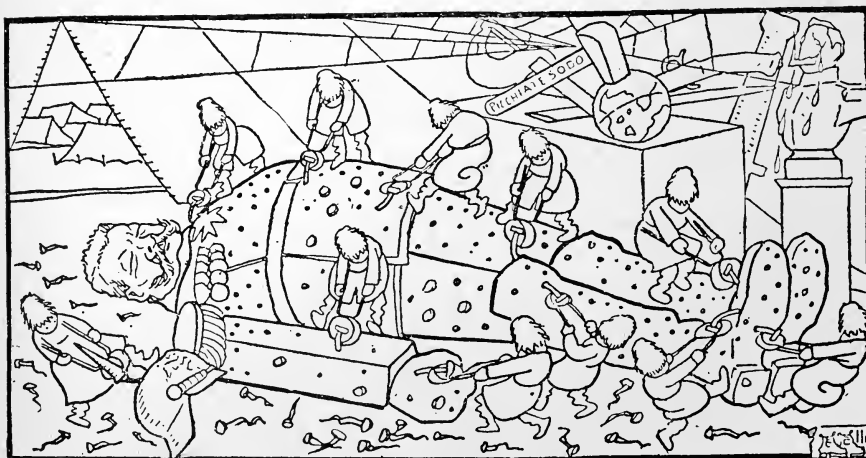
In these kitchens perhaps more than in any other of the war institutions was the radical social benefit of the conflict on the domestic problems of the German Nation made most manifest. All classes worked together. The wealthy woman and the shopkeeper's wife found themselves side by side, giving the very best in them for a common cause, united in labor for the nation. A common purpose united them, and acclaim went to the individual who did the best work, no matter what her social status might be. In the relief committees of the National Women's Service League the wives of high officials and the wives of Social Democrats meet on a parity. Women from town and country, adherents of various religious beliefs, work hand in hand and realize in action the profound truth and wisdom of the Emperor's dic-

tum: "I know no parties, I know only Germans."

These women see already in spirit the new Germany after this cruel and bloody conflict is ended. Their work is all for that future Germany of peace. Mothers, brides, and sweethearts, they know that in this new Germany many strong arms and clever minds will be lacking. Their thoughts, despite their work, wander perpetually to the resting places of the peaceful sleepers in France and Poland. Nearly every one of them has lost some one who cannot be replaced, but they have refused to permit themselves to lapse into inactive brooding and mourning. They remain steadfast in life, active to administer the legacy of the dead placed in their hands. They form an army of peaceful fighters against enemies which threaten all the nations of the world—against poverty, neglect of the young, an economic situation that inevitably brings in its train the root of destitution, bodily and mental exhaustion. Their weapons are altruism and purity, their gauge the dignity and well-being of the German Nation.

Hindenburg's Nightmare

[An Italian Cartoon]



—From Travaso, Rome.

After the honor of the Berlin nails comes the grip of the Russian pincers.

The Civilizing Influences of War

By Alfred Rosenblatt*

Professor in the University of Cracow

Oh, tra le mura che il fratricidio cemento eterne, pace e vocabolo mal certo. Dal sangue la Pace solleva candida d'ali. Quando? —Carducci: La Guerra, Bologna, 1891.

CIVILIZATION and war appear—especially in the light of the present war—to present irreconcilable antitheses. Therefore the assertion that war has a civilizing significance seems to us to be a fantastic paradox. And, nevertheless, distinguished minds have seriously busied themselves with this problem and have historically demonstrated the civilizing influences of war.

Some twenty-five years ago there was held in Rome a great congress of the League for Peace, participated in by important scientists and prominent members of European Parliaments. Brilliant speeches against war were delivered, plans for eternal peace were discussed, resolutions demanding the settlement by arbitration of all international difficulties were framed and adopted, &c.

Shortly after this there appeared a poem dedicated to war by the well known Italian poet, Giosue Carducci, entitled "La Guerra," and ending in the strophe cited above, which is particularly fitting at present. In glowing words Carducci sings the praises of war and describes what mankind owes to it. Even the discovery of America may be credited to the warlike spirit of an adventurer, who, armed with sword and shield, sallied forth to conquer new lands for the Spanish Empire.

In this connection Lotar Dargun, late professor of German history and legal history at the University of Cracow, whose untimely death was a severe loss to science, took up the question of the civilizing influence of war in a public

lecture, investigated it more closely, and presented the bright sides of war in a manner calculated to be of universal interest in the serious times through which we are passing, and to banish, or at least lessen, our grave anxieties regarding the consequences of the war.

The civilizing power of war was already recognized and discussed by old Lord Bacon of Verulam. The conquests of war and their meaning for the progress of humanity have also been discussed in detail by Herbert Spencer and the well-known sociologist, Professor Gumplowicz of Gratz.

Alexander Humboldt describes in "Cosmos" the civilizing effects of the Macedonian wars of Alexander the Great. He takes especial pains to point out that they opened an extensive and beautiful part of the world to the influence of a highly cultivated people; that through Alexander's conquests the Greek language and literature were spread abroad with beneficent effects, and, finally, that at the same time the making of scientific observations and the systematic elaboration of all the sciences, through the teachings and example of Aristotle, became clear to the intellect. He closes by declaring that the Macedonian expedition may be regarded as a scientific expedition in the truest sense of the word, and, indeed, as the first in which a conqueror surrounded himself with savants from every branch of science, with naturalists, surveyors, historians, philosophers, and artists. Even Aristotle exercised an indirect influence through the intellectuals of his school who accompanied the expedition.

The most prominent historian of the Roman Empire, Mommsen, says that the Romanization of Italy was only effected through Sulla's wars, and that this result was not too dearly bought by the streams of blood spilled in those wars.

* Specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Nord und Süd, the Berlin political and economic magazine published by Dr. Ludwig Stein.

The conquest of Gaul by the Romans was also a work of civilization of the first rank.

All the larger States have been organized as the result of wars. Among the Germanic peoples military organizations were at the same time governmental bodies. Thus war created the State and the State created civilization.

International law was also created by war, but the present war has unfortunately annihilated it.

We have to thank war for the founding and the development of cities and for their growth and strength. War forced the inhabitants of scattered districts to unite, to build fortified towns, and to organize places for defense against the dangers of war. The Princes' need of money, induced by the wars that they carried on, was often the cause of progress in the matter of public institutions and rights; that is to say, the sovereigns engaged in war needed money for the war and the cities furnished them with it in return for rights and privileges which made possible and also promoted the prosperity of the cities.

The greatest human blessings, religion and ethics, science and art, owe much more to war—as Professor Dargun points out—than would be believed without an investigation of the question. Through wars religion and ethics have found their way to all parts of the world.

Many branches of science receive their greatest advancement through wars.

In the first line comes geography. It is not necessary to prove that war requires a thorough and detailed study of the hostile country, thus promotes geographical and ethnical science, and contributes to the spread of this knowledge.

The great progress of modern technique stands in close connection with military technique. The mighty advance in the technique of fortification and the manufacture of arms promoted by war's needs has reacted in an animating manner upon all other branches of technical work and has aided invention. The mastery of the air by human beings and the unexpected development of the art

of flying may certainly be traced indirectly to war. The extension of lines of communication, especially in the form of great and far-flung networks of railroads, is the result of the necessities of war. And the civilizing effects of railroad connections constitute a recognized and inassailable fact. The railroad unites even the smallest town with the great centres of culture, science and art, spreads civilization in every direction, brings individuals and nations closer to each other, and promotes industry and the welfare of the people. But a short time ago the American magazine, *Popular Science Monthly*, pointed out in a long article how in Germany all branches of science, of technique, of industry, and of trade worked hand in hand with militarism to their profit. Because militarism spurs inventors and investigators on to create things that it needs for its purpose, inventions are made that add life to all industries and enrich the entire nation.

The Germany of today owes its greatness and strength to the war of 1870-71.

That war offers many productive stimuli to art and literature is proved by the numerous masterpieces of art and literature that treat of warlike events; we shall only mention Homer's immortal "Iliad," Virgil's "Aeneid," the Nibelungen songs, Shakespeare's war dramas, the Maid of Orléans, Wallenstein, and all the magnificent battle paintings, &c.

Dargun closes his exceedingly thought-provoking exposition by contrasting the virtues of peace with the virtues which war brings to maturity. There are, says Dargun, certain virtues necessary for the maintenance of the soundness of the people, such as personal manly courage, the consciousness of duty and honor, discipline and the sense of order, consciousness of the worth of one's own personality, and the willingness of self-sacrifice for the common good, which attain their true value only in war. These virtues become weaker during periods of long-continued peace. The full inner worth of the nation is only developed in times of danger. The sentiments of all the members of the State are united and concentrated in the all-powerful feeling

of love for the Fatherland. Every one knows that the persons most dear to his heart are risking their lives for the common cause. Every one gladly and self-sacrificingly throws himself and all that he has into the mighty whirlpool of the war. The nation goes through a baptism of fire that works wonders and from which it arises strengthened a hundred-fold, if it only holds out to the happy ending of the war.

Before closing we must find room here for the following observations regarding war and culture from the writings of a cheerful philosopher, (Weber's "Demokritos," 1863.) Wars made men better acquainted with each other and carried the products of nature from one quarter of the globe to the other; silk, fruit, sugar, tea, coffee, and rice from Asia; corn, tobacco, potatoes, Peruvian bark, &c., from America. Millions of potato eaters do not know how dear Mithridates made them for Lucullus. In fact, war seems to be an educator of nations; the Trojan war developed the culture of the Greeks, as the one with the Persians and the more remote wars of Sesostrius with the nations of India developed the culture of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, and the Greeks and Carthaginians made the Romans become real Romans. The

Crusades again gave the first impulse to the intellect of Europe, as was also the case with the Turkish and Italian campaigns; the Thirty Years' War brought light into religious thought, as the French Revolution did into politics and even into men's ideas of war itself. One year of war puts more geography and statistics into people's heads than thirty years of peace; long encampments and battlefields enrich the earth at least as much as the clouds of powder smoke clear the air, and we Germans owe to the French war the cutting down of the sorry polycracy that our idol Hermann would certainly have allowed to continue for a long time. In closing we wish merely to express the desire and hope that the present gigantic war, which unfortunately has changed the standards of civilization, will also have its good sides and achieve civilizing effects. Perhaps the greatest war the world has ever seen will also be of the greatest and most important civilizing significance.

Perhaps it will succeed in doing that which thus far all peace pamphlets, peace palaces, and peace congresses have failed to do—that is, bring the waging of war to a *reductio ad absurdum* and be the last of European wars.

The Destroyer

By CHARLOTTE TELLER

To reap his harvest,
 Death has set them at each other.
 Their curtains of red fire and their veils
 of black smoke
 Are his banners.
 The hand that murdered the Archduke
 Was a hand saluting the Great Monarch.
 When he summoned his subjects,
 They came
 From the four corners of the earth,
 And he was sure of his victory.
 Do you read of defeat?
 It is his triumph!
 Do you read of victory?
 It is he who has conquered.
 Where they are making cannon
 And its food,

He is there.
 Where they are shaping bombs
 In their laboratories,
 He stands beside them.
 When they search the plains for horses
 That men must ride into battle,
 His eye sweeps that plain before them.
 He is the General of all the armies.
 It is his cry that is heard at night—
 The cry that torments their dreams.
 His voice is in the throat of every one in
 council
 Who says:
 "Let this war go on,
 That we may win."
 He is Master.

MAGAZINISTS ON WAR THEMES

Why Not Make Peace Now?

By Israel Zangwill

Novelist and Playwright

Replying to the criticisms of a fellow-author, Eden Phillpotts, upon his new book, "The War for the World," Mr. Zangwill presents the following argument for immediate peace negotiations on the part of the Allies, incidentally remarking that there is too general a tendency to twist an important text and make it read, "Cursed be the peace-makers, for they shall be called pro-Germans" :

THE imaginary heresies against which my kindly critic misdirects his indignation are (1) that I hold we ought to let Germany run amuck at her pleasure; (2) that the immediate peace I propose would be an "inconclusive peace," nay, tantamount to a German victory. But, surely, when I say that Germany's militarism is her own affair, it is obvious I mean only the internal organization, which is her misfortune, and not that the external effects of this military mechanism can never become England's business. Would, indeed, that England had been "the England of our dreams," and had ridden about as a paladin, redressing human wrong. But a knight who stands idly by while Prussia robs Denmark of Schleswig-Holstein, while she tears Alsace-Lorraine from the bleeding flank of France, while she expropriates the Poles of her Polish province, and who only couches his lance when Belgium—his own buffer State—is invaded, who even ignores Germany's prior passage through neutral Luxembourg or Russia's subsequent passage through neutral Persia, surely partakes more of Sancho Panza than of Don Quixote.

I gladly concede—and particularly remarked in my book—that a chivalrous enthusiasm for Belgium animated our first volunteers. But that was the Brit-

ish people, and foreign policy is, alas! the domain of a few Machiavellian despots, who interpret our generous ardor for the small nations as humbling proud Persia in the dust and setting up poor little Russia on both sides of the Dardanelles. Mr. Phillpotts winces at my "pinpricks," but, inasmuch as the Archbishop of Canterbury will not hear of peace proposals because of our utter and unrelieved righteousness, a little pricking of such Christian complacency may be a necessary prelude to the re-establishment of peace on earth and the salvation of Europe.

For that is the real question. How much longer must the flower of England (and of Europe) be butchered and tortured? How much lower are Christianity and civilization to fall? That the question of peace is not agitating us day and night, that it is even boycotted or replaced by sterile Gallipoli investigations, that "true-born Englishmen" are discussing the eleven revues of London—this is a monumental example of what I have called "the levity of war politics." If any man can read the description cited by Mr. Galsworthy of the "hundreds of wounded men lying on contested ground and screaming all through the night" and not burn to end the war instantly by any honorable means, he must be a devil—or a munition manufacturer.

But is there any honorable means? Bloch, in his great work, "Budushchaya Voina," ("The Future of War,") prophesied that war's only future was deadlock, and already the critics who scoffed at my contention that Verdun illustrated the thesis are repeating that the Somme is a second Verdun. There are, indeed, thinkers who urge that a deadlock would be the best ending, since militarism would then be universally discredited. It would

have shot its deadliest bolt everywhere and effected nothing anywhere. But I do not even maintain that there is a deadlock—modern warfare is far more than the mere shock of arms—and my argument is unaffected, even if we get through on the Somme.

I do not urge that we should seek peace, but that we should grant it. For, from the paralyzed ports of Germany's extinguished world commerce, from her millions of hungry homes and widowed hearths, one wail for peace goes up. Where is the proud Prussia that set out to capture Paris in six weeks? That triumphal march has been turned to a funeral march. But we are told Germany still holds large slices of enemy country and will only make terms "on the basis of the war map." Well, look at the war map. The globe, I was taught at school, is three-fourths water. And we hold that water. Germany, whose future was to have been on it, stands high and dry, like a stranded hulk. And against her conquests in Europe we hold her colonies, territories far vaster and infinitely easier to hold.

It is the custom in chess when games have lasted overlong to adjudicate on the position and to declare a victory for black or for white. Why play out the great war game to the ghastly end, when the pawns are flesh and blood? Can even

a German beholding the vast forces now concentrated against Germany imagine that playing it out can give her a victory? The formation of Prince Wedel's "League for an Honourable Peace" is sufficient answer—imagine Prussia sanctioning such a league in 1870! Why, the Germans had given up the hope of victory even by Christmas, 1914. Writing in those days from America, Mr. Jerome reported the conversation of a prominent financier in touch with German feeling: "The Allies could get all they wanted in reason now." (He was very insistent on the words "in reason.") "Why go on piling up ruin and misery for no object? You will not annihilate Germany. At the end of three years you will only obtain from her what she is willing to grant now. Why not take it now?"

That Germany will now accept any terms "in reason" is certain. Those who profess to doubt this must explain why they refuse to put it to the test. It would be so simple to go on fighting, if she asks too much. Is it that they fear we should then be provided with a standard by which to measure the ratio of our further sacrifices to our additional gains, and by which—when peace is signed a year or five years hence—to gauge if the prolongation of the war was far-sighted statesmanship or a gigantic gamble in life and treasure?

The Dawn of Doubt in Germany

By Friedrich Naumann

German Journalist and Author of a Noted Volume on "Mittel-Europa"

An extraordinary article on the weakening of German public opinion regarding the war was published by Herr Naumann in his weekly paper, Die Hilfe, on Aug. 17. Following is a translation of the more significant passages:

WHEN the war began everybody was convinced that now we must fight, for how could we let other peoples tear us to pieces? At that time everybody understood that this was a case of necessity, just as if we were threatened by a flood or a fire. But to-

day there are people enough who no longer rightly know why we are still fighting. There really are these people.

I was visited lately by a soldier who, late in the war, was taken up in the Landsturm, and who now, as a grown man, has passed through his time of training in barracks. I know him well, and I know that by very reason of his calling he understands the way of thinking of the simple people. He said to me: "It must be explained to the people quite simply and intelligibly why they

are still fighting, because they do not know." I answered that two years are surely enough to make it clear to the thickest head. He, however, replied: "Two years ago all these people knew; but as they read the newspapers only irregularly, have little knowledge of geography, and have no training in historical thought, they, even at the beginning, grasped the general impression rather than the detailed events. Meanwhile, all that has for them returned to a state of flux and become obscure, and now they are mentally helpless in face of the sacrifices of the long war. Hence it becomes possible for the agitation of the Liebknecht type to find its way into the very army."

I then made further inquiries among men and women who, by constant contact, know something of the way of thinking of small people, and this is what I heard. Two years are a long time for the memory, especially when people's sufferings and experiences have been so manifold during this time. At the beginning people had no real idea what war is, but they were ready to conduct war. Meanwhile, death in the field and privations at home have become greater than any power of imagination had previously conceived. Hence the impression easily arises that one has been pushed into something which one did not really desire. The necessity of what is happening is questioned, and the longing that the abnormal state of things may cease dims the eyes to the inevitable character of events. To this is then added the old and eternal mistrust of the small for the great, and it is said: "Those people at the top need the war, and that is why we have to endure it."

And then what a marvelous picture of the beginning of the war takes shape in the brain! From the simple fact that the ultimatum to Serbia was dispatched by Austria, and that the formal declarations of war were dispatched by us to Russia and France, it is concluded that we produced the war. What everybody knew at the beginning of August, 1914—that the declarations of war were only a consequence of the threats of mobilizations pouring in upon us—passes out of

sight, and only the formal course of events remains. To this is then added the unscrupulous campaign of agitation and of calumny by Germans of Germans, as if we had been the disturbers of the peace. One has seen fly-sheets which talk as if it depended on our Government whether it should will peace tomorrow or not. The burden of the trouble and want caused by the war is put upon the Government. Assuredly this hateful perversion is really believed only by few. But some of it sticks—as though the German Government were at bottom just as guilty as the English Government or the Russian Government—and a dull feeling gets abroad that all the peoples have been condemned to many sufferings by the mistakes and sins of those who rule them.

And there is something still further. Owing to the fact that we have been somewhat vigorous in hailing and celebrating our victories, many people who are weak in arithmetic have lost all sense of the fact that there are still great Russian, English, French, and Italian forces in existence. When, therefore, after two years the very greatest efforts have still to be made, it is as though we had been cheated of our bargain. People can no longer rightly believe that the present battles are inevitable battles of defense. They have rather the gloomy suspicion that a policy of conquest, over and above what is necessary, is being pursued. And here a positively disastrous effect is produced by certain documents in which great leagues and private persons express the lust of conquest. Only general ideas of their contents reach the great mass of the people; but, to the best of my belief, their existence is well known in every barracks, in every workshop, and in every village inn. The consequence of this conquest literature is the disappearance of simple faith in the defensive war.

Of what use to us is all the edifying talk about war aims, if the foundations of public opinion do not meanwhile remain absolutely firm? They are still firm, but more attention must be paid to them than has been the case hitherto.

Herr Naumann then advises that the

people should be taught that the present German occupation of enemy country is a great blessing for the Germans, and also that it is absolutely necessary, because the enemy occupies German col-

onies, Asiatic Turkey, Eastern Galicia, and also a bit of the Vosges. They should also be told that the war has to go on because the enemy still desires to attack and crush Germany.

What the Attitude of a Radical Should Be Toward the War

By Prince Peter A. Kropotkin

There has recently appeared in Russia a brochure entitled "Prince Kropotkin on the War." Excerpts from it are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Kropotkin is the leader of the theoretical anarchists and his earlier writings are widely known in America.

SERBIA was not the cause of the war, nor was German fear of Russia, but the fact that, with the exception of an insignificant minority, the class that is in control of Germany's political life was intoxicated by its former triumph over France and its rapidly developing military power on land and sea. This class considered it an offense to Germany that her neighbors had interfered with her desire to capture the rich colonies along the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, and in part of China; that they were in advance of her in planning to control the Adriatic, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and that they had prevented her from establishing her hegemony over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The rapid extension of Germany's home industries in the last forty years and the failure of a simultaneous growth in wealth among the peasantry, creating no market (such as exists in the United States) for manufactured products, made it possible for the enormous mass of the German proletariat to become infected with the same designs for conquest and to dream of the rapid development of a powerful capitalism through this conquest. As a consequence we have the German admiration for the idea of an all-powerful military State, the worship of the army, and the amazing unanimity of the people on these points.

Freedom of people? Ideals of peace? Progress? Nothing of the sort is inscribed on the banner of the German Em-

pire. It promises only war, it is a guarantee for future conflicts only, for the subjugation of free nations, for a centralized military State wherein the entire life of the country shall be dominated by the military ideal, the ideal of which Wilhelm, who styled himself the "rod of God," is the incarnation.

Just try to imagine in reality what the triumph of Germany in the present war would mean:

The subjection of all Belgium, or at least the major part of it; in any case, the establishment of Germany in Antwerp and, in all probability, in Calais.

The forcible annexation of Holland to the German Empire.

The menace of annexing Switzerland, which would no longer be defended by France and Great Britain.

The addition to Germany of part of France, and, consequently, the appearance of a line of German forts within a few miles of Paris; the prohibition of French fortifications; an enormous, exhausting indemnity to be spent mainly on the further expansion of the German Army and Navy, (already Bismarck regretted that he had not exacted a \$3,000,000,000 instead of a \$1,000,000,000 indemnity.) The result would be the debasement of France to the position of a third-rate power; it would no longer dare to take any steps in the direction of social progress because of fear of Germany. Belgium has been in such a position all these years. France would

be in a like plight, and England also would fall to an approximately similar condition.

Now, when there are transports capable of accommodating several thousand persons, when submarines, aeroplanes, and dirigible airships are become part of armaments, England's immunity to German invasion is no more. Experts concede the possibility of such an invasion now, and should the Prussian helmet dominate the northern coast of France, an invasion of England would merely become a question of the convenient moment. The entire order of life and the further development of the country would have to adapt themselves to such a possibility, as was the case in France.

As to the consequences of Germany's triumph over us in Russia, one does not even like to think, so terrible would they be. What would become of the internal development of our country if on the Nieman, at Riga, and possibly in Revel, German fortifications on the order of Metz were erected—not for the defense of the captured territory, but for further offensive purposes? Fortifications from which armies fully equipped could be moved on Petrograd the first day after a war declaration?

On the whole, the triumph of Germany in this war would mean the enslavement of the entire European civilization by military ideals. Her triumph of 1870 had already given us forty years of such slavery with the arrest of universal progress. Her victory over France, Belgium, England, and Russia would give us now half a century or more of a similar retardation of progress throughout Western Europe and all the Slavonic world. * * *

To all who will not shut their eyes at the events transpiring around us, it is sufficiently clear why no one to whom the progressive development of humanity is dear, and whose mind is not clouded by personal attachments or by sophisms of official patriotism, should be in doubt as to the side one ought to take. One should not remain neutral, as neutrality in the present case means support of the iron fist.

The vast majority of the people understand this, and on all sides we hear the words: The Allies will win, and this struggle will be the last European war. The rights of all nationalities to free development will be recognized, the federation idea will be applied in remaking the map of Europe. The ugliness of war and the failure of armed peace to prevent war have clearly demonstrated that a period of general disarmament is approaching. The union among the advanced nations, which is being enhanced since the arrival of a common danger by the extraordinary united efforts of all concerned, will inevitably leave its traces on every nation. The foundations of a new life in all the strata composing the modern State are already being laid. * * *

In all the activities of the anti-militarists, the opponents of war, there was a fundamental error. They thought that by their propaganda against war they could prevent it in spite of the fact that all the causes that make war inevitable were still in full force.

They wrote that the cause of modern war is European capitalism and its accompanying phenomena. They believed that a general strike in all the countries about to enter into a war would render the expected conflict impossible.

But by some kind of miracle all the tremendous powers of capitalism and its dependent forces vanished, crumbled away and became paralyzed at the outbreak of the war. And they vanished not only in France but also in that other country—Germany—the country which saw in the conquest of part of France, in the weakening of her, and in the annexation of her colonies, a "necessary step" toward the development of Germany's own capitalism!

A patent incongruity was, then, the result. And I now ask myself if the majority of the anti-militarists ever realized fully the organic bond seen by them between war and European capitalism. Did they not attach too much importance to the evil will of individuals? * * * So long as there are States the peoples of which are ready, in expectation of personal benefits, to

support a movement for conquest, war cannot be averted by preaching. Those anti-militarists who, in the name of opposition to all war, refuse to support either of the warring sides, are, in my opinion, making a serious mistake. They have omitted from their view one thing—the present war is creating new history. It introduces to all the peoples new conditions of social reconstruction. And when this reconstruction shall have begun, it will pass by those men who had refused to act at a time when the fortunes of the century were being decided on the fields of battle.

The end of German hegemony, the disintegration of the Austrian Empire, the dawn of a new life for the Slavonic peoples, a united Poland again contributing her own national creations to the treasury of science and art—all this and much more may be expected from this war.

When old Garibaldi called together in 1870 his old and new comrades and went

to fight for the French Republic against Germany, he did not seek world aims to justify his action. He did not overestimate the import of the war. But he saw in France liberty struggling against autocracy, and considered it his duty to come, as he had always done, to the defense of the former against the latter. * * * Right and progress were on the side of France. To you and many others all this is not enough. You doubt. You want to know definitely if this war will be a war of liberation. But this question cannot be answered in advance. All depends on its conclusion and the circumstances incident to it. Only one thing is certain. If Germany is victorious, then the war will not have been a war of liberation. It will bring on Europe a new slavery. * * * It is necessary that the whole German Nation shall see in reality into what an abyss of destruction and moral degradation its Kultur, wholly devoted to conquest, has hurled it.

The Faculty of Wonder Dulled

By Winston Spencer Churchill

Former First Lord of the British Admiralty

Following is an excerpt from a recent article in the Sunday Pictorial of London:

THE limitations of man's intellect do not govern the scale of his affairs.

He does what he can; he comprehends what he can, and the rest happens. When Armageddon burst over Europe probably no single brain achieved a complete and rightly proportioned view of the cataract of events. The first weeks and months of the general war escaped to a large extent from human control. The forces liberated were unmeasured; the consequences of their exercise unforeseeable. * * *

The chaos of the first explosions has given place to the slow fire of trench warfare; the wild turbulence of the incalculable, the sense of terrible adventure have passed. For nearly two years the armies of Europe have dwelt close together in opposing ditches, fed by lavish

floods of human life and broadening streams of shot and shell, tormenting each other by ever-growing and improving agencies of death; and behind them their countries have transformed the infinitely varied activities of modern civilization into the three comprehensive institutions of the barracks, the arsenal, and the hospital.

The progress of the war is no longer to be measured by the battles or the positions of the contending fronts, but mainly by the economic and political reactions which the long and ever more tightly drawn strain is producing in the various nations.

Every man, every woman, every workable child is gradually being fitted into the war machine.

A sombre mood prevails in Britain. The faculty of wonder has been dulled; emotion and enthusiasm; excitement is

bankrupt, death is familiar, and sorrow numb.

The world is in twilight; and from beyond dim flickering horizons comes tirelessly the thudding of guns. A hard, frost-like surface of gayety sparkles in the cities; and anxiety turns to thoughtlessness or to apathy for relief.

The beloved figure of son, father, brother, friend descend from trains on flying visits, recreating around them for a little precarious space the happiness of far-off days before the war. A few hours of safety and comfort, a vivid interlude of home and pleasure, and then back, as a matter of course, as a com-

monplace experience, to the slow fire which with intensifying fierceness consumes the flesh and sears the hearts of peoples.

Now one understands how men lived through the periods that seem so terrible in the history books, and went about their business, and joked and ate their dinners, and filled their theatres. Now, too, one understands how our forefathers, with shoulder bended to the burden, with searching eye fixed upon the enemy, preserved through the perils, the difficulties, and the blunders of a thousand years the life and honor of Britannia's isle.

The Changed Ideals of the Belligerents

By V. Kershentseff

Russian Author and Journalist

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the *Severnia Zapiski*, Petrograd.]

THE further into the past the first days of the war retreat, the dimmer grow the idealistic watchwords which originally lent a spiritual glory and lustre to the patriotism of the warring nations. From under the sumptuous cover of words there emerges sharply the dry skeleton of materialistic and selfish ambitions.

The long war has become to the world an every-day affair, and this is depriving it of the epithets with which it was formerly described, such as "liberating," "civilizing," "altruistic," &c. The problems of the war have grown complicated, and changed its face. After two years we look at events with different eyes.

Who will now undertake to prove that this is a war against militarism? It is this war that has helped the development of militarism in a maximum degree. It is this war that has communicated the militaristic disease even to such a country as the United States. Can there be any doubt that victory will be achieved by that group of nations which shall have its military organization developed to the highest perfection? By a perfect military organization we mean not only the purely technical militarism, but the total

of the economic, political, and technical factors comprising the military organization of a State. Not only the skeptical historian of the world war, but the ordinary citizen as well, will arrive at the conclusion that a certain group of nations was victorious because it had demonstrated its ability to solve international problems through armed force. Who will assert that such a conclusion will be a blow to militarism? Will it not be just the other way?

The war, it was said, was being waged in the name of freedom, equality, and even fraternity.

Looking back at the past months, who can confirm this thesis with facts? Who will deny the evident truth that in all the warring countries the tide of conservatism is rising? The best example is furnished by the freest country in Europe—England. Step by step the Liberal Party is giving way before the encroachments of a strengthened conservatism. The principle of voluntary military service is abandoned. The press is muzzled. The theory of free trade is found antiquated. The rôle of the House of Commons is growing secondary. Even the habeas corpus principle has to be

defended by special leagues and funds, just as in the period of dark reaction at the end of the eighteenth century.

In what country is similar retrogression not to be noticed? The war started in the name of defending the rights of small countries and nationalities. Therein lies the great irony of it. Particularly to the small countries and nationalities has it been disastrous. It has proved that the time for small nations is past, that world history has entered a stage where units will consist of coalitions of nations, bound politically and economically. Not only small nations, but even individual large nations, cannot longer exist outside of the coming powerful political combinations.

"This war will be the last. After it will come eternal peace." This theory, popular a year and a half ago, seems at present, more than at any previous time, but a subtle or naïve irony. Of course, in Europe a temporary weariness of war is possible, especially because of the financial disorganization and economic chaos, but even in the case of such a calm there will be military problems on hand. The beginning of the peaceful period that is to come after the war will also mark the beginning of a new war, a commercial, tariff war. In itself not bloody, it may cause another bloody conflict; and it will fall most heavily on the shoulders of those who bear the chief burden of the present catastrophe.

Human Nature and the War

By Principal L. P. Jacks

Dean of Manchester College, Oxford, and Editor of the Hibbert Journal

Dr. Jacks has contributed to a recent issue of Land and Water an incisive article, in which he says:

IN the two years during which the war has been in progress a number of men, women, and children, roughly equal to the total population of London, has been killed. Perhaps five times as many have been wounded, making with the killed a total not far short of the population of Great Britain. What it has cost in material wealth to accomplish this result would be hard to say; probably \$75,000,000,000 is well within the mark.

For what end has this been done?—to repeat the question of Little Peterkin. It has been done in order to settle a type of quarrel which, had it broken out between six reasonable men with some sense of humor, instead of between six great "powers," with no "power" of understanding each other, would have been settled in a quarter of an hour.

Looking at the matter in this way most people would agree that we are in the presence of something essentially irrational. Reason is said to be the pre-

rogative of man. The war—not the word, not the idea, but the thing in its concrete horror—is a strange comment on the prerogative.

Suppose we were to cut the war out as a single chapter in the history of man's doings on this planet and set ourselves to deduce from this chapter a theory as to the nature of the beings who did these things. Or suppose we were suddenly endowed with a power of vision to see the war, not through the medium of statistics or newspaper reports but as a living fact in all the length and breadth and detail of its dreadful truth—and then, with that vision fresh before us, set ourselves to write out a testimonial to the character of man, to be delivered to the angels or to the inhabitants of some other planet on which the human race had applied for a situation. Should we not come to the conclusion that man is thoroughly and hopelessly insane? Should we not warn the angels against having anything to do with a race of lunatics so dangerous?

We have come to this—that about

three hundred million human beings on this side and two hundred million on that are now engaged in trying to inflict upon each other the greatest possible amount of death, mutilation, and material loss, and have so far succeeded as to kill or wound forty millions and to destroy \$75,000,000,000 worth of wealth at the very least. As a test case of what man is, and what he is capable of, we shall look in vain for any single episode or revealing action that will tell a more eloquent tale about man—that is, if we are to judge him by what he does rather than by what he says, as surely we ought to do. We could not hesitate as to the conclusion to be drawn from such premises. To conclude that human nature is brutal, or wicked, or selfish, or cruel would not be enough. Human nature, we should have to say, is plainly mad. Insanity and not reason is the prerogative of man.

A friend of mine who has reflected deeply on the war, and written about it more wisely than any other Englishman, remarked the other day: "During the early months of the war I often had the feeling that I was in hell already—in fact, that we were all in hell together without knowing it. But that feeling has passed away. I now believe that I am in Bedlam—which perhaps is only a particular province of hell." That feeling is widespread, though vague and undefined. Even our soldiers at the front, keen as they are to do their duty, often speak in their letters of the "mad business" on which they are engaged. * * *

From these conclusions there would seem to be no escape—if we accept the view that human nature is really responsible for what is going on. But, I hasten to say, human nature is not responsible for it—and venture to think that until this is realized the profoundest political lesson of the war will be missed. Human nature has been dragged into this business against its will, its intelligence, its instincts. A "spell" has been put upon it.

To charge the horrors of the present time to the brute passions of man's nature, to his want of right-mindedness or of self-control, is to commit a libel

on man and to let the real sinner go free. In human nature there is nothing whatever which could lead, under any conceivable circumstances, to such orgies of bloodshed and mutilation as the slopes of Verdun and many other places have recently witnessed. Human nature is from first to last in revolt against the whole proceeding. It is not human nature which does these things, but State nature—a very different thing. To love one's native land and be willing to die for it is one thing, perhaps the noblest in man; to love a soulless machine called "the State" is another, and I for one have never met a human being in England or anywhere else who was capable of so unnatural a passion.

Modern States are not human. They are stupid monsters without conscience, without soul, without feeling. As to intelligence, they lack even that modest amount of it which would enable them to understand one another. Not understanding one another, and unable to do so, their mutual relations are like those of a number of icebergs floating on the same sea, which may at any moment be flung into collision by the drift of invisible currents. It is the paradox of the world's history that the great States formed by the combined intelligence of their members have so little intelligence in their relations with one another. The human nature which is in each member of the State, and stands on the whole for right-mindedness and neighborly relations, disappears in the total combination of all the members, and a vast agglomeration comes into being, of which the outstanding feature is that it lacks a soul.

There are many who regard the war as betokening the need for a radical change in the nature of man—in his ideals, his habits, his passions. And certainly this would be a sound inference from the facts if human nature were really responsible for the war—only in that case I think we should have to go further and demand the total extinction of man as unfit to live on the planet, on the same principle that we demand the extermination of a mad dog. But believing as I do that responsibility for

the war rests elsewhere, I see no need for any radical change in human nature, nor do I think that it is going to take place. What human nature needs is not a radical change but a fair opportunity, an opportunity for expressing itself not only in the relations between man and man, where it has already established some kind of rational order, but in the relations between States which, as things now are, constitute a mere Bedlam world.

What does need changing is State nature, for State nature is the cause of all these woes. We have been under a monstrous delusion about the State—almost hypnotized by the word—and it is the mission of the war, among other things, to bring this home to our intelligence. For two generations and more the pundits of the western world have been groveling on their bellies before this abstraction, this monster, this idol. It is a worship made, so far as modern times are concerned, in Germany, and it is worthy of its origin. We have been taught that the evolution of the State is the culminating achievement of man's rationality and of his goodness. And so no doubt it might be if a different kind of State from any that is now in existence had been evolved. But of the actual States now in being nine-tenths of what the philosophers teach about the rationality of "the State," of its quasi-divinity, are not only untrue but the flat opposite of the truth.

Whatever the State may be, these States are not something higher than the individual, but something vastly lower than any individual. There is not one of them in which the human interests of its constituent members is not at the mercy of that brute, inhuman, Bedlam world which is constituted by the relations of the various States with one another. There is not one of them which, when standing in the presence of its

neighbor States, can be said to represent human nature in its intelligence, in its affections, or even in its passions. For, as we have seen, they do not even understand one another. The lions roaring to each other in the forests, the starlings chattering on the tree tops are at a higher level of mutual comprehension than are "the States" of civilized Europe. And the proof is that when a quarrel arises which half a dozen sensible men could settle in ten minutes over a pipe of tobacco, these "great powers" have no resource but to tear one another to pieces in a manner of which the lowest of the brute beasts are quite incapable. Are they not stupid monsters? The very monkeys must despise them.

A proposal has been made to insure perpetual peace by a new piece of machinery—a federation of all the States controlled by a World Parliament. It is a proposal which leaves me cold. It reminds me of the reason once given by an Irishman as the crowning argument in favor of home rule. "When we get a united Ireland and a Parliament of our own, faith we'll have some fine quarrels." Were such a federation constituted out of such States as at present exist in the world it would split into two parties over every question submitted to its decision, and would quarrel at once, and quarrel always. The picture so often presented of all the States combining automatically to keep in order any member of the group which might threaten to break the peace is a fiction, which would be replaced in reality by powerful and balanced parties, plotting each other's overthrow and ready to attempt it, if need be, by force of arms. The federation of the world would be a cockpit of civil war. Before any such form of internationalism can be successfully attempted a preliminary step must be a complete change of nature in each of the combining States.



Italian Socialism and the War

By Ivanoe Bonomi

Minister of Public Works in the Italian Cabinet

Signor Bonomi, a Moderate Socialist, recently contributed to the *Messaggero* of Rome an article of which we here give the substance.

THE Italian Socialist Party is the only one among those of the great nations of Europe that persists in an obstinate campaign against the war. In order to make a true analysis of this curious fact it is necessary to adopt the historical method, that is, to bring into relief the special character of Italian socialism and of the human material of which it is formed.

Official Italian socialism, in contradistinction to socialism in other countries, is in large part agricultural. It recruits its adherents especially in the country, and more definitely in the rich agricultural country that from the hills of the Placentino and of Monferrato slopes down along the banks of the Po to the sea, touching Padua and Venice on the north and reaching as far as Ravenna and Forlì on the south.

Of course, the larger industrial cities also contain many soldiers of the socialist army, but the working class population of the cities is not a fertile field for the anti-war propaganda.

In Milan as in Genoa, in Turin as in Bologna, socialism, now occupying important political positions, is no longer the master of the street. Its undisputed rule is found in the country. In the rich Valley of the Po it is absolute master. In the fields socialism does not allow the preaching of any doctrine different from its own, which is against the war, against those who have brought it on, against those who carry it on, against those who see any value in it.

He would commit a grave error who would affirm that misery afflicts this population and is the cause of all this. The richness of the soil and of agricultural industry permits the wage worker easily to obtain in the Valley of the Po increases that the peasants of the south stare at in surprise and envy.

Intellectual conditions have also made

progress in line with the material gains. There is no longer an agricultural proletariat there enslaved by ignorance and superstition and at the mercy of the bosses. There we find citizens, nearly all of whom read the newspapers, are interested in politics, capture the local administrations, and send Socialists to the Chamber of Deputies.

The mind of the farmers is fertile soil for the propaganda of official socialism. Up to the present the country districts of Italy have been absent from our history and our life. Roman society was an urban society. Our communes reinvigorated the Latin spirit and put the districts surrounding the cities under the committees ruling in the cities during the period of our national revolution. The country districts were hostile and indifferent while our national unity was being constituted.

Italy appeared to be divided into two different peoples—the bourgeoisie and the artisans in the cities, and the peasants in the country. The cities fomented the insurrections and spread the desire of liberty through the masses of the people. The country remained faithful to the idea of immobility and to tradition. The cities accomplished the revolution; the country endured it. Only during the last few decades have the slow influence of economic environment and the educating effect of the schools been able to bring together the two different peoples that had encountered each other at the gates of our cities.

City and country have now become Italy, and the moral unity of our race is being cemented today with blood upon the Alps. But in the Valley of the Po the development of the agricultural populace into a nation followed a peculiar course. The soul of the peasant, innocent of every sentiment of patriotism, could not help but accept the socialist

message without resistance, the only doctrine descended to him up to today.

All this is neither a justification nor a condemnation. It is the verification of

what causes the present sorry propaganda of official socialism, and it accuses our national revolution of having neglected the country districts.

A Silent Revolution in England

By the Editor of The Round Table

DURING the last two months a change has come over the people of England so noteworthy, and yet so silent and indefinable, as to deserve attention in these pages; for no outside observer could discover it for himself from our newspapers, nor could he easily interpret it from the external demeanor of the population in street or train or office.

It is a change of which most men and women are aware within themselves and of which, if they are observant and sensitive, they are conscious also in those around them, but which few care to acknowledge, still less to analyze, for to do so would stir the depths, and that the Englishman dislikes.

This silent revolution is the reaction upon Britain of the great advance. * * * It is a change which is strangely compounded of the spirit of hope and the spirit of sacrifice—of the sense of coming victory and the ache of personal loss. We know now that the empire and what it stands for are saved, that the old country will "carry on" for generations to come. But we know, too, that for tens of thousands life has henceforth lost much of its personal meaning, that there are gaps in the home circle which will never be filled, and that life will be a lonely pilgrimage to the end.

Personal affections and ambitions have made way for a bigger cause. Life seems wider and more impersonal. Our fellow-countrymen seem nearer to us. Rank and class seem to count for less. All have suffered alike and all have served alike, and all have the same world to live in and to repair—a world that seems lonely at times beyond all bearing, yet is lit up with the flame of sacrifice and the undying memory of those who are gone.

Many have discovered for the first time what every foreigner sees, and what every Briton from across the oceans knows, that the British are not a nation as the French are a nation, because the revolution of social equality has never yet been made.

The great mass of the nation are fighting even now not for an England which is themselves, but for an England which inherits noble traditions and fine qualities, but which is separated from them by the impalpable barrier of caste. This separation, which has added bitterness to every political and economic dispute, has been wonderfully bridged in the trenches. There is a growing sense that it must be bridged at home.

Social superiority and privilege must give way to common humanity and common sacrifice. In future we must be a more united and a more equal people than we have been in the past.

The effects of these tendencies are still obscure, but they are already to be seen in the program of the work allotted by the Government to the Reconstruction Committee, presided over by the Prime Minister. The subjects that are being inquired into by that body, working through a number of carefully manned sub-committees, cover a very wide range of social and economic interest.

The two most important of these are certainly education and the organization of industry. It has already been announced that a committee presided over by Lord Crewe, the new President of the Board of Education, has been appointed to review the whole question of national education in the light of the war. The industrial inquiry, it may be imagined, will be on a similarly comprehensive scale.

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

“Inasmuch as Ye Have Done It Unto the Least of These—”

This is the story of one ordinary man—Frank Ghiloni—and of how the diplomatic machinery of three great nations was kept in operation for a year and a half to save him from injustice. The citizenship laws of Italy and the naturalization laws of the United States are in conflict at one point, and this conflict forced the son of a humble Italian immigrant into the European war against his will. That the Government of 100,000,000 people should go to his rescue, compelling the Governments of two other nations of 36,000,000 and 50,000,000 people to take cognizance of this obscure individual's rights as an American citizen, is a lesson in the meaning of true democracy.

AN official volume of diplomatic correspondence is hardly the place to look for a romance, but occasionally one can be extracted even from these dry reports. The third White Paper of the United States Government on the European war, recently issued, embraces all the correspondence with belligerent Governments relating to neutral rights and duties for the year ended with June, 1916.

The correspondence covering the military service case of Frank Ghiloni relates to the question of dual nationality and develops a real human interest episode. It opens with a cablegram from Secretary Bryan to Ambassador Thomas Nelson Page at Rome, dated Jan. 13, 1915, informing the Ambassador in effect that Frank L. Ghiloni, born at Marlborough, Mass., Aug. 4, 1885, is under arrest at Barga, Italy; that his father had been naturalized in 1886, and that Frank had been a clerk in his father's store.

No reply being received, Secretary Bryan again cabled the Ambassador on Jan. 21, urging promptness, and on Jan. 22 received formal acknowledgment, stating that steps were being taken to obtain the young man's release. On March 25 Secretary Bryan again cabled inquiring the status of the case, and the Ambassador replied next day that his requests for the release of Ghiloni had not been acted on. On May 6 Secretary Bryan again cabled for information. On May 18 Ambassador Page replied

that the Italian Minister of War declined to exempt Ghiloni from liability to military service.

On June 18 Secretary Bryan cabled Ambassador Page protesting against this decision. He said Ghiloni had resided ten years in Italy during childhood, but had returned to the United States at the age of 12, and lived here continuously until June, 1914, when his physician had ordered him to Italy for his health. His father had been naturalized when Ghiloni was less than 1 year old. Mr. Bryan pointed out that, according to our laws, Ghiloni was born a citizen of the United States; that he was domiciled in this country when he became of age in 1906; had evidently made practical election of American nationality, and was visiting Italy only for a temporary purpose. Ambassador Page cabled on June 11 that the Secretary's message had been presented to the Foreign Office with a request for early action.

On July 20 Robert Lansing took up the case and sent a long cablegram to Mr. Page, asking an early decision in the Ghiloni case. He repeated that Ghiloni was born a citizen of the United States; that he chose American nationality, and that this choice "should be recognized in cases of persons born of dual nationality, whether or not the municipal laws of the countries concerned prescribe definite modes of election. This Government has no desire to intervene in cases of persons who were born in the United States of Italian parents, but were domiciled in

Italy upon attaining their majority, are still domiciled there, and have evidently elected Italian nationality."

Aug. 13 Mr. Page reported that Ghiloni was under arms, but that his case was being investigated. On Aug. 27 Mr. Page cabled that the Foreign Office sustained the Minister of War, holding that Ghiloni, "even if he had during his minority lost his Italian citizenship, in consequence of the naturalization obtained in the United States by his father, the fact would not have exempted him from military service in Italy under Article XII. of the Civil Code."

On Sept. 4 Secretary Lansing asked further news of Ghiloni, adding: "His friends are importunate." Mr. Page cabled at once that as Ghiloni was said to be in poor health, it was hoped he would be exempted from military duty on this account. On the 5th he reported, however, that the Italian War Office refused to release Ghiloni because he had been born prior to his father's naturalization.

State messages on this case continued to pass under the Atlantic during October, but Ghiloni's release was definitely refused by the Italian military authorities.

In the meantime the young man was wounded and taken prisoner by the Austrians and was interned in an Austrian prison camp at Mautheusen. Acting Secretary of State Polk on Jan. 8, 1916, cabled the facts in the case to Ambassador Penfield at Vienna, directing him to inform the Austrian authorities that Ghiloni was an American citizen, though this was not conceded by Italy, and asked that he be released and returned to this country.

On Feb. 18 Secretary Lansing again cabled Ambassador Penfield to emphasize the fact that Ghiloni was "born an American citizen, was impressed into the Italian Army, and was serving against his wishes. His mother is seriously ill because of his plight."

Mr. Penfield cabled on March 14 that the Austrian Ministry inquired what guarantee could be given that Ghiloni "will not bear arms against monarchy or allies during present war in case of

his release." The Secretary of State asked what guarantee would be required, and again called attention to the records showing that Ghiloni was impressed into the Italian Army and did not volunteer.

Secretary Lansing also cabled Ambassador Page on March 23, calling attention to the Italian law on citizenship promulgated June 30, 1912, which provides that "an Italian citizen born and residing in a foreign nation which considers him to be a citizen of its own retains still Italian citizenship, but he may abandon it when he becomes of age." He asked whether "this provision is not applicable to persons born in the United States of Italian parents, provided such persons were domiciled in this country upon attaining their majority, and evidently elected American rather than Italian nationality."

On March 27 Ambassador Penfield cabled that Austria would not release Ghiloni "except under assumption that American Government first cause Italian Government to recognize Ghiloni's American citizenship; otherwise, after being discharged he might again be compelled by Italy to perform military service against Austria or her allies."

Secretary Lansing cabled on March 31, asking the release of Ghiloni upon his sworn statement that he would return to the United States immediately and not leave this country during the continuance of the war.

On April 25 Secretary Lansing asked whether Austria would release Ghiloni on the assurance of the United States Secretary of State that a passport would not be issued to him to leave the United States during continuance of the war.

Ambassador Penfield cabled May 5 that Austria agreed to release Ghiloni on his affidavit that he would not again bear arms against Austria or her allies; that he would be repatriated by way of Scandinavia, Holland, or Germany, and that a guarantee should be given by the United States that the Entente Powers should not seize Ghiloni and compel him to do military service.

On May 8 Ambassador Penfield was authorized to agree to the first two conditions for the release of Ghiloni; the

United States, however, could not give an absolute guarantee as to the third. It did not believe Ghiloni would be seized by the Entente Powers, did not recognize their right to do so, and if he were seized would demand his immediate release.

On June 19 Ambassador Penfield

cabled that Ghiloni had been released and delivered to the American Embassy, and that he would return to the United States via Scandinavia. Forty-one official transatlantic messages, with the assistance of fate, had at last availed to snatch one man from the maelstrom.

A Perilous Escape by Sea

Two Siberian petty officers, prisoners of war in Germany, made a daring and successful escape across the Baltic into Denmark, whence they were sent to Petrograd. There they told their story to a correspondent of the *Novoye Vremya*, who wrote the narrative here presented to readers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE two Siberians, Gregory Dalmatoff and Alexander Ralnikoff, met in the Altdam camp for prisoners of war. They were captured, the first in 1914, the second in 1915. This year the majority of the prisoners had been sent out by the Germans to do agricultural labor. It was left to the Russian war prisoners exclusively to work on this Summer's crops. Ralnikoff and Dalmatoff were sent to work in Pomerania, in the neighborhood of Greutzneberg, not far from the Baltic coast, between Kolberg and Kammin. They were placed on the estate of an elderly woman. Life became much easier. The watch over them was not as rigid as in the camp, but they were compelled to work from morning till night.

The intention to escape never for a moment left the two Siberians. Ralnikoff had studied German in the camp for that purpose. Twice he made attempts to escape, but without success. The first time he deserted the camp on July 27, 1915. Living on potatoes, he and four comrades traveled 150 miles in twelve days. Then one night in an open field they stumbled against a powder magazine and a German sentinel. At first the sentinel was confused by the sudden encounter, and when he began to shoot they were already hiding in the bushes. Their lives were saved, but they were caught. Fourteen days of imprisonment with hands and feet chained, however, did not dampen the energy of the Siberian.

Two months afterward Ralnikoff again

started on a risky enterprise with some comrades, and reached the resort Murtz-bart. There they were again caught when about to enter a boat. They were punished with twenty-eight days' confinement, under heavy guard, in a dark, cold cell on half a pound of bread daily with water. The torture was not light. Immediately after release the leader was dispatched to work again.

The other Siberian, Dalmatoff, was also an adventurous fellow. Hardened by outdoor life, accustomed to freedom, he could not bear imprisonment. Three days after being captured he made an attempt to jump off a moving train which was going from Mitau to the interior of Germany. The train was stopped and the prisoner caught.

Finding themselves on the estate of the elderly lady, the two minds became active again, with a view to escaping. Circumstances favored them. Each night they were locked up together with the horses in a stable, where quarters were made for them, and the woman inspected the lock every evening. The window was protected by an iron net.

For several days the two prisoners saved portions of their black bread for the expected journey. On the night of June 6, when all were asleep in the house, they broke through the window and climbed out. The road was familiar to them, as they had driven along it on several occasions. They walked till the early morning without mishap. At about 6 o'clock they hid themselves in the grain on the edge of a field. Within a

few yards of them, without suspecting it, Russian war prisoners were laboring. Till 5 in the afternoon no one noticed them.

After dinner a woman, evidently the lady of the estate, in the company of her son, a youngster, came out into the field. The boy soon directed himself toward the wheat to pick wild flowers. His mother came after him, and stumbled against the two men hiding there. She was so frightened that for some minutes she stood there unable to utter a sound. Meanwhile the two men took to their heels. Luckily, there were no soldiers in the vicinity. The two Germans in charge of the Russian laborers would not risk leaving them unguarded in order to go hunting for the two Siberians. The woman ran to the village, while the men were looking for a ditch in the grain-field in which to hide. A hunt after them was inevitable.

Crawling on the ground, Ralnikoff and Dalmatoff advanced a few hundred feet, and then hid again to see what was coming. Toward evening sounds of male and female voices reached them. Dogs were also accompanying them. Slowly the voices died away in the distance. Slightly raising their heads, the two men saw some gendarmes in the back-ground.

On the third night the sea was reached. Walking northward along the shore of a small bay, the escaped prisoners were looking for a boat. In one place they discovered some excellent fishing boats, but a guard was keeping watch over them. They walked for another seven or eight miles, and were rejoiced to discover a small boat with oars. On the shore a tiny village was situated. Ascertaining that no one was watching them, the two men stole into a garden, where they found an old pail. This they filled with drinking water from the well, and took it to the boat and shoved out to sea.

Never before had these men from the Siberian steppes set eyes upon the sea. They did not know how to row, but they learned quickly. Then they discovered that the boat was leaking. Cutting off the corks from a rope lying in the boat,

they filled the hole. Far to the west the signal lights of German ships were glowing. Risking the danger of falling in the way of a mine-layer, they kept on northward, verifying their direction by the compass in the light of the lamp. Toward morning a favoring wind began to blow. They spread a coat on two oars, thus getting a semblance of a sail. The boat ran faster. Suddenly some fighting craft appeared on the horizon. It was necessary to hide. They hauled down the "sail" quickly, and heavily took to the oars. The vessels evidently did not notice the small boat, for they soon disappeared from view.

The coast behind them was seen no longer, and the boat got into a strong current, which tossed it violently. The wind was increasing. Big waves were rising and washing over the sides. The inexperienced Siberians were seized by seasickness. Terrible headaches and vomiting forced them to drop their oars now and then. Besides, a wave filled their pail with sea water, and they had nothing to drink. They tasted the sea water, and their thirst only grew more painful. Toward night the storm grew more violent. The boat was being carried westward. With superhuman efforts, they again tried to row.

The second night on the sea arrived—a bleak, awful, and lonely night. A terrible fight for life had commenced. The boat was being thrown about like a feather. Dalmatoff vomited blood. At times the two brave fellows felt like jumping overboard to escape further torment. Ralnikoff was now rowing alone. Finally, he also dropped the oars and gave himself up to the current. Fortunately, the storm was abating by this time. The waves were diminishing in force. The Siberians in turn used the bottom of the boat for a resting place. When day came they found it horrifying to look at each other's face. Yellow, exhausted, with cheeks sunken, the two men resembled ghosts from another world. Their strength was gone. They began to lose all hope. They did not know how far the current had carried them to the west.

They now moved to the north, dream-

ing of a steamer to pick them up, but no vessels were in sight. Toward noon they noticed swans flying northward. They were overjoyed, seeing in this a sign of the proximity of land. They plucked up their last powers and directed the boat to the northwest. Finally, they noticed a black point on the horizon. It was land, but whether an island or part of the continent, and of what country, they knew not. The joy of a speedy salvation injected new power in their veins, and after thirty-six hours of rocking on the waves of the Baltic they reached land.

Exhausted, they dropped on the shore. There was a hamlet not far off. A

woman saw two men fall to the ground and hastened to their aid. She soon brought out coffee to them. Of food they could have nothing at the time. Very soon the whole village turned out to see the Russian prisoners who had escaped from Germany. They questioned the refugees in Danish and shouted "Russland, England, Denmark, lieb, lieb, hurrah!"

The prisoners were placed in a cabin near the beach. All expressed amazement at their courage to brave such a storm. They were given medical treatment, allowed to recuperate, and were sent to Russia. They gratefully recall the kindnesses of the Danes to them.

The Comforts of Home—in Trench Dugouts

By a British Private

THE first night in trenches I slept with a friend in a small, box-like hole, six feet long and a yard square—and we were wearing greatcoats and full equipment minus pack and haversack. Our method of entrance was for me to crawl in first and for my friend to wriggle over me, pulling himself along by my belt, my equipment, and my face. We lay squashing each other and breathing on each other, more uncomfortable than ever in our lives, but we were tired—and we slept. They pulled us out by our feet.

The next night was something similar, only a little more so. This time it was a tiny hole that held one's head and shoulders. I got in first, and I was awakened by the wet greatcoat of a comrade rubbing gently over my face. He had gone to sleep on a firing step and had been awakened by snow and sleet when he was wet through. He had then come to join me in my hole. How bitterly I cursed him! And I remember I insisted on his crawling out to divest himself of his overcoat before allowing him to settle down. Poor lad! One alone could curl up in the hole, but with two one had to lie stretched out. My legs from the knees downward were in the slush outside, and every one who passed

by—and it seemed as if half the British Army passed that hole that night—trod on me.

In our next spell in trenches we had no dugout at all. We made one. We called it a dugout. Really it was merely a shelter. It was three feet high, two deep, and six long. The top was of corrugated iron, the sides of waterproof sheets, the seat (for we could only sit in it with our feet and legs dangling in the trench) of earth, and the supports were sticks. In it four of us had our being, when off duty, for several days. And we imagined ourselves much safer than when in the open!

Oh, innocence!

My next home in the trenches was a wooden box, rectangular, four feet high, six wide, and twelve long. Ten of us lived there. The only way we could occupy it was by all sitting on our haunches with our knees to our chins.

I remember I was fortunate enough to occupy a rum jar which, however, continually rolled from beneath me, but the dugout sticks in my memory mainly because I nearly broke my back in continually stooping double.

From this time onward my fortune in dugouts improved. I found one in a spot that was a little higher inside, that

was better protected by sandbags, that boasted a brazier! Four of us lived there. One was a director of a building firm, with a pretty turn for cutting tins, and he constructed a chimney and an oven out of biscuit and jam tins. We rigged up a shelf, too. This was our luckiest dugout, for one of our four contracted German measles and we were isolated and forbidden to do any work! We became skilled in auction bridge.

But I had been out at the front three months before I occupied a real dugout. One entered it backward in a sliding fashion—for the steps were merging into each other—and we found it deep and cool—too cool—and dark, and, fortunately for us, able to withstand minenwerfers, (trench mortars,) shells, rifle grenades, and whizz-bangs. My stove, on which I was boiling water, was put out three times and our candles twelve times by concussion on our first morning there. Also a lump of shell, weighing

two or three pounds, visited us down the steps. Yes, it was an excellent dugout. Fourteen of us lived there. The man opposite to me sat on a red plush, ornamented, decrepit, drawing-room chair—where it came from I cannot imagine, unless it was from some ruined and deserted house near by long since destroyed altogether. I sat and slept on a petrol tin.

Not every soldier likes dugouts. I have a friend who hates them. Always since a boy he has been obsessed with dreams of walls closing in upon him. One night not long ago he dreamed that the dugout he was in had collapsed and crushed him. In the morning he examined the supports, and partly because he concluded it was not altogether safe and partly because of the vivid nature of the dream, he removed his kit, and persuaded his companions to do likewise. Not an hour afterward the dugout slid forward and fell in.

The Maori in France

By a British Correspondent

IN the green lanes of France you may meet at any time with men of all colors. There are black men marching there, brown men and bronze, besides all the English and French soldiery. A while ago a long column swung along the road to the tune of a melody sung in time to the marching feet. The tune you would know, but the words would be new to you, or at least seem so.

*He roa te wa ki Tipirere,
He tino mamao,
He roa te wa ki Tipirere,
Ki taku kotiro,
E noho pikatiri,
Hei kona rehitā kōea,
He mamao rawa Tipirere
Ka tae ahua.*

It is an old friend in new guise, and the last words of the first line will tell you that it is none other than "Tipperary." But what is the tongue, that it is sung in and what of the men that sing it?

On the under side of the world there is a land where the trees never turn yellow; where the Summer is a fair

division of the year, with a month and a half thrown in for good measure. It is a land of big spaces, full, broad rivers, and turquoise lakes. In the south there are great mountains with their peaks clothed in perpetual snow and their glaciers moving toward the sun-bathed plains. In the interior there lived a race of chivalrous warriors who fought a great fight against British troops. Now New Zealand is as British as Sussex, and the spirit of the dark-skinned fighters who took up arms against the redcoats has come to France in the Maori contingent.

When the war came to New Zealand it found one Maori boy dwelling beside the waters of Lake Taupo. He was happy as he could be and not overworked. He had been taught English by the Catholic priest of Waihi, and he could read the papers slowly, but sufficiently well to tell that here was a great adventure offered him. He sat one night reading from the cables how the Germans had

thrown our army back from Mons. He did not know where Mons was, but he knew that men were wanted. * * * He took his younger brother out to the potato paddock and gave him detailed instructions as to what he was to do if the kumaras were by any chance ready for digging before he came back from settling the King's affairs. He shook hands solemnly with his grandfather and performed the "hongi," rubbing his own flat nose on the tattooed face of the old man.

He shouldered his bundle and walked to Waioura, and then he took a train. In ten days he was wearing a khaki jacket and a helmet and doing tedious drill on a hard-trodden square. Then, after the allotted space of training, he was embarked with his fellows, all of his own race, and the long journey to Egypt commenced. Arrived at Gallipoli he got his first taste of fighting, and heredity came uppermost. Disregarding all that an impressive Sergeant Major had drummed into his head, he forgot that a bayonet was for use at close quarters. He was sent with the other Maoris on a little piece of work that demanded much steadiness and the utmost quiet. They stealthily crept along to attack the Turk. It was to be a surprise attack, and the rifles were not to be fired. It was a surprise, and Honé went into the thick of the mêlée with his rifle clubbed like the "tiaha" or the "teko-teko" of his forebears. It was hard work, but orders were obeyed, and there were no noises but the sound of hard breathing and the thud of the rifle stocks and the cries of the wounded. Their object was achieved, and that night on the beach under Walker's they sat and talked in their own tongue of the glories of that half hour.

Then they came to France, and we find them swinging along between the high poplars to the tune of "Tipperary," sung sweetly in their soft voices and with the perfect time that all Polynesian races are able to put into their music. Honé came, too, and here he is at the head of the column with two stripes on his sleeve. As he marches he wishes wistfully that his old grandfather and little Hori, his brother, could see him now and could have heard the cheers that greeted them in the streets of the first French town they passed through.

Once more he was in the thick of things, but this time he did not march back to the bivouac. A stretcher carried him to the waiting motor ambulance and he was hurried to the hospital, where a surgeon shook his head sadly over him.

He lay there for two days, but his spirit was already half round the world to the quiet lakeside where the white sand is washed by waters as blue as the clear sky. He thought himself back at Taupo sitting under the shade of the manuka bushes. The steam from the hot pools in the ti-tree was wafted across the water and the boiling mud geysers chuckled and gurgled like goblins as he told his brother and the old man of how he had fought the Turk and the Germans. The nurse at the other end of the ward was suddenly conscious of soft singing, and as she came along the passageway between the beds she heard that the voice was Honé's. She, too, knew the tune, but the words were strange to her. "He roa te wa ki Tipirere, he tino mamao," he sang. And then, as the little boiling pools chuckled and laughed softly and the note of a distant bell-bird came across the arm of the lake from Waitanui, he closed his eyes and his spirit went to the place where all good warriors go.

French Schools in Alsace

THERE are now flourishing French schools in the portion of Alsace occupied by General Joffre's troops. In the single district of T. 6,000 little Alsations are learning to use the language which the German Government

had prohibited in the common schools. French could be taught privately outside of the German schools, but this made it a luxury accessible only to the children of well-to-do parents. Now, according to an article in the Bulletin des Armées, the

population is eager to seize the opportunity to acquire the proscribed language. Already the little boy or girl of the fam-



ily, returning from school, is serving as interpreter between the parents and the soldiers lodged in the house.

The installation of the schools is very picturesque. It has been necessary to open temporary classes in cellars, barns, tents, or even in forest glades. In several villages the schoolhouse has had to

be abandoned. The roof is crushed in, the glass is shattered from the windows, the rooms are full of débris. Through the little window of a basement, however, come childish voices, singing "Il était une bergère," and in a setting which recalls the old schools of 1830 you see a soldier or a nun surrounded by a group of children. Sometimes it happens that the song is interrupted by the screech of a shell, and then everybody descends to the cellar, where the boys avenge themselves for having felt the wind of fear by singing the "Marseillaise."

The school life is so closely mingled with the military life that the teachers, no matter what their station, feel like soldiers. And so do the pupils. Most of them have adopted the French uniform, not without fantasy and variety. One might say that every army corps, all arms, and all ranks are represented in each class. Very often the schoolhouse itself is divided between the children and the soldiers. In the corridors or the court the urchins and poilus rub elbows and have grown very fond of each other. The little boys already have very decided ideas as to the regiment or army which they will choose when the time comes for them to serve France. The little girls devote themselves to caring for the graves of soldiers who have fallen for their country.

The Death Plunge of a Zeppelin

A Night Episode Near London

THIRTEEN Zeppelin airships took part in a raid over the eastern counties of England on the night of Saturday, Sept. 2, the most formidable aerial attack thus far recorded in history. Three of the great airships reached the outskirts of London, where their bombs killed a man and a woman, and injured eleven other persons, including two children. The dramatic and spectacular feature of the episode was the destruction of one of these three invaders high in air by a British youth of 21, Lieutenant Robinson, who got above

it in an aeroplane and sent it flaming to earth with its doomed German crew of sixteen men. As London's millions saw it fall, it was a historic night for that city. One eyewitness thus describes the event:

"I was awakened about 2:30 o'clock Sunday morning by the information that gunfire was going on. Looking from my windows I saw the flashes of the guns in all directions. In a certain direction especially there was a great display of searchlights. Suddenly there appeared a glow in the sky which in-

creased in intensity until it became something like a great star. This clearly assumed the shape of a Zeppelin at a great height. It looked like a mass of molten metal such as one sees falling out of a furnace pipe, or a bar of polished steel about the thickness of an engine piston rod. It seemed to remain motionless and undecided which way to go while the guns peppered it without cessation.

"Shells burst around it, in front and behind, above and below, and it made a turn as if to go in the direction of the coast, but a shell burst ominously near its nose and caused it to swing around in the opposite direction.

"Then away up there in the centre of the ball of light something happened. It seemed as if a black shadow passed between our vision and the brilliant light. In the sky when we looked again the airship had gone. Firing ceased and the searchlights, splitting their focused rays, shot backward and forward across the firmament, but the Zeppelin was gone. Under cover of a cloud of smoke she had made a wild dash upward beyond the ray of light and through the ring of bursting shells.

"Suddenly, away further to the north, a ball of fire in the sky riveted our attention. The ball spread in size, and there was a great explosion. The whole of London, north, south, east, and west, was illuminated by the one flash. The dome of St. Paul's and the towers at Westminster, hitherto obscured, stood out with remarkable clearness, and for a brief second it looked as if a panorama of the whole of London had been thrown upon a screen in a darkened hall.

"There was no need now to speculate as to the fate of the invader. Persons who came out into the streets raised cheer after cheer and sang the national anthem. The burning Zeppelin could now be seen falling nose downward to the earth like a huge blazing caldron from which poured a spray of sparks."

The airship fell near the hamlet of Cuffley, fifteen miles from London and not far from Enfield, where the rifles of that name are made, and where the factory was undoubtedly the objective of the

raider. A resident of the farm on which it fell says it came down like a huge incandescent mantle with an orange centre of flame. It fell headlong with a terrible, tearing sound, and struck the ground with a crash that could be heard for miles around.

When daylight came sixteen charred bodies were taken out of the debris and laid in a row on the grass, where 100,000 people from London came flocking to see them. The crowds went out afoot, in taxicabs, motor cars, charabancs, pony carts—anything to reach the picturesque country spot where lay the mangled airship. A never-ceasing string of motor cars, dashing along the fifteen-mile run from London to Cuffley, aroused memories of the days when the cup races used to be run. So thick were the motor cars that at many spots along the way they became choked in the roads so that travel was badly clogged.

On the morning after the event it was discovered that the Zeppelin had been brought to earth, not by the anti-aircraft guns below, but by an intrepid boy in a biplane—Lieutenant Leete Robinson of the Royal Flying Corps—who has since received the Victoria Cross.

This was the first Zeppelin brought down on English soil, (one was destroyed off the mouth of the Thames a few months ago,) hence Lieutenant Robinson received cash rewards aggregating \$3,000 which had been offered by private individuals for this achievement.

The bodies of the German youths who had given up their lives on this dangerous expedition were buried on Sept. 6 in the little country cemetery amid the hayfields about Cuffley, with simple Church of England services, followed by the sounding of taps, as arranged by the Royal Flying Corps. The bodies of the fifteen privates were laid in one large grave, while that of the commander was buried separately in a coffin whose inscription revealed the number of the airship:

"An unknown German officer killed while commanding the L-21, Sept. 3, 1916."

Deportation of Civilians in Occupied French Territory

The French Government has issued a White Book addressed to neutral nations, in which it protests against certain illegal acts of the German military authorities toward the civilian population in the French departments occupied by the enemy. During the days just before and after Easter, 1916, about 25,000 French subjects, ranging from young girls of 16 to men of 55 years, without distinction of social condition, were torn from their homes and families at Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Lille, and deported to the Aisne and Ardennes districts, where they were compelled by force or threats to work in the fields. Germany defends the act on the ground that it was necessary because of food scarcity. The Allies denounce it as slavery. It has aroused indignation throughout France and England and added a new note of bitterness to the conflict. The more important documents on the subject are presented below.

Statement by M. Briand

FROM time to time the Government of the Republic has had occasion to advise the neutral powers of the means, contrary to treaties, employed by the German military authority toward the populations of the French territory temporarily occupied by Germany. The Government of the Republic finds itself today compelled to place before the foreign Governments documents which will furnish the proof that our enemies have adopted new measures which are still more inhuman.

Upon the order of General von Graevenitz and with the assistance of Infantry Regiment 64, sent by the German General Headquarters, about 25,000 French, young girls from 16 to 20 years old, young women and men up to the age of 55 years, without distinction of social condition, were torn from their homes at Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Lille, pitilessly separated from their families, and forced to do agricultural work in the Departments of the Aisne and Ardennes.

Better than any comments the posters of the German authorities, the painful protests of the Mayor and Bishop of Lille, and the extracts from letters which have come from these localities, and which are annexed to this statement, will illustrate this new deed of the German Imperial Government.

Here is the recital of the facts as given us by the Minister of War on June 30, 1916:

"The Germans, not content with sub-

jecting our population of the north to all series of vexations, have just inflicted upon them the most iniquitous of treatments. In contempt of the most universally recognized rules and of their most positive promise not to harass the civil population, they have torn women and young girls from their families, and, mingling them with men, have shipped them for unknown destinations and unknown labors.

"In the first days of April posters offered to unemployed families to settle them in the country in the departments of the north to work in the fields or to chop down trees. This endeavor having met with poor success, the Germans decided to resort to force. Beginning April 9, they are found carrying on wholesale arrests in the streets and in homes, carrying away pell-mell men and young girls and shipping them no one knows where.

"The measure was soon to become general and to be used in more methodical fashion. A General and numerous troops arrived at Lille, among others the Sixty-fourth Regiment, coming from Verdun; on April 29 and 30 a notice to the population was posted in which it was requested to hold itself ready for a forced evacuation. Immediately the Mayor protested, the Bishop sought the commander of the place, the Elders sent indignant letters; nothing availed.

"On Saturday of Holy Week at 3 o'clock in the morning methodical wholesale arrests began at Lille, starting with the Fives quarter, Tourcoing, starting

with the Marlière quarter, and at Roubaix. After an interruption for Easter Sunday the operation was resumed during the whole week, ending at Lille in the St. Maurice quarter. Toward 3 o'clock in the morning the streets were barred by troops with fixed bayonets and a machine gun set up across the sidewalk against unarmed people. The soldiers entered the houses, and officers designated the persons who were to go, and half an hour later every one was carried away pell-mell to a nearby factory, and from there to the railroad station for departure. Mothers with children under 14 years were spared; young girls below 20 years old were carried away only with a person of their family, but this does not lessen the barbarity of the measure. Soldiers of the Landsturm were visibly embarrassed to find themselves employed for such work.

"The victims of this brutal deed showed the greatest courage. They were heard crying 'Long live France!' and singing 'La Marseillaise' in the cattle cars which carried them away.

"It is said that the men are employed at farming, road work, munitions making, and digging trenches. The women are required to cook and wash for the soldiers and to take the places of officers' orderlies.

"Hence for these hard tasks servants, domestics, and working girls were taken in preference. In the Rue Royale at Lille there are no servant girls left, but young girls of courage were found in the middle class who did not wish to see only the young girls of the working class go. It is mentioned that the Misses B. and de B. insisted upon accompanying the girls of their neighborhood.

"These unfortunates, thus requisitioned, were dispersed from Seclin and Templeuve to the Ardennes. Their number is estimated at 25,000 for the cities of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing. The Place quarter of Lille, the townships of Loos, Haubordin, Madeleine, and Lambersart are said to have been spared."

Nothing can equal the emotion felt by the populations of the north of France without distinction of class during these

days of Holy Week. These facts surpass in inhumanity those which had occurred previously. * * *

The German military authority, in orders posted at Lille, has seen fit to justify the wholesale exiles carried out at Lille and Roubaix as being the counterpart of the attitude of England in rendering the feeding of populations more and more difficult. Nothing can justify a measure so barbarous; the seizure of contraband, the stoppage of enemy commerce are acts of war; the deportation of population without military necessity is not one. Besides, in order to do justice to this pretended justification, it suffices to establish that not only has Germany profited through depriving the occupied territories of all products which would have assured the support of the inhabitants, but further has organized to its profit before all stoppage of enemy commerce the exploitation of the labor of French civilians.

Article 52 of the rule annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention authorizes the requisitioning in kind and in service for the needs of the army of occupation. There is no question in the depositions obtained of any regular form of requisition. Services sometimes of the most repulsive character were imposed by constraint upon the entire civilian population, without distinction of sex, age, or social condition. These unfortunates had to do the labor imposed upon them by night or day in places the most diverse and most distant from their residences, sometimes even under the fire of artillery, without remuneration of any sort in most cases, for some crusts of bread in others. The German military authority has never had any consideration for the population whose provisional administration has been secured to it by war. The fruits of the forced labor of this population have been shipped to Germany, despite the absolute destitution of the workers.

Finally, it may be noticed in the following depositions that the German authorities did not hesitate to compel these populations to take part in war operations against their country, even to the extent of taking part in the looting of

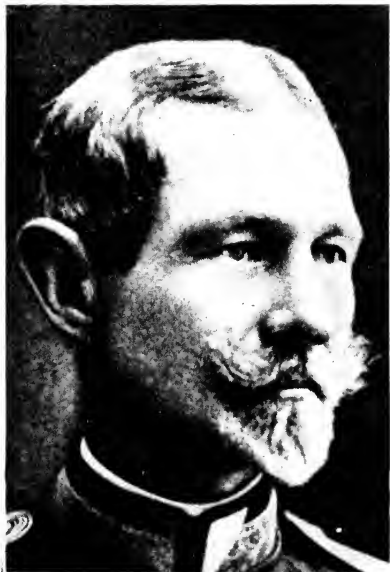
FOUR RUMANIAN LEADERS



Ion Bratiano,
Premier of Rumania.



Take Jonescu,
the People's Leader.



General Averescu,
Noted Commander.



General Culca,
a Doughty Fighter.

GERMAN PRISON CAMP MONEY



Paper Money and Coins That Are Being Used in Place of Legal Money in the German and Austrian Camps of War Captives.

their own land. These authorities made of them the direct auxiliaries of the fighting army, whether by placing them in front of German troops as shields or by forcing them to do work connected with war operations.

The working material—for it is no longer a question of men, but of veritable machines which are displaced as suits the needs—the material lacking in certain regions of the occupied territory, the German authorities draw without counting either in the internment camps, where against all right those subject to military duty removed from that territory have been confined, or in the other invaded regions. They are not sent to the place of their previous residence. These civilians are enlisted, and, although the Germans themselves recognize that they may not be compelled to do labor, they are taken to any point of the territories occupied by the German Army and compelled to do the hardest labor.

And when France, in the name of anguished families, demands information concerning the fate of the transplanted unfortunates the German Government replies that the military authorities do not deem themselves obliged to account for the reasons which have caused these transfers. It has not been possible to know during whole seasons what has become of such unfortunates.

It results clearly from the whole of the depositions hereinafter set forth that no immediate necessity whatever, nor the excitement incident to fighting, can extenuate the violations of the law of nations committed by the German authorities. The latter, in accordance with a deliberate will and a method settled in advance, have reduced the unhappy population of the invaded territories to a condition which may be compared only to slavery.

In 1885, at the time of the African conference in Berlin, of which she had taken the initiative, Germany had bound herself, in what concerned the territories of Africa where she exercised her sovereignty or influence, to conserve the native populations and to better materially and morally their existence.

After having gathered the informa-

tion, necessarily very limited, which has come to it from the invaded portion of France, and which it submits to the neutral powers, the Government of the Republic is entitled to doubt that the German authorities observe in what concerns the populations which are temporarily in their charge the obligations which the Imperial Government has undertaken regarding the black populations of the centre of Africa.

(Signed) A. BRIAND,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

German Proclamation

The German Military Commander of Lille posted up the following proclamation during Holy Week:

The attitude of England renders it increasingly difficult to feed the population.

To lessen misery, the German authority has recently asked volunteers to work in the country. This offer has not had the success which was expected. Consequently the inhabitants will be removed by compulsion and transported to the country. Those removed will be sent in the interior of French occupied territory far behind the front, where they will be employed in agriculture and in no way in military work.

By this measure the opportunity will be given them to better provide for their support.

In case of necessity the revictualing may be effected by the German depôts.

Each person removed may carry thirty kilograms of baggage, (house utensils, clothes, &c.,) which it will be well to prepare immediately. Hence I order:

No one may until further notice change residence. Nor may any one be absent from his declared local domicile from 9 o'clock at night until 6 o'clock in the morning (German time) unless he holds a regular permit.

As this concerns an irrevocable measure, it is in the interest of the population itself to remain calm and obedient.

Lille, April, 1916.

(Signed) THE COMMANDER.

The foregoing was followed by this more peremptory notice:

All the inhabitants of the houses except children under 14 years and their mothers, as also except elderly persons, must prepare to be transported in an hour and a half.

An officer will finally decide what persons are to be conducted to concentration points. To that end all inhabitants of the house must gather before their habitation; in case of bad weather it is permissible to remain in the hall. The door of the house must remain open. Any objection will be useless. No

inhabitant of the house, even those who will not be removed, may leave the house before 8 o'clock in the morning, (German time.)

Each person will be entitled to thirty kilograms of baggage. Should there be an excess of weight, all the baggage of that person will be refused without consideration. The bundles must be made separately for each person and bear a legible address written and solidly affixed. The address must bear the name, given name, and the number of the card of identity.

It is wholly necessary in one's own interest to bring drinking and eating utensils, as also a woolen blanket, good shoes, and linen. Each person will have to carry a card of identity. Whoever attempts to evade removal will be pitilessly punished.

(Signed) ETAPPAN KOMMANDANT,

Summary of Evidence

The remainder of the White Book consists of more than 240 corroborative exhibits in the form of sworn statements in regard to sufferings and abuses endured by victims of the deportation edict. Women and men alike testify to having been compelled to work from 6 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon at various kinds of hard labor, upon pain of imprisonment, starvation, or beating. Some of the men state that they were compelled to bury the dead, to dig trenches, construct bridges or roads, and do other work of military value to the enemy. To employ prisoners or civilians of occupied country in military work constitutes a violation of international law, as voiced in Article 52 of the Fourth Hague Convention.

A German Explanation

The following explanation by a German officer who had been an Aide-de-Camp in the Lille district during the evictions was sent from Berlin by a semi-official news agency on Aug. 17:

The main reason for sending a part of the civilian population from Lille was that the town was being furiously shelled by the British, who do not show the regard for French cities that the French artillerymen do, their reckless destruction of French houses and monuments being resented by the French civilians in Lille. In addition to this there had been much difficulty in the distribution of food in the congested districts of the city. Therefore, civilians from the densely populated workingmen's quarters were sent away. By no means all civilians were sent; only those from the quarters mentioned.

View of an Eyewitness

Cyril Brown, the Berlin correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, visited these evicted civilians in August, and made the following report:

Twenty-two thousand French civilians, men, women, youths, and young girls, have been evicted to date from Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing, I am told. The greater part have been distributed over the rich agricultural sections of France in German hands. The balance have been distributed among industrial centres.

Returning from the Somme front I availed myself of the opportunity of spending a day visiting the evicted civilians in Sedan and thirteen surrounding hamlets and villages. My impression gained after seeing and talking with the male evicted civilians in Sedan was unfavorable if their statements were true. The impression made upon us by the men, women, girls, and youths in the country district around Sedan was very favorable.

To understand the situation the reader must bear in mind that a clear distinction is made between "conscripts" of military age and the other evicted persons, women and males of non-military age. Most of the civilians appear to have been taken from Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing in April or May. An officer of the General Staff, who spoke with authority, told me that of the 22,000 civilians 2,000 had been sent back to their homes either because they had been sent away by mistake, as in the case of those of higher social status, because they were physically incapable of working, because they were single women without near relatives, or for other valid reasons. The officer added that quite a number of those who returned to Lille had asked to be brought back to Sedan because living conditions were better for them here. He further stated that the difficulties of feeding the masses in Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing, particularly the unemployed, had forced the German military authorities to resort to the policy of evicting the inhabitants.

I am inclined to believe that while the military necessity of relieving the non-military pressure from important strategic railroads and even a certain degree of altruism influenced the military authorities to take this measure, the permanent evicting of 20,000 natives could not seem sufficient to relieve the economic pressure in these cities—would not be enough alone to justify the step. It seems probable that the primary motive of the military authorities was the necessity of obtaining agricultural workers to get in the bountiful harvest in Northern France, and, in the second place, for the purpose of rooting out the evils resulting from unemployment in the big cities, and the resultant difficulties of food distribution in the third place.



SLAVES

—By Forain in *Paris Figaro*.

FIRST GERMAN OFFICER: "Whose's that under the load?"

SECOND GERMAN OFFICER: "Oh, she's the daughter of that Lille Professor!"

[This letter is authenticated by the Allied Official Bureau. The Germans reply that the deportation was an act of charity to the overcrowded population in the cities.]

The Agonized Mothers of Lille

MY DEAR M.: We have just been through three weeks full of the most hideous agony and moral torture which a mother's heart can be called upon to endure—the last week has been the worst.

On the pretext of the difficulty caused by England in maintaining the food supply and the refusal of inhabitants to volunteer to work in the fields, steps have been taken for an evacuation by force, which has been put into effect with every imaginable refinement of cruelty. They did not, as on the first occasion, take families as a whole. No! they thought it too humane a method to let members of families suffer together, so they took one, two, three, four, or five members from each family, men, women, boys, children of 15, girls, anyhow—at the arbitrary will of an officer!

To prolong the agony all round, they worked by districts—never saying on which night each district would be taken. For it was at break of day that these gallant soldiers with fixed bayonets, armed with machine guns, and the band

playing at their head, sallied forth to abduct women and children. God knows where to and wherefore. They say: Far from the front for work in no way connected with the war. However, we hear already that in some districts these poor creatures have been received with volleys of stones, because it was said that they had volunteered to do work which the inhabitants of the districts refused to perform. It is a devilish lie, as is the whole plan—it was for this that the census card, which gave age, sex, ability, and skill in particular work; the identity card which we all have to carry, and the prohibition on sleeping away from home were preparing.

About three weeks ago raids were made in the two neighboring towns; people were seized anyhow in the streets and tramways, and people thus seized were never seen again. We were terrified. As several girls and children were seized, the civil and religious authorities made admirable protests. "I cannot believe," said one, "in this violation of all justice and right; this abom-

inable action, which violates every canon of morality or justice, will bring universal condemnation on its perpetrators." "I hear," said another, "that measures of an extreme nature threaten our families; I believe in the human conscience—a punishment by which young girls and children would be torn from their mothers to be sent to an unknown destination in a state of terrible promiscuity, would be as cruel as it would be undeserved—it would be contrary to the most elementary notions of morality. Your Excellency, you are a father, and you will understand what such an extreme measure would be to our families whose members are so united."

In reply, the authors of these protests were called together on Holy Thursday at 4 o'clock. During the meeting terrorizing posters were put up and they were given to understand that this was the reply to their protests, and that on leaving they could read them in the streets in the same way as the rest of the population. As the abominable measure was decided on, they were told that they could hold their tongues. Well, the poster warned every one—excepting old and infirm persons, children under 14 and their mothers—to be ready for evacuation, every person being allowed to have 30 kilograms (60 pounds) of luggage. To make the necessary arrangements domiciliary visits would be made. All the inhabitants of the house must be at the open door of the house, with their identity cards in their hands, to report to the officer, who would decide which of them were to be carried off—no appeal would be allowed. Coming out of church, we read this threat which was to be carried out at once in the case of some and would hang over the heads of others like the sword of Damocles for ten long days and ten interminable nights, as they were to proceed by districts. And, to crown all, it was at the sweet will of some officer that the victims were to be selected! We never knew each night when our turn would come, and we awoke as though from some horrible nightmare, sweat on our brow and anguish in our

heart. No words can describe to you the horror of these days. We are all quite broken by it.

From the night of Good Friday to Holy Saturday the troops passed our house to raid the first district, Fives. It was awful; the officer passed along and designated the men and women he wished to take, giving them ten minutes to an hour in which to be ready to start.

Anthony D. and his sister of 22 years of age were carried off. After much trouble they left the little girl, who is not yet 14. The grandmother, ill from misery and terror, required immediate attention. So they at last let the little girl return. But in one place an old man and in another two infirm old people were not allowed to keep the little girls who were the only persons they had to look after them. Everywhere they baited their victims, adding petty vexations to brutality. Thus at the doctor's, B.'s uncle's place, Mme. B. was told to choose between her two servants. She chose to keep the elder. "All right," said they, "then we will take her." Mlle. L., the younger one, who had just recovered from typhoid and bronchitis, saw the N. C. O. who was abducting her servant approach her. "This is a sorrowful duty we have to perform," said he. "More than sorrowful," she replied; "it might be called barbarous." "That is a hard word," he said. "Are you not frightened that I shall give you away?" and as a matter of fact the sneak did so. She was allowed seven minutes to prepare, and they led her away in slippers, without a hat, to be judged by the Colonel who commanded the heroic force. He, in spite of the verdict of the doctor, condemned her to be carried off. It was only by her untiring energy and through the pity of one less brutal than the rest that she was able to obtain exemption at 5 P. M. after a day of the tortures of Calvary.

A sentry is placed at the door for each person marked down, and then the poor creatures are taken off to some place of assembly—a church or a school—and then in a body all classes and conditions herded together; innocent young girls and public prostitutes cheek by jowl they

go, surrounded by soldiers, with the band playing before them, to the station, whence at evening they depart without knowing whither or for what labor they are destined.

As our turn was delayed we had time to prepare as far as possible the girls, who are known among us as the "sisters" and the "two." They packed their luggage pluckily, each wishing in case of need to take the place of the other, and I had to settle which it would be best to let go. On Monday we found some comfort at the little village we visited with you last year; everybody overwhelmed us with their sympathy, suffering for us and with us; for none, not even our helpers, were free from fear. All helped us, and Mme. D. made me promise to tell her if the girls I spoke of above were taken; if so, she was free, and would accompany them and be their mother. All the week this torture lasted, and the agony weighed us down. A., the servant girl, was taken and then released, partly owing to her father and partly to her young sister, whose gratitude is touching. L. A.'s daughter was seized. Then came our turn. You may imagine that sleep was impossible to me. I heard the troops passing, and awoke all my household.

At 4 A. M. the visits in our street began. They lasted till 1:30 P. M. We were taken at 10 o'clock. You can guess our agony during those six fatal hours! Of course, there was a chance of getting them released, but as surely some would be seized, and had they not already endured more than enough during that terrible day, passed beside the public women of our district, without any real certainty of delivery? At last—God again accorded us His fatherly protection—and having gone over every one, none was seized, but we were worn out. It was sinister to see the young girls living in our street passing one by one silently by, each under the guard of a soldier: there were three members of the little working party I started, deeply moved. I had given them some words of advice as to the danger to which they would

be exposed. (it was on Good Friday before the first raid;) the plucky children could not keep back their tears, and like all the others were most troubled at the thought that they would be made to work for the enemy.

Our fears are, however, not yet at an end. As regards ourselves—alas!—father himself may be threatened. Our chief accountant, M.'s husband, has been taken, and they are of an age. Oh, if they take him too! Pray, dearest, pray all of you with us, I entreat you, and thank God for having spared us this time—us, Aunt A., and all her children, also our relations and friends, (B.'s relations;) pray Him to continue His protection, for which our need is so great! Will our release never come?

It has been said—another lie—that we were in revolt and that this was a punishment. At Roubaix officers of the guard, finding themselves in the midst of a calm and dignified population, refused to carry off women and children by night. Here the Sixty-fourth Regiment, who have been at Verdun, were quite ready. Some, they said, would have preferred to have stopped in the trenches. At the least they will get the Iron Cross and the name of this glorious feat of arms will decorate their flag.

But, above all things, let our soldiers, when they get there, not revenge themselves by committing similar deeds. To do so would be to sully the fair name of France. Let them leave such evil deeds and crimes to God's vengeance. These people, as a woman whose husband, daughter, and son were seized told them, "will be accursed in their race, in their wives, and in their children."

I have finished my long, miserable tale, but I cannot adequately describe the awful misery of those whose homes have been decimated. Many will die of it. It is, as Monsigneur said, the passion of our families added to the Passion of Christ. One woman burst out into a sweat of blood when they seized her son; they brought him back, and she did not know him. It is terrible, and our position seems to me very threatening. Pray for us. * * * MARIE.

Belgium Under the Surface

By A. J. Hemphill

American Banker and Honorary Treasurer of Neutral Commission for Relief

WHEN I got to Brussels my first impression was that everything was normal, except for the absence of vehicles owing to the scarcity of horses and the prohibition of motors except to a few. The people are well clad, the shops are open, and men go about their daily life much the same as they do in London or New York. At the markets I saw people buying and selling—mostly vegetables—and business being freely transacted in the ordinary way. That was on the surface. But one has to remember that Belgium normally lives on imported raw materials and food, and pays for her food by export of her manufactures. This vital current is stopped by the war, and 60 per cent. of Belgium's workpeople are idle. A large part of the commercial class are also idle and reduced to dependence upon charity. When I went to the relief stations where the wholly destitute—amounting to a large proportion of the population—get their soup and other provisions, I saw, in the waiting queues, not only the needy class that one would expect, but well-dressed men, women, and children. In Brussels and elsewhere throughout Belgium the human lines that daily wait for the small ration provided by the charity of the world are marked by this same sad feature. Destitution is not only widespread, but there are now dependent upon relief thousands of the upper classes who never dreamed of coming to such a pass.

It is only after being in Brussels for a little time, and after visiting Charleroi, Malines, Antwerp, Liège, and other places, that one realizes how misleading are first impressions of life in Belgium as it is today. The outward appearance of normality is sustained only by the fact that relief to the value of over \$6,000,000 is, so to speak, injected into the country every month. The external calm is an amazing tribute to the efficiency of the

system whereby the relief organization provides and distributes to this whole nation the supplies without which there would be chaos and unthinkable suffering.

In this complex work of rationing every day over 7,000,000 souls, of whom just one-half are totally or partially destitute, the Belgians themselves are co-operating magnificently. Without their unflinching support and public-spirited work the efforts of those throughout the world who, regardless of nationality, sympathize with the Belgian people would fail of their purpose.

The Comité National in Brussels, composed of the leading Belgians who dared to stay and face the invaders, has enrolled thousands of volunteer helpers, who are now experts in this problem of rationing.

Both in America and England a good deal of uneasiness somewhat naturally exists as to the relief supplies actually reaching the Belgians. I discussed this point thoroughly with responsible Belgians throughout the country and with the Americans who are supervising the distribution, besides keeping my own eyes open for any indication of confiscation by the Germans. As a result I am convinced that the relief supplies sent into Belgium reach, in their entirety, the Belgian people. Except for trivial local incidents, which are invariably remedied, I heard of no instance whatever of the Germans breaking their guarantees to respect the food which the allied Governments allow to be brought through the blockade. As regards the home-grown produce, there are, probably, still some minor leakages—almost inevitable in a country garrisoned by a foreign army—but I can safely say that 95 per cent. of the native food supplies go toward feeding the Belgian people. The inappreciable leakages to which I refer are always made the subject of

negotiations between the relief organization and the belligerent powers.

What do the Belgian people really think? They don't think. They just hope. They live from day to day in the undimmed expectancy of regaining their independence. I might also say they live on hope, because if that wonderful spirit were not there the scanty ration, which is all the relief organization can supply, would be inadequate to prevent increased disease and mortality.

Under ordinary circumstances the population would be pauperized by free feeding of the unemployed. This is not the case in Belgium. In the first place, a daily diet of soup, bread, sometimes potatoes and a little bacon, and occasionally rice and beans, continued over two years, does not offer many attractions. It is only the indomitable spirit of the people themselves that makes it bearable. They will be glad enough when peace comes to exchange free meals of such a kind for the food they can earn by work. At present a small percentage get a few days' work weekly in local industries, such as the enamel, glass, and coal trades, at a few francs per week. They unceasingly refuse wages at from 15 to 25 francs a week, which they could obtain by working for the Germans. Glass and enamel ware, by consent of the Allies, are being exported in small quantities, but the payments for such exports are retained in allied countries until the conclusion of the war. The German assertion that the whole Belgian Nation has organized a passive resistance strike on an unprecedented scale is undoubtedly correct.

In one relief canteen which I inspected a man came up and made a complaint. There was no meat, he said excitedly, in his soup. He had long given up the idea of receiving meat as part of his daily meal, but if he was to live, he declared, he must get some of the nourishment that meat provides. He was right. There was practically no meat in the soup. But what is one to do? Such meat as there is in the country is \$1.50 per pound.

There are 600,000 children in Belgium entirely dependent upon the tender-heartedness of the outside world. A large percentage of the remaining 2,000,000 children up to the age of 16 are partially dependent upon relief. The problem of bringing them up and even of keeping them alive is becoming more and more grave. The relief organization has just started an extraordinarily interesting experiment to meet the emergency of short milk supplies in industrial centres. They have asked the peasants to lend, free of charge, for one year, one cow from each of their herds to a communal herd which will provide milk for the children. In Antwerp the herd now numbers over 400 cattle. In other centres the peasants are responding excellently to the appeal. At the end of the year the cows will be returned to their owners, who will be compensated for the loss of any of their cattle.

My visit to Belgium gave me my first opportunity to see for myself the actual working of the relief system. It is a marvel of efficiency and devotion. As an American I am proud not only of my fellow-countryman, Mr. Herbert Hoover, to whose genius for organization the whole structure owes its continued existence through a thousand heartbreaking difficulties, but of those Americans who, so self-sacrificingly and self-effacingly, are devoting themselves in the occupied territory to keeping the Belgian Nation alive. * * * All Americans admire the magnificent generosity with which the British Empire, despite the many other calls upon its benevolence and resources, has contributed, through the National Committee for Relief in Belgium, to the support of the relief work. After seeing that work for myself, I venture to say that it is the duty of every humane individual to help these helpless civilians in Belgium—especially the children—who for nearly two years have endured sorrows and privations that would try the soul of any nation in the world, and yet still remain heroically true to those traditions of liberty and freedom which they have inherited through centuries.

German Civil Administration in Belgium

By Baron Adolf von Bachofen

A German official who recently visited the occupied territory

IT is a matter of course that the military administration of Belgium, so far as its needs are concerned, holds the country in an iron grip, guarding the conquered territory in every way. But the fact that, immediately following the great military successes of the Fall of 1914, a civil administration had been called into life and since that time had solidly incorporated itself in the life of the nation was one of the things that impressed me the most. I still distinctly remembered the conditions in Alsace in the eighties, when the relations between the Government and the people were thus characterized by a worthy citizen: "We don't mind being governed, but we will not be scolded." At that time there were all kinds of orders as to what must and must not be, but the economic union of the new territory with the empire and the reconstruction of its sadly stricken industries were still in a bad way fifteen years after the conquest.

There is a mighty difference between the Prussian jurists who were in power at that time and the far-seeing officials of the empire of today. Forces from all parts of Germany are being employed in the civil administration to put the country in a new state of industrial activity, to make everything ready for peace, and to shape the relations between the empire and Belgium, so that an active trade after the conclusion of peace will develop close bonds between the two countries. At the same time everything adaptable about the administrative bodies has been retained and left in the hands of the natives. Belgian Judges administer the law, and Belgian Mayors attend to the affairs of the cities and towns, only a few of them having been removed or interned because of political intrigues, as in Brussels.

A Belgian committee looks after the distribution, even to the last village, of

the articles of food and similar objects that come from the United States for the civil population. Only the highest officials are missing, and, naturally, the Ministries, which could not work with the German Government, are out of the country. Where the native institutions are not sufficient, or where sharp and continued opposition prevents effective work, the organs of the civil administration reinforce the native organizations and bring new life to the severely stricken land. The staff of men that his Excellency von Bissing has gradually gathered together for this task comes from every part of Germany and from all spheres of activity.

After the country had been conquered in an incredibly short time, the civil administration was organized as soon as possible, and it certainly faced one of the hardest tasks that could be placed before a Government. In a country whose life depended upon industry in a greater degree than any other, all the factories were at a standstill. The people were filled with the deepest hatred toward the new rulers, the owners of almost all the industrial and commercial establishments had fled, the enormous trade that ordinarily ebbed and flowed through the country was in complete stagnation. It was necessary to feed the population and to revive labor.

The first problem, that of providing food, was solved with comparative speed. Because of the killing off of young cattle and the selling of horses abroad, some drastic orders were issued; as a result, the supply of live stock is now again at its former height and the agricultural output is scarcely less than at any time before the conquest. All this output, which, nevertheless, meets only a scant two-thirds of the demand, was held at the disposition of the coun-

try for its own needs. Additional supplies were first sent in from the empire, and later a Belgian committee was organized, which, under arrangement with the belligerent powers, drew food supplies from the United States and distributed them through its branches over the entire country. Without any friction to speak of this committee has continued to fulfill its task down to the present day in an almost independent manner and without any exaggerated supervision by the Government.

Far more difficult was the task of reviving industrial activity, but it has been accomplished to a surprising degree. The first step was to open the coal mines, under the supervision of the Government, but for the account and at the risk of the owners, and today some 70 per cent. of the workings are again in operation. The coal, except in so far as it is used in the country itself, is exported to Sweden, which receives about 200,000 tons a month, and to Holland and Switzerland. Many carloads are also sent to the trenches in the east. The total exports amount to about 300,000 tons a month.

While the management of all the mines is in the hands of Chief Mining Officer Bonhardt, in the east, around Liège and that section, Director Woltersdorf runs the workings with extraordinary ability. Herr Woltersdorf, who came upon the scene as a Lieutenant of artillery, was ordered, after the capture of Liège, to blow up the entrances to some mines where it was thought francs-tireurs were in hiding. But before obeying the order, he informed the Governor that the hostile band could be driven out in three hours by stopping the pumps. This method was adopted, and as a matter of fact no francs-tireurs came out, but the mines were saved, and shortly afterward Woltersdorf, who in civil life is Director of the Central Bureau for Mine Safety and of the experimenting station at Beuthen, was placed at the head of the district. He not only put all the coal mines in operation, but was also able to see that work was continued in the Campine, a waste region in Limburg, where the coal is covered with

about 600 yards of rock, on six new shafts which were being sunk. * * *

It was of great importance that the iron ore mines south of Liège were rich in manganese ore, for it was just there that the German iron industry was short. A number of these mines are again in operation and, besides, a considerable number of old rubbish heaps are being worked over again. Some of the pottery plants, whose former principal export territory was England, have renewed operations, though still on a rather modest scale; their products go through the canals to Holland and from there, to a large extent, find their way to their old destination, England.

The Cockerille Iron and Steel Works, which also belong to the Liège district, are employing almost 5,000 men, more than half the normal number. The textile industry is in the worst condition, being almost entirely dead. It is true that when Antwerp was captured very large quantities of raw materials, especially wool, were found; but this material had already been bought, to a large extent, for Germany, and therefore it went to Germany, and to a lesser degree to Austria. The Belgian industry was thus left to depend upon its own stock, which naturally in the course of a year and a half is practically exhausted. Efforts to get raw material from abroad are of particular importance to this industry.

In many cases the various establishments are being operated by their old Directors and engineers, and only the work of superintendence and the matter of exportation and consumption are handled by the Germans.

But in spite of the revival of activity in many industries there are still many tens of thousands of industrial workers entirely out of employment, and therefore it is of great importance that the emigration of Belgian workers to Germany is being promoted and that already some 10,000 workers have heeded the call and are employed in the Rhine country and in Westphalia. There they are becoming acquainted with better wages, the highly developed sick and accident insurance, and all the other pro-

visions made for the working class which as yet are unknown in their homes. These men may prove to be a valuable element in the work of bringing about a mutual understanding.

A big step toward improving social conditions was taken in Brussels when some 3,000 disorderly girls were forced to go to work under the threat of deportation in case they refused to avail themselves of the opportunity to work at sewing machines in the light rooms of a bag factory at good wages. * * *

An industry the revival of which was really the least to be expected was the diamond-cutting business of Antwerp. Before the war this industry employed about 10,000 men. When Antwerp fell 400 were still at work. Under the control of Senator Sthamer, Captain Baron Plettenberg took the lead in handling the situation with skill and hearty interest. Raw material was brought in from the large stocks in Berlin that had come from West Africa, and one after another the employers slowly resumed operations, so that today about 5,000 persons are earning their bread in that industry—of course at smaller wages than before—and some 12,000 carats are being cut per month, with a value of about \$1,000,000.

The iron and steel industry of Belgium has always suffered from the fact that it is split up into a large number of comparatively small plants and that its concentration into great concerns has only made good progress in a few cases, such as the Cockerille plant and the arms factories; and furthermore its technical equipment is not up to the German standard.

In connection with the revival of industry and of domestic trade, plans for the reopening of foreign commerce have already been worked out. Such men as Senator Sthamer in Antwerp and his circle of gentlemen from the German seaports are studying all the possibilities of a traffic that shall go from the interior of Germany through Antwerp to the lands beyond the seas. It seems strange to find in more than one office maps of the canals of Belgium and Germany and their connections via the Main

and Danube with Austria, enriched with all sorts of new and personal sketches and suggestions; or to learn that both projects for the development of the harbor of Antwerp have met a competitor in the shape of a new German plan.

In the great basin of the harbor of Antwerp lie the thirty-five German steamers whose engines were destroyed by the English before they fled from the city with complete and perfect engines again installed and with the coal bunkers filled, ready to steam out into the Atlantic with German goods the moment the peace bells begin to ring.

There has probably never been a case before where the conquerors devoted such an amount of force and energy to the internal rejuvenation of a conquered land, without regard to what sort of bonds were to connect victors and vanquished in the future. It would be a mistake to believe, however, that we have won over a large part of the Belgians. What we have been able, in favorable cases, to give, is very little in comparison with what the country has lost, and what, in the opinion of the inhabitants, would be lost forever if the connection with Germany were to become closer. To people like the Belgians, who have grown up under the protection of neutrality, and in whom the sense of individual freedom has been developed to a remarkable degree, the thought of being joined to Germany, with its subjection of individual interests to those of the community, with its military service and social provisions, must be infinitely unsympathetic. Besides, there are all sorts of little annoyances to which the broad masses are subjected, such as the trebling of the railroad rates, which seriously interferes with the workers' habit of living a long distance from their place of business, the strict rule requiring each in person to report to the police, &c.

The well-to-do classes in many ways feel themselves menaced in their very existence, for they plainly see that the great income from the founding of exotic companies will be cut down, like that from the Congo colony, and that through

the better education of the laboring masses and through the introduction of sickness and accident insurance—in short, through the social provisions developed in Germany—the economic foundation of many a concern that is technically backward would be shattered or destroyed. Therefore, the propertied classes use every means to maintain and revivify anti-German sentiment among the masses, and in this struggle the clergy stands steadfastly at their side, for annexation to Germany would cause the Church to lose some of its enormous influence. * * *

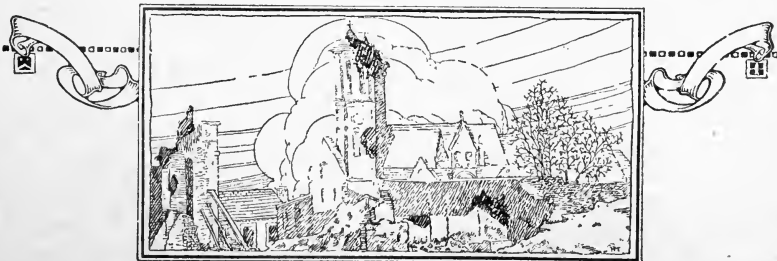
A case in which a girl was accused of having assisted the flight of a number of young fellows who joined the Belgian Army caused considerable comment. The defender assigned to her by the military court, with an impartial sense of justice, fought hard for his client, and, after an eight-hour struggle with the military lawyer, won her acquittal. A large number of Belgian Judges sent him

letters of thanks. So 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.

But we dare not cherish expectations that the rapprochement will become genuinely deep and hearty, because, aside from their 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 has 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 conduct them to new heights after the war.

Humor Even in Conquered Belgium

In the outskirts of Bruges the Germans have put up signs at all the grade crossings with this Flemish inscription: "Verboden over den ijzeren weg te gaan"; which means: "It is forbidden to cross the railway." The other day some mischievous boys rubbed out the letters "en" at the end of "ijzeren" (iron), making the sign read: "It is forbidden to cross the Yser," a statement painfully true for the German army at that point. They are still hunting the culprits.—From "Anecdotes Pathétiques et Plaisantes," by Gabriel Langlois.



The Invasion of Belgium

By Colonel Feyler

English Military Expert

This study of the invasion of Belgium, which appeared in *Land and Water*, marshals the constructive evidence tending to show that Germany had made long and minute preparation for such an attack.

AMONG the historical problems raised by the great European war, the question of the invasion of Belgium remains one of the most absorbing. The German official theory, of course, lays the responsibility upon the Belgians themselves, in that they violated their own neutrality and thus forced the German Army to protect itself against the trap they had laid, by occupying forthwith their territory. It is interesting to examine whether strategical principles (and the German doctrine of their application) will help to support this theory.

Let us, first of all, remember that, apart from a detailed examination, the manoeuvre of 1914 across Belgium gave a striking first impression of being a thoroughly organized and long-considered operation, and showed, outwardly at least, every sign of perfect production and stage management. Of course, in such a judgment, formed without serious documentary evidence, imagination may perhaps play a large part, but we cannot get away from the fact that this judgment coincides exactly with what the Germans themselves affirm to be the reason of that superiority which confers on them the right to world hegemony, namely, in the words of a great German scientist, the chemist Ostwald: "That faculty for organization which has allowed Germany to attain a higher stage of civilization than the other nations and to which only the war will raise them, (the others.) The French and the English are still at a stage of civilization which the Germans left more than fifty years ago, the stage of individualism. Germany today is at the higher stage, that of organization."

The Dominant Idea

If this had been the opinion of a single

man, however influential, it would have been more or less negligible. It was to be found, however, in a multitude of writings; numberless and most varied circumstances go to prove that the opinion of the chemist Ostwald was a current, or rather dominant, opinion in Germany. The idea inspired the German people and, surely to a much higher degree, the German Army. Thus the General Staff was to organize victory by virtue of this superior stage of civilization, just as the Government would organize the nation's labor by suppressing the inferior principle of individualism.

Of course, at present we can only deal in hypotheses. The study of this subject must be resumed at a later date, when it can be approached in a calmer spirit. We can none the less seek to find to what extent the campaign of 1870 influenced, in Germany, that of 1914, for it is beyond doubt, and this applies to France no less than Germany, that the preparation for the war of 1914, excepting, of course, the fixing of its date, began as soon as the Treaty of Frankfurt had laid down the new frontier line.

An Infallible System

At that moment the Prussian General Staff started work on what one might call the scientific or dogmatic history of the war of 1870-71, for the famous work, so well known to all military men, was intended not merely for a summarization of facts, but more for a justification of methods. An attempt was made in this work to show how warfare should be scientifically organized, leaving nothing, or practically nothing, to chance, and securing victory by its very perfection of theory and practice; in short, the German method of warfare, as impeccable and infallible as German science and German truth.

The victorious Moltke of 1870 was thus made a prototype for the present war, being proclaimed superior to Napoleon, not only by virtue of his military prowess, but also by reason of that amazing German superstition of race superiority. Napoleon's equal in military genius, Moltke had the advantage of belonging to a superior race.

This puerile belief, however, does not prevent Moltke being inferior to Napoleon, and indeed to many more in one respect—he concluded but two great campaigns, as against Napoleon's fourteen. Less by many were the occasions on which he had to solve intricate strategical problems and, in the few cases when he was called upon so to do, circumstances always led him to repeat the same manoeuvre. Sadowa, the attempted French envelopment on the Sarre, St. Private, and Sedan, all these four battles were of a similar type.

Successes of such a lightning character proved irrefutably (to the German mind) the worth of complete organization, and the German theory of warfare, based first and last upon superior organization, would, therefore, infallibly lead to a complete German victory. Forty years of military literature impressed this view upon the minds of officers. * * *

A Military Necessity

This hypothesis of a long and minute preparation of the German manoeuvre on the western front leads logically to the conclusion that the invasion of Belgium was premeditated. As a matter of fact, it is incredible that any one with the slightest knowledge of German strategical science should have any doubt on the subject, despite the subsequent denials by the Imperial Government. The only man to be frank on this point was von Bethmann Hollweg himself, (at first,) when he declared to the Reichstag that Belgium was being crossed in defiance of all treaties, as a military necessity.

The manoeuvre through Belgium was not only a consequence of the systematic study of Moltke; it was writ large in the local geography. The development of the intention could be followed from 1870 to 1914 by noting the variation in the

zones of concentration for the armies as betrayed by strategic railways, stations, and platforms. As and when the French strengthened their eastern frontier, so the Germans tended to abandon their original bases at Strassburg and Metz and to develop their preparations for concentration on the frontier of Luxembourg, and even further north, right up to the Dutch frontier. Many writers in France followed this evolution closely, so much so that the large and interesting work by Senator Maxime Lecomte and Lieut. Col. Camille Levi, "Neutralité belge et invasion allemande," published in 1914 on the eve of hostilities, prognosticated the operations almost exactly as they took place.

A Remarkable Prediction

To the question, "When the Germans invade France, will they pass through Belgium?" these authors answer most clearly, "The Germans will pass through Belgium." In a chapter thus headed, they examine the why and the how. Why? Because of the weakness of the northern French frontier compared with the eastern, (for the French had long relied on Belgian neutrality to cover their northern flank.) How? Through the whole of Belgium, for the size of the first-line armies would involve a crossing of the Meuse, without which, indeed, this right wing would hardly succeed in its attempted envelopment of the French. "Their right wing," wrote Messrs. Lecomte and Levi, "will advance across Central Belgium, making in force for Paris and moving chiefly along the valley of the Oise, approximately along the line Brussels-Mons-Paris."

It is obvious, too, that so enormous an operation could not be improvised on the spur of the moment. In order to be carried out with the regularity which no military man can but admire, the movement must have been prepared in its most minute details with the utmost foresight. The success of the whole plan depended upon a torrential overflowing of the Belgian territory; it is hardly to be expected that Realpolitik would have omitted to stock its hand with all the available trumps and that

in this particular case, therefore, above all (where only success could justify the iniquitous means) Germany would fail to employ what has always been her ace of trumps, namely, her minute organization.

Yet another argument: Germany has never shone in the realms of improvisation, but always as regards analysis and elaboration. Germans have always known how to use and develop to the best advantage the invention of others. To take a recent example, look at aviation; aviation originated in France, but at the outbreak of the war the German air service was very much better adapted than the French. In France, on the other hand, a certain indifference seems always to follow on the heels of a crisis of enthusiasm. Who, for instance, would have thought that, after the hard experience of 1870, the French would have been so little prepared for 1914? Germany, however, tends to sin on the other side, by an exaggeration of minute organization which would often compromise a situation brought about by novel and unexpected circumstances. This is another reason why an improvised invasion of Belgium would seem to conflict with all the most stable qualities of the German character.

Plan Long Matured

Lastly, an argument still less assailable, although lack of documentary evidence causes it to be hypothetical: Having taken Moltke as strategic mentor, it would be most extraordinary had the German staff departed from his most masterly quality, namely, an unceasing reviewing and improving of the plans he meditated for future campaigns. Moltke prepared the campaign of 1870 for thirteen years, from 1857 onward. During this period he prepared no less than twenty detailed memorials addressed to the King and his Ministers, Generals, &c. Upon every political change in Europe, upon every modification of inferior conditions in Prussia, upon every increase in the strength of the army, he

improved and perfected the details of the offensive against France. In 1869 the twentieth plan was ready, and when, faithful to his tradition, Moltke re-examined this plan, he found it satisfactory and wrote in the margin "Gut auch für 1870." ("Good also for 1870.")

Is it possible that the staff which copied all from Moltke would neglect the method of working which was his most shining success? Out of the question. For many years past the violation of Belgian neutrality must have been written in the dossiers of the German staff. And again, not only would they thus be following Moltke, but all great warriors. Napoleon wrote much on this subject.

Letter to Berthier Oct. 2, 1804: "At the moment of declaring war there is so much to do that it is wise to start some years beforehand."

Letter to Eugene Sept. 18, 1806: "Matters must be considered many months before they come to pass."

Letter to the staff Sept. 8, 1808: "Only solid and well-conceived plans can succeed in war."

Journal at St. Helena: "A plan of campaign must foresee all that the enemy can or may do, and must contain in itself the antidote."

That which Napoleon and Moltke emphasized as necessary would not have been neglected by the German staff of the twentieth century, self-styled superior to these. From the moment when the German Government decided to violate the treaty it had signed, the staff had no alternative but to prepare the said violation; the more so as Government and staff are one and the same in Germany.

Everything contradicts, therefore, the puerile excuse, that the Belgians had violated their own neutrality, and, on the other hand, proves that the passage through Belgium was premeditated, probably more in the light of conquest than of mere passage. But this last question will remain for history to answer more fully.

A Peace That Will Last

By Jean Finot

Editor of La Revue, Paris

THE peace which is to follow this war must be real; that is, German lying and the coarse illusions of the past must be eliminated from it. When we resume the normal life of mankind we must be able to do this with the same feeling of security with which the farmer proceeds to gather his harvest, without the smallest fear of malefactors near or far. The economic losses of the Allies will, however, be so considerable that it is necessary from now on to consider the means for diminishing their extent. There will also be principles of right and justice to safeguard. International life will have need of positive sanctions for the most distant future. A criminal from the international point of view should be punished like a common-law criminal. The wars of the past almost ended in despite of sound sense, and in such a way as to encourage spoliating and criminal nations. The invader, if his plan did not succeed, went peacefully home again. A more or less solemn peace guaranteed his impunity and allowed him to wait for a more favorable moment to recoup himself.

Today Europe is divided into two camps, one of which, much stronger than the other, is defending justice against crime. And, if it is impossible to win back again the millions of men killed or maimed, or to make good the losses and the floods of tears, let us at least guarantee the economic situation of all the victims of German aggression. * * *

Who called the tune must pay the piper. The difficulty of a repayment does not by any means create the necessity of renouncing it. This simple and logical principle is equally binding in the international field. The conditions of our life of tomorrow will not be safeguarded until we apply to nations the same principles of loyalty and of justice which we hold obligatory in private life.

Therefore we must go on to the end. The war will heal the evils it has caused. Without a decisive victory it will be impossible to recoup our material losses. The exhaustion of the belligerents will be equivalent to general ruin if one of them does not succeed in imposing *his peace* on his adversaries. * * *

The gross total of expenses for the war on the side of the Allies will reach 300,000,000,000 francs (\$60,000,000,000) at the end of three years of war, the smaller cost at the beginning being balanced by the steadily increasing cost as the war broadens and draws in new combatants. * * *

The Allies will lose a minimum of 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 combatants. Their armed force does not, it is true, represent more than 14,000,000. But this figure will rise to more than 20,000,000 soldiers consecutively while hostilities last. This will be equivalent to a loss in earning power equal to 120,000,000,000 to 140,000,000,000 francs. * * *

The obligation to pay, for long years to come, an indemnity of these dimensions will keep Germany from thinking of new wars. And only under this condition can Europe return to a normal life. One of the reasons which make us believe in the future resurrection is that the nations will be able to lay aside militarism for long years to come. After so drastic a bleeding it would be impossible for them to resume their life of industry if they felt themselves obliged, as in the past, to plunge into costly armaments. They must, therefore, be given absolute security on the side of Germany. The recent past has taught us that the whole world, with the exception of Prussia, was eager to organize international life on the basis of liberty and justice, excluding every possibility of brutal aggression.

Once the German factor is reduced to powerlessness, the dream of peace, which had appeared childish and unrealizable,

will become a possibility which will triumph for a long time to come.

This consideration in itself will render inevitable the establishment of a gigantic indemnity, which will constitute a veritable insurance premium for the peace of tomorrow.

On the other hand, Germany herself, delivered from militarism, will soon restore her prosperity. The civilized nations, without making this their goal, will work for the salvation of Germany. We shall thus have a new Germany, which will become dear to the consciousness of mankind from the moment when she shall have left behind the criminality of her rulers.

Peace thus understood, though it may be hard for Germany, will not mean her disappearance. The Allies, as Mr. Asquith has so well said, "will destroy German militarism without tending in any way to destroy the German Nation." But the arsenal of international law furnishes us with no weapon, other than financial expiation, to prevent a return to savagery.

The fiscal and economic union of the Allies will, besides, prove ineffective against the Teutonic activity and spirit of organization. The Germans will exploit all the fissures in international agreements to push their commerce and industry. Let us even admit that the allied countries will remain closed to them. But they will then establish themselves among neutral nations. With the moral conceptions which allow them to become naturalized with the purpose of betraying the fatherland of their adoption, in the interest of their "symbolic fatherland," they will continue a process of sabotage against the economic revival of the Allies. In this region, also, only financial charges imposed on Germany will safeguard the stability of the world. * * *

We must not, as in the past, abandon the regulation of the accounts between the nations to their rulers, more or less qualified. The treaties of peace, as professional diplomatists conceive them, always contain the germs of future wars. Bastard solutions resulting from the non-

understanding of national aspirations and the moral interests which, invisible and unsuspected, move masses of men, render conflicts inevitable. And there is something infinitely humiliating for the dignity of men in the teaching that they will never be able to live without hatreds, spoliations, acts of brigandage. Decidedly it will be necessary to add to the "supposed specialists" in the domain of international affairs the representatives of the best elements of each people, who must influence the decisions of their rulers for the time being. An international peace cannot be improvised. It must be prepared and studied. It must be the result of age-long experience and of a profound understanding of the past and of the present.

And the duration of the war will give ample time to those who are behindhand to reflect on the condition of the world of tomorrow. * * *

The German Government is thus caught in its own snare. Its factitious conquests render its desires unrealizable. The nations of the Allies, united in the same thought and bound by identical aspirations, can sign no peace without having obtained the evacuation of all the territories occupied by the Germans. But, however blind and deceived the German people may be, it will never allow the Kaiser to give them up, after having bled his people white and for long years compromised its prosperity and renown.

A peace of this kind would threaten to provoke, let us be certain of it, a bloody revolution and the final disappearance of the Hohenzollerns. But the all-powerful Kaiser is far less concerned for the future of his people than for his own person and his dynasty.

The abandonment, pure and simple, of the territories temporarily conquered could not, besides, satisfy any of the Allies. The principle of indemnities, which we have already stated, constitutes a condition of elementary justice which the civilized nations cannot put aside.

Before the immensity of the sacrifices which will be entailed even by the most favorable peace Germany will see herself obliged to battle to the last man and the

SYMBOLIZING THE HEROES WHO HAVE SAVED FRANCE



A French Artist's Memorable Drawing in Honor of the Soldiers Who Held the Battered Fortifications at Verdun.

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF SALONIKI, THE ALLIES' BALKAN BASE



From This Famous Base, After Nine Months' Preparation, General Sarrail and His Allied Forces Have Begun a New Offensive to Regain Serbia and the Balkan Peninsula.

(© A. P. A. Medem Photo Service.)

last mark. We are, therefore, driven to a real war of exhaustion. * * * But Germany is not yet out of breath. Her finances are greatly weakened, her economic life is anæmic, her resources in men are greatly diminished; but she still possesses resources which can prolong her agony during long months, perhaps years. * * *

Therefore the war will go on. * * * The German people, who will continue to be deceived, will be told that it is a question of their destruction instead of the destruction of the Hohenzollern dynasty, its squireens and armed brigands, and will, therefore, believe it necessary to defend with a mystic fervor its unity, which is threatened by no one, its

national soil, which no one wishes to cut up; and its independence, which no one wishes to attack. * * *

Let the hoodwinked Germans allow themselves to be taken in by this subterfuge. The Allies will complete the task they have undertaken.

The mystical malady of the Germans will not fail to prolong the war, bringing greater and greater ruin upon themselves and making heavier the expiation for faults committed.

"Whom the gods will destroy, they first make mad," according to the ancient saying. Thus will be accomplished the words of the Lord:

"They who would be the first, shall be the last."

What Would German Victory Mean?

By Professor Moritz Julius Bonn

Director of the Commercial University of Munich

A GERMAN victory would not mean that the German institutions of today are just the thing for all the world. It would merely show that German institutions are suitable to the genius of the German people. It would not be a justification of monarchy all over the world; it would not reflect glory on Russian absolutism, which, by the way, is the real despotism. It would not endanger the institutions of other people. A German victory does not mean that Switzerland will cease to be a republic and be governed by a Hohenzollern Prince. It does not put American democracy on trial. The test of American democracy is not European achievements in Europe, but American successes at home and abroad. If American democracy solves its own problems it will be justified and need not fear the competition of foreign institutions.

We want a variety of institutions all over the world, not a dead level uniformity for all people. Nations should stick to their own institutions and develop them according to their own ideas. They need not fear disparagement if different institutions of opposite character flourish

under different circumstances. They ought to give up that mischievous idea, born of mediæval universalism, that they must impress their own institutions on unwilling neighbors. There is no danger that Germany will be influenced by such ideas and try to do missionary work abroad. Quite apart from the intellectual attitude of the German people, which does not favor such universalism, there are twenty-seven different State Constitutions in the German Empire, three of them republican. Even a victorious peace would not give Germany a free hand to overrun the world.

Such a peace would not bring about very great changes in Europe. The occupied parts of France would be given back; Belgium would be released. Very likely Courland, with a population partly German and partly Lithuanian, would be annexed by Germany. Poland would receive autonomy. Austria would probably permit the resuscitation of a somewhat reduced Serbia, for Hungary does not want the annexation of a further batch of Southern Slavs. Bulgaria would get the greater part of new Serbia; Greece might get a part of Albania; Aus-

tria would control the eastern Adriatic coast up to the Greek border. Turkey might lose some outlying districts.

German gains in land, men, and wealth in Europe would be very small, even if the cost of the war was not taken into account. Her colonies would be handed back to her, and in return for the surrender of Belgium and of occupied France she would receive considerable extensions of her possessions in tropical Africa. The addition of some one hundred thousand square miles in tropical Africa would be an important gain to a country like Germany, whose colonial endowment was rather meagre; it would not affect considerably the balance of the world's power.

The cost of such a peace would fall mainly on Russia; a large part of the foreign races which she had oppressed systematically would be freed; her efforts to settle the affairs of the Balkan people in her own selfish interest would be defeated for good. If Turkey ever lost Constantinople, Bulgaria or Greece, which have a racial or historic right to it, would get it. Russia's claim to a warm-water port by the territorial control of a country whose inhabitants are not Russian is a flat negation of the much-vaunted principle of nationality. It is no better than would be a German demand for the Orkney and Shetland Islands and the Strait of Dover, which bar her from the free sea so long as they are occupied by the British. It would be a useless sacrifice of the principle of nationality, as well as of common sense. For the Mediterranean is quite as much an inland sea as the Black Sea, so long as England holds Egypt and the Strait of Gibraltar. And it is not very likely that the British Government will prove its faith in the principle of nationality by handing back Egypt, Gibraltar, and Malta to their rightful owners.

Russia, no doubt, will feel somewhat sore, but, as none of her own people are taken away from her, she will be able to organize them according to their own wants. She has been the great incubus on European politics for many years. That will be removed for some time to

come. But she will gather strength as time goes on and, let us hope, use it in a wise way. She will always be a neighbor of Germany and Austria, though Poland as a buffer State may intervene. If Poland is successful and continues to live in friendly co-operation with Germany and Austria, the Russian danger will be considerably reduced. But the Polish problem is not easily solved. However well organized an autonomous Poland may be, she cannot ever compromise all Poles within her borders; she will always contain many non-Poles—Ruthenians, Lithuanians, and Jews. It is scarcely fair to expect such an amount of constructive statesmanship from Polish leaders as to avoid all pitfalls. Whatever is going to happen, Germany will be confronted by new problems in the east, the solution of which no victory in battle can assure.

The alliance between Germany and Austria has grown much firmer during the war. Austria may be weaker than Germany, but she is a big and powerful empire which has shown marvelous vitality. She has her own problems and her own ideas. The majority of her people are not Teutons. Even without important new annexation, the Slavic influence in Austria will grow notwithstanding German and Hungarian resistance.

Austria is not a vassal State of Germany. If the Central Powers had been defeated she might have been shorn of her Slavic provinces and brought into a sort of dependency. As it is, she has been rejuvenated; she will be a faithful partner to Germany in European questions, but she would not sacrifice her manhood for wild plans of German world supremacy, the effects of which would fall on her own people.

France no doubt will be saddened, as she cannot recover Alsace and Lorraine; her losses in men and material have been awful; her military valor is shining more brightly than it ever did.

As to England, she is engaged in the first really costly war that she ever has waged. But, as far as the number of human lives is concerned, she will come off fairly well. Her organization of commerce and finance has been excellent. She would deserve nothing but praise for

the great organization she has evolved, if it were not for the loquacity of her statesmen, who have continually promised goods which they were unable to deliver.

She has shown the world at large that the weapon on which she chiefly relied, sea power, is an excellent secondary instrument, incapable of producing decisive results when used against a strong Continental power. The combined fleet of the Allies has cut off the Central Powers from most of their overseas trade. This is not due to the superiority of the British fleet. It is partly due to geographic position. England holds the keys of the Mediterranean; England and France control the Strait of Dover; the only outlet for German shipping, not directly under the Allies' guns, is the mouth of the North Sea between Norway and Scotland. This opening can be easily patrolled by a fleet stationed in Scotland. Measured by the velocity of modern patrol boats, there is scarcely a greater distance between the Shetland Islands and the Norwegian coast than the width of the Strait of Gibraltar in the days of the sailing vessel. Germany's position here is somewhat similar to that of Russia in relation to the strait at Constantinople. Where geography does not favor British sea power, it has achieved nothing. It has not effected a landing on German soil; it has not kept the German flag away from the Baltic.

Geographical position is but one of the causes of the partial success of the allied blockade. Direct overseas trade in war times is not essential to a country like Germany. The real success of the blockade is due to Russia and France. If they were neutral, Germany could draw from them all the provisions which she might want. The few overseas goods which Europe does not produce would be imported indirectly via France or Russia. Neither of these countries could be forced to prevent the re-exportation of imported goods, as small countries like Holland and Denmark have been for fear of having their own supplies stopped.

It was the custom in other wars to get such supplies in an indirect way; international law specifically provided for the

continuation of this practice, until the Allies broke it. The British Navy has done a great deal of important subsidiary work for the Allies; it has closed a stretch of about 300 miles, stopping Germany's approach to the ocean. The chief blockading is done by the armies on the Continent.

This is not due to want of efficiency on the part of the British Navy. It is due to the inherent limitations of sea power, which this war has clearly brought out. An island country, depending on sea power, can greatly annoy a Continental power. It can destroy its direct overseas trade and interfere with its indirect trade, if the neutrals permit it. It cannot defeat land power except by an alliance with other land powers. While an island power like England or Japan can be crushed on the sea, a Continental power can only be broken on land or in her outlying possessions.

England is a very dangerous enemy if allied to some Continental power; isolated she cannot deal a decisive blow. As her empire is insular, she will always be dependent on sea communications and liable to collapse when they are cut. She can prevent invasion by maintaining a big army; she cannot strike with that army abroad, if no allied or neutral country gives her a chance to land it. The safety of a Continental power cannot be destroyed by sea power; her foreign trade may suffer and her foreign possessions can be kidnapped; only if she embarks on an aggressive overseas policy in foreign lands does she become exposed to decisive blows.

So far as these questions are concerned the war has undoubtedly diminished England's prestige; she will no longer be the proud arbiter in the world's councils. But her own strength has not dwindled; she will be knit more closely with her dominions in a "United Empire" than she ever was before. And since she has learned the art of military organization from the hated Prussian, she will be able to defend herself against all invasion. If she accepts the principle of the free sea, which she herself advocated until lately, she will not be exposed to a policy of starvation.

Germany's Opinion of Wilson as a Mediator

By Count Ernst zu Reventlow

Leading unofficial spokesman of the ruling classes in Germany

Since this article was written Count Reventlow has been forbidden to publish anything without submitting it to the censor. His attack on President Wilson reveals the state of mind underlying the German opposition to American mediation. It also indicates the extent to which the President's motives have been misunderstood in Germany.

IN the course of the last few weeks the motives that guide the policy of President Wilson must have become clearly apparent even to those who had been skeptical up to then. If we look back to the beginning of the great war we see that this Wilson policy has followed an unbroken line from the time when, in the interest of England, American wireless stations were forbidden to transmit German news and news for Germany, to the knocking down of Germany in the submarine question, so characterized by Wilson himself and so joyfully lauded by him. This straight line of policy always is aimed at the same object: To injure and cripple Germany in this war, so as to enrich and strengthen the United States, and, furthermore, to aid the British Empire along every line and with all means in its military operations against Germany.

From month to month in this war the solidarity of the two Anglo-Saxon powers has constantly become more clearly apparent; a solidarity in all matters that affect the German Empire as an opponent, and, consequently, concern its injury and crippling. Beyond this there are naturally many questions where the two Anglo-Saxon powers are opposed to each other and where their paths of interest conflict. These, however, are troubles that can wait until after the war. The war finds them of one mind regarding all the main questions and in league with each other. Besides, in order to make a correct appreciation of persons and things possible, it must be remembered that Wilson in his day was elected with the strong participation of the financial world of Great Britain; therefore, to put it more simply, with English

money. This has been acknowledged in the United States for years, and they justly ascribed the attitude of President Wilson in the Mexican question after his assumption of office to the obligations he had thus incurred.

Unfortunately, we in Germany are still in many instances not free from the delusion that Wilson is an "unworldly scholar," and we allow ourselves to be deceived through the intrigues of the scholar and man of principles into forgetting the fact that these are only superficialities and that behind them stands a shrewd American, free from illusions, and a convinced partisan of the Anglo-Saxon way of looking at the world. But it is understandable enough that Wilson gladly allows himself to be regarded as an unworldly stickler for principles, for tactically this cannot be anything else than useful to him. As has been said, however, his financial connection with Great Britain must not be forgotten, as well as the fact that in this case the interests of British capital and British policy coincide and that already, as a consequence, the policy of the United States must, without more ado, be completely and sympathetically affected.

Mr. Wilson, shortly after he had publicly lauded the knocking down of Germany, delivered a speech in May before a great meeting of the Peace League, in which he declared that he had resolved, as President of the United States, to take an energetic part in the peace negotiations. The United States, he said, was constantly becoming more interested in an early ending of the war, but when the end of the war was seen at hand, then the United States would have the same interest as the belligerent nations in

shaping the peace that was then to come. These alone are weighty utterances. They let the fact be recognized that Wilson wishes to obtain admission to the peace negotiations through his influence as a mediator. However, when the negotiations are begun America's rôle as a mediator ceases, and it will take part in the negotiations on the same footing as every one of the belligerent parties—that is, as the representative of nothing but the interests of the United States. It is self-evident that such a rôle on the part of a State that has taken no active part in the war would be very unusual. We merely wish to draw attention to the main facts in the case: First of all, the United States wants to institute a general peace conference in order then to enter into the negotiations upon the same footing as the belligerents and to throw the entire weight of the United States into the scales in favor of its interests in every question that comes up, without being bound in any way, not even by the rôle of mediator; consequently, it will be in the position constantly to exercise its influence through threats or through direct economic pressure.

From the German point of view the first stumbling block is to be seen in Wilson's declared intention to effect peace at a general conference. We do not know whether it will come about that way, but it certainly would not be desirable so far as German interests are concerned. Therefore, if the United States is working toward bringing such a conference into being, as a matter of course it is working against the interests of Germany. Granting further that the general peace conference is here and that the United States has the position there for which Wilson is wishing and working, there can be no doubt—in view of the attitude of the United States during this war—that the policy of Wilson would work for Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro and against everything that the German Empire imperatively needs for the guaranteeing of its political and economic future. Consequently, the conference would present the picture of our former enemies, who would fight against us in

the peace negotiations with the same energy as they formerly did with arms, being reinforced by a new enemy who would have to be regarded in the peace negotiations as much more dangerous and serious than if he had been one of our opponents during the war.

It is as regrettable as it is remarkable that there are such broad circles in Germany where this simple truth is not recognized. These circles appear to remain rocked to sleep in the illusion that Wilson's ambition is merely "to restore peace to the world" and nothing more. There even arose a sort of "storm" in the German Reichstag recently when the speaker for one of the parties of the Right rejected Wilson in the rôle of a peacemaker and said that the German people had no confidence in the President. Apparently there are wide circles in Germany in which it is not yet understood that the manner in which peace negotiations are begun and the division of forces while they are under way constitute a very weighty part of the war itself, a part whose formation and development can bring about the loss of a mighty part of the gains that have been made by the sword.

The manner in which the peace negotiations are entered upon is not less important than the position assumed by an army or a fleet at the beginning of a battle. These same German circles also do not understand that the peace negotiations will have a direct bearing upon the strength of the respective parties, and that consequently the joining in of the United States, in view of the tendency of its interests and in consideration of its attitude up to the present, would, under all circumstances, signify a great hardship for Germany.

In his speech the President drew a sketch of the foundations upon which he would like to see a future peace erected. The United States wants a permanent peace, and Wilson asserts that such a peace is only possible if the place of the present diplomacy is taken by "the principle of public right." In other words, he wishes to have all questions involving the honor and life of nations settled by international courts. We do not need to waste many words over this. As long as

men are not angels, and as long as a goddess of justice equipped with all the means of executive power does not act as judge, the idea of an international court of arbitration is not adapted to any important problems of international life. As a matter of course, the leading men of the United States regard the rôle they play toward the European nations as that of the powerful and impartial and as the deciding factor in these negotiations. This consideration alone would be enough to cause a general refusal in Germany. The United States, no matter under what President, has never concealed the fact that it regards all Germany's efforts along international lines, both political and economic, as inadmissible and unfriendly act toward the Anglo-Saxon nations. A strong German navy has always been treated in America as a challenge to England and the United States; Germany's possession of Alsace-Lorraine has never been looked upon as anything but robbery; in short, the modern German Empire and the work of the German people which it needs in order to maintain its life in the world are looked upon in the United States as something disturbing to peace and quietness, as something that ought not to exist.

In outlining his foundations Wilson also comes pretty plainly to the decisive points. He wishes "that every nation have the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live," and further that the small States shall have the right to enjoy the same respect, &c., as the big ones. The first point is exactly the same as has been handed out by Asquith, Grey, et al., since the beginning of the war. It is aimed at Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, North Schleswig, Poland, Montenegro, Serbia, &c. The former attempts to extend American influence in Belgium and Poland are now already working in the same direction. About Ireland and India, on the contrary, we have heard nothing so far, and it is significant enough that an honest little pamphlet, which the former American Secretary of State, Bryan, had written about English maladministration in India, was forced to submit during

this war to an order forbidding its exportation. This brochure is not allowed to be sent out of the United States. [Of course this statement is absurd.—Ed. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

Besides, this Wilson "foundation" stipulates, even if not in so many words, the introduction of democratic constitutions. Here again, therefore, we have the same effort as is being made by Great Britain, which at the bottom proceeds from the desire to see the German power, both at home and abroad, ruined through a democratic régime.

Furthermore, Wilson wants to have the basic principle laid down that, "the world to be free from any breach of the peace," and the United States would form part of any imaginable combination that would serve this end. Consequently, Wilson is thinking of some sort of a great international "peace league," similar to the Holy Alliance of a century ago. It is well known that that Holy Alliance was a high-sounding phrase and a big fraud in which supposedly great men were employed, and which, indeed, finally worked out merely to the advantage of England. The English statesmen did not allow themselves to be deceived by these high-sounding phrases, but made use of them. This would also be the case if the Wilson idea were realized, with the single exception that then both Anglo-Saxon powers would talk, with serious faces, of making the world happy, and in the meantime would make themselves masters of the world. When Wilson, in the same connection, repeatedly says that the United States is not selfish and seeks nothing for itself, this is in sharp contradiction with his previous utterances to the effect that when the war should come to an end the United States would have the same interest in the forming of peace as the belligerent nations and that also "humanity" is just as much the affair of the United States as it is that of the other powers. It is possible that the United States does not seek any extension of territory through the war, as it has enough and more than it needs. What it wants is the unrestricted possibility of exploiting its wealth and economic

power in opposition to industrial Europe. And this includes its strong interest in seeing that Germany especially does not again become dangerous as a competitor in the export trade.

The entire Anglo-Saxon element in the United States is thoroughly convinced that Germany is the disturber of the peace. German world commerce, the German Navy, and, consequently, German international policy, are red rags for every Anglo-Saxon American. From this proceeds the manner in which Wilson wants to bring about "the future guaranteeing of peace"—that is, through "a universal association of the nations to maintain inviolate the security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world." Up to the time of "the knocking down" ("Niederboxung") of Germany in the negotiations Wilson took pleasure in talking about the freedom of the seas and repeatedly emphasized in his notes how dear to his heart this freedom was and how his efforts were directed, even during the war, in combination with Germany, toward putting the freedom of the seas into practical operation. Now, after he is convinced that he has obtained from Germany a definite abandonment of the submarine war against merchant vessels, he no longer talks about the freedom of the seas, but about the "security of the highway of the seas." This new turn is openly directed toward having the ban on submarine warfare erected into a principle of international law; otherwise the words are only an empty phrase. In time of peace no internationally guaranteed security of the highway of the seas is needed, as they are free *eo ipso*. But the nicest kind of international conferences and treaties will not succeed in guaranteeing the security of the highway of the seas in a future war, and, indeed, in the sense that Germany needs it—through the guarantee of the German connection with the oceans and their free use both coming and going by German and neutral trading ships. If President Wilson had honestly entertained the wish that he emphasizes now and has formerly emphasized he would have

been able to insure the security of the highway of the seas to a very high degree since August, 1914. If at that time he had placed the United States at the head of neutral seafaring powers, and, in accord with them, had demanded the observance of the Declaration of London, &c., with threats and, in case of necessity, with the application of the means of force at hand, he would have obtained it. Great Britain could easily have been forced to do this by the United States. By doing this and by putting a ban upon the exportation of munitions of war Wilson would, furthermore, have brought about that which he characterizes as his dearest ideal for the future—peace. The interests of a quick peace, which Wilson emphasizes again at the close of his remarks, would also have been served through the German underwater trade war.

He did not wish all that. His idea of the future on the seas is a state of affairs in which no war can be begun unless "the public opinion of the world" has first passed a favorable judgment upon it. We Germans have no confidence in this public opinion of the world, because up to now, and especially during this war, the public opinion of the world, under the influence of anti-German lies, of hate, and of jealousy, has been opposed to a peacefully progressive German people and empire, though this empire simply demanded the place in the world to which it was entitled by its daily proofs of its right to exist. The public opinion of the world will continue to make itself felt against Germany, be it in a military way, in a political way, or in an economic way, as long as those who are envious of us fail to comprehend the entire hopelessness of their efforts. The only way and the only means of arriving at that end and thus insuring a peace, sound in a German sense, lies in the maintaining and the increasing of German power. Certainly that does not stand upon Mr. Wilson's program; on the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon powers and their friends and vassals aim at holding it down and stunting it.

Colonial Policy of the United States

By Professor Brander Matthews*

Of Columbia University

WITH the doubtful exception of Porto Rico, there is scarcely a square mile of all the millions of miles over which the Stars and Stripes now float that was originally won by the sword and continuously held by arms. Texas revolted from Mexico, proclaimed its independence, applied for admission to the United States, and was admitted. In like manner Hawaii came under our flag by the free choice of its inhabitants. And all the rest of our territory, beyond that in our possession when the Constitution was adopted in 1789, was bought and paid for.

We have never rectified our frontiers by forcible annexation. We purchased Louisiana from France in 1803; we purchased Florida from Spain in 1819; and we purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. At the close of the war with Mexico in 1848 we purchased California and what are now its sister States on the Pacific—although it is only honest to admit that this cession was consented to under duress. And at the close of the war with Spain in 1898 we kept Porto Rico, which we had captured, and we paid a price for the Philippines, which the Spaniards were not sorry to part with—if we may credit the report that the islands would have been sold to Germany in case we had not insisted on buying them ourselves. And then finally in 1904 we purchased the Canal Zone from Panama—although it must be admitted that we were very prompt in recognizing the independence of the revolting State.

This is a fairly clean record, in that we have taken little or nothing by forcible annexation. What we have acquired since we became a nation we have paid for in cash. And the cleanness of this record is still further emphasized by our withdrawal from Cuba, which we had

promised not to take, which most European nations expected us to take, and which we did not take in spite of the fact that we had to be invited to return a second time to set its affairs in order.

These successive accretions of our domain were not the result of any predetermined plan of expansion, and they all of them came about more or less unexpectedly. What is more, and what shows the abiding attitude of a large part of our population, is the significant fact that every one of these increases of territory was bitterly opposed by an influential section of the American public. The Federalists, for example, were loud and fierce in their denunciation of Jefferson for the Louisiana Purchase.

Forty years later the hostility to the admission of Texas and to the purchase of California was almost as intense. The frequent proposals made before the civil war for the purchase of Cuba never succeeded in winning popular approval; and even after the civil war, when President Grant negotiated the annexation of Santo Domingo, in 1870, the treaty failed of ratification. And it is within the memory of us all that the opposition to the retention of the Philippines was equally bitter and that it has been even more persistent.

In the Philippines we can never be at home, and we cannot people them. We may continue to possess these islands and to rule their inhabitants, but we must do it always as aliens even if we refrain from rapacious exploitation, and even if we seek to govern solely for the good of the natives. * * * We must never allow ourselves to forget that everywhere and always men dislike being governed except by men of their own race and of their own choice, tacit or expressed. All men detest the rule of the alien, no matter how richly endowed with good intentions the foreign governors may believe themselves to be.

* Condensed from a paper prepared for The New York Times Sunday Magazine.

When all is said the fact remains that the territory of the United States has immensely increased since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that the area of the British Empire has been mightily expanded during the same period, whereas the more recently founded German Empire has had to be satisfied with the snapping up of a few unconsidered trifles, far inferior in value. It is no wonder that there are many Germans who resent this and who ascribe the exclusion to the underhand intrigues of rival peoples. They see that the Monroe Doctrine debars them from acquiring territory in South America, where there are already tens of thousands of Germans, and they see also that the British and the Russians recently outmanoeuvred them in what seems to amount almost to a partition of Persia. Yet an American may wonder whether the German desire for colonies is not largely imitative and whether it is in accord with the best interests of Germans themselves. Germany has now no surplus population. In consequence of its soaring industrial development emigration has almost ceased, and in 1913 half a million laborers had to be imported to gather the German harvests.

Moreover, it may be suggested that the German insistence on rigid organization is a hindrance to effective colonization. What is needed in a new country is freedom of individual initiative, liberty to turn around swiftly to meet novel conditions, and little more administration than is requisite for the maintenance of peace and order. It is significant that the Germans themselves do not flock into the existing German colonies, and that the German settlers in Brazil have never been heard to express any desire to be incorporated in the German Empire. * * *

We have not the political machinery for ruling alien races; and to attempt to rule them is not in accord with our political ideals, which compel us to base our form of government on the consent of the governed. So long as the people of any community are fitted for self-government by descent or by long training, we can make them welcome,

as we should gladly receive the Canadians, if they wished to join us and if the British were willing to release them from their allegiance to the crown. To admit the Canadians upon an equal footing with ourselves would put very little strain upon our political fabric. But we are not likely ever to be willing to confer full citizenship upon the Mexicans, if they were to clamor at our doors for admission into the Union. That they should ever so clamor is most improbable; but it is even more improbable that we should yield to their appeal.

The Mexican peon is at present as unfit or as ill-prepared for American citizenship as the Filipino. And it is for the Mexicans, as it is for the Cubans, to work out their own political salvation as best they can. Quite possibly it would be better for the Mexicans if we controlled Mexico; but it would certainly be worse for us.

And in matters of so much importance we have a right to be selfish and to refuse to endanger our own political ideals for the sake of strangers without the gates.

Furthermore, if the opinions expressed in this paper are those of a majority of the citizens of the United States, if it is a fact that we have no desire to go on increasing our possessions, either by annexing territory adjoining our borders or by acquiring distant colonies, if we really shrink from rivalry with the European empires in the game of greedily grabbing alien lands, then it would be wise for us to let the whole world know this so plainly that there would be no doubt about our intentions. The economic competition of the leading nations is not likely to be relaxed in the immediate future, in fact, it will probably be furiously intensified; and economic rivalry is ever an existing cause of international jealousy and international suspicion. It is not enough that we should be resolved to keep our hands clean, as we have done in Cuba; it is needful also that we should at least try to make rival and jealous and suspicious peoples believe that our hearts are pure and devoid of vain desire to despoil any State weaker than we are.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By The Editor

The Monroe Doctrine receives a fresh vitality and new significance in consequence of the great European war and the general political unrest which it produces throughout the world. The actual text of the doctrine appeared in the annual message of President James Monroe, communicated to Congress Dec. 2, 1823, and is as follows:

*" * * * In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been deemed proper for asserting, as a principle in which rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. * * * We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."*

THE origin of the Monroe Doctrine begins with the preliminary discussions in the Continental Congress. As early as 1776 Benjamin Franklin declared it a bad policy to send American agents abroad to seek foreign alliances and warmly opposed the proposition. Although he was defeated, he later himself became the efficient agent who consummated our subsequent alliance with France.

George Washington, in his farewell address in 1796, enunciated the doctrine of America for Americans in these words:

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise for us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. * * *

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. * * * Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation [our

detached position]? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe entangle our peace and prosperity in the tasks of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice? * * *



JAMES MONROE

The policy was laid down also by Jefferson and Madison that there should be no "entangling alliances with any foreign nation," but it was not until after the war of 1812 that international questions arose which convinced our statesmen that to this general prohibition must be added a warning that European interference with this continent would not be tolerated.

The principal events which brought about the enunciation of the doctrine were twofold.

In the early days of 1800 a dispute arose between the United States and Great Britain and Russia

over the boundaries of the Northwestern Territory, (now Oregon, Alaska, and British Columbia,) and there was considerable uneasiness that there might arise from this controversy serious consequences.

July 2, 1823, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, communicated as follows to Richard Rush, who was our Minister at the Court of St. James's, in discussing a possible solution of the question:

These independent nations [that is, those of South America and Mexico] will possess rights incident to that condition [settlement of the controversy] and their territories will of course be subject to no exclusive right of navigation in their vicinity or of access to them by any foreign nation. A necessary consequence of this state of things will be that the American continents henceforth will no longer be subject to colonization by civilized nations; they will be accessible to Europeans and each other on that footing alone; and the Pacific Ocean, in every part of it, will remain open to the navigation of all nations in like manner with the Atlantic.

On July 17, 1823, Mr. Adams is quoted in George R. Tucker's History of the Monroe Doctrine (1885) in an interview with the Russian Ambassador regarding the territorial dispute as follows: "We [the United States] should contest the right of Russia to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments.

Portentous occurrences in Europe hastened the proclamation of the doctrine, the germ of which appears in the preceding paragraph.

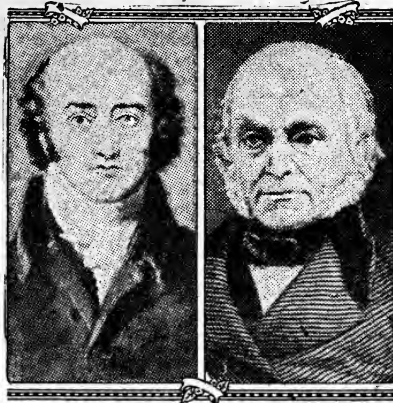
For centuries the right was conceded among European powers to interfere whenever the ambitious designs of any of the rulers tended to disturb the "balance of power," but it was not conceived as applying in any way to the acquisition of territory outside of Europe. The autocratic Governments adhered to this agreement and used it as a basis for a further extension. When the French Revolution began it was supposed that they should all intervene to suppress

it, and Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Russia did actually interfere, though England held aloof at first, but finally became involved.

After Waterloo, Russia, Austria, and Prussia entered into an alliance, known as "The Holy Alliance." It has been generally believed the main purpose of the agreement was to suppress revolutionary movements and the spread of liberal ideas. In September, 1818, the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle convened, with Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia participating. It was here decided to remove the army of occupation from France and uphold Louis XVIII. on his throne, and there was a supposed understanding, though no specific agreement, that whenever absolutism was imperiled there should be interference. An-

other congress was held in 1820, and it was then proposed to interfere in the affairs of Naples, where a revolution had broken out. England protested, and would have nothing to do with it, yet Austria proceeded and restored the monarch at Naples.

In 1822 another congress of the powers was held at Verona to consider an insurrection which had broken out in Spain the year before, and it is here that the interests of the United States became seriously involved. England's envoy at the Verona Congress was the Duke of Wellington. Spain was in sore straits with rebellion at home and the flames of revolution were alight in all her South American and Central American colonies, which declared their independence in rapid succession. She was powerless to suppress the revolt, and it was proposed that the powers come to her assistance. All agreed except England. She again refused to interfere, but, disregarding her protest, the others went ahead; France sent an army into



GEORGE CANNING JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
Photo Underwood & Underwood

Spain and suppressed the uprising there.

The question now arose regarding the American colonies of Spain. Spain was unable to re-establish her authority, and, without England's co-operation as mistress of the seas, the other powers were disinclined to proceed. England was beginning already to feel the influence of the liberalism which was pervading her domain and which resulted within a few years in the Reform bills. Moreover, by the restoration of the South American colonies to Spain her trade would undoubtedly be reduced and imperiled.

Canning was at the head of British Foreign Affairs. In August, 1823, a few months after the Verona Congress and before any steps had been taken with reference to the South American republics, Mr. Canning proposed to our Minister, Mr. Rush, that

the Governments of England and of the United States should publish a joint declaration before Europe in opposition to the designs of the alliance in regard to the Western Hemisphere, the substance of which should be that, while the two Governments desired no portion of those colonies for themselves, they would not view with indifference any foreign intervention in their affairs or their acquisition by any third power; that a proposal be made to the other powers for a congress to consider the affairs of Spanish America, and that Great Britain would not participate in its councils unless the United States was also represented.*

Minister Rush explained the traditional policy of non-interference by the United States in European politics. He stated that the United States had already recognized the independence of the South American States, and that if England would do likewise he would unite in a "joint declaration." This Mr. Canning declined to do, but he did inform France that England would not permit European interference in Spanish American affairs, and France surprised him by readily acquiescing in the opinion that the new republics in South America were forever lost to Spain.

The suggestions of the British Foreign Minister to the American Minister brought matters quickly to a head. President Monroe regarded the situation as

very grave, and asked for opinions from the two living ex-Presidents, Jefferson and Madison.

Madison was brief. He thought that there was a call "for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade."

Jefferson wrote as follows:

The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.

The President's message bears date Dec. 2, 1823. Shortly after its beginning appears the following passage:

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the Minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which *the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.*

Later on, just before the close of the message, the President says:

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries,

*Tucker's "The Monroe Doctrine."

and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. *With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America.* This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on a principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what ex-

tent such interposition may be carried on the same principle is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote; and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the Government de facto as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and these new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

The doctrine remained quiescent, after 1824, being regarded rather as an academic utterance, especially as the European powers in 1830 had abandoned the system of forcible interference, but it was reasserted by President Polk in 1845 as a settled and definite policy of this Government. In 1845, when the dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary flared up, the President in his message to Congress, referring to this dispute as well as to the hint that if the United States annexed Texas, (which was then being discussed,) Europe might intervene, said:

In the existing circumstances of the world, the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe. * * * It should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American Continent.

It will be noted that President Polk confined the inhibition to North America, but added that word "dominion," which in international usage implies the volun-

tary acquisition by purchase or transfer of allegiance.

Again, in 1848, he was even more definite. Yucatan, which was then independent of Mexico, being unable to suppress an Indian revolution, offered to transfer "its dominion and sovereignty" to the United States, and made similar offers to Great Britain and Spain. The President in a message to Congress did not recommend its acceptance by the United States, but added: "We could not consent to a transfer of this 'dominion and sovereignty' to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power."

It was thus proclaimed to be the American policy that:

(A) European powers could not exchange or transfer to each other colonial possessions on the Western Hemisphere.

(B) They could not acquire either dominion or sovereignty over any territory on the Western Hemisphere not already possessed, even where there was a voluntary cession.

(C) The policy was not limited to North America, but embraced the entire hemisphere.

Nothing further occurred to revive the doctrine until 1866, when a serious question arose over the ambitions of France to establish Maximilian on the throne of Mexico.

Oct. 31, 1861, England, France, and Spain agreed to invade the Republic of Mexico in order to collect certain claims due subjects of the three nations and to chastise Mexico for her delinquency. The invasion took place, but Spain and England withdrew; Napoleon III. persisted, and the French landed an army and overthrew the Mexican Government. An election was held under bayonet rule, and Maximilian, a scion of the Austrian Hapsburgs, was placed upon the throne. The United States protested, but was too busily engaged at that time with its own troubles to go further, but as soon as our war ceased, an army of 40,000 troops was mobilized on the Mexican frontier, opposite Matamoros, where the French Army had its headquarters. Napoleon did not wish a clash with the United States, which was inevitable if his troops remained, and in utter disregard of his

'pledge to uphold the throne of Maximilian he withdrew his army; the Mexicans revolted and overthrew Maximilian, and subsequently executed him.

The first recognition by Congress of the Monroe Doctrine arose out of the Mexican situation. On April 4, 1864, the House of Representatives resolved unanimously that:

The Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the Republic of Mexico, and that they think it fit to declare that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical Government erected on the ruins of any Republican Government in America under the auspices of any European power.

This is the nearest express legislative sanction that the doctrine had so far received. At the time it was proclaimed Mr. Clay offered in the House of Representatives in January, 1824, a joint resolution by which it was declared that the people of the United States "would not see, without serious inquietude, any forcible intervention by the allied powers of Europe, in behalf of Spain," to reduce her colonies to subjection, but no action was taken upon this resolution. Congress, however, took definite action in the Venezuelan crisis in 1895, referred to below, and again in 1912, when a resolution of Senator Lodge was adopted, with but four dissenting votes, by the United States Senate, which was a formal reaffirmation of the doctrine, and at the same time notice to Japan that this Government would not tolerate the establishment of a naval base on the Mexican Coast, it being then reported that Japan contemplated such action at Magdalena Bay.

The resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That when any harbor or other place in the American Continent is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government not American as to give that country practical control for national purposes.

This not being a joint resolution, it did not require the concurrence of the House

or the signature of the President; it was a formal expression of the Senate alone. The House took no action.

This resolution goes further in the application of the original Monroe Doctrine in that it commits the United States henceforth to prohibit acts by foreign corporations or associations which heretofore only foreign nations have been forbidden to do.

Prior to the Maximilian episode and after the Polk Administration, that is, during the decade preceding our civil war, Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, in 1851, in view of a proposed engagement between Spain, Great Britain, and France to guarantee Spanish possession of Cuba, sent this notice to Great Britain:

"It has always been declared to Spain that the Government of the United States could not be expected to acquiesce in the cession of Cuba to any European power."

Again, during the civil war, Spain attempted to recover Santo Domingo, but failed, and afterward Santo Domingo, unable to secure itself against possible European aggression, sought annexation to the United States, and a treaty was negotiated, but not confirmed. In sending the treaty to the Senate President Grant wrote:

"The doctrine promulgated by President Monroe has been adhered to by all political parties, and I now deem it proper to assert the equally important principle that hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject of transfer to a European power."

It was, however, in 1895, during the Administration of President Cleveland, that the doctrine received its most specific and menacing import.

For nearly half a century there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over certain boundary lines. In 1887 the dispute had become so acute that diplomatic relations between the two countries ceased. Great Britain extended the area of British Guiana until in 1887 the territory of Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco River was reduced about two-thirds, 70,000 square miles. The controversy had proceeded many years; in fact, in 1876

Venezuela asked the United States to aid her in the discussion. When the last demand by England was made and the enormous slice of territory lopped off, Venezuela again appealed to the United States to intercede, and England was requested by our Government to submit the matter to arbitration, which was refused, and matters were at an impasse and there was constant danger of a break between the United Kingdom and the South American republic.

When Cleveland assumed office in 1895 Ambassador Bayard was again instructed to request England to arbitrate the matter, but he was curtly informed that Great Britain "could not consent to any departure from the Schomburgk line," which line cut off much Venezuelan territory. Congress approved the President's recommendation of arbitration, and on July 20, 1895, Secretary of State Olney dispatched his historic instructions to Ambassador Bayard. In this communication he asserted the right of one nation to intervene in a controversy to which other nations are directly parties "whenever what is done or proposed by any of the parties primarily concerned is a serious menace to its own integrity, tranquillity, and welfare." He then discussed the Monroe Doctrine and affirmed that, while it did not establish a protectorate over other American States, it did not relieve any of them from "obligations as fixed by international law, nor prevent any European power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them," but that its "single purpose and object" was that "no European power or combination of powers" should "forcibly deprive an American State of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies." He argued that this principle was involved in the present controversy, because territory was involved, and this meant "political control to be lost by one party and gained by the other." He said that "the United States, being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know

whether such sequestration has occurred or is now going on." He affirmed: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." He closed with the statement that it was the "unmistakable and imperative duty of the President to ask" for a definite decision upon the point "whether Great Britain will consent or will decline to submit the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety to impartial arbitration."

Lord Salisbury in his reply claimed that the United States was insisting upon a new and extended interpretation of the doctrine. He said: "It is admitted that he (President Polk) did not seek to assert a protectorate over Mexico or the States of Central or South America. Such a claim would have imposed upon the United States the duty of answering for the conduct of these States, and consequently the responsibility of controlling it. * * * It follows of necessity if the Government of the United States will not control the conduct of these communities, neither can it undertake to protect them from the consequences attaching to any misconduct of which they may be guilty toward other nations."

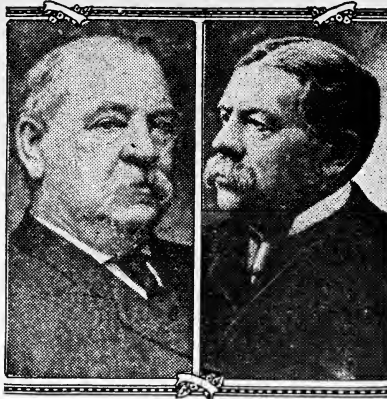
President Cleveland, on receipt of England's refusal to arbitrate, submitted the entire matter to Congress in a startling message, in which he declared "the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement tends to our peace and safety as a nation and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures.

"If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be 'dangerous to our peace and safety,' and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise."

Congress provided for a separate American commission to investigate the boundary question, but before it could report Great Britain receded and signed an arbitration agreement with Venezuela.

Though she was awarded practically all the disputed area, she yielded to the American interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine rather than go to war with us, and Congress specifically upheld the widened scope of its interpretation by fully indorsing the position of President Cleveland.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 gave a new significance to the Monroe Doctrine. The acquisition by the United States of colonial possessions in the remote Pacific, 3,000 miles from our shores, and in the Atlantic, nearly 1,000 miles from the continental boundary; the establishment of a virtual protectorate over Cuba, and a universal acknowledgment that by this war the United States had emerged from its provincial isolation into a world power, invested the doctrine with a more portentous meaning. The first manifestation was the need for the Panama Canal, but before it could be proceeded with it was felt that a treaty with England negotiated in 1850, known as the Clayton-



GROVER CLEVELAND RICHARD OLNEY
Photo © Pach Bros. Photo Paul Thompson

Bulwer treaty, must be abrogated. That treaty stipulated terms for the building of a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and provided for the complete neutralization of the canal, with no fortifications by either power. It marked a departure from our past tradition that we would not enter into agreements with any European power concerning purely American affairs, for it was, in effect, a partnership with Great Britain in this great work, and proved an insurmountable obstacle to its construction. As early as 1881 it was recognized that this treaty stood in the way of a canal, and negotiations were begun for its abrogation, but they were not consummated until 1901, when the treaty was abrogated and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty substituted, which gave the United States exclusive and independent authority to build and own the canal.

The evolution of the extension of the Monroe Doctrine followed as a natural corollary the building of the canal. The first and most serious question that was precipitated was the danger of foreign occupation of Central American States in order to enforce the collection of debts. The first of these arose in 1904, with relation to Santo Domingo. For years that country had been torn by revolutions, and its credit was entirely destroyed. What little money could be borrowed was loaned at usurious rates, with the revenues of the country pledged as collateral. Even this interest was defaulted, and Germany, Italy, and Spain entered into a mutual agreement to enforce the claims of their citizens, and an Italian warship was actually sent to Dominican waters to carry their threat into execution. The Dominican Government appealed to the United States for assistance, and this resulted in an arrangement whereby the Custom Houses of the republic were to be placed in the hands of American officials and a portion of the receipts were to be held in deposit in New York for the benefit of the creditors; finally, the debts were readjusted and the United States was allowed to collect and administer the customs revenues, the officials being under the protection of this Government.

This arrangement has worked out very satisfactorily and proved entirely agreeable to the foreign creditors. The country made much progress under the arrangement, and there was peace there until recently a new revolution occurred, but, thanks to American protection, it did not imperil the revenue receipts nor jeopardize the ability to meet the interest obligations as they mature. This same condition is now virtually in force also in Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and it may be truthfully said that the four republics are now under the protection of the United States as respects their revenue from customs, with a guarantee that the customs officials will be protected from revolutionary bands or bandits and the revenue receipts will be properly applied to the payment of legal and just interest obligations.

Our Government has never maintained that the Monroe Doctrine committed us to any sort of protectorate over the independent States of this hemisphere, so that we would be in any way called upon to espouse their quarrels. We always admitted that they were responsible for their own misconduct and could be held to a strict enforcement of their obligations. In 1861 we admitted the right of France, Spain, and Great Britain to proceed by force against Mexico for the satisfaction of just claims.

As evidence that we did not consider ourselves the guardians of the South American republics, John Bassett Moore, former Counselor of the State Department, cites the following instances as illustrating our refusal to interfere with the affairs of South or Central American republics: In 1842 and 1844 Great Britain blockaded a part of Nicaragua for a claim without our protest, and in 1851 she laid an embargo on the Port of Salvador; in 1862 she seized Brazilian vessels in Brazilian waters in reprisal for the plundering of a British bark on the Brazilian coast. In 1838 France blockaded Mexican ports, and in 1845 Great Britain and France blockaded the Port of Buenos Aires for the purpose of securing the independence of Uruguay. In 1865 Spain was at war with the republics on the west coast of South Amer-

ica, which continued for many years. She bombarded Valparaiso during that conflict. A United States' man-of-war dispersed a squatter colony from Buenos Aires from the Falkland Islands, and in 1854, for failure to obtain an indemnity of \$24,000 from Greytown for destruction of property and an apology for an affront to our Minister, we bombarded the place and burned the city. In 1890, while the Pan-American Congress was in session, Congress authorized the President to use force, if necessary, to collect a debt from Venezuela, and in 1892 we sent an ultimatum to Chile, with which she complied.

The latest interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine prior to the passage of the Root resolution referred to above occurred during the consideration of the Dominican treaty. In 1905 President Roosevelt said:

"If a republic to the south of us commits a tort against a foreign nation, such as an outrage against a citizen of that nation, then the Monroe Doctrine does not force us to interfere to prevent punishment of that tort, save to see that the punishment does not assume the form of territorial occupation in any shape."

He also held:

"On the one hand, this country would certainly decline to go to war to prevent a foreign Government from collecting a just debt; on the other hand, it is very inadvisable to permit any foreign power to take possession, even temporarily, of the Custom Houses of an American republic in order to enforce the payment of its obligations, for such temporary occupation might turn into permanent occupation."

And he concludes:

"The only escape from these alternatives may at any time be that we must ourselves undertake to bring about some arrangement by which as much as possible of a just obligation shall be paid. It is far better that this country should put through such an arrangement rather than allow any foreign country to undertake it."

The latest blockading of a coast on this hemisphere by foreign fleets occurred in 1902. Germany, England, and

Italy, finding themselves unable to collect certain debts from Venezuela, planned to blockade her coasts and seize her Custom Houses. Germany recognized the Monroe Doctrine might become involved and sent to the Secretary of State information of the proposed blockade, with the assurance, "We declare especially that under no circumstances do we consider in our proceedings the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory." The blockade began Dec. 10, 1902, without protest from the United States, but within three months, through the good offices of the United States, a compromise was effected and the blockade lifted.

As late as Nov. 27, 1914, ex-President Taft, in a carefully prepared address on the subject of the Monroe Doctrine, maintained that no obligation of international law rests on the United States to enforce the doctrine, nor upon any foreign State to observe it. "It rests primarily upon the danger to the interest and safety of the United States, and therefore the nearer to her boundaries the attempted violation of the doctrine the more directly her safety is affected and the more acute her interest." He maintains that the extent of our intervention to enforce the policy is a matter of our own judgment, with a notice that it covers all America, and he declared that, so far as it applies to countries as remote as Chile, Brazil, or Argentina, it is now never likely to be pressed, first because of their own ability to protect themselves, and second because of their remoteness. Mr. Taft held that if Germany during the present war were to send a naval or military force to Canada and wage war upon the soil of the Dominion, this would not be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, provided she stopped there, and that we would have cause to protest only if Germany endeavored to take over Canadian territory and establish her own government there.

President Wilson has on frequent occasions taken a position with reference to the doctrine similar to that of President Roosevelt. He has specifically disclaimed any aggressive attitude toward the South or Central American republics and has

asserted several times that the United States would never seek to secure any additional territory by conquest. He has gone a step further than his predecessors by firmly opposing revolutionary movements of political freebooters in the unstable republics, and has asserted that he will protect them, as far as possible, from exploitation by unscrupulous adventurers and freebooting concession seekers.

The Monroe Doctrine has never before been so firmly held as a vital part of the fabric of our Government, and the

recognition of its legality by all the powers of the world during the past ninety years was never so definitely established as at the present time. It is a favorite argument of advocates of preparedness to affirm that unless we are prepared to defend the doctrine with an army large enough and a fleet powerful enough to meet any enemy the doctrine will become a dead letter and we shall risk all the perils which might follow its abrogation at the pleasure of any nation that covets territory on this hemisphere.

Digging Song: A Bavarian Protest

Among the letters and papers found in German trenches at Verdun was a diary kept by a Bavarian Corporal named Sanktus. It contains a poem entitled "Schanzlied," or "Digging Song," signed "von Sanktus." Facsimiles of the original German script have been published in the English papers. Herewith we give a rough translation of the whole poem:

Come on, all you fellows, let each take his spade,
 For the trench work that we must be plying,
 An underground dugout must also be made,
 As a place for the Prussian to lie in;
 Wherever the fighting is done under earth,
 Bavarians are wanted and have, too, their worth.
(Repeat.)

The gallant Bavarians—this is their fate:
 At every one's pipe to be jiggling;
 While the lazybone Prussian reposes in state,
 The Bavarian's delving and digging;
 He's kept at it still—with no chance of escape;
 For there must be commands, and there must be red tape.

The Prussian is fed like an ox in a stall,
 Or his gullet would split with his gaping,
 But the hungry Bavarian gets nothing at all,
 'Tis the veriest fast that he's keeping;
 Bavarian, then what will happen to you
 With nothing but digging and dog's work to do?

The Frenchman, he doth the Bavarian dread—
 He takes good care not to attack him;
 But seeing the skunk of a Prussian instead,
 He's ready to go in and whack him;
 Out of the trenches the Prussian must clear—
 Why didn't they put us Bavarians there?

So long live the gallant Bavarian corps,
 To them be a coat of arms given;
 Two shovels laid crosswise, a pickaxe before,
 And, as a supporter, a bavin—
 The best of all badges for each common man,
 Who digs when he's got to, and digs when he can.



FUNERAL OF YUAN SHIH-KAI, JUNE 28, 1916. A PROCESSION A MILE LONG ESCORTED THE DEAD PRESIDENT FROM THE SUMMER PALACE IN PEKING TO THE RAILWAY STATION, WHENCE HE WAS BORNE TO HONAN PROVINCE FOR BURIAL ON HIS OWN ESTATE.

The Fight for the Republic in China

The Story of a Conspiracy

By W. Reginald Wheeler

IF it were not for the all-absorbing cataclysm in Europe, all eyes would be turned toward the Orient and the great movements now in evidence there. Certainly the developments in India and Japan since the great war began are of vast importance in the molding of the future of Asia. But it is in China, especially during the past year, that events of unique interest have taken place. The sudden clamor for the change of the infant republic into a monarchy, which began last Fall; the continued agitation for this transformation in the form of government, culminating on Dec. 11 in the unanimous vote of the Convention of Representatives of the Citizens for a Monarchy, with Yuan Shih-kai at its head; the gradual appearance of a most serious opposition, resulting in the revolt of the southern provinces; the sudden cancellation of the monarchy of Yuan Shih-kai on March 22; the effort to oust Yuan as President, ending dramatically with his death on June 6, and the election of Li Yuan-hung as President in his stead—these are a few of the main events in one of the most absorbing, hard-won fights between democ-

racy and autocracy in the life of any nation.

It is this fight for the republic in China that I wish to discuss in the light of some recently published documents which reveal the contest in its true aspect as a great struggle for republican ideals; a struggle in which America should have a very real interest and sympathy.

The political situation in China last Fall was full of mystery. Since the dissolution of Parliament by Yuan Shih-kai in 1913 the republic has been one in name rather than in fact; but the speed with which the monarchical movement gained headway in the Fall of 1915 surprised most onlookers. The sentiment among the middle and lower classes of the Yang-tse Valley and the south seemed strongly against the monarchy and against Yuan Shih-kai for apparently supporting it. I talked with men of all classes—ricksha coolies, Confucian scholars, Buddhist priests, and returned students, and every one, after taking due precaution against being overheard, came out in support of the republic and denounced Yuan. Dr. Morrison, after a tour of inspection of the Yang-tse Valley,

described the sentiment of the people as one of "solid resentment" against the whole movement.

The feeling was even stronger in the south. There were certain indications that Yuan Shih-kai was acquiescent in, if, indeed, not a supporter of, the movement. Persistent rumors came from close friends of his in the capital that he was influenced by his sons to make the change for the latter's benefit as his successors. Only former officials and friends of the administration were allowed to vote in December. The editor of one of the Monarchist newspapers in Shanghai, which was blown up by the Republicans, stated outright amid the smoking ruins of his office that he had special permission from the Central Government for his propaganda. But the recent publishing by the Republican Government of over sixty secret communications of Yuan Shih-kai's Government preceding and during the election last Fall has brought out clearly the entire situation; the whole monarchical effort, in the words of Putnam Weale of Peking, is stamped as "a cool and singular plan to forge a national mandate which has few equals in history."

The chief communications have just been published by the Republican Government of China under the title, "The People's Will: An Exposure of the Political Intrigues at Peking Against the Republic of China," with the quotation subjoined, "Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God." I shall quote from some of the more important telegrams; the whole group deserves to be studied, just as the multi-colored books of diplomatic correspondence of Europe have been studied because of their influence in shaping the destiny of their respective continents.

In publicly beginning its propaganda in August, the monarchical movement very cleverly used a statement of Dr. Francis J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University and American adviser to the Chinese Government. Dr. Goodnow's opinion was purely an academic one; he stated that a change from a republic to a monarchy could be suc-

cessfully made under three conditions: First, that the peace of the country was not thereby imperiled; second, that the laws of succession should first be securely fixed; third, provision should be made for some form of constitutional government. Of course, the Monarchists, in quoting this opinion, entirely omitted these conditional clauses.

On Aug. 16 the Chou An Hui (Society for the Preservation of Peace) published its first manifesto referring to this statement. Yuan Shih-kai, in a speech before the Tsan Chang Yuan, or State Council, said among other things: "I regard the proposed change as unsuitable to the circumstances of the country." But on Aug. 30 the first secret telegram was dispatched from Peking concerning the proposed change of government. It was a code telegram to the Military and Civil Governors of the provinces, to be deciphered personally by them with the Council of State code. After certain initial steps are mentioned in detail, the document reads:

The plan suggested is for each province to send in a separate petition, the draft of which will be made in Peking and wired to the respective provinces in due course. * * * You will insert your own name as well as those of the gentry and merchants of the province who agree to the draft. These petitions are to be presented one by one to the Legislative Council as soon as it is convoked. At all events, the change in the form of the State will have to be effected under color of carrying out the people's will.

As leading members of political and military bodies, we should wait till the opportune moment arrives when we will give collateral support to the movement. Details of the plan will be made known to you from time to time.

The Monarchical Society, realizing that matters had progressed sufficiently by this time for it to assert itself, on Sept. 27, under the leadership of Yang Tu and Sun Yu-chun, dispatched a code telegram to the Military and Civil Governors, asserting that all danger of a true expression of provincial wishes must be eradicated. The telegram offers suggestions regarding the government of the different districts and then concludes:

In order to clothe the proceedings with an appearance of regularity, the representatives

of the districts, though they are really appointed by the highest military and civil officials of the province, should still be nominally elected by the districts. As soon as the representatives of the districts have been appointed, their names should be communicated to the respective district magistrates, who are to be instructed to draw up the necessary documents in detail, and to cause a formal election to be held. Such documents should, however, be properly antedated.

On Sept. 29 Chu Chi-chun, Military Governor of Mukden, representing the Administrative Council, telegraphed as follows:

While the plan of organization is determined by the Administrative Council, the carrying out of the ulterior object of such plan rests with the superintendents in chief of the election. They should, therefore, assume a controlling influence over the election proceedings and utilize them to the best advantage. The representatives of the citizens should be elected, one for each district wherever possible, from among the officials who are connected with the various Government organs in the provincial capital, so that there may be no misunderstanding as to the real object of voting.

This telegram proves conclusively that the representative organ of the people was wholly under the control of high officials and was "utilized" by them "to the best advantage," and that the representatives themselves were to be chosen from among those connected with the Government organizations in the various provincial capitals.

Again, on Oct. 10, a telegram from the National Convention Bureau read:

Special attention should be paid to the qualifications of those who are to be elected at the primaries held in the districts in connection with the National Assembly, since it is from these candidates that the citizens' representatives will have to be selected. * * * We trust the superintendents of the primaries will thoroughly understand our implied meaning, and utilize the proceedings to suit our purpose. * * * They should, before the voting, carefully consider what sort of men are those who are qualified to be elected, and select those who are good-natured and obsequious and of the same mind as ourselves. These are to be considered as the persons who should be elected. The superintendents will then judiciously assign their names to the several voters, and request them to vote as directed. If they find any difficulty in carrying out these instructions, they should not hesitate to use measures which in effect are coercive, though not so in appearance.

On October 11 the National Convention Bureau sent the following telegram:

The future peace and safety of the nation depend upon the documents exchanged between the Government organs at Peking and those in the provinces. Should any of these come to the notice of the public, the blame for failure to keep official secrets will be laid upon us. Moreover, as these documents concern the very foundation of the State, they will, in case they become known, leave a dark spot on the political history of our country. Upon their secrecy depends our national honor and prestige in the eyes of both our own people and foreigners. * * * We hope you will appoint one of your confidential subordinates to be specially responsible for the safe custody of the secret documents.

Despite the increasing unrest among the people, a circular telegram was dispatched on Oct. 23, which apparently "drove the last nail into the coffin of the Chinese Republic." It was a "nomination" of Yuan Shih-kai, and read:

The letters of nomination to be sent in after the form of State shall have been put to the vote, must contain the following words: "We, the citizens' representatives, by virtue of the will of the citizens, do hereby respectfully nominate the present President Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor of the Chinese Empire, and invest him to the fullest extent with all the supreme sovereign rights of the State. He is appointed by Heaven to ascend the Throne and to transmit it to his heirs for ten thousand generations." These characters, forty-five in all, must not be altered on any account.

Before the form of the State has been settled, the letters of nomination must not be made public. A reply is requested.

A few days later—Oct. 28—the attention of the Central Government was drawn by England, Japan, and Russia (latter backed by France and Italy as allies) toward the inadvisability of taking steps that would threaten the peace of China; but Lu Cheng-Hsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied that it was too late to retract, as the matter had already been decided. When their surprise over this unexpected answer had subsided, those in charge of the plot sent the following state telegram to the provinces:

A certain foreign power, under the pretext that the Chinese people are not of one mind and that troubles are to be apprehended, has lately forced England and Russia to take part in tendering advice to China. In truth, all foreign nations know perfectly well that there

will be no trouble, and they are obliged to follow the example of that power. If we accept the advice of other powers concerning our domestic affairs and postpone the enthronement, we should be recognizing their right to interfere. Hence, action should under no circumstances be deferred. When all the votes of the provinces unanimously recommending the enthronement shall have reached Peking, the Government will, of course, ostensibly assume a wavering and compromising attitude, so as to give due regard to international relations. The people, on the other hand, should show their firm determination to proceed with the matter at all costs, so as to let the foreign powers know that our people are of one mind. If we can only make them believe that the change of the republic into a monarchy will not in the least give rise to trouble of any kind, the effects of the advice tendered by Japan will ipso facto come to nought.

On Dec. 21 was played the last act in the drama. Forty-eight hours before General Tsai Ao threw down the gauntlet in Yunnan, because of the strange quiet that pervaded the country the Monarchists boldly determined to pay no further heed to any suggestion that they withdraw from their purpose, even though force be threatened. For it had been discovered, after the ballot boxes were opened on Dec. 11 that every voter had cast his ballot for Yuan Shih-kai to be Emperor! And he, isolated in his palace from the populace and deceived by his followers, had accepted the nomination.

All that remained now was to blot out every trace of the conspiracy, that the deceit "should not stain the opening pages of the history of the new dynasty," as a later telegram read, which is in part quoted below:

No matter how carefully their secrets may have been guarded, [it asserts,] still they remain as permanent records which might compromise us; and in the event of their becoming known to foreigners we shall not escape severe criticism and bitter attacks, and, what is worse, should they be handed down as part of the national records, they will stain the opening pages of the history of the new dynasty. The Central Government, after carefully considering the matter, has concluded that it would be better to sort out and burn the documents so as to remove all unnecessary records and prevent regrettable consequences. For these reasons you are hereby requested to sift out all telegrams, letters, and dispatches concerning the changes in the form of the State, whether official or private, whether received from Peking or the

provinces, (excepting those required by law to be filed on record,) and cause the same to be burned in your presence.

Such intrigues were certain to bear fruit, and on Dec. 23 Tang Chi-Yao, Tutuh of Yunnan, revolted and blazed the way for the rebellion which ultimately should oust Yuan from the throne. He declared that Yuan had been guilty of "deliberately misrepresenting the people's will by inducements and threats," and took his stand once more for the republic. Yunnan was followed by Kwei Chow.

Despite this protest, the beginning of the new dynasty was set for Jan. 1 of the new year, and the Government buildings in Nanking and other cities were decorated with the national flag in honor of the event. Memorials praying for an early ascension of the throne were sent to Peking by various Monarchists. But on Jan. 26 the Emperor, dubbed the Ta Huang Ti by the Peking Gazette, a Republican sympathizer, announced that the enthronement would be postponed, saying in part: "The Province of Yunnan is opposing the Central Government and under some pretext a rebellion has been raised in these regions. * * * We are profoundly grieved to confess that a portion of the people are dissatisfied with us. * * * To perform the ceremony of enthronement at this juncture would, therefore, set our heart on thorns. The enthronement will have to be postponed to a date when the affairs in Yunnan are again under control."

The month of February was one of speculation and of discouragement on the part of the Republicans. The control of the military forces of the north was tightened in all suspected centres; Nanking, which had been the hotbed of revolution for the last four years, was practically under martial law; soldiers with fixed bayonets patrolled the streets; signs were put up in the tea houses and Government schools forbidding any discussion of political affairs; infractions of this rule were severely punished. But the unrest continued, a statement of one of the scholars in Nanking being indicative of public sentiment in general. On being asked what he thought of the new flag

which the Monarchists proposed for the nation, he said he thought the best design would be a white flag with a great black spot in the centre, (for Yuan Shih-kai.)

This dissatisfaction found active expression in the revolt on March 17 of Kuangsi, which made, among others, the following demands upon the Central Government: The cancellation of the empire and reinstatement of the republican form of government; the abdication of Yuan Shih-kai, and the convocation of a legislative body which should represent and be capable of expressing the authentic "will of the people."

On March 22 this was answered by a mandate from Yuan canceling the monarchy. In it he said: "I am still of the opinion that the designation petitions submitted are unsuited to the demands of the time, and the official acceptance of the imperial throne is hereby canceled. * * * I now confess that the faults of the country are the result of my own faults."

Although Yuan had relinquished the throne, he was not willing to abdicate entirely, and nothing short of this would satisfy the southerners. Chekiang Province revolted and its Governor fled; Kwangtung followed. The press was full of fiery articles calling for Yuan's retirement. On April 27 General Tsai Ao, the great military leader of the Republicans, sent a long telegram to Peking urging Yuan to retire, and concluding with a threat: "If, however, you should continue to linger and delay to make a prompt decision in the sense of retirement and compel the people to elaborate their demands in plainer language, your retirement will be compulsory instead of voluntary, and your high virtue will be lowered." This was followed by a similar appeal by Dr. Wu Ting-fang.

Yuan remaining obdurate, on May 10 the southern provinces elected Li Yuan-hung as President. On May 17 Liang Chi-Chao, the Republican leader, who has the highest reputation among the scholars of China, telegraphed Peking: "Since Hsaing-Cheng (Yuan Shih-kai) has been morally defeated in the eyes of Chinese as well as foreigners, the iron verdict has been passed on him demand-

ing his retirement." This was backed on May 18, the following day, by a statement of 300 members of the former National Assembly, which Yuan had dissolved in 1913.

Through all this discussion Nanking had remained neutral. On May 15 General Feng Kuo-Chang held a conference of the representatives of the ten provinces which were still loyal. The conference accomplished little except to emphasize the growing demand for Yuan's retirement. On May 24 Szechuan revolted, and two days later Yuan first publicly announced his intention to retire, saying: "My wish to retire is my own and originated with myself. I have not the slightest idea of lingering with a longing heart at my post." On May 29 Yuan issued a long statement in which he reviewed in detail his action in connection with the attempted change of Government. Two sentences are rather interesting in the light of the present knowledge of the entire situation:

I, the great President, have done everything I could to ascertain the real will of the people by taking measures to prevent every possible corruption, the same being in pursuance of my wish to respect the will of the people. * * * In dealing with others I, the great President, have always been guided by the principle of sincerity.

The comment upon this mandate by the editor of *The Peking Gazette*, himself a Chinese, is indicative of the sentiment of the country at that time:

If there was not a growing danger with every day that the Chief Executive tarried in office, moderate Chinese might be inclined to read with some patience and in a sense of sympathy the mandate issued on Monday night, which we translate in full to-day. It is obviously the attempt of Yuan Shih-kai to set himself right with posterity and to state for the future historian his own version of a transaction that has made him weaker than the child-ruler who preceded him. There is no time to reread what has already been asseverated time and again to a skeptical world. There is no time to shed a tear for a fall from greatness that is without parallel in history. The nation's perils thicken and the voice of the people clamors for the retirement that is to bring surcease of their harassment. Again we bid him be wise and leave the work that must be done by other hands under surer knowledge of the great new forces in our midst.

During the following week Yuan Shih-

kai became seriously ill, and on June 6 he died, the cause of his death being urinaemia. A few hours before his death he issued his last mandate, in which he handed over the Government to the Vice President. His closing words are not without pathos: "Owing to my lack of virtue and ability, I have not been able fully to transform into deed what I have desired to accomplish; and I blush to say I have not realized one-tenthousandth part of my original intention to save the country and the people. * * * I was just thinking how I could retire into private life when illness has suddenly overtaken me. * * * The ancients once said, 'It is only when the living do try to become strong that the dead are not dead.' This is also the wish of me, the great President."

President Li Yuan-hung at once entered upon his office, beginning on June 7, according to *The Peking Gazette*, "the work that ought to have been begun four years ago." His first two mandates were as follows:

I.

Yuan-hung has assumed the office of President on this the 7th day of the sixth month. Realizing his lack of virtue, he is extremely solicitous lest something may miscarry. His single aim will be to adhere strictly to law for the consolidation of the republic and the molding of the country into a really constitutionally administered country. May all officials and people act in sympathy with this idea and with united soul and energy fulfill the part that is lacking in him. This is his great hope.

II.

The present general situation is exceedingly precarious. Having just shouldered the great burdens of the State, I need the assistance of others in everything pertaining to administrative measures. All civil and military officials outside of Peking should, therefore, remain at their posts and assist in solving the present troubles. Let no man shirk his duties in the slightest degree.

The issuing of the mandate was followed by telegrams from most of the provinces, stating their loyalty to the new President and to the Republican Government. A few days later Liang Shih-Yi, the Chief Counselor and Adviser of Yuan Shih-kai among the Monarchists, resigned from his position in the Government; thus the chief obstacle to harmony was removed. The efforts of the new Repub-

lican Government are now being directed toward the establishment of a Parliament, according to the Provisional Constitution adopted at Nanking in 1912. The revised Provisional Constitution, adopted in May, 1914, which, according to Dr. Goodnow, "is almost a copy of the Japanese Constitution," and through which very comprehensive powers are given the President, with practically an absolute veto power and the right to reelection after a term of ten years, will probably be discarded. There are many obstacles, of course, to the successful solution of the political difficulties in China, but undoubtedly great advance has been made toward this solution during the last year.

The courage of the leaders of the Republican cause in the face of the military power of the Peking Government was worthy of admiration. Let two instances suffice: The editor of *The Peking Gazette*, published in both Chinese and English, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper published in the north of China in a foreign language, throughout the entire contest was loyal to the Republican cause. He could have taken refuge in the protection of the British Legation or of some other legation in Peking when his writings brought him into danger; but in reply to a question in this connection he made the following statement: "At the most critical and dangerous period for adverse criticism of the monarchical movement—in February last—I decided, in order to free my staff of any possible responsibility, to register myself as a Chinese subject in the capacity of the sole proprietor of *The Peking Gazette*." (Signed Eugene Ch'en.) Liang Chi-Chao, the rumor of whose assassination in March was greeted with consternation throughout the country, published a comment on the secret telegrams of the Yuan Government in both English and Chinese, exposing their intrigues in the most direct terms. He concluded his article in this way:

I know (and I believe everybody knows) that the publication of this article will not only involve me in serious difficulties, but will also expose my life to grave dangers. Nevertheless, as a citizen of China and as a

member of the human race, I honestly believe it my duty to publish this article, a duty from which I ought not to shrink, cost what it may; for I cannot do otherwise than act according to the dictates of my conscience.

Oh, fellow-countrymen, young and old! listen to my appeal! Oh, intelligent and upright foreign friends! Listen to my appeal!

In trying to form a judgment of this entire political movement, the question is certain to arise of the ability of the Chinese as a whole to understand and carry out the ideals of a republic. A study of the history and literature of China reveals clearly the democratic spirit of the people. The right of rebellion against tyrants has brought to a close many of the ancient dynasties. Two passages from the Confucian classics, which have had a greater influence in molding the mind of the Chinese people than any other writings, are worthy of quotation in this connection. One is regarding the possibility of the perversion of the will of the people: "A ruler may carry off by force the Governor of a Province, but he cannot change the will of even the humblest of its subjects";

and from the Analects, another regarding the essentials of government:

Tsze-kung asked about Government. The Master (Confucius) said, "The essentials of Government are that there be a sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

Tsze-kung said: "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?"

"The military equipment," said the Master.

Tsze-kung again asked: "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?"

The Master answered: "Part with the food. From of old death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers the State cannot stand." (Book XII., Chapter 7.)

It is this spirit that has animated the leaders of the Republican movement, and it is this spirit that marks the fight for the republic in China as worthy of honor among those nations of the world who are opponents of autocracy and supporters of democracy—of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

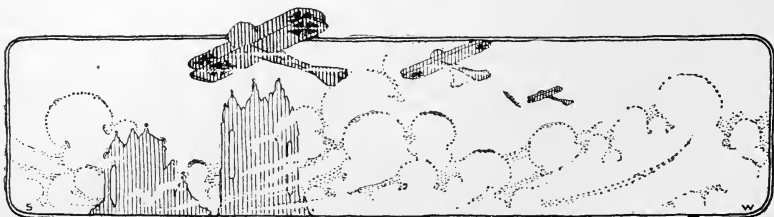
An Irish Officer on the Somme

A wounded Irish officer, when asked to describe the Anglo-French offensive, wrote in reply:

You can no more hope to get the Push described for folk who haven't been out than you can hope to get the world described, or human life explained, on a postcard. The pen may be ever so mighty, but, believe me, it has its limitations.

What's the Push like? It's like everything that ever was. It's all the struggles of life crowded into an hour; it's an assertion of the bedrock decency and goodness of our people; and I wouldn't have missed it for all the gold in London town. I don't want to be killed; not a little bit. But, bless you, one simply can't be bothered giving it a thought. The killing of odd individuals such as me is so tiny a matter.

My God, it's the future of humanity; countless millions; all the laughing little kiddies, and the slim, straight young girls, and the sweet women, and the men that are to come. It's all humanity we're fighting for, whether life's to be clean and decent, free and worth having—or a Boche nightmare. You can't describe it, but I wouldn't like to be out of it for long. It's hell and heaven, and the devil and the world; and, thank goodness, we're on the side of the angels—decency, not material gain—and we're going to win.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the constant seizure of German mail by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is unable at present to obtain an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[Russian Cartoon]

The Crown Prince's Accident



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

The Berlin-Paris express wrecked at Verdun.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Double-Headed Eagle

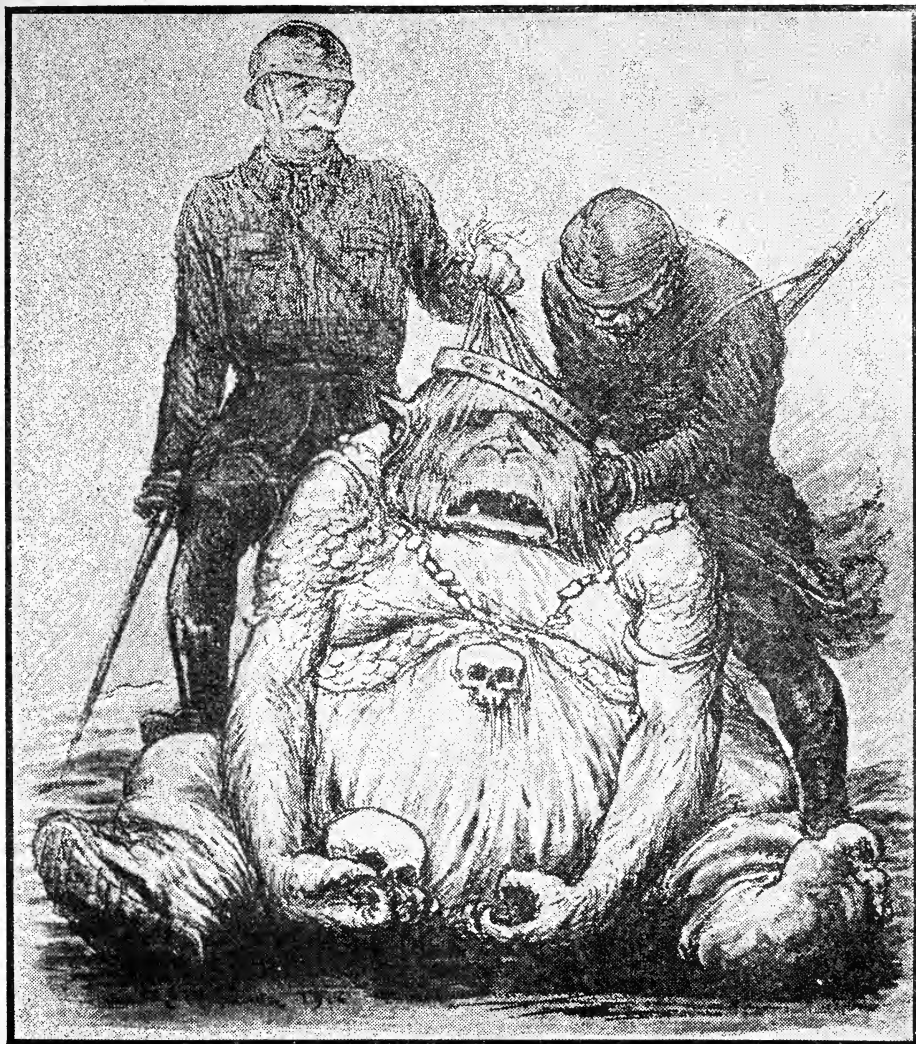


Austria on Two Fronts.

—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Minotaur



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

“If Germania, the Minotaur, breather of fire and drinker of blood, is not yet at the death rattle, its roar is already less loud. It is less proud of attitude, less prompt with its blows, like the wounded bull that runs blindly in a circle. Its muzzle already would be seen to be pale if it were not reddened with blood.”

[German Cartoon]

At Verdun

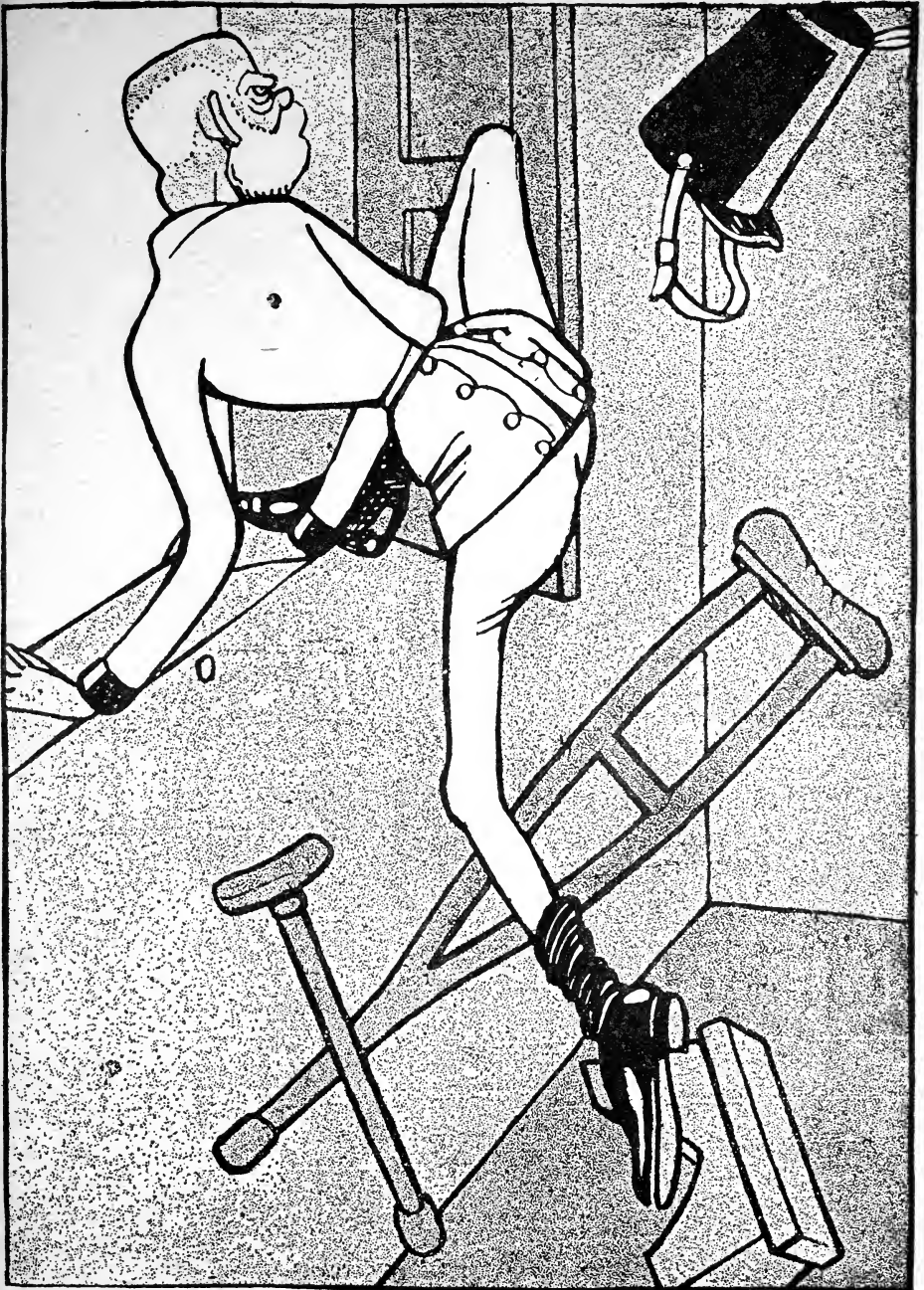


—From *Der Brummer*, Berlin.

The true Commander in Chief of the French.

[Spanish Cartoon]

In the Carpathians



—From *Iberia, Barcelona.*

“Those Russians again—and with plenty of things to throw at me!”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Royal Thief



Setting out to loot Europe.

—By Cesare Giris

[French Cartoon]

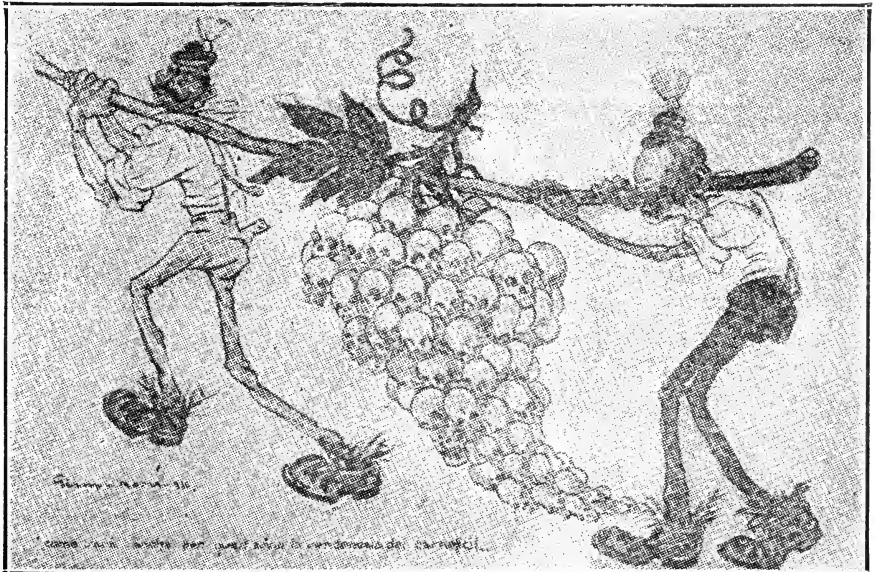
The Offensive of the Allies



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

The loop seems to be tightening all right.

[Italian Cartoon]



—By *Russo, Italian Cartoonist.*

“This year it will be a vintage of murder.”

[Dutch Cartoon]

Cleansing the Temple

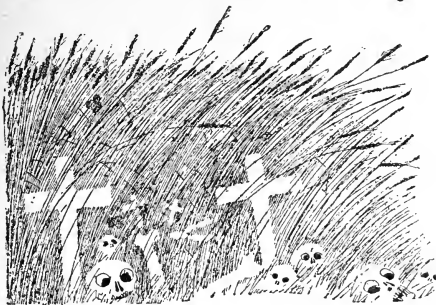


—By Louis Raemaekers, Dutch Cartoonist.

[Russian Cartoons]
"So Shall Ye Reap"



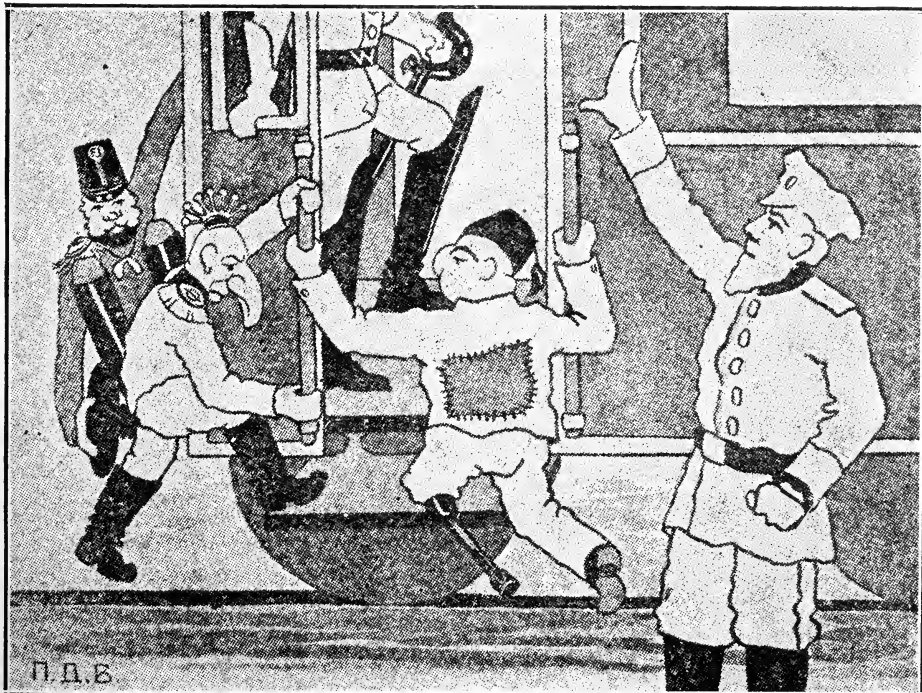
Урожай въ
Германіи.



A fine harvest in Germany.

—From Iskry, Moscow.

The War Lords' Special



П.Д.В.

—From Iskry, Moscow.

WILHELM: "Get off the step—there's no more room."

[English Cartoon]

The Most High Strafer



From the Bystander, London.

1914 — and — 1916.

[Italian Cartoon]

On Three Fronts



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

The collapse of the Mutual Aid Society.

[English Cartoon]

Humility



—By Will Dyson.

THE PROFESSOR: "I am sorry we have no further openings for instructors!"
MEPHISTOPHELES: "Ah, you misjudge me, I come as a pupil!"

[English Cartoon]

The Ruhleben Zoo



—Will Dyson in *London Chronicle*.

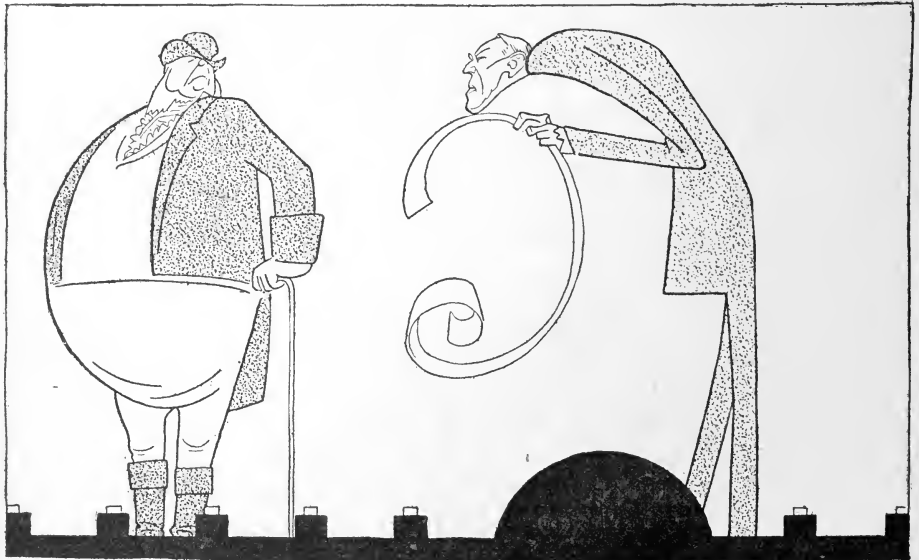
LITTLE GRETCHEN OF RUHLEBREN: "Grandma, if Max and I are good children, may we please go and see the British prisoners starved!"

[German Cartoon]

America's Note to England



Behind the Scenes—



—From *Simplicissimus*.

—and before the footlights.

[Italian Cartoon]
Gramophones Made in Germany



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

[An Italian skit on the peace talk that is going on in various parts of the world.]

[English Cartoon]
Holland's Mysterious Trade



—From *Passing Show*, London.

"Nothing has gone into Germany through this door for months. The fellow must be about done for."

[Italian Cartoon]
The Last Call



—From *Uomo de Pietra*, Milan.

Soon there will be none to respond but the dead.

[Cartoon from India]
Unfinished



—From *Hindi Punch*, Bombay.

AUSTRIA: "Up again! I thought I had finished you months ago!"

[English Cartoon]

No Password Needed

[A cartoon that helped to break the strike in the Clyde shipyards]

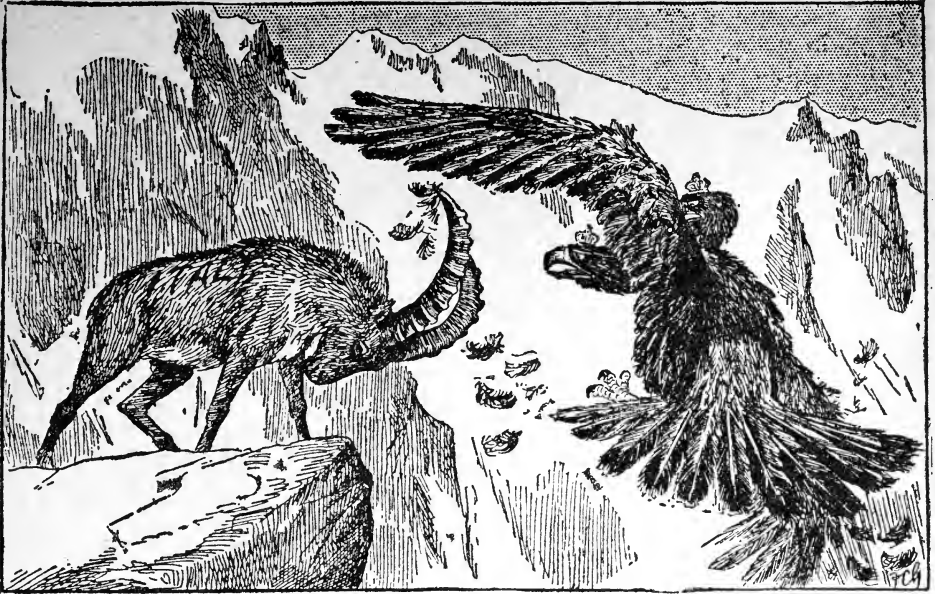


“Who goes there?”
“Clyde striker.”
“Pass, friend; all’s well.”

—From *London Opinion*.

[English Cartoon]

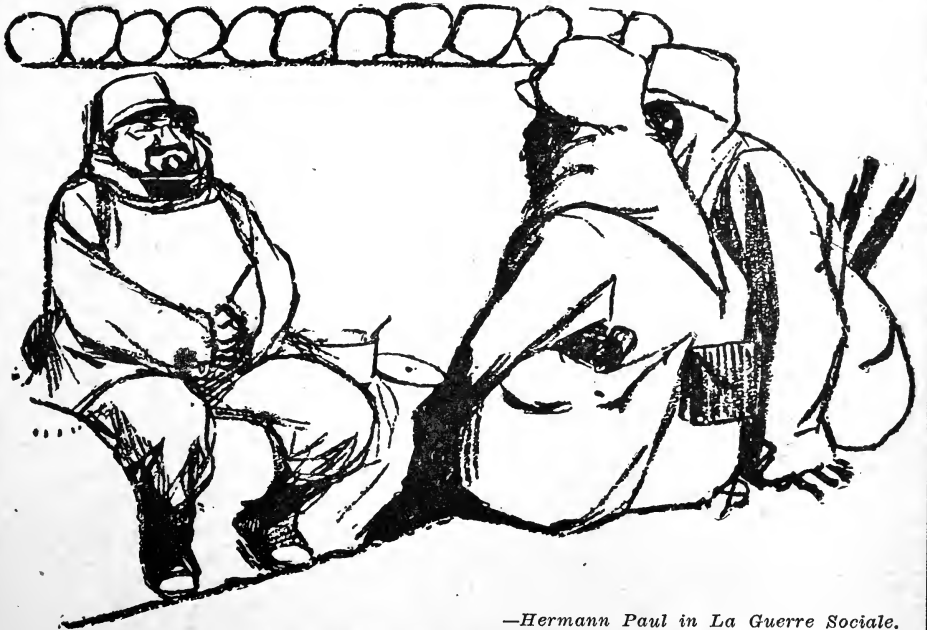
Austria and Italy in the Alps



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

[French Cartoon]

War as a Cure-All



—Hermann Paul in *La Guerre Sociale*.

“What were you before the war?”
“I was a neurasthenic.”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Hero



—By Cesare Giris.

[This cartoon on the execution of Edith Cavell, contributed to the album entitled "Crimes of the Central Empires," stirred Italy deeply.]

[Italian Cartoon]

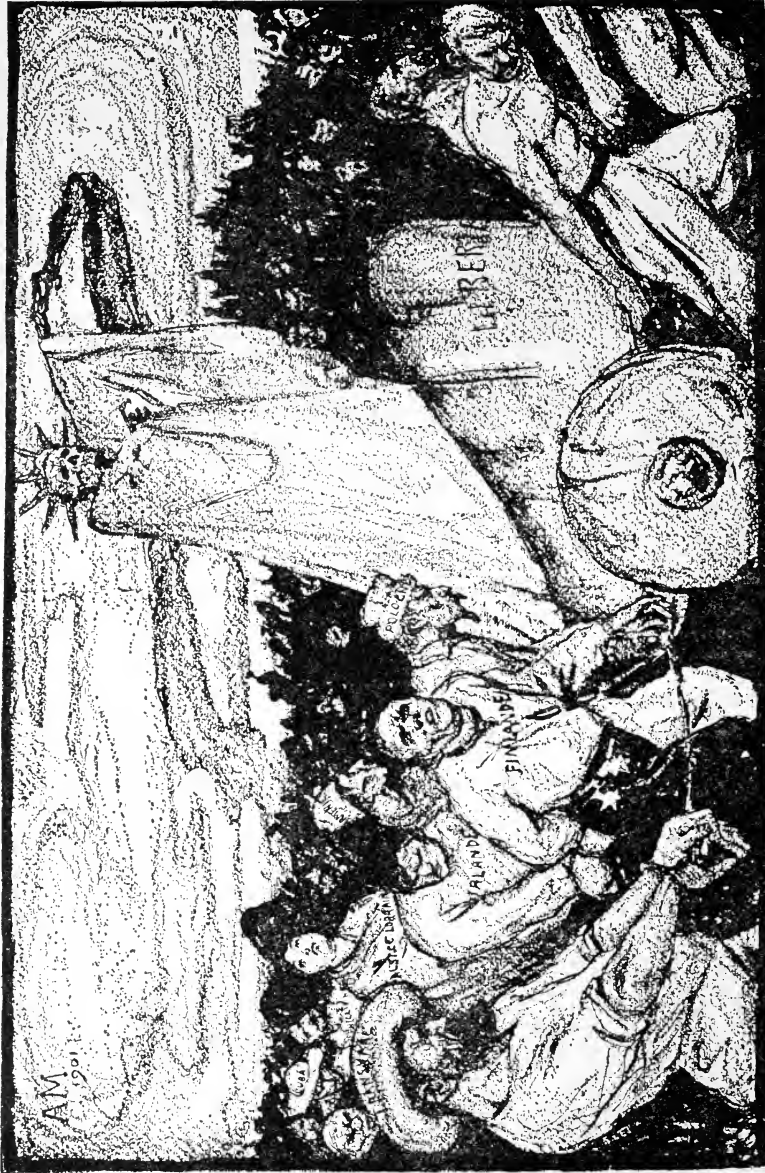
A Disquieting Discovery



THE BUTCHER: "Strange! The more I wash myself in the blood of the people, the darker the original stain becomes."

—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

The Triumphal Procession of the Dead



[This cartoon, drawn some years ago by a French artist, is now being circulated by a German publisher in Munich as an indictment of the Allies and their sins against small nations.]

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From August 12 Up to and Including
September 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Aug. 12—French capture German trenches north of the Somme from Hardecourt to Buscourt and win a foothold in Maurepas.
- Aug. 13-16—French and British co-operate north of the Somme and carry German positions east of Maurepas-Clery road.
- Aug. 18—British close in on Ginchy and Guillemont; French gain new grip on Maurepas; Germans driven out of Fleury.
- Aug. 19—British advance along eleven-mile front on the Somme, capturing a ridge overlooking Thiepval and half a mile of trenches west of High Wood.
- Aug. 22—British advance north of Bazentin; French reach outskirts of Clery.
- Aug. 23—British capture 200 yards of trenches south of Thiepval; French lose ground south of Estrees.
- Aug. 24—French take all of Maurepas and continue advance; British tighten grip on Thiepval.
- Aug. 27—British capture 200 yards of German trenches north of Bazentin-le-Petit; Germans again attack at St. Mihiel salient and in Lorraine, but are repulsed.
- Aug. 31—French gain near Estrees and the Soyecourt Wood.
- Sept. 3—Allies occupy Guillemont, Forest, and Clery.
- Sept. 4—French take Soyecourt and Chilly.
- Sept. 5—British gain foothold in Leuze Wood; French capture the Hospital Farm Rainette Wood and part of Marrière Wood and take Ommiecourt.
- Sept. 6—British win Leuze Wood; French push to outskirts of Chaulnes and to Chaulnes-Roye Railway.
- Sept. 7—French reach Roye-Peronne Railroad and capture German trenches on Verdun front in Vaux-Chenois region.
- Sept. 8—British gain on three-mile front between High Wood and Leuze Wood; French in Verdun region capture trenches east of Fleury.
- Sept. 11—German assaults from Berny to south of Chaulnes repulsed.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Aug. 12—Russians cross the Koropiec at several points north of the Dniester and capture Nadworna.
- Aug. 13—Russians in Galicia seize Maryampol.
- Aug. 14—Russians force their way across the Zlota Lipa and capture the village of Tustobaby.

- Aug. 15—Russians capture Jablonitza, reoccupy two villages south of the town, and capture Zborow further north.
- Aug. 16-17—Teutons launch counterattacks against Russians in region of Zlana River; Russians seize heights west of Vorochta and Ardzemay, in the Carpathians.
- Aug. 19—Russians break through Teuton line on the Stokhod River and seize a village sixty miles northwest of Kovel.
- Aug. 21—Russians advance in the Stokhod region and press through two Carpathian passes toward Hungary.
- Aug. 23-27—Germans resume offensive south of Brody; Russians capture heights north and south of Koverla Mountain, on Hungarian frontier.
- Aug. 28—Fighting begins on frontier of Transylvania as Rumania declares war against Austria-Hungary.
- Aug. 30—Austrians driven out of Kronstadt by Rumanians.
- Aug. 31—Rumanians seize Vulcan Pass; Austrians fall back west of Csik Szereda.
- Sept. 1—Rumanians occupy Petroseny; Teutons in Galicia give way near Halicz.
- Sept. 2—Rumanians occupy Orsova and take Hermannstadt.
- Sept. 3—Russians capture fortified positions south of Rafailov, in the Carpathians and in the region of Dornawatra.
- Sept. 4—Russians cross the Theniovka River, in the Brzezany region; Rumanians occupy Borszek and Sz-Lelek, in Eastern Transylvania.
- Sept. 7—Russians bombard Halicz, after seizing the railroad lines.
- Sept. 8—Austrians abandon positions six miles west of Csik Szereda, in Transylvania; Russians in Galicia drive Austro-Germans across the Gnitá Lipa.
- Sept. 11—Rumanians occupy Helimbar.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Aug. 12—Italians capture Oppachiasella, on the Carso Plateau.
- Aug. 15—Austrian fleet sails from Trieste as Italians advance to within thirteen miles of the port; Italians reach suburbs of Tolmino, which are in flames.
- Aug. 16—Report that Germany is sending troops to defend Trieste; Italians capture trenches on Monte Pecinka.
- Aug. 27—Italian forces in the Carnic Alps take Austrian positions on Cita Vallone.
- Aug. 28—Austrians shell Gorizia.
- Aug. 29—Italian Alpini take Monte Cauriol.

- Sept. 5—Italians take several commanding positions of the Austrians on Punta del Forane, in the Upper Bovi.
- Sept. 8—Austrians repulsed at Civaron, in the Sugana Valley.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Aug. 16—Allied forces on the Saloniki front have captured the railroad station at Doiran and four villages at other points and are attacking the Bulgars on the Serbian-Greek frontier.
- Aug. 18—Bulgars capture the Greek town of Florina from the Serbs.
- Aug. 19—Bulgars seize two Greek forts on the Struma and push patrols toward the port of Kavala; Allies advance in centre of line; British occupy Dolzeli.
- Aug. 21—Anglo-French forces cross the Struma and attack Bulgarian defenses northeast of Seres.
- Aug. 22—Allies capture a series of heights west of the Vardar River and halt the Germans and Bulgarians on the Struma.
- Aug. 23—Bulgars wipe out Greek garrisons of Starchista and Phea Petra; Seres bombarded; Greek volunteers flock to resist invasion; British and French repel attacks on the Struma line, while the Serbs capture 150 yards of Bulgarian trenches near Kaimakcalam.
- Aug. 24—Russians concentrate troops on the Bessarabian-Rumanian frontier and on the Russian Danube; Rumanians mass on the lower Danube and the Pruth; Serbs retake positions northwest of Ostrovo Lake, on the Saloniki line.
- Aug. 27—Bulgars in Kavala shelled by British warships; all but one of the Kavala forts taken; Bulgars enter Albania and occupy Malik.
- Aug. 28—Serbians in Macedonia drive Bulgars back near Vetrenik and in the Ostrovo region.
- Aug. 29—French advance toward the Ljumnica River and Serbs advance toward Vetrenik.
- Aug. 30—Bulgars seize Drama after a battle with the Greek garrison.
- Sept. 1—Greek forces which left Seres to resist Bulgar invasion of Macedonia captured by the Bulgars; Italians begin an offensive southeast of Avlona in Albania and fight to join the Serbs.
- Sept. 3—German and Bulgarian troops cross the Dobrudja frontier.
- Sept. 4—Rumanians repulse Teuton-Bulgar attacks on the fortified town of Barsardjik; Italians in Albania make a raid across the Voyusa River, near Avlona.
- Sept. 7—Bulgar-German forces capture Tutrakan fortress.
- Sept. 9—Bulgar-Teuton forces driven out of Dobric; Serbs drive Bulgars from a height west of Lake Ostrovo.
- Sept. 10—Bulgar-Teuton forces capture Silistra.
- Sept. 11—British cross the Struma and take

four villages; Serbs advance southward from Lake Ostrovo.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

- Aug. 12—Turks occupy Kighli in Armenia and pursue the Russians on the Bitlis-Mush line.
- Aug. 21—Turks advance in Persia; Russians withdraw toward Sandshoulak and Unshu.
- Aug. 23—Turkish offensive along the Armenian Black Sea stopped by the Russians with the aid of the fleet.
- Aug. 24—Russians reoccupy Mush in Armenia.
- Aug. 25—Russians recover Bitlis.
- Sept. 1-2—Turkish offensive west of Gumushkhane and Erzangan checked by Russians.
- Sept. 11—Russians take Bana in Persia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

- Aug. 15—Military coastal station of Baga-mojo captured by British naval forces.
- Aug. 18—Belgians capture Karella.
- Aug. 22—British take Kilossa.
- Aug. 26—British occupy Mrogoro, the seat of the German Provisional Government.

AERONAUTICS

- Zeppelins raided England on the night of Aug. 23, and again on the 24th. In the second raid eight persons were killed and thirty-six injured in the outskirts of London. On the night of Sept. 2, thirteen Zeppelins dropped bombs on the eastern counties, killing two persons and injuring thirteen. One machine was brought down near London.

NAVAL RECORD

- Twenty-two vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been sunk by submarines in the war zone, and six in the Mediterranean Sea. The British Destroyer Lassoo was destroyed by a German submarine in the English Channel.
- Two British light cruisers, the Nottingham and the Falmouth, were sunk by German submarines while searching for the German high seas fleet. One German submarine was destroyed.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Italy declared war on Germany Aug. 27. On the same day Rumania declared war against Austria-Hungary. In retaliation Germany and Turkey declared war on Rumania. On Aug. 29 Rumania presented an ultimatum to Bulgaria demanding the evacuation of Serbian territory and adherence to the Bucharest treaty. The Allies seized seven Teuton ships in the harbor of Piraeus and made demands on the Greek Government for control of posts and telegraphs, including the wireless system, and the expulsion of Teuton agents. Greece complied. A serious revolution occurred in Macedonia as a result of the Bulgar invasion and martial law was proclaimed in several cities.

ARBITERS OF WAR AND PEACE



Rulers of All the Warring Nations and President of Greatest of the Neutral Countries.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

FRENCH GIANT IN ACTION



Powerful New French Gun, the Mobile 380-Millimeter Mortar,
Bombarding the German Lines on the Somme.
(Photo © A. P. A., Medem Service.)

PERIOD XXVI.

The War's Legacy of Hatred—Submarine Warfare Off the American Coast—The Dangerous Plight of Greece—British Armored "Tank" Cars—The Capture of Stanislavoff—Duty of the New Germany—The Kaiser and Louis XIV.—The War in German East Africa—New Zealand in a New Phase—Austro-Hungarian Atrocities in Serbia.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

WAR'S HORRORS IN ARMENIA

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE prints elsewhere the essential features of a report issued by Viscount Bryce, under the direction of the British Government, on the persecutions of the Armenians in Asia Minor and Syria; also an official report issued at the instance of the allied Governments by Professor Reiss of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, on the atrocities by Austro-Hungarian troops during the invasion of Serbia late in 1914. These reports are valuable records in the history of the great European war, and though perhaps colored by the bias of the witnesses, furnish harrowing proof of the incredible extremes to which the passions of war have driven enlightened peoples supposed to be refined by twenty centuries of civilization.

It is the purpose of this magazine to print the essence of all the official reports emanating from each of the belligerents regarding the treatment of civilians as well as prisoners of war, so that the truth may be ascertained from the conflicting statements of all the nations. These reports unfold a tale of unbelievable brutality; it seems impossible to accept them unreservedly; they doubtless proceed from witnesses inflamed and blinded by hatred, made reckless by suffering and grief. Yet from the mass of testimony the truth may be deduced. Even when heavily discounted these documents lay so grave a burden on the offending nations that one shrinks from visualizing the horrors they depict.

Still worse charges than any contained in these reports are circulated, to the effect that French prisoners are being inoculated with tuberculosis by their German captors, and that Teutonic airmen have dropped bombs in Rumanian cities charged with poisoned sweets and garlic infected with cholera bacilli; but these charges are not worthy of serious consideration, and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE dismisses them as phantasms of a diseased imagination.

* * *

BOTH SIDES IMPLACABLE

WHEN one reads the official utterances of leading statesmen printed elsewhere in these pages, the conclusion is unescapable that the end of the war is not in sight. Each belligerent nation seems possessed with the fixed idea that it must conquer or become a vassal State. Each asserts a confident belief that, though the struggle may be prolonged, victory in the end is certain.

The Entente Governments have let it be understood officially that a present move by any neutral looking to mediation will be resented as a hostile act, and the Teutonic allies officially declare that, while they are ready to discuss peace on the present status quo of the battle lines, they realize that this proposal will not be considered by their enemies, who, they assert, are bent upon the annihilation of the Central Powers. A fresh outburst of rancor toward Great Britain is manifest in Germany, while frequent Zeppelin raids upon England and a renewal of submarine activity have intensified the bitterness of the Allies. All the combatants at present seem to be at the very

zenith of implacable hatred, and are fighting with a desperation unparalleled in history.

* * *

PREMIER BRIAND AND PEACE

TOWARD the end of September, Aristide Briand, President of the French Council of Ministers, who, as head of the Parliamentary Government of France, speaks with even greater authority than the President of the Republic, made two important declarations, which make absolutely clear the position of his nation on the question of a premature peace. Speaking on Sept. 13, the day after the reconvening of the French Parliament, Premier Briand had two very important pieces of news to announce: Rumania's entry into the war and the declaration of war by Italy against Germany. He also vehemently denounced the deportation of French women and girls by German military authorities as "an abomination, which had aroused the conscience of the world."

But most important was his declaration of policy. He summoned his country to persevere in her magnanimous effort, to unite all her vital forces and bend them toward the final goal—"peace through victory, a peace solid and enduring, guaranteed against every renewal of violence by fitting international sanctions."

On Sept. 19 M. Briand delivered another notable utterance in reply to M. Brizon, a Socialist Deputy, who suggested that it would be unreasonable and culpable to prolong the war when, by negotiations begun at the present time, it would be possible "to save billions of money and rivers of blood." The French Premier reminded the Chamber that France "had been brutally torn from her peaceful toil, traitorously attacked and dragged into war, invaded, tortured," and was now struggling with all her energies "for all humanity." He branded as "a challenge, an outrage against the memory of so many heroes who had fallen for France, so many glorious dead," the Socialist Deputy's proposal. "If peace," he said, "came before the necessary work was done, it would be a peace of

war; generations to come would find themselves condemned to lasting anguish, menaced unceasingly." The degree to which Briand spoke for his countrymen, and uttered their conviction, was shown in the vote of confidence, 421 against 21, which followed his oration.

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A TYPICAL WAR CARGO

THE British liner Adriatic sailed from New York Thursday, July 14, notwithstanding the possibility that the German U-53 was lying in wait for her outside the three-mile limit. The vessel remained at Ambrose Channel, within American waters, until after dark and proceeded rapidly on a new course convoyed by British warships. She carried a large number of passengers, including five Americans, and a cargo valued at \$7,000,000. It is interesting to note the munitions of war that were aboard as indicative of the nature of our present exports to the Allies. The cargo contained the following:

One aeroplane, 2,422 cases of fuses, 881 pieces of shell bodies, 647 cases of rifles, 13 cases of gun carriages, 947 barrels of lubricating oil, 31 tons of pig iron, 341 cases of brass tubes, 1,545 ingots of aluminium, 824 bars of steel, 300 cases of copper tubes, 57 cases of automobile parts, 78 automobiles, 1,200 cases of cartridges, 10,743 pieces of forgings, 5 cases of shotguns, 6 cases of guns, 1,926 bales of cotton, 243 bundles of hoop steel, 149 pieces of steel billets, 1,014 slabs of copper, 439 cases of copper bands, 1,574 cases of brass rods, 20 cases of tractor parts, 6,664 plates of spelter, 8,192 pigs of lead.

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JAPAN'S NEW PREMIER

LIEUT. GEN. COUNT SEIKE TERAUCHI, former Minister of War, also formerly Resident General in Korea, has become the new Premier of Japan in succession to Marquis Okuma, whose resignation marked the climax of the struggle between the bureaucratic forces and the advocates of a representative Government, resulting in a victory for the former. Terauchi represents the aggressive militant spirit of Japan. He has passed most of his life in military circles, having been Director of the Military Academy, Minister of War, Field Marshal, and Lieutenant General

of the army; he has never shown any liking for diplomacy or civil activities. His appointment is regarded throughout the world as foreshadowing a revival of the military spirit of Japan, and, though his present utterances are of a pacific character, it is felt that Japan under his leadership will soon become more aggressive. The appointment was regarded in this country, when first announced, as a menace to the open door in China, but the Premier, in an authorized interview, announced that the closing of the doors of China is "a non possumus." "So long as Japan's interests and dignity are not infringed," he said, "Japan will take no aggressive step toward any nation, especially America." He asserts that he does not intend to take up with the United States the questions of immigration and State discriminatory legislation, but a new agitation in California against the rights of Japanese to hold lands might be quickly regarded by the sensitive Japanese as an "infringement on Japan's dignity." He says further:

Japan's ambition is to have China benefit, like Japan, from the fruits of world civilization and world progress. The Japanese and Chinese people have sprung from the same stock. Our future destiny is a common destiny that is historically involved.

Already this patronizing solicitude regarding China is involved, so it is reported, by the concession to an American company to build for the Chinese Government a railroad through the centre of the country; it is asserted that Japan and Russia have presented representations of disapproval of this enterprise to the Chinese, but they have not yet been officially reported to the United States Government. At best the Terauchi appointment is causing Americans, who have heretofore been most pacifically inclined, to view with firmer complacency the appropriation by the last Congress of \$630,000,000 for army and navy development.

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A NEW DEFENSIVE FORCE

PRESIDENT WILSON has named as the Advisory Commission to be associated with the Council of National De-

fense: Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; Dr. Franklin H. Martin, a distinguished Chicago surgeon; Howard E. Coffin of Detroit, of the American Automobile Association; Bernard Baruch, a New York banker; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, President of Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, a mechanical engineer, and Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, President of Sears, Roebuck & Co. The commission is formed for the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation. A chief part of its work will be to inform American manufacturers as to the part they can play in a national emergency. The practical object of the commission is to establish well qualified agencies capable of mobilizing to the utmost the productive resources of the country.

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RELIEF FOR WAR ORPHANS

THE most comprehensive philanthropic undertaking ever organized in this country was formed in New York City, Oct. 14, 1916, by a group of prominent citizens to be known as The American Society for the Relief of French War Orphans. It was announced that the society would raise a fund of \$130,000,000. The sum of \$125,000 for operating expenses for two years was pledged outside the organization by a number of individuals, so that every dollar of the general fund will be devoted to the support of orphans. William D. Guthrie was elected President; James Stillman, J. Pierpont Morgan, and Ambrose Monell, Vice Presidents; Clyde A. Pratt, General Manager. The directors embrace a number of New York's most conspicuous men, most of whom are well known for their broad philanthropies. The work will be directed from this country, but there will be a Paris committee of seven members.

It is reported that there are already in France 200,000 children orphaned by the war. The membership of the society is divided into Founders, who will contribute \$500 or more a year; Benefactors, \$250 a year, and Sustaining Mem-

bers, \$100 a year. The duration of the corporation is for fifteen years, as the necessity for this charity will continue long after the close of the war. The motive of the promoters is to give expression in a practical way to "the gratitude that Americans have always felt for the aid given to this country by France during the Revolution."

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DEBATING IRISH CONSCRIPTION

THERE is renewed agitation in Ireland over the threat of conscription. The suggestion was bitterly denounced by John Redmond, head of the Nationalists, but is being strongly urged by the Unionist press. Recruiting in Ireland since the uprising last Spring has fallen to a low ebb, and the necessity for filling in the depleted ranks of British regiments in France caused Lloyd George in a Parliamentary utterance Oct. 13 to intimate that further conscription might be necessary. The Man Power Board has reached the conclusion that every young man in the British Kingdom must be placed in the national service, and this suggestion has started afresh the demand that conscription be applied to Ireland. It is believed by many that if this step is taken there will be a fresh revolutionary outbreak. In the Parliamentary debate on Oct. 18 the proposition of conscription for Ireland was again bitterly denounced by Redmond, and Lloyd George in his reply was rather conciliatory, indicating that the idea of conscription is temporarily at least laid aside and that a further effort will be made to reconcile the Irish Nationalists through a more lenient attitude by the Government.

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AUSTRALIA'S PART IN THE WAR

AUSTRALIAN and New Zealand soldiers in the British Army, affectionately dubbed "Anzacs," were christened thus in the Gallipoli campaign, where the official name of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps was shortened to a more convenient word formed of its initials. The British Admiralty reported in August that Australia had thus far sent to the European battlefields 214,000 men and that 50,000 more

were in training camps. Australian aviators were winning honors in Asia and Africa, while in Europe the Australian Siege Brigade and Transport had done distinguished work. The task of locally equipping the troops had been gigantic for a country still in the developmental stage, with a population of only 5,000,000. Australia had kept itself and New Zealand supplied with rifles and ammunition up to the time the troops left Egypt. The British Admiralty added that Australia had raised a \$150,000,000 war loan and was then engaged in floating a new loan of \$250,000,000.

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THE SUFFERINGS OF POLAND

THE effects of the war in Poland seem to surpass in extent and horror all those inflicted upon any other territory. According to a statement made by the Honorary Executive Secretary of Polish War Victims, "the latest authentic reports from Poland are that all children under 7 years of age have ceased to exist, having died from hunger and disease." When the war broke out there was in Poland a population of 34,000,000. At the end of the second year, according to the authority just named, 14,000,000 human beings had perished from various causes in Poland. The property damage in that country due directly to the war is estimated at about \$11,000,000,000. More than 200 towns and 20,000 villages have been razed to the ground; 1,600 churches have been destroyed. As an instance of the vastness of the destruction of human life occurring in Poland, the following is given: "In Galicia, Austrian Poland, in the district of Gorlice, where a battle raged for several months, 1,500,000 civilians, caught between the lines of the contending armies, have perished right there from starvation while in hiding." All these facts help to emphasize the pitiful significance of the recent official announcement that the belligerents have been unable to agree on any plan for admitting American aid to Poland.

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THE City of Paris, through Kuhn, Loeb & Co., has offered a loan of \$50,000,000 in five-year 6 per cent. bonds to the American public to provide funds

for the alleviation of suffering due to the war. The loan was put upon the market Oct. 1 at 98 $\frac{3}{4}$, yielding 6.30 per cent., and the entire amount was eagerly absorbed within one day. It was a fresh instance of the sentimental response from the American investing public to any appeal from the French.

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THE total of exports from the port of New York during September was \$269,981,000, or \$10,796,000 per business day, against a total of \$271,243,000, or \$10,046,000 per day in August. New York is now by far the largest exporting port in the world. The total exports from the United States in August were \$510,000,000; imports, \$199,247,391; for the first eight months of 1916 the exports were \$3,436,280,815, against \$1,515,182,157 same period in 1913. Imports in eight months were \$1,667,066,965, against \$1,156,300,228 in 1913.

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WHEN the war began, in 1914, there were only three important Government munitions factories in the British Isles; now some 4,000 Government-controlled firms employing 2,000,000 men and women are working to full capacity solely on war material; a staff of 5,000 persons has been required to supervise the work. People of all classes of society have joined in the manufacture of munitions. The daughter of an Earl has worked for nine months as a lathe hand in a munitions factory.

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BOTH the German and French war loans were successes. The German loan was the fifth and aggregated 10,590,000,000 marks, or over \$2,500,000,000. The subscriptions to the latter loan were

in larger amounts than the preceding: 725 subscribers took over 1,000,000,000 marks each, as against 151 in the preceding loan; 19,375 took over 50,000 marks each, as against 16,762 before. The details of the French loan are not made public, but it exceeded 10,000,000,000 francs. In September the French Minister of Finance asked the Chamber of Deputies for 8,347,000,000 francs for the last quarter of 1916, 500,000,000 more than the preceding quarter. This brings the total appropriations asked since August, 1914, to 61,000,000,000 francs, (\$12,200,000,000.)

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THE committee appointed by the British Board of Trade, of which Lord Faringdon is Chairman, to consider means of meeting the needs of British firms after the war as regards financial facilities for handling foreign business recommends the formation of an industrial bank with a capital of \$50,000,000 to act as the link between home and colonial banking institutions. The committee, in discussing the advisability of the bank, recommends, among other things, that it act as agent for the Government in advancing capital to give a start to laboring men and others who would be "unwilling" after the war, "to settle down again to the humdrum of the office, and would be desirous of going to the colonies and to foreign countries to push business on their own account."

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FROM July 1 to Sept. 18, 1916, the Entente Allies claim the capture of 490,668 prisoners, 1,131 guns, and 2,624 machine guns, divided as follows, as respects prisoners: By the French, 33,699; by the English, 21,450; by the Russians, 402,471; by the Italians, 33,048.

THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES

Silence Reigns at Verdun

ONE of the French officers who took part in the earlier defense at Verdun, and who returned thither in the month of September, has put on record his impressions: Le Mort Homme and 304-Meter Hill still silhouette the horizon,

but, on the ground, plowed, excavated, dead, not a shell now bursts; in the distance, toward Froideterre and Souville, a few black smoke wreaths mark the work of weary gunners. When the fighting flares up toward Vaux-Chapitre and Le Reteignebois it is the French who

are the aggressors. It has taken thirty weeks, but the result has been accomplished. During these weeks the assailant of Verdun maintained a fury of aggressive such as the world had never seen, but without exhausting the strength of the defenders. A day came, even for him, formidably armed though he was, when the cost was too heavy.

Many cannon are still in line, and many divisions of troops. But the divisions are immobilized, and the guns are silent. What, asks this French officer, has Germany gained by this thirty weeks' assault? Almost nothing, he answers; on the left bank one or two hillsides, on the right bank a wood and a ruined fort. Inviolable Verdun continued firm, and even its approaches were un-fallen. The victory was with the French.

That Verdun is an allied victory is the view of all the Allies; and decorations have been presented not to the intrepid General Pétain who made the defense, but to the City of Verdun itself, an honor almost unparalleled in history. First, the white enameled Cross of Saint George, presented by the Russian Emperor; then the Military Cross of England, with its white and violet ribbon, presented by King George; the French Cross of the Legion of Honor, and the French War Cross; the gold medal for valor, with the arms of the House of Savoy and the inscription "Alla città di Verdun, 1916," sent by Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy; the Serbian gold medal for military courage, on a scarlet ribbon; then, in the name of King Albert of Belgium, the Belgian Cross of Leopold I., with a ribbon of amaranthine purple; and, last, the gold medal of Montenegro, on a ribbon of the national colors, red, blue, and white. On Sept. 13 these decorations were presented to the city by the President of France.

Mineral Lands and the War

IT has been more than once made clear that a very large part of the steel and iron now used by Germany in the manufacture of her cannon and shells comes, not from German iron mines, but from the mines in the Briey district in French Lorraine, on the railroad which runs due west from Verdun to Metz, and

therefore actually on the present German frontier. In drawing the boundary between the new German Empire and France, after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, Bismarck evidently overlooked these very valuable deposits of iron ore, which a slight divergence of the line would have included within the confines of Germany, thus giving her an enormous economic advantage.

A correspondent in Germany has announced that German steel interests are determined to rectify the Iron Chancellor's oversight—to annex, after the present war, the iron mines then overlooked. The correspondent asserts that, when he was present at a meeting of German steel magnates at Düsseldorf, in the heart of the Rhenish manufacturing district, a German ironmaster, showing him a map of the deposits in the Briey district, declared that that was what Germany was fighting for; that Germany must have that additional district of Lorraine because, without it, the steel industry of Germany would live under the stress of great dangers. The German ironmaster was also very much in favor of annexing Belgium, because the possession of that country would admirably protect the Rhine provinces; Belgium would be "a pistol pointed at the heart of England."

On the other hand, it has been suggested by a distinguished American economist, Dr. Macfarlane, who studied economics at a German university, that, should the Entente Powers be successful in the present war, they could best guarantee themselves against future attacks by Germany by annexing the western German coalfields, the loss of which would so restrict Germanys' industrial development and curtail her wealth that it would be impossible for her to organize future aggressive wars. Another American authority has announced that French engineers have recently discovered large and valuable deposits of coal and iron along the Rhone, in the basin of the Loire, and in Brittany and Anjou. At present France's richest coal mines are in the northern regions occupied by German armies; but these new deposits, when opened, will make her self-supply-

ing and render unnecessary further importations from England, which, since the war broke out, has been practically supplying France with both coal and iron. Meanwhile, France is preparing to make extensive use of "white coal," harnessing the waterfalls of the Pyrenees and the mountains of Central France.

Jules Verne and the U-53

WHILE the question of the real purpose of the activities of German submarines on this side of the Atlantic and their relation to international law are being debated it is interesting to remember that the real inspiration of this exploit comes from a Frenchman of genius who, in his own day, was considered rather a writer of "fantastical lies," as Shakespeare has it, than a serious scientific man. It was, in fact, the submarine *Nautilus*, under the guidance of the relentless Captain Nemo, that made the first undersea raid on commerce, and it was precisely in the Atlantic lane of navigation, not far from Nantucket lightship, that her first exploits were accomplished; a liner was sunk there, and from among the few survivors of this liner came the unwilling visitors to Captain Nemo's submarine, who tell the great tale of "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea."

Up to the present, therefore, it is neither the intrepid Captain of the *Deutschland* nor the master of the U-53, but the commander of the *Nautilus*, who holds the record. And it is noteworthy that, in almost every detail, Jules Verne anticipated the actual developments of submarines, though he worked out his conceptions as long ago as the time of the Franco-Prussian war. The cigarlike hull, the electric storage batteries, the renewal of oxygen by the use of chlorate of potash, all follow his lines. In one important detail only he seems to have guessed wrongly—the *Nautilus* carried no torpedoedoes and was unprovided with torpedo tubes. She rammed her victims, instead of torpedoing them. But it is interesting to note that another distinguished Frenchman, not a writer of romances, but one of the foremost naval authorities of France, has recently sug-

gested that "commercial submarines" like the *Deutschland* may easily be provided with rams, and, while showing neither guns nor torpedo tubes, may nevertheless be quite effective commerce destroyers. He thus goes back to the original idea of Jules Verne.

In passing, it may be noted that another idea of Jules Verne's, the use of hydrogen gas for the inflation of long-distance airships, is actually in use in all aircraft of the Zeppelin type. Jules Verne's great gun, the Columbiad, is still unrivaled, but it is being steadily approached by the monster guns created by the present war.

Refitting the Belgian Army

THOSE who knew Belgium before the war will remember, as one of its most characteristic sights, the little wagons drawn by dogs which brought to the early morning markets treasures of fruit and flowers and vegetables, dairy produce, cakes and loaves; a hundred products of Belgian peasant industry. It is an astonishing result of the war that these same dogs, with their little wagons, are now on the firing line, trained to bring supplies of cartridges to the Belgian machine guns. It is true that, even before the war, the Belgians had hit upon this idea, and had already trained numbers of dogs for this work.

Another somewhat extraordinary military development is the new Belgian military harpoon. We have all read accounts of the formidable entanglements of barbed wire—first used in the Boer war in South Africa—which each belligerent army erects before its trenches, and of the destruction of these entanglements by concentrated gun fire. The service rifles of certain armies are further equipped with a wire-cutting device attached to the muzzle, and wire cutters of various forms are generally in use. But the Belgian device is the most original; a harpoon, which bears considerable resemblance to the old device of the whalers, is fired among the strands of barbed wire which protect the enemy trenches; a light steel rope attached to it is warped around a windlass, and men in the Belgian trenches set the windlass

turning, and haul over to their own trenches the whole material of the entanglement, wire, posts and all.

The new Belgian troops have recently been equipped with the French steel trench helmets, which have proved invaluable as a defense against fragments of shrapnel. The question is certain to be asked: Where do these new Belgian troops come from, seeing that practically all of Belgium is under German rule? The answer is simple. After the occupation of Antwerp, not only what remained of the Belgian Army, but great numbers of Belgian men, not then in the army, retreated to France, or escaped to England. When King Albert subsequently called for volunteers these men offered themselves for service, and the Belgian Government, installed at Le Havre, on the estuary of the Seine, set itself to establish training schools both for men and officers, the latter task being much the more difficult. It thus comes that Belgium, like Serbia, has a new army ready to fight for the reconquest of their native land, which, it must be remembered, was, before the war, one of the most densely populated in the world, having a population of 652 to the square mile, as against 310 for the German Empire, which we are accustomed to think of as densely populated.

The Transylvanian Battlefield

THE fighting of the Rumanian armies for some time to come is likely to cling about the passes of the Carpathians and their continuation, the Transylvanian Alps. It is, therefore, well worth while to survey these chains.

We may begin at the north at the lofty pyramid of Pietrosul, almost 7,000 feet high, at the meeting point of Bukowina, Transylvania, and Rumania; Borgo Pass, 3,900 feet high, joins Bistritz in Hungary with Kimpolung in Bukowina by an excellent road which appears to be in the hands of the Russians. From Pietrosul southward, the Carpathians form a formidable wall everywhere above 5,000 feet and often reaching 5,500; the first important pass is the Gyimes, at a height of about 3,000 feet, through which a railroad passes from Hungary to Rumania.

A little further to the southwest the Oitoz Pass is no higher than 2,775 feet. This brings us to the corner, where the name of the range changes to Transylvanian Alps. Just westward of the corner one comes, on the Transylvania side, to the town of Brasso or Kronstadt, about which there has been heavy fighting and which is joined with Bucharest by a railroad over the Tomos Pass, at a height of about 3,500 feet; this is the main door of Rumania, and just inside the door, on the slope of the mountains, is Sinaia, the Summer hill station of the Rumanian King. Further west one comes to the Red Tower Pass, where there is really a red tower, beneath which the Aluta River flows through a narrow mountain gorge, from Transylvania into Rumania; a road and a railroad pass through to Rumania from Hermannstadt, at the very moderate height of 1,154 feet, the lowest of all the passes. Further west is the Vulkan Pass, 5,326 feet high, on whose Transylvania side is Petroseny, in the midst of the coalfields, worked, in this land of contradictions, by Frenchmen. From this point westward to the Iron Gates there are no important passes. But the Iron Gates—the name really belongs to a reef in the Danube, comparable to Hell Gate before it was blasted—form a very important highway, both by water and by land.

The waterway is at present in the hands of the Rumanians, who are using their power to close the Danube to steamships carrying Teutonic munitions to Bulgaria and Turkey.

Russia and a Separate Peace

A WELL-AUTHENTICATED story comes from Russia of semi-official negotiations renewed by Germany, in the hope of detaching the Russian Empire from the cause of the Entente Allies. The story is told by M. Rodzianko, President of the Imperial Duma, and concerns the conversation between M. Protopopoff, Vice President of the Duma, and a German diplomatist, attached to the German Embassy at Stockholm; the occasion, apparently, was the passage through Sweden of a group of Russian parliamen-

tarians on their way to or from England and France.

At the house of a friend in Stockholm they found among their fellow-guests the German diplomatist referred to, who, according to the President of the Imperial Duma, was "both insidious and promising." He did not hide from his auditors that the situation of the Central Powers was critical, and that Germany, to escape from her difficulties, was willing to have recourse to heroic remedies. He insinuated that his Government had very exact information as to the altogether unexpected surprise which England was reserving for Russia after the war. He added that the Quadruple Entente could not exist in its present shape longer than the end of the war; that, sooner or later, Russia would see that her allies were pursuing only their own interests, and cared very little about Russia. In conclusion, he announced that the German Government was ready to reach out its hand to the Imperial Russian Government, and to begin peace negotiations; only a peace immediately concluded could save Germany and Russia from England. Recognizing the gravity of the hour Germany would make unexpected concessions to Russia. Germany was not opposed to the reconstruction of Serbia, nor to the compensation of Serbia for injuries received. Germany would, moreover, consent to settle the Polish question in a manner satisfactory to Russia. As for the question of the Dardanelles, it could be decided at once, in a manner exceedingly favorable for Russia, since it was just there that Russian and German interests were least in opposition. And commercial treaties between the two countries could be drawn up very favorably to Russia.

The President of the Duma tells us that M. Protopopoff merely listened, contenting himself with making a correction, whenever any misstatement slipped into the recital of the German diplomatist. M. Rodzianko concludes his narrative by declaring that persons for whom international treaties are "scraps of paper" may be listened to, but not answered. The Russian armies, in concert with those faithful allies who every day be-

came dearer to Russia, would, with God's aid, know how to forge a solid and lasting peace whose treaties could never be transformed into "scraps of paper." He characterized the German diplomatist's declaration as "another attempt to shake the Allies' union, which is solid as a rock."

Forty-four Zeppelin Raids

IN the month ended Oct. 2, 1916, there were four Zeppelin raids on London, the last attacks being made by airships of a newer and larger type. On Sept. 2 one Zeppelin was struck while flying over the London district and fell in flames; in that raid two English civilians suffered death and thirteen were injured. In a raid on Sept. 23 two Zeppelins were destroyed; thirty-eight persons were killed and 125 wounded. On Sept. 24 another raid followed, when thirty-six were killed and twenty-seven wounded. On Oct. 2 there was a fourth raid, when two Zeppelins were brought down. There have been in all forty-four Zeppelin raids on London—twenty-three in 1915, twenty-one in 1916. The total killed by the raiders is 431, 1,146 wounded. No serious material damage has been done.

The Political Status of Crete

THE Entente Powers have recognized the Government recently established by Eleutherios Venizelos in the island of Crete, and have instructed their Consular agents to give official effect to this recognition. Thus the long, narrow island to the south of the Greek capes passes through yet one more change of government.

Crete was under the rule of Venice for 548 years, ending in 1669—four years after New York passed from under the sway of the Dutch—and it is said that the Greek statesman whom we have mentioned takes his family name from the Venetian republic. Then Crete fell under the power of the Turks, and was governed as a Turkish vilayet, or administrative province, until 1830, when it was made a dependency of the Viceroy of Egypt, being thus detached from Europe and attached to the African Con-

tinent. In 1840 Crete entered an epoch of insurrections, its predominantly Greek population carrying on a perpetual guerrilla warfare against the Turkish authorities, much as the population of Cuba did against Spain, and for very similar reasons. To bring this period of insurrection to an end, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy—the four chief powers of the present Entente—intervened in 1898, as the United States, in the same year, intervened in Cuba, and constituted Crete an autonomous State, with a nominal suzerainty of Turkey, but with no tribute payable to the Sultan. Cuba, liberated in the same year, had been almost two centuries longer under the yoke—from its discovery by Columbus.

“Grey’s Elegy”

WHEN Sir Edward Grey sent to neutral Governments on July 7 the text of the “Maritime Rights Order in Council, 1916,” (printed on Page 792 of August CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE,) he also sent out the following memorandum—“Grey’s Elegy,” the London papers called it—in which the British and French Governments explained their action:

At the beginning of the present war the allied Governments, in their anxiety to regulate their conduct by the principles of the law of nations, believed that in the Declaration of London they would find a suitable digest of principles and compendium of working rules. They accordingly decided to adopt the provisions of the Declaration, not as in itself possessing for them the force of law, but because it seemed to present in its main lines a statement of the rights and the duties of belligerents based on the experience of previous naval wars. As the present struggle developed, acquiring a range and character beyond all previous conceptions, it became clear that the attempt made at London in time of peace to determine, not only the principles of law, but even the forms under which they were to be applied, had not produced a wholly satisfactory result. As a matter of fact, these rules, while not in all respects improving the safeguards afforded to neutrals, do not provide belligerents with the most effective means of exercising their admitted rights.

As events progressed, the Germanic powers put forth all their ingenuity to relax the pressure tightening about them and to reopen a channel for supplies; their de-

Beginning with 1906 the four powers recognized certain interests of the Kingdom of Greece in Crete, and the local gendarmerie was organized under Greek officers. Two years later, in 1908, Crete declared for annexation by Greece, but this claim was not admitted by Turkey until the close of the first Balkan war, in 1912. The treaty of peace between Greece and Turkey, which was signed on Nov. 14, 1913, formally made Crete a part of Greece, and this incorporation was recognized by the four powers. After less than three years the situation is again changed. Crete declares herself once more autonomous, and the four powers announce their recognition of that autonomy.

vices comprised innocent neutral commerce and involved it in suspicions of enemy agency. Moreover, the manifold developments of naval and military science, the invention of new engines of war, the concentration by the Germanic powers of the whole body of their resources on military ends, produced conditions altogether different from those prevailing in previous naval wars.

The rules laid down in the Declaration of London could not stand the strain imposed by the test of rapidly changing conditions and tendencies which could not have been foreseen.

The allied Governments were forced to recognize the situation thus created, and to adapt the rules of the Declaration from time to time to meet these changing conditions.

These successive modifications may, perhaps, have exposed the purpose of the Allies to misconstruction; they have therefore come to the conclusion that they must confine themselves simply to applying the historic and admitted rules of the law of nations.

The Allies solemnly and unreservedly declare that the action of their warships, no less than the judgments of their prize courts, will continue to conform to these principles; that they will faithfully fulfill their engagements, and in particular will observe the terms of all international conventions regarding the laws of war; that, mindful of the dictates of humanity, they repudiate utterly all thought of threatening the lives of noncombatants; that they will not without cause interfere with neutral property; and that if they should, by the action of their fleets, cause damage to the interests of any merchant acting in good faith, they will always be ready to consider his claims and to grant him such redress as may be due.

The Cause and Effect of the War

By H. G. Wells

The Noted Novelist

This remarkable letter is from Mr. Wells's latest novel, "Mr. Britling Sees It Through," (the Macmillan Company,) which is regarded by many critics as his masterpiece. Mr. Britling, an English father who has lost his son in the war, is addressing the German parents of his son's former tutor, of whose death he has just learned. The letter is assumed to represent the mature views of Mr. Wells and of an influential group of English intellectuals.

DEAR SIR: I am writing this letter to you to tell you I am sending back the few little things I had kept for your son at his request when the war broke out. Especially I am sending his violin, which he had asked me thrice to convey to you. Either it is a gift from you or it symbolized many things for him that he connected with home and you. I will have it packed with particular care, and I will do all in my power to insure its safe arrival.

I want to tell you that all the stress and passion of this war have not made us forget our friend, your son. He was one of us, he had our affection, he had friends here who are still his friends. We found him honorable and companionable, and we share something of your loss. I have got together for you a few snapshots I chance to possess in which you will see him in the sunshine, and which will enable you, perhaps, to picture a little more definitely than you would otherwise do the life he led here. There is one particularly that I have marked. Our family is lurching out of doors, and you will see that next to your son is a youngster, a year or so his junior, who is touching glasses with him. I have put a cross over his head. He is my eldest son; he was very dear to

me, and he, too, has been killed in this war. They are, you see, smiling very pleasantly at each other.

If you think that these two boys have both perished, not in some noble cause

but one against the other in a struggle of dynasties and boundaries and trade routes and tyrannous ascendancies, then it seems to me that you must feel as I feel that this war is the most tragic and dreadful thing that has ever happened to mankind.

If you count dead and wounds this is the most dreadful war in history; for you as for me, it has been almost the extremity of personal tragedy. * * *
Black sorrow. * * *

But is it the most dreadful war?

I do not think it is.

I can write to you and tell you that I do indeed believe that our two sons have died not altogether in vain. Our pain and anguish may not be wasted—may be necessary. Indeed, they may be necessary. Here am I bereaved and wretched—and I hope. Never was the fabric of war so black; that I admit. But never was the black fabric of war so threadbare. At a thousand points the light is shining through.

War is a curtain of dense black fabric across all the hopes and kindness of mankind. Yet always it has let through



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some gleams of light, and now—I am not dreaming—it grows threadbare, and here and there and at a thousand points the light is breaking through. We owe it to all these dear youths.

Our boys have died, fighting one against the other. They have been fighting upon an issue so obscure that your German press is still busy discussing what it was. For us it was that Belgium was invaded and France in danger of destruction. Nothing else could have brought the English into the field against you. But why you invaded Belgium and France and whether that might have been averted we do not know to this day. And still this war goes on and still more boys die, and these men who do not fight, these men in the newspaper offices and in the Ministries plan campaigns and strokes and counterstrokes that belong to no conceivable plan at all. Except that now for them there is something more terrible than war. And that is the day of reckoning with their own people.

What have we been fighting for? What are we fighting for? Do you know? Does any one know? Why am I spending what is left of my substance and you what is left of yours to keep on this war against each other? What have we to gain from hurting one another still further? Why should we be puppets any longer in the hands of crowned fools and witless diplomatists? Even if we were dumb and acquiescent before, does not the blood of our sons now cry out to us that this foolery should cease? We have let these people send our sons to death.

It is you and I who must stop these wars, these massacres of boys.

Massacres of boys! That indeed is the essence of modern war. The killing off of the young. It is the destruction of the human inheritance, it is the spending of all the life and material of the future upon present-day hate and greed. Fools and knaves, politicians, tricksters, and those who trade on the suspicions and thoughtless, generous angers of men, make wars; the indolence and modesty of the mass of men permit them. Are you and I to suffer such things until the whole fabric of our civilization, that has

been so slowly and so laboriously built up, is altogether destroyed?

When I sat down to write to you I had meant only to write to you of your son and mine. But I feel that what can be said in particular of our loss need not be said; it can be understood without saying. What needs to be said and written about is this, that war must be put an end to and that nobody else but you and me and all of us can do it. We have to do that for the love of our sons and our race and all that is human. War is no longer human; the chemist and the metallurgist have changed all that. My boy was shot through the eye; his brain was blown to pieces by some man who never knew what he had done. Think what that means! * * * It is plain to me, surely it is plain to you and all the world, that war is now a mere putting of the torch to explosives that flare out to universal ruin. There is nothing for one sane man to write to another about in these days but the salvation of mankind from war.

Now, I want you to be patient with me and hear me out. There was a time in the earlier part of this war when it was hard to be patient because there hung over us the dread of losses and disaster. Now we need dread no longer. The dreaded thing has happened. Sitting together as we do in spirit beside the mangled bodies of our dead, surely we can be as patient as the hills.

I want to tell you quite plainly and simply that I think that Germany, which is chief and central in this war, is most to blame for this war. Writing to you as an Englishman to a German and with war still being waged, there must be no mistake between us upon this point. I am persuaded that in the decade that ended with your overthrow of France in 1871 Germany turned her face toward evil, and that her refusal to treat France generously and to make friends with any other great power in the world is the essential cause of this war. Germany triumphed—and she trampled on the loser. She inflicted intolerable indignities. She set herself to prepare for further aggressions; long before this killing began she was making war upon land and

sea, launching warships, building strategic railways, setting up a vast establishment of war material, threatening, straining all the world to keep pace with her threats. * * * At last there was no choice before any European nation but submission to the German will, or war. And it was no will to which righteous men could possibly submit. It came as an illiberal and ungracious will. It was the will of Zabern. It is not as if you had set yourselves to be an imperial people and embrace and unify the world. You did not want to unify the world. You wanted to set the foot of an intensely national Germany, a sentimental and illiberal Germany, a Germany that treasured the portraits of your ridiculous Kaiser and his litter of sons, a Germany wearing uniform, reading black letter, and despising every Kultur but her own, upon the neck of a divided and humiliated mankind. It was an intolerable prospect. I had rather the whole world died.

Forgive me for writing "you." You are as little responsible for that Germany as I am for—Sir Edward Grey. But this happened over you; you did not do your utmost to prevent it—even as England has happened, and I have let it happen over me. * * *

When I bring these charges against Germany I have little disposition to claim any righteousness for Britain. There has been small splendor in this war for either Germany or Britain or Russia; we three have chanced to be the biggest of the combatants, but the glory lies with invincible France. It is France and Belgium and Serbia who shine as the heroic lands. They have fought defensively, and beyond all expectation, for dear land and freedom. This war for them has been a war of simple, definite issues, to which they have risen with an entire nobility. Englishman and German alike may well envy them that simplicity. I look to you, as an honest man schooled by the fierce lessons of this war, to meet me in my passionate desire to see France, Belgium, and Serbia emerge restored from all this blood and struggle, enlarged to the limits of their nationality, vindicated and secure. Russia I will not write about here, let me go on at once to tell you

about my own country; remarking only that between England and Russia there are endless parallelisms. We have similar complexities, kindred difficulties. We have, for instance, an imported dynasty, we have a soul-destroying State Church which cramps and poisons the education of our ruling class, we have a people out of touch with a secretive Government, and the same traditional contempt for science. We have our Irelands and Polands. Even our Kings bear a curious likeness. * * *

Politically the British Empire is a clumsy collection of strange accidents. It is a thing as little to be proud of as the outline of a flint or the shape of a potato. For the mass of English people India and Egypt and all that side of our system mean less than nothing; our trade is something they do not understand, our imperial wealth something they do not share. Britain has been a group of four democracies caught in the net of a vast yet casual imperialism; the common man here is in a state of political perplexity from the cradle to the grave. None the less there is a great people here even as there is a great people in Russia, a people with a soul and character of its own, a people of unconquerable kindness and with a peculiar genius, which still struggle toward will and expression. We have been beginning that same great experiment that France and America and Switzerland and China are making—the experiment of democracy. It is the newest form of human association, and we are still but half awake to its needs and necessary conditions. For it is idle to pretend that the little city democracies of ancient times were comparable to the great essays in practical republicanism that mankind is making today. This age of the democratic republics that dawn is a new age. It has not yet lasted for a century, not for a paltry hundred years. * * * All new things are weak things; a rat can kill a man-child with ease; the greater the destiny, the weaker the immediate self-protection may be. And to me it seems that your complete and perfect imperialism, ruled by Germans for Germans, is in its scope and outlook a more antiquated and smaller

and less noble thing than these sprawling emergent giant democracies of the West that struggle so confusedly against it. * * *

But that we do struggle confusedly, with pitiful leaders and infinite waste and endless delay; that it is to our indisciplines and to the dishonesties and tricks our incompleteness provokes, that the prolongation of this war is to be ascribed, I readily admit. At the outbreak of this war I had hoped to see militarism felled within a year. * * *

I do not think you Germans realize how steadily you were conquering the world before this war began. Had you given half the energy and intelligence you have spent upon this war to the peaceful conquest of men's minds and spirits, I believe that you would have taken the leadership of the world tranquilly—no man disputing. Your science was five years, your social and economic organization was a quarter of a century in front of ours. * * * Never has it so lain in the power of a great people to lead and direct mankind toward the world republic and universal peace. It needed but a certain generosity of the imagination. * * *

But your Junkers, your Imperial Court, your foolish vicious Princes; what were such dreams to them? * * * With an envious satisfaction they hurled all

the accomplishment of Germany into the fires of war. * * *

Your boy, as no doubt you know, dreamed constantly of such a world peace as this that I foreshadow; he was more generous than his country. He could envisage war and hostility only as misunderstanding. He thought that a world that could explain itself clearly would surely be at peace. He was scheming always therefore for the perfection and propagation of Esperanto or Ido, or some such universal link. My youngster, too, was full of a kindred and yet larger dream, the dream of human science, which knows neither King nor country nor race. * * *

These boys, these hopes, this war has killed. * * *

Let us make ourselves watchers and guardians of the order of the world. * * *

If only for love of our dead. * * *

Let us pledge ourselves to service. Let us set ourselves with all our minds and all our hearts to the perfecting and working out of the methods of democracy and the ending forever of the Kings and Emperors and priestcrafts and the bands of adventurers, the traders and owners and forestallers who have betrayed mankind into this morass of hate and blood—in which our sons are lost—in which we flounder still. * * *

Paying the Price for Citizenship

Eden Phillpotts, the English novelist, voices the present British war spirit in the closing passage of his latest book, "The Green Alleys," in these words:

That's why I ask for conscription, to help the young men see they can't have anything for nothing. * * * To be content to be an Englishman and take the privilege as a matter of course: What an insult to your mother! * * * It is something to look around the world and be English today. And it will be something bigger still a year hence. Too big a thing, indeed, to take for nothing—surely a thing to strengthen a man's mind with reverence and quicken his heart with pride. * * * Everybody's up against it today, from God on his throne to the smallest girl-child sewing buttons on a soldier's coat. We're recasting the whole world in the crucible of this war, and if it's the Almighty's master-work to see that the new-born earth shall roll sweeter and wiser through His heaven afterward, it's ours, to the least of us, to help stoke the furnace fires and purge the dross from the melting pot.

The War's Legacy of Hatred

By Maurice Maeterlinck

Belgian Essayist and Dramatist

[Translated from *Les Annales*, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

BEFORE we reach the end of this war, whose days of grief and terror now seem to be numbered, let us weigh for the last time in our minds the words of hatred and malediction which it has so often wrung from us.

We have to deal with the strangest of enemies. He has deliberately, scientifically, in full possession of his senses, without necessity or excuse, revived all the crimes which we had believed to be forever buried in the barbarous past. He has trampled under foot all the precepts which the human race had so painfully gleaned out of the cruel darkneses of its origins; he has violated all the laws of justice, of humanity, of loyalty, of honor, from the highest, which almost touch the divine, to the simplest and most elementary, which still appertain to the lower orders. There is no longer any doubt on this point; the proof of it has been established and re-established, the certitude definitively acquired.

But, on the other hand, it is no less certain that the enemy has displayed virtues which it would not be right for us to deny; for one honors one's self by recognizing the valor of those whom one combats. He has gone to death in deep, compact, disciplined masses, with a blind, obstinate, hopeless heroism, for which history furnishes no example equally sombre, and which often has compelled our admiration and our pity.

I am well aware that this heroism is

not like that which we love. For us heroism should be, above all, voluntary, free from all restraint, active, ardent, joyous, spontaneous; whereas with them it is mixed with much of servility, of passivity, of sadness, of gloomy, ignorant mass submission, and of fears more or less base. Yet in a moment of peril these distinctions vanish for the most part; no force on earth could drive toward death a nation that did not have within itself the will to confront death.

Our soldiers have not deceived themselves on this point. Ask those who return from the trenches. They execrate the enemy; they have a horror of the aggressor, unjust, arrogant, gross, too often cruel and perfidious;

they do not hate the man, they pity him; and, after the battle, in the defenseless wounded or the disarmed prisoner they recognize with astonishment a brother in misery who, like themselves, has been trying to do his duty, and who has laws which he considers high and necessary. Underneath the intolerable enemy they see the unfortunate mortal who likewise is bearing the burden of life.

Leaving out of account the unpardonable aggression and the inexpiable violation of treaties, very little is lacking to make this war, despite its madness, a bloody but magnificent testimonial of grandeur, of heroism, of the spirit of sacrifice. Humanity was ready to raise itself above itself, to surpass all that it had achieved up to this hour. And it



MAURICE MAETERLINCK

has done it. We had not known of nations that were capable, through months and years, of renouncing their rest, their security, their wealth, their well-being, all that they possessed and loved, even life itself, to accomplish what they believed to be their duty. We had never seen whole nations that were able to understand and admit that the happiness of each of those living at the moment of trial does not count when it is a question of the honor of those no longer living or of the happiness of those not yet living.

Here we stand on summits that had never before been attained. And if, on the part of our enemies, this unexampled renunciation had not been poisoned at its source, if the war which they wage against us had been as beautiful, as loyal, as generous, as chivalrous as that which we wage against them, one might believe that it was to be the last war, and that it was to end, not in mortal combat, but in the awakening from a bad dream with a noble and fraternal astonishment. They have not permitted this to be so; and it is their deception, we may rest assured, that the future will have the greatest difficulty in pardoning.

Now, what are we going to do? Must we go on hating to the end of our days? Hatred is the heaviest load that man can bear on this earth, and we should be bowed down by the burden. But, on the other hand, we do not wish to be again the victims of trust and love. Here once more our soldiers, in their clear-eyed simplicity and nearness to truth, anticipate the future and teach us what is best to do and not to do. As we have seen, they do not hate the individual, but they do not trust him. They do not see the human being in him until he is without arms. They

know from sad experience that as long as he has weapons he does not resist the mad impulse to injure, to betray, to kill, and that he becomes good only when he is powerless.

Is he thus by nature, or has he been made thus by those who lead him? Have the chiefs carried away the whole nation, or has the whole nation driven its chiefs? Have the leaders made the people like themselves, or have the people chosen the leaders and supported them only because they resembled themselves? Did the disease come from below or from above, or was it everywhere? This is the great obscure point of the awful adventure. It is not easy to explain, and it is still less easy to find an excuse.

If they prove that they have been deceived and corrupted by their masters, they are proving at the same time that they are less intelligent, less firmly grounded in justice, honor, and humanity—in a word, less civilized—than those whom they pretend to have a right to subjugate in the name of a superiority which their own demonstration annihilates; on the other hand, if they do not prove that their errors, their perfidies, and their cruelties, which it is no longer possible to deny, are to be imputed solely to their masters, these sins fall back upon their own heads with all their pitiless weight. I do not know how they will escape the jaws of this dilemma, nor what decision will be rendered by the future, which is wiser than the past, even as the morning, to quote the old Slavic proverb, is wiser than the night. Meanwhile let us imitate the prudence of our admirable soldiers, who know better than we do what path to follow.



U-BOAT THAT BROUGHT THE WAR ACROSS THE ATLANTIC



The German Super-Submarine U-53, First Underseas War Vessel From Europe to Enter an American Port, Which Sank Six Vessels Near Nantucket After Having Called at Newport, R. I.
(Photo © O. W. Waterman.)

FRENCH MONOPLANES AWAITING COMMAND TO ATTACK



Glimpse of an Aviation Camp on the Somme, and of the Swift and Deadly Craft That Have Given the French the Mastery of the Air.

(Photo © International News Service.)

Situation of the Jews in Russia

By Henry Sliozberg

Jurist, Chairman of Jewish Relief Committee in Petrograd, Former Counsel to Russian Minister of Interior

This luminous and deeply discerning summary of the present situation of the Jews in Russia, and their future prospects, was written in the form of a letter to Professor Samuel Harper of the University of Chicago. Mr. Sliozberg is an authority on Russian law, being counselor in Petrograd of one of the largest American insurance companies, and has been an active communal worker among the Jews of Russia for nearly three decades.

DURING the years just preceding the war the Jews in Russia were passing through a grievous period; the Government's anti-Semitism had increased, being expressed in a more intensified system of limitations of rights and in a tendency to extend this system not only by the application of already existing limitations but also by the elaboration of new legislation. The laws concerning Jews have always been characterized by a remarkable vagueness; they had to do with such elementary human rights as the right to live in this or that locality, the right to carry on trade and industry, the right to receive an education, and so forth; yet these laws constantly and invariably raised doubts when they had to be applied to the complicated and varied conditions of life which did not fit into the framework of the prohibitory laws. They were so all-embracing that the mere application of the laws in a more restrictive or in a more liberal sense, without any change in the law itself, would mean either the oppression of many millions of Jews in Russia or a slight alleviation of their condition.

Official Anti-Semitism

The vital interests of this population and the corresponding interests of the whole population were therefore more dependent on the practice in the application of the laws than on the laws themselves. It was the Government's policy to adapt the administrative apparatus of circulars and edicts to the requirements of its anti-Semitic state of mind. The Government did not need to issue new restrictive laws in order to manifest its anti-Semitism; the same results—restriction and limitation—could be secured by

a simple circular or by an edict of the Senate.

This is why it was always possible for every local administrator—not to speak of persons in the Higher Central Government, from Governors of provinces down to the lowest police agents—to follow their individual policy with regard to the Jews. At any given moment one could divide Russia into regions, and, on a general background of absence of rights, note that the situation of the Jews was comparatively better or worse, according to the administrator of the district, although the laws were equally binding for all localities. There was still greater variety according to epochs, in spite of absence of new legislative measures.

For more than twenty-five years I have been in very close touch with the question of the application of the restrictive laws on Jews, and I must state that there never was a more oppressive period than that of the several years just preceding the war. Without the enactment of any new laws, the noose of legal limitations on Jews was pulled tighter every month by interpretative circulars of the Minister of the Interior, Maklakov, and by edicts of the Senate, under the direction of the Minister of Justice, Shcheglovitov.

[These two Ministers resigned in June, 1915, under the pressure of public opinion.—Translator.]

Again the political law was confirmed of the direct correspondence between the increase of reaction in general and the increase of Governmental anti-Semitism. The Jewish question has for a long time been a political question; and recently, from 1905 on, it has been the main axle around which turned the wheel of re-

action. The centre from which the reaction derived its strength supplied the Governmental circles with the energy in their anti-Semitism. This centre was the frank, and, to a greater degree, the concealed, activity, of the so-called Council of the United Nobility, which introduced in the Governmental circles the policy of limitations on the rights of Jews.

To Bar Jews From Army

Immediately before the war the United Nobility began to take the initiative, to put through a law excluding Jews from the army, and substituting for military service in the case of Jews either taxes in money or a special form of military service. This project of the law naturally met with the approval of the former Minister of War Sukhomlinov, who was acting under the direct influence of the Chief of the General Staff, General Yanushkevich, one of the most active members of the Council of the United Nobility. Perhaps in no other branch of public life has anti-Semitism been imposed from above with such insistence as in the military.

The documents on this side of the question are unbelievably eloquent. During the last years before the war there was no instance of the promotion of a Jewish soldier to the rank of non-commissioned officer; Jewish volunteer recruits were unable, without the help of special protection, to gain admittance to regiments of their choice; and the attitude of the regimental officers toward the Jewish soldiers was tinged with hate, and inspired constant animosity toward them in the army. Just as the attitude of the Minister of the Interior always went rapidly down the hierarchic ladder to the very lowest steps, so the attitude of the Minister of War, and, particularly, that of the Chief of the General Staff, was passed on to the lowest commanding ranks in the army.

Thus Governmental anti-Semitism reached its highest point during the last few years, and, similarly, the legislative bodies showed the same degree of anti-Semitism. To one who knows Russian political life it is quite clear that both the

Third and the Fourth Dumas, in their majorities, performed simply the wishes of the Government and were under the exclusive influence of the Governmental policy. Though there could be difference of opinion on any general question among the parties forming the majority of the Duma, nevertheless, on the Jewish question—the main axle of reaction—unanimity prevailed. The Octobrist Party, trained to obedience from the time of the late Stolypin, never had the courage to give evidence of its comparative liberalism when it came to the Jewish question.

Masses Sound at Heart

On the other hand, the better section of Russian public opinion remained true to the best traditions of genuine liberalism. It always recognized, as did the Jews, that the Governmental anti-Semitism. It always recognized, as did the weapon of reaction, that reaction and anti-Semitism were Siamese twins. Therefore, not by reason of any agreement, but by a common, similar understanding of the political situation, the Jews always went hand in hand with the genuinely liberal groups of the public. The latter, struggling against reaction, also struggled against the Governmental policy toward the Jews; and the Jews, fighting for their civil and national rights, fought reaction. If one adds that anti-Semitism in Russia has never had any roots, or at least any deep roots, in the psychology of the broad popular masses, it becomes clear that the Jews of Russia had no ground for refusing to believe in a brighter future, and confidently to wait till the gloom of reaction should be dispelled, and with it the limitations for the Jews.

Such was the situation in the Jewish question when the war broke out. Contemporaries will never forget, and history will certainly note, the general enthusiasm which seized also upon the Jewish population of Russia in August, 1914. It would have been hard to presume a few weeks before that the Jewish population, so oppressed and exhausted morally and physically, would be able to show such enthusiasm for the

common cause of Russia. But such was the fact. Instinctively, the whole Jewish population felt that events of world importance were beginning, and that these events must lead to a general, radical change and to a revaluation of all values.

Jews, together with others, felt instinctively that this was a war of liberation. The Jews also showed every variety of public enthusiasm. The general state of mind of the Jews was reflected in the declarations of representatives of various parties and national groups in the Imperial Duma, not excluding Jewish representatives.

But the army that went to the front did not witness this general state of mind; it went off to the war, educated during the preceding years in the policy of Sukhomlinov and General Yanushkevich.

Propaganda in the Army

Military operations began in Poland, and from the very first day one was made to feel the extremely aggravated Jewish-Polish relations. I shall not stop to describe in detail these relations. By indisputable documents and facts it is, however, established that there was an unheard-of propaganda in the army of calumnies against the Jews—calumnies which gradually developed into legends of Jewish espionage. These legends found a solid backing, already prepared, and, in the main, they were supported by the fact that the army met in the Jewish population of Poland, as well as of Galicia, a society quite strange to it, differing from the Jewish population of Russia both in language and in external appearance.

The customary and inevitable occurrence of separate instances of excesses, which in many places reached the point of destruction of property, immediately terrified the local Jewish population. This state of mind supported the estrangement, which, in turn, kept alive the legends which were being spread along the whole front. The very same stories, all absolutely absurd, were spread everywhere, finding an echo in the orders of the higher army commanders, under

the direction and leadership of the Chief of Staff of the Imperial Commander in Chief, General Yanushkevich, the author of the law to exclude Jews from the army and a member of the Council of the United Nobility.

The result of all this was the issuing of military orders referring exclusively to the Jewish population. The wholesale expulsion of Jews from various cities and towns laid the foundation for the so-called fugitive movement. Fugitives began to rush to Warsaw from the localities near the line of battle, and very soon there were gathered in Warsaw more than 120,000 fugitives, left without roof or food. Gradually the attitude toward the Jewish population began to influence the attitude toward Jewish soldiers and, in general, toward all Jews having to do with the army. Hundreds of documents, absolutely authentic, testify to the constant issuing of orders by commanders of armies and by the staff of the Commander in Chief, referring not only to the Jewish population, but also to the Jews in the army. The Jewish population was literally dumfounded by the events which followed, feeling them with particular sensitiveness because of the crisis just experienced. The next events—the wholesale expulsion of Jews from the provinces of Kovno and Courland even before military operations had reached these localities—created an atmosphere of complete perplexity and dejection.

One must note that by this time the difference between the attitude of the military and the civil authorities toward the Jews had become clear. Not as the result of a weakening of Governmental anti-Semitism, but by reason of the realization of the economic and social consequences of the policy adopted by the army commanders in their relations to Jews, the Government, in a series of representations, attempted to temper the severity of the military orders. The Government was able to stop the wholesale expulsions of the Jewish population from the western provinces, gradually substituting an expulsion of the entire population from localities threatened by the enemy.

Breach in So-Called Pale

Under the influence of the expulsions, and as the result of the occupation by the enemy of certain portions of the western provinces, a breach was made in the so-called Pale of Settlement. At first Jews were forcibly transferred to eastern provinces, (Voronezh and Penza.) On Aug. 4, 1915, came the well-known order of the Council of Ministers, and, in a circular, the Minister of Interior, Prince Shchekatov, stopped temporarily, until a general revision of the laws on Jews, the application of the restrictive law on residence of Jews in the interior provinces of Russia, not excluding Siberia, except the capitals, Petrograd and Moscow, regions under the authority of the military, the Territory of the Don Armies, the Ter and Kuban Territories in the Caucasus, and cities under the control of the Minister of the Court.

This measure, which at any other time would have meant a considerable reform in the field of the Jewish question, could not, however, make a serious impression when expulsion of Jews from western provinces continued to be the practice. One cannot deny that the Jewish population received this measure, essentially one of beneficence, with distrust, which has not been dispelled at this moment of writing. For the Jews this was simply a measure called forth by the war. It was felt that, if the attitude toward the Jews was not radically altered, this measure might be repealed after the war, if it were not sanctioned by the legislative authorities.

The present phase of the Government's policy with regard to the Jews is, therefore, somewhat different from that which we had before. If a few months ago, as I have pointed out, the Governmental authorities opposed, to a certain degree, the spreading of malicious calumnies against the Jews, and repealed certain measures taken by the military authorities, now, however, there is no such attitude of opposition, and the best evidence of this fact is the well-known circular of Jan. 9, 1916, of the former Minister of the Interior, Hvostov, which gave rise to an interpellation in the Duma.

It is clear to any one acquainted with

the internal life of Russia that a bitter internal struggle is going on, with the war as a general background, between the Government and the various organizations of Russian society. In this struggle, which is a struggle of reaction against liberal tendencies, the Jewish question continues to play the same rôle which it played before the war—the rôle of a lightning rod, all the more necessary because the war has introduced notable complications into the internal life of the country. Now here, now there, attempts are being made to put off on the Jews the responsibility for the high cost of living and for various other manifestations of disorder.

[The circular, addressed to local Governors, suggested that the Jews were responsible for the increase in the cost of living because of speculative operations conducted by them, and urged that local officials keep their eyes open to this possibility. The circular was not made public at the time, and the Minister interpreted this as indicating that it was simply a measure of precaution, and not in any sense a measure of anti-Semitic propaganda.—Translator.]

Aid from Duma Progressives

A very important factor bearing on this Jewish question was the formation in the Imperial Duma of the Progressive members; apart from its general political significance, the Progressives indicated the practical isolation of the Government in the popular representative bodies. The Progressives had a direct relation to the Jewish question, for its program included certain points indicating a desire and tendency to relieve the weight of the restrictive laws on Jews. But unfortunately the expectations inspired by the Progressives—expectations, however, which not all had entertained—were not realized, and at the present moment it has become clear that the Jews cannot expect from the Progressives in the near future, in view of the policy being adopted by the Government, any amelioration of their position.

But at the same time one must note that there is no Jewish group, representing this or that political tendency, which would not recognize that the events that are taking place today, so far as they affect the Jews, are simply the fruit of the policy of the last ten years,

and that neither the war itself nor the events connected with it—that is, all that preceded the war—created that strained situation which is now felt. All recognize that now, as formerly, the solution of the Jewish question is closely connected with the solution of the general question of the internal policy in Russia. Reaction will be accompanied by anti-Semitism. All thinking Jewish groups, who are able to understand the political events that are taking place, are absolutely unanimous on this point. They are unanimous in the belief that after the war reaction must give way to a liberal régime, and that therefore the Jewish question, though at the present moment in a most difficult situation, is not, however, without hope.

Concerning the attitude of the Jews toward the war itself, one must note that there is not a single category among Russian Jews which would not bind its lot to the lot of Russia in general and see in a Russian victory the guarantee of well-being for Russia, and, in particular, for the Jews within Russia. This attitude is dictated especially by the realization that the 7,000,000 Jews of Russia are so closely attached to Russia in their moral and material interests that it is quite impossible for them to think of their own welfare except in terms of the welfare of Russia. Thinking Jews have always recognized that Germany is the home of anti-Semitism, and that the most reactionary elements in Russia have been the officials of German origin. Thinking Jews believe that the more decisive the victory the quicker will Russia proceed along the road of progress in her internal life.

Victory in this war will not be a victory of the Government, but a victory of the people, a victory of the social forces, and, in view of the constant opposition of Government to society, the coming victory will mean the victory of these same social forces. The social forces of Russia have always been opposed to reaction, and, by this same fact, opposed to the main flag of reaction—anti-Semitism.

Recognizing all this, we are now passing through a very complicated state of

mind. Jews are experiencing great bitterness; they are outraged by the injury to their national and human feelings and their feelings of common citizenship. This bitterness increases as the attitude dictated by the spheres of the commanding personnel of the army does injury not only to their material and civil rights, but also to their national rights. The prohibition to publish newspapers in the Jewish popular language has made a crushing impression, equal only to the impression resulting from the wholesale expulsions from the provinces of Kovno and Courland. The Jewish population has been deprived of proper leadership, and it is therefore very difficult for an outside observer to grasp the actual state of mind of the Jews.

To what has been said I must add that Jewish political circles were astounded by the impudence of two Jews who took part, it would seem, in some kind of declaration against Russia, addressed to the President of the United States, drawn up in Stockholm in the name of all non-Russian elements of the empire. I stand very close to all Jewish political spheres, and must testify directly that these persons are unknown to Jewish political leaders in Russia and that they had no authorization from any Jewish groups or circles.

[Maxim Gorky, the distinguished Russian author, discusses the situation of the Jews in Russia from a different viewpoint; his brief article will be found on Page 275 of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The two articles are especially interesting as evidence of the transition period through which Russia is now passing, as proved by the recent sudden changes in the Cabinet. No parallel to this situation is found in modern European history. Apparently the Russian Government has difficulty in finding reactionaries in the bureaucratic circles who are strong enough intellectually to meet the demands due to the war. After having tried nearly all the eligible bureaucrats in the last two years and having found them wanting, as their frequent dismissals show, the Government finally turned to the public. The latest appointment, that of M. Prototopov as Minister of the Interior, is a distinct departure from the old policies of the Czar's Government. While Prototopov is a man of no unusual ability or reputation, he is still neither bureaucrat nor reactionary, and his appointment encourages the liberals—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Central Powers Standing Fast

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

THE new great surprise of the weeks from Sept. 15 to Oct. 15 was the extension of the theatre of the world war to the extreme western waters of the Atlantic, close to the American coast. This was brought about by the appearance and activity of the German submarine U-53 under command of Captain Lieut. Hans Rose. From a military viewpoint, the opening of a new war theatre in these waters must be considered in connection with the general situation. That Lieutenant Rose did not make this long and dangerous journey merely to leave his card at Newport as a polite gentleman, or to convey the official mail to the German Ambassador, must have been clear to every one at the moment. That the submarine intended merely to destroy a few ships, then to return to her home port, is equally improbable.

The real purpose of this unique trip becomes apparent, however, when one recalls the words of the German Imperial Chancellor in his recent speech in the Reichstag with regard to the "effective weapons" that must be employed against England, the "most selfish, bitterest, and most tenacious enemy." The U-boat which carried the war to this side of the Atlantic belongs to these "effective weapons." It is effective because its employment complies completely with the stipulations of international law as far as it covers the present case, and with the assurances which Berlin gave in reply to the Washington note of April 18 of this year.

It is an effective weapon, from a military standpoint, because it menaces England's communication with the principal source of munitions, supplies, and every other sort of war material. This menace brings a grave shock to England. Britain

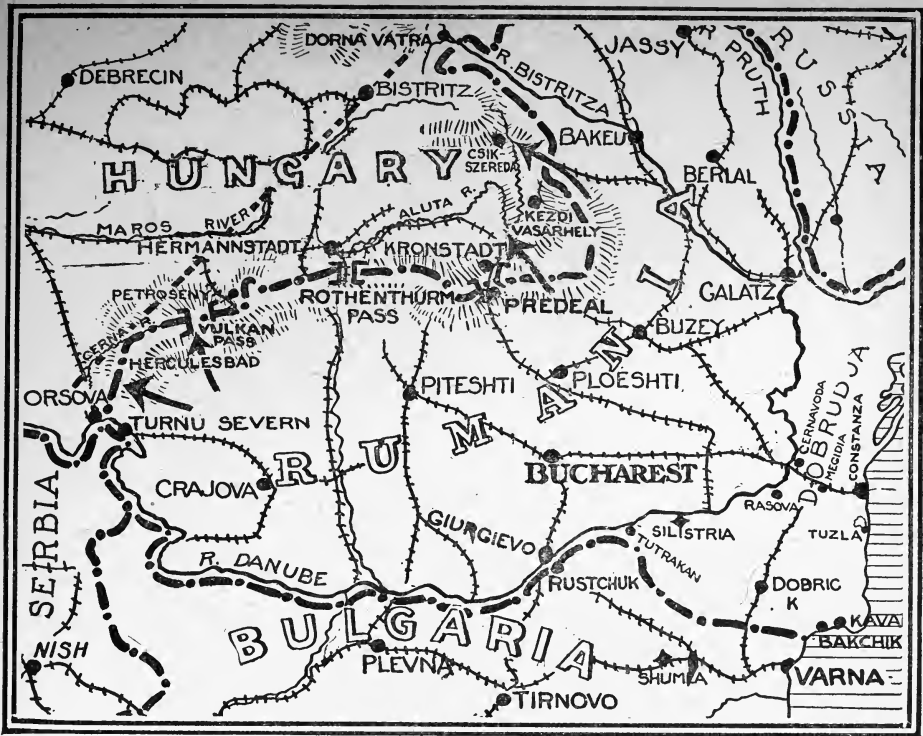
had anticipated this danger. It was concern on this point that prompted the recent allied memorandum to neutral Governments, protesting against the admission of submarines to neutral ports.

In order to understand the inner connection between this submarine achievement and the main situation the words quoted from the German Chancellor's speech must be regarded in connection with certain statements made by The London Times. That newspaper has warned its readers against unjustified jubilation over the successes recorded thus far by the great allied offensive on the western front. It asserts that the tremendous questions at issue cannot be solved upon one war theatre alone. Concerning the general situation it admits that the plan of the Allies to bar Germany's way to the Near East has miscarried. The London organ has designated Rumania as the theatre where a decision must come, and the establishment of the Balkan "through-route" as the principal aim for which Germany took up arms. Thus, the present military situation is, as The London Times itself concedes, favorable for the Central Powers.

England, however, is the enemy against which the U-boat weapon must be employed. As long as England is not hit harder than she has been hit thus far, prospects of peace will not improve. Not until England feels in her own body the pangs of this terrible war plague, will the manifold rumors of peace develop into tangible possibilities. Not until then will the most selfish, bitterest, and most tenacious foe be forced into a desire for peace.

The Plight of Rumania

As for the speed, or lack of it, of the general military development in Europe,



RUMANIAN BATTLE FRONTS: ALONG THE DANUBE TO THE SOUTH AND IN THE MOUNTAIN PASSES LEADING TO TRANSYLVANIA ON THE NORTH

the events of the Rumanian campaign may be looked upon as the prospective pacemakers. These events already have led King Ferdinand to cry to the Allies for help. Rumania, which, he said, has risked her all by entering the war, must not be left to share the fate of Belgium and Serbia.

After suffering a severe defeat in the Eastern Dobrudja about the middle of September, the Russo-Rumanian forces were taken back to the new line Rasova-Cobadin-Tuzla, which they still maintain at this writing. In these new positions they are guarding the railway line Czernawoda-Megidia-Constanza. Czernawoda is the second strongly fortified Danube bridgehead, the first, Tutrakan (Turtukai) having fallen to Field Marshal von Mackensen in the first days of the offensive. Constanza is the terminal of the railway Bucharest-Czernawoda-Constanza and is the principal Rumanian port on the Black Sea.

This seaport forms a convenient place

of landing for Russian reinforcements. It must, therefore, be closed before the armies of von Mackensen can continue their march in the Southern Dobrudja, overrun the northern part of the province, and cross the Danube, carrying the campaign into Rumania proper.

It was in Constanza that, in the Summer of 1914, the now historic meeting between Czar Nicholas and the Rumanian King Carol took place, a meeting which crowned the Russian efforts to conciliate Rumania.

But the name of the city leads memory back into more ancient days of history. At Constanza ends the wall, traversing the whole of the Dobrudja, built by the Roman Emperor Trajan, (98-117 A. D.) Circumstances again and again repeat themselves, though thousands of years may lie between them. That which caused the Roman Emperor to build this wall has now prompted the Rumanians and Russians, in their retreat to the north, to select this line for their de-

fense. The line is considerably strengthened by the topographical conditions. The terrain in front of it is a valley, stretching as far as six kilometers within Constanza. Immediately behind the swamps rise the walls, one made of earth, the other of stone.

The Rumanians carried out an action on their southern front which, for its adventurous character and its failure, stands unique in this whole war. This was the crossing of the Danube over a hastily constructed pontoon bridge. A force of 15,000 or 16,000 men crossed on Oct. 3 near Rahova, (Liahova.) Without artillery, they began to march into the enemy's realm. Austro-Hungarian monitors in the Danube destroyed the pontoon bridge behind them. Bulgarian forces from the fortress of Rustschuk went to meet the invaders and drove them back toward the river bank. Finding the bridge destroyed, the Rumanians continued their flight-like retirement further eastward in the direction of the fortress of the Tutrakan bridgehead, soon to meet Bulgarian forces coming from that fortress. Thus taken between two fires and engaged from front and rear, the invaders were almost completely annihilated.

Reports vary as to the details of the outcome of this unique adventure, but its utter failure is an acknowledged fact.

The "rolling up" of the Rumanian military forces that had invaded Siebenbuergen through the Transylvanian Alpine passes and partly through the Carpathians has begun. The military situation on this front, the further development of which is to decide the Rumanian campaign and the fate of Rumania, is, at the middle of October, as follows:

1. The Rumanian First Army was put almost completely hors de combat in the three days' battle between Hermannstadt and Rothenturm Pass. The victory of the Teutonic forces was crowned by the equally bold and cleverly executed encircling movement on the part of the Bavarians, who occupied the southern part of the pass.

2. The Rumanian Second Army had vainly tried to take a hand in the battle of Hermannstadt. The First Army de-

feated, the second was engaged by the troops of General von Falkenhayn, the victor of Hermannstadt, and thrown back from the Alt River, above Fogaras, to the Rumanian frontier. The decisive three-day main battle was fought for and around Kronstadt. Kronstadt fell, Toerzburg, twenty-two kilometers to the southwest, was taken, and the Rumanians were crowded into the Toerzburg Pass and are now being pursued.

3. The Rumanian troops who in conjunction with Russian contingents had invaded Hungary through the passes of the wooded Carpathians from the east, have been forced to retire before the advance of the Austro-Hungarian troops under General von Arz, in the Guergeny Mountains. Szekely Undarhely (Oberhellen) was reoccupied by the Teutons and the positions on the Baba Ludowa were pushed forward. The exits from the Hargitta and Barot Mountains into the upper and lower Alt valleys were taken. The entire Russo-Rumanian northern army is being driven in an easterly direction across the wooded Carpathians. The left wing of this army has been routed, the centre is yielding, and the right wing already is retiring toward the Maros Valley.

4. The general retirement has had its effect upon the Rumanian army west of the Rothenturm Pass, at Petroseny, and around the Vulkan Pass. This army had invaded Hungary through Vulkan Pass and across the Danube around Orsova, at the Iron Gate and had pushed along the Strell Valley as far as Hatzeg, (Hoetzing.) There the advance had come to a standstill; there, also, the retirement set in. The retreat has led the Rumanians back to the frontier heights. South of Hatzeg the Austro-Hungarian troops stormed the frontier mountain Siglen. West of Vulkan Pass Negrului Mountain was captured. At Orsova also the offensive of the Central Powers is developing.

Today the entire southern part and most of the eastern territory of Siebenbuergen already are cleared of the invaders. Bavarian chasseurs have crossed into Rumania through Rothenturm Pass. The invasion of the Danube kingdom

from the north also has begun. The advance from the west, via Orsova, is to join it.

The successes which the Franco-British-Serbo-Italian forces are gaining on the Saloniki front—along the Struma against Seres on the right wing; against Doiran in the centre, and against Monastir (Czerna front) on the left wing—are of a local nature and are by no means capable of bringing the general basic idea of the Allies' operations nearer to its realization.

Nor is the possible entrance of Greece into the war likely to alter the military situation in the Near East. The Greek Army as a military factor has been eliminated. Its usefulness has been shattered by the Allies themselves through the violation of the Hellenic kingdom's neutrality and sovereignty, an act which reached its climax in the seizure of the Greek fleet and the occupation of the port of Piraeus by French troops.

On the Western Front

To figure out how long it would take the allied forces in France to advance, at their present rate of speed—or lack of it—to the German frontier, is silly child's play. The question at issue, the decisive question, is merely this: How long will the elasticity of the German lines hold out? And the second decisive factor is the height of the attackers' losses: the question, how long can they keep it up?

The most important allied success on the Somme during the period under discussion was the capture of Combles on Sept. 25. Combles was the immediate goal of the great offensive. It took the attackers three months, and it cost them tremendous sacrifices, to reach this goal. The strategy of the German defensive aims at the greatest possible saving of lives—for military as well as national reasons. Even the smallest position is defended by the Germans to the very last bounds of possibility—but not beyond these bounds. At no time, in no case, do the German commanders risk big losses in attempts to hold a totally battered trench. Thus, Combles was evacuated.

The basic idea of the great offensive on the west front, which consisted in the expulsion of the German armies from the whole of Northern France and Belgium, can be realized in two ways: either by actually breaking through the German lines in a sector strategically so important that the whole front must crumble, or by exerting such a menace against a sector as to force the enemy to take back his front voluntarily. The occupation of Combles certainly does not constitute a break in the German lines. Nor does it present a menace to a strategically vital sector.

Even behind Bapaume and Péronne new German defensive positions already have been established, precluding a "tearing up" of the lines. The Germans would have to be pushed back a very great distance to lose contact with the adjoining fronts and thus to be compelled to give up, say, Roye, Noyon, Laon, St. Quentin.

As matters stand today, the allied advance on the Somme is a ticklish proposition. The further the apex is removed from the base of attack the longer grow the two sides of the triangle. The danger of hostile flanking attacks grows accordingly. The British and French are therefore making strenuous efforts to lengthen the base line of the attacking front. From this standpoint the capture of Thiepval, (Sept. 26,) the northernmost tip of the British line, is significant. On the very opening day of the offensive, July 1, the British had begun to attack Thiepval. For nearly three months they battled for possession of this one place. During that long period a huge grave was dug in that region.

The French on their part extended their front on the extreme southern edge, first via Soyecourt to the region south of Vermandovillers. Further south, battles have been fought during the last few weeks at Ablaincourt, against Chaulnes, and in front of Chilly, which latter point is in French hands. In the present circumstances Chaulnes is the most important point. It is situated on two railways, the St. Just-Douai and the Tergnier-Rouen lines. A further extension of the French front on its south-

ern end toward Chaulnes was carried out by the occupation of the Genermont and Bovent Farms, (Oct. 10.) This at the same time had the result of crushing in a salient in the German front. This region, too, the Germans evacuated methodically by retiring to positions further in the rear, previously fixed for the purpose.

Lately the number of German counterblows has been growing. The German lines have been shaken neither by the loss of Combles nor by the extension of the enemy's front on the northern and southern ends.

Battles on Eastern Front

On the eastern front three gigantic battles were fought during the period under discussion:

1. In the area between Vladimir Volynsky and Lutsk, in Volhynia.
2. Before Halicz, in Eastern Galicia.
3. Northwest of Kovel, on the middle Stokhod.

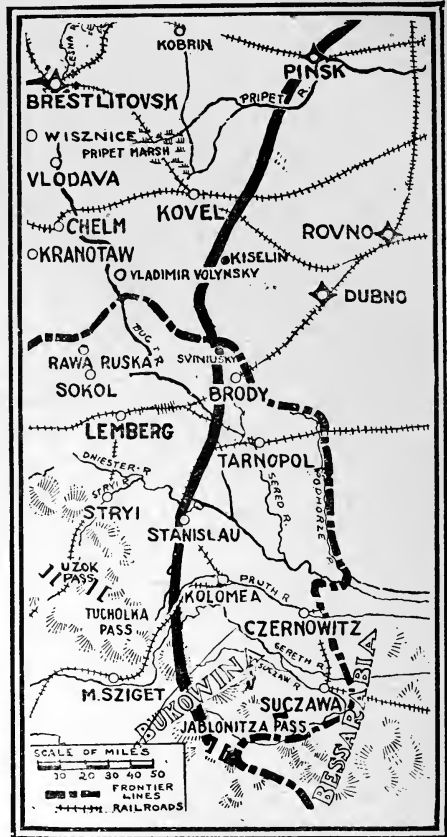
These battles, which began in the third week of September, lasted weeks—yet the situation remained the same. In Volhynia and in East Galicia the Russians were on the offensive; on the Stokhod the Teuton armies attacked.

From the south, in the region of Lutsk, and from the east, across the Stokhod, the Russian offensive was directed from the outset against the Kovel line. This front was to be pierced, first, to gain the important railway line, the intersection of which is Kovel, in order subsequently to win a base for an attack against Lemberg from the northeast. Again and again the attempt to break through was repeated. The Teutonic armies were forced to remain on the defensive for a long time, and their front was bent back, but it proved unbreakable.

Thereupon the Teutons themselves assumed the offensive. They attacked to the northeast of Kovel, on the middle Stokhod. German and Hungarian forces belonging to General von Bernhardi's army, and under the direct command of Lieut. Gen. von Clausius, were hurled against the Russians. In a gallant dash they stormed the strong Stokhod bridge-

head at Zarecza and threw the Russians back upon the east bank of the river.

From Halicz the way to Lemberg was to be hewn clear for the Russians from the southeast. The Muscovites advanced from the Halicz-Brzezany line along both



RUSSIAN FRONT IN VOLHYNIA

banks of the Narajowska, a tributary of the Gnila Lipa, in the region north of Stanislaw, and on the first day of the battle made some gains. On the second day began the counterattack of the Teutons, under the lead of the Würtemberg General, von Gerok. They wrested from the Russians what had been lost on the previous day, and then threw them out of their own positions.

This victory removed the pressure against Halicz. It removed, for the present at least, the danger of the Russians capturing the Halicz-Lemberg line and the menace to the Galician capital itself. After the Russian advance against

Lemberg via Halicz had come to a standstill, the goal was to be reached by starting the offensive from Brody. The Russians attempted to advance on the road from Brody to Krasne, but the movement collapsed.

A murderous battle has been raging for weeks, day and night, in Volhynia. The Russians are bent upon forcing the "break-through" to Vladimir Volynsky. Again and again the "numbers," which are the ally in the east, as time is the ally in the west, are put into play. Again and again masses of troops are thrown into the curtain of fire; bullets whip them out of the trenches when they hesitate to fling themselves into certain death. The region west of Lutsk, where the Russians attack ceaselessly, resembles at once hell and a huge graveyard.

On the twenty-kilometer front from Pustomity to Zaturcy rages the gigantic battle, through days and through nights.

To the north the fighting extends as far as Kiselin. The Siberian Fourth Army Corps, decisively defeated at Korytnica, drops out of the line. Russian corps attack twelve times at Szelwow; the two Russian Guard Corps are hurled into battle seventeen successive times against the enemy's machine-gun front at Swinjuchi. The guard is decimated, refilled, and again mowed down. "Break through!" is the word. The mountains of corpses tower higher and higher—the attackers fail to break through. Through rivers of blood the attackers here and there wade toward a momentary local success. And each time the tide of the storming masses flows back. The Teuton lines, under the chief command of the Hungarian General Tersztyansky and the leadership of the group under Cavalry General von der Marwitz and Lieut. Gen. Schmidt von Knobelsdorf, stand like walls.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments From September 15 to October 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE month opened with great activity in many quarters. On the western front the battle of the Somme was in full swing; in the east Russia was resuming her drive toward Lemberg; Rumania, the new belligerent, was overrunning Transylvania, even though pressed in Dobrudja; the guns of Sarraill were beginning to boom along the Saloniki front; Italy, relaxing somewhat after the capture of the Gorizia bridgehead, was still conducting more or less spasmodic operations. But the month's end has brought almost a suspension of activity. There is no sustained effort, merely spasmodic pushes which soon lapse and die out.

The period was ushered in by the most pretentious effort the British and French have yet made since the battle of the Somme began. The object was the village of Combles, the most important

point that remained in German hands between the Allies' lines and Bapaume. The French had previously pushed their lines well to the east of the village, and when the British, north of the town, advanced to a point even with the French lines Combles was caught in a pocket two miles deep and only a mile across the mouth. The closing of the pocket after this point was reached was but a matter of hours. The next day, Sept. 6, saw the entire Combles position in the Allies' hands.

The fighting about Combles was still in progress when, on the 27th, the British with unexpected suddenness cut across the gap which separated their lines north of Thiepval and enveloped that town. This was, if anything, a more important operation than the capture of the Combles position. Thiepval was the most strongly defended position in this entire

salient. It threw the British back in their first great attack early in July, and was a stumbling block in every succeeding effort of the Somme battle. Its capture was due entirely to a surprise attack made in the midst of the fighting in another sector miles away.

Germans Slow to React

The most noticeable thing in all this fighting was the slowness of the Germans to react. Several days elapsed before a counterstroke was attempted. And even when it did come it was conspicuously lacking in the dash which has characterized similar movements. It is as if for the time being the Germans were thoroughly shaken by their inability to hold their positions, and were going into action doubtful of the result. All doubt was removed, however, by the British and French, who clung tenaciously to every foot of the ground they had gained.

Ten days later, another push established the British lines beyond Le Sars—another gain of a mile toward Bapaume. The next attempt was made south of the Somme, this time by the French alone. It was directed against Chaulnes and succeeded in wiping out the salient between the Chaulnes Woods and Hill 91 and in drawing a straight line between these two points. The sequence of the allied attacks, each one of which resulted in a material gain of ground, is worthy of note:

Sept. 17—Berny and Vermandovillers taken.

Sept. 26-27—Combles and Thiepval taken.

Oct. 7—Le Sars taken.

Oct. 11—Bovent taken.

It may be seen that there have been four attacks made, one by the British alone, two by the French alone, and one combined attack. Between the three major attacks (that of Oct. 11 being a minor move over a narrow front) there was an interval of ten days. In other words, it takes ten days' preparation before an attack; ten days of shell accumulation, consolidation of newly acquired territory; ten days of beating off counterattacks.

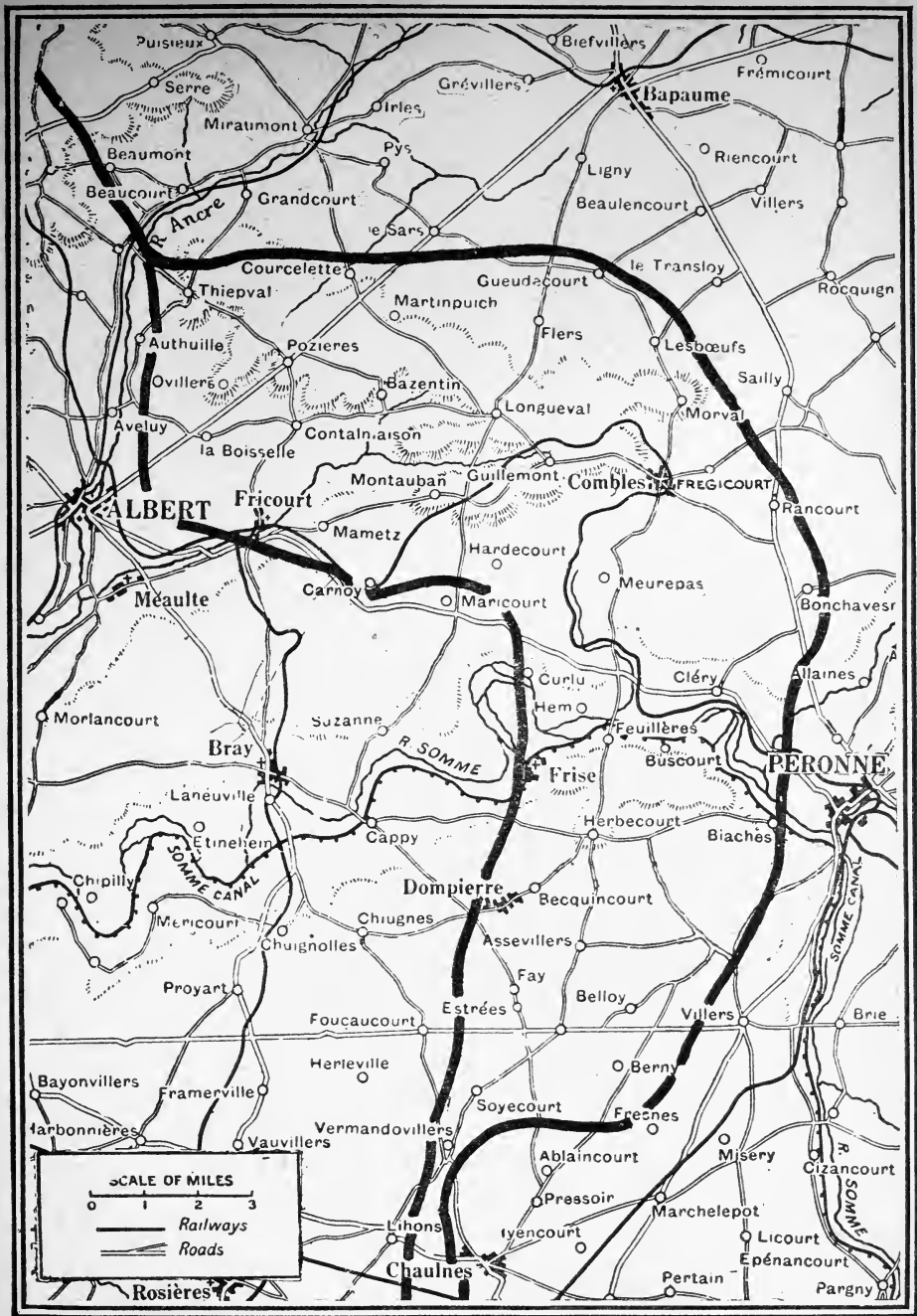
The value of the attacks on the Somme cannot be measured alone by the actual territory regained. The measure of value

must be the relative amount of permanent damage done by the Allies compared to the damage which they themselves suffer.

First, there is the question of losses in men. For a period of two years, the German casualty lists show the relation between the number of prisoners and the total casualties to be as 1 to 7. The Allies have reported over 70,000 prisoners taken since July 1. This figure is undoubtedly correct. The one thing the Allies cannot afford to do—largely because if they did they would be caught at it—is to misstate this feature of the fighting. If this relation of 1 to 7 holds in the Somme fighting, the minimum German losses have been at least 500,000 men. As a matter of fact the total is probably greater. Never before have the Germans had to fight as they do now. The intensity of artillery fire, which they themselves admit is unprecedented, has been shown literally to blot out of existence everything in its path.

Allies' Losses, 500,000

Now, as to the losses of the Allies in this series of attacks, we have Germany's official estimate of 500,000. This is probably not far out of the way, as the Allies have saved lives at the expense of shell. The thoroughness of the artillery preparation is shown by the fact that when the infantry goes forward it is seldom halted until it has penetrated the German positions to a depth of a mile or more. The British, whose reports of casualties are generally accepted as exact, report a total of approximately 320,000, and it must be realized that the British have had the hardest fighting to do. This is another reason for accepting the German estimate. It is true that one German authority advanced the theory, two or three days after the above estimate of 500,000 was given out, that the Allies' losses were well over 1,000,000. This is, however, too absurd to be taken seriously. It is undoubtedly meant for local consumption, and the author evidently forgets Verdun. If the Allies' loss in three months on the Somme reaches this enormous total, what was the German loss at Verdun in six months, the difference in tactics being considered? Ob-



MAP OF BATTLE OF THE SOMME, SHOWING TOTAL PROGRESS OF ANGLO-FRENCH OFFENSIVE UP TO OCTOBER 15, 1916

viously nearly two million, and, equally obvious, absurd.

In its final analysis, then, the losses of both sides have been approximately equal.

Here we have the meat of the whole thing. Germany cannot stand this exchange of man for man because she is outnumbered several to one. She must

exact at least three to one on this front before she can be considered to have broken even.

The question of territory, too, deserves consideration, although, as we have seen so often in this war, the occupation of territory of itself has but little influence. The situation of Germany in France is not unlike a flagpole held erect by means of guy ropes. A rat, gnawing these ropes, cutting them apart, fibre by fibre, would eventually reach the point where one absolutely essential strand was cut. The pole would then fall. The German resistance is upheld by lines of communication and supply, consisting of the railroads and highways of France. As the Allies gnaw into the German position one road after the other will be cut, and the Germans will be forced to retire. There is no alternative. The Germans must halt the Allies' advance or they must move back toward the Rhine.

Reverses of Rumania

In Transylvania, the Germans have experienced the first taste of success they have had in many months. In the first days of Rumanian intervention the greater part of the army broke through the Transylvanian passes in an ill-advised attempt to stretch their line from Orsova to the southern tip of Bukowina. The Teutonic allies countered with the invasion of Dobrudja, the object of which was to take the great bridge at Cernavoda, the only crossing of the Danube east of Belgrade, and thereby pave the way for an invasion of Rumania from the east. The arrival of Russian reinforcements brought this movement to a dead halt. Attention was then turned to Transylvania, where the Rumanians had succeeded in establishing an interrupted line, about thirty miles from the frontier.

The first effort was a raid against the Rumanian line of communications through Red Tower Pass, south of Hermannstadt. This raid was completely successful, and the Rumanians were forced to retire from Hermannstadt to the frontier. The Germans then began a terrific frontal attack along the whole line and forced the Rumanians back almost to their own border, where the German advance was checked.

The Russians had previously undertaken a terrific drive at Lemberg, directed from Brody, Bozezany, and Halicz. The Rumanian defeat forced the abandonment of this move and the diversion of the Russians to the Transylvanian theatre. The situation created by the German success evidently produced a panic throughout Rumania and provoked King Ferdinand into giving an interview to the press which laid bare his fear that Rumania was about to suffer the fate of Belgium and Serbia. The Allies, however, appreciate thoroughly the strategic importance of Rumania's position and seem to have shown that Ferdinand's fears were groundless.

Italy in the Carso

On the Italian front we have seen a renewal of the offensive against the Carso Plateau. Striking hard at the western edge of this calcareous tableland on a front reaching from Lake Doberdo to the Vipacco River, the Italians have firmly established themselves on the western tip of the plateau. About 8,000 prisoners have been taken and the Italians seem to be pressing their success to the limit, although it has not yet developed to the point where it assumes importance.

On the Saloniki front, Sarraill's main force is ominously quiet. There is considerable activity at the two flanks, one in the Monastir section, the other along the Struma, but between these two widely separated areas no fighting has occurred. The Serbs have consistently forced the Bulgars back, reaching a line almost due east and west through the railroad station at Kevali, about eight miles south of Monastir. The British operating along the Struma have crossed the river and at one point have cut the important railroad line from Drama to Demihissar. These movements, however, cannot as yet be considered as primary operations; on the contrary, they seem essentially secondary. But the season is getting late and with the approach of Winter fighting in the mountains must slow up if it does not cease altogether. It is beginning to be doubtful, therefore, if we shall see an advance from Saloniki before the Spring.

Submarine Warfare Off the American Coast

THE most sensational naval development of the month just past was the act of Germany in carrying submarine warfare to the American side of the Atlantic. The event has created new problems for the American Government and furnished the Chancelleries of belligerents and neutrals alike with new themes of controversy.

In the afternoon of Oct. 7 a German war submarine of the largest type, the U-53, rose out of the sea at Newport, R. I., lay in the harbor there for three hours, dispatched a letter to the German Ambassador at Washington, and entertained visitors on its spotless decks. The commander, Lieut. Captain Hans Rose, with his crew of thirty-three men, stated that the U-53 was seventeen days out of Wilhelmshaven, and that they had food, water, and all supplies for a cruise of three months. The vessel was one of the monster U-50 group that had devastated allied shipping in the Mediterranean a year ago, being 213 feet long and carrying four torpedo tubes besides two deck guns. The U-53 is the first European war submarine to enter a United States port, and the first underseas naval craft to cross the Atlantic without a convoy or a supply ship. The Deutschland, which reached Baltimore on July 9, was a merchant submarine. The American flotilla that went from San Francisco to Honolulu in 1915, and the British flotilla that sailed from the St. Lawrence to Gibraltar a year ago were both under convoy. The U-51 and sister submarines that voyaged from the Weser to the Dardanelles in May and June, 1915, had supply ships. The sinister visitor at Newport, so far as known, operated without any external base of supplies.

After paying formal visits to Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight, Commandant of the Second United States Naval District, and Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, commanding the American destroyer flotilla at Newport, Captain Rose departed with his vessel at sunset without disclosing his purpose or destination.

The next day, Sunday, Oct. 8, the world was startled by the news that the U-53 was sinking British and neutral vessels near Nantucket Shoals lightship, a hundred miles from Newport, and leaving the crews and passengers in small boats on the open sea. The underseas craft had stationed itself in the steamer lane where nearly all incoming and outgoing vessels from New York must pass, and its day's work consisted in sending five ships to the bottom, as follows:

The Strathdene, a British freighter, bound from New York to Bordeaux, torpedoed and sunk. Crew taken aboard the Nantucket Shoals Lightship and later removed to Newport by American torpedo boat destroyers.

The West Point, a British freighter, bound from London to Newport News. Torpedoed after the crew had taken to small boats in obedience to a warning shot from the submarine. Officers and men picked up by a destroyer.

The Stephano, a British passenger liner plying regularly between New York and Halifax, intercepted on the southward trip and sunk by opening the sea valves after the passengers and crew had been set adrift in small boats. These were rescued later by the destroyer Balch.

The Blommersdijk, a Dutch freighter, bound from New York to Rotterdam, sunk south of Nantucket; crew taken aboard a destroyer.

The Christian Knudsen, Norwegian freighter, bound from New York to London; met the same fate as the Blommersdijk.

The German raider also stopped the American steamer Kansan, but allowed it to proceed after being convinced of its American ownership.

The fact that the 216 human victims of this sea raid were saved, apparently without the loss of a single life, was due largely to the promptness with which Admiral Knight dispatched the Newport destroyer flotilla to the rescue. An hour after the first wireless distress signal told what was happening, seventeen naval greyhounds were racing to the scene of operations. The Navy Department also placed its entire wireless department at the disposal of Admiral Knight, and all commercial messages were stopped to give a clear field to distress calls from attacked vessels.

Destruction of the Red Cross liner *Stephano* was the heaviest blow dealt by the raider, and also the one most productive of legal issues. Setting adrift 164 people forty-two miles from land is regarded by Entente critics as a violation of the German promise to take due precautions against the imperiling of the lives of noncombatants. Captain Clifton Smith's account of the episode may be given here as typical of the German procedure:

We were about three miles east of the Nantucket Lightship and about 42 miles from the mainland when I first saw the submarine. This was at 5:55 P. M. I was on the bridge. The weather was somewhat hazy and it was a little dark, but I could make her out plainly. She was about half a mile away, and was lying next a fairly large ship, which was apparently a supply ship.

She fired a shot across our bows and I slowed down. There were four such shots fired by her altogether, about two minutes apart. None of them hit us. There were two American destroyers near by about this time. I ordered the boats lowered, and prepared to abandon the ship. There were 97 passengers and 67 crew, and we used six out of eight boats. While we were doing this the submarine went under the lee of the *Stephano*. I could not see much of her, but could tell by her lights that she was going along by the side of the ship.

When we were in the boats it was dark, but we saw the submarine leave the *Stephano* and go off about a mile and a half and sink a freighter. We could not make out what vessel it was or whether her crew left, but we saw her sink.

Then the submarine returned to the *Stephano*. She fired thirty shots into the hull of the vessel, but they apparently did little harm. They did not even put the dynamo out of commission, and the vessel remained fully lighted. Then the submarine drew off and fired one torpedo. The *Stephano* went down in seven minutes after being hit. We were later picked up by the destroyer.

An immediate result of the episode was

the suspension of many sailings, amounting to a temporary blockade of American ports; but as the intruder disappeared as swiftly as it had come, trade soon resumed its normal course. Up to the present writing the American Government has acted on the theory that the U-53 did not violate either international law or the German promises made to the United States regarding the conduct of submarine warfare. There is some resentment manifest, however, in England, as voiced by the press and by members of Parliament. Early in the war the United States Government intimated to Great Britain that there was some annoyance over the patrol by British war vessels just outside the three-mile limit, in the vicinity of our chief ports. After several protests the British method of patrol was modified. The statement that the United States destroyers stood by while the German U-boat was engaged in sinking a passenger liner, and made no protest, is therefore resented in England. It is intimated that Great Britain will eventually present claims for damages inflicted by the U-53 against our Government because she was not detained at Newport.

It was announced just after the U-53 episode that Norway had notified the Allies that no German submarines would be permitted in Norwegian waters without internment, but on Oct. 19 this was officially denied by Norway, the Government maintaining that there will be no prohibition against U-boats, and that merchant U-boats will have the status of merchant ships. Holland, on the other hand, will intern any submarines that enter her waters. The whole matter of the status of submarines in neutral ports is under discussion and in process of formulation.

Is the *Deutschland* a Merchant Ship?

By Rear Admiral Degouy
Of the French Navy

[Translated from *La Revue des Deux Mondes* for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

ON July 7 telegrams announced to the whole world that a big submarine, the *Deutschland*, had just arrived at Norfolk, Va., claiming to be a

merchant ship. * * * The difficulties overcome by the *Deutschland* appeared to be great; all the greater the merits of the submarine and of its crew—an excel-

TYPES OF BRITISH SOLDIERS ON THE PICARDY FRONT



A Listening Patrol Leaving the Trench for Dangerous Service in the Shell-Shattered Strip of Ground Between the Lines
(Photo from *Medem Service*.)

lent moral effect, to the profit of Germany.

The United States faced a novel and delicate problem: Was the *Deutschland* really a merchant ship? Was she not rather a disguised warship, and even, from an absolute point of view, could a submarine ever be regarded as anything else than an engine of war?

It is known that the Washington Cabinet decided that the *Deutschland* was really a merchant ship, since neither weapons nor emplacements for them were found on her. * * *

Perhaps the Entente Powers had counted on an attitude less inspired by the desire to keep on good terms with both sides; but they do not seem to have made decisive efforts to press their views, which were intended to establish the point that a submarine cannot be, and is not, anything but a warship. Let us examine this contention.

To begin with, it is evident that the carrying of a cargo is not enough to make any vessel a merchant ship. Nothing would prevent a cruiser from taking on board goods of high value filling a small space. The cruiser would be none the less a war vessel. Yes, but would she cease to be one, and could she enter a neutral port to remain there more than twenty-four hours, if she proved that her guns had been disembarked? Perhaps; but the port authorities would not require very strong evidence to make them believe that her guns had simply been put away, on board another ship lying out at sea, all ready, on signal, to rejoin the pseudo-merchant vessel and restore them as soon as she had left territorial waters.

Now, if this operation is not at all impossible, applied to guns of moderate calibre, it would evidently be even easier to restore automobile torpedoes to a submarine. Our American friends would surely grant this, if the question were put to them. They believe they have settled the difficulty by proving that the *Deutschland* had no torpedo tubes. Unfortunately, this guarantee is a delusion, for the good reason that the German submarine might be armed with torpedoes inclosed in simple skeleton tubes

which could easily be fixed to the deck by means prepared in advance.

To these automobile torpedoes it would be quite a simple matter to add automatic mines. These could be placed on the deck, out of the axis of the torpedo tubes. Or they might be taken aboard like simple packing cases and lowered into the hold through scuttles. They could easily be thrown overboard at favorable points, since they would probably be floating mines.

There remains the question of guns. I admit that it would not be easy to install these aboard a submarine on the open sea, and that, in any case, the necessary preparations could not have escaped the scrutiny of competent examiners. But the fact seems to be that the *Deutschland* already mounts, and quite openly, two light guns, of 57 millimeters ($2\frac{1}{4}$ inches) according to some, of 76 millimeters (3 inches) according to others. But the Captain affirms that they are only "for defense" against armed merchant ships, and—why not?—against English or French submarines, such guns as are allowed by the new jurisprudence of the United States to the most consistently pacific steamship or sailing ship of commerce. One could not, without crying injustice, refuse to the innocent submarine the privilege granted to the ships of the Allies. Agreed. But, unfortunately, nothing so resembles a gun "for attack" as a gun "for defense"!

Perish the thought! cried the pro-Germans; the *Deutschland* carries only blank cartridges. She wishes only to fire signals of alarm, in case of imminent peril! So be it, but—even supposing that there are no shells hidden in a double bottom, a convoy ship supplying torpedo tubes would not have the slightest difficulty in supplying the necessary munitions for guns.

Now, let us note this well, for it touches the root of the matter: Once they are placed aboard a submarine—essentially an engine of surprise, which can emerge within a few yards of a liner taken at short range—these light guns are much more dangerous and have a much greater offensive power than if they were mounted on a surface ship.

The latter can be seen approaching at a great distance, and precautions can be taken at leisure against an eventual attack. And nothing shows better how great an error is committed, no doubt in good faith, by those who consent to accept the Deutschland as an ordinary merchant ship.

But I go further and affirm that the submarine, even if she had been absolutely devoid of weapons, might still have the offensive character which is the essential mark of the military instrument. For this it would be sufficient to have supplied her with a reinforced bow, backed by a shock compartment well supplied with bulkheads. This submersible, which suddenly emerges, as I said a moment ago, at a few yards distance from a

liner—what prevents her ramming the thin-skinned hull and ripping it up below the water line? Oh, this would be quite accidental, of course, and due to poor steering, or to the whim of an engine that would not back in time. But meanwhile the hapless liner would go to the bottom, with the Allies' munitions or other useful cargo, which had come under the notice of the submarine's commander while in American ports.

I insist again, and I beg that it shall not be forgotten, in all discussions as to applying to a submarine the rules of international maritime law: By its very character a submersible is always "in itself" an engine of offense, which can be instantly used as a warship. Therefore it should be so considered.

Official Correspondence as to Barring Submarines From Our Ports

FOLLOWING is the text of a joint memorandum sent to neutral nations last August by the Entente Powers, apropos of the Deutschland episode, urging the exclusion of all submarine vessels of belligerent nations from neutral waters:

In view of the development of submarine navigation and by reason of acts which in the present circumstances may be unfortunately expected from enemy submarines, the allied Governments consider it necessary, in order not only to safeguard their belligerent rights and liberty of commercial navigation, but to avoid risks of dispute, to urge neutral Governments to take effective measures, if they have not already done so, with a view to preventing belligerent submarine vessels, whatever the purpose to which they are put, from making use of neutral waters, roadsteads, and ports.

In the case of submarine vessels, the application of the principles of the law of nations is affected by special and novel conditions: First, by the fact that these vessels can navigate and remain at sea submerged, and can thus escape all control and observation; second, by the fact that it is impossible to identify them and establish their national character, whether neutral or belligerent, combatant or noncombatant, and to remove the capacity for harm inherent in the nature of such vessels.

It may further be said that any place which

provides a submarine warship far from its base with an opportunity for rest and replenishment of its supplies thereby furnishes such addition to its powers that the place becomes in fact, through the advantages which it gives, a base of naval operations.

In view of the state of affairs thus existing, the allied Governments are of the opinion that submarine vessels should be excluded from the benefit of the rules hitherto recognized by the law of nations regarding the admission of vessels of war or merchant vessels into neutral waters, roadsteads, or ports, and their sojourn in them. Any belligerent submarine entering a neutral port should be detained there.

The allied Governments take this opportunity to point out to the neutral powers the grave danger incurred by neutral submarines in the navigation of regions frequented by belligerent submarines.

Reply of the United States

The full text of Secretary Lansing's reply to the foregoing is given below. It is a refusal, with reasons therefor:

Washington, Aug. 31, 1916.

The Government of the United States has received the identic memoranda of the Governments of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan in which neutral Governments are exhorted "to take efficacious measures tending to prevent belligerent submarines, regardless of their use, to avail themselves of neutral waters, roadsteads, and harbors."

These Governments point out the facility possessed by such craft to avoid supervision or surveillance or determination of their national character and their power "to do injury that is inherent in their very nature" as well as the "additional facilities" afforded by having at their disposal places where they can rest and replenish their supplies. Apparently on these grounds the allied Governments hold that "submarine vessels must be excluded from the benefit of the rules heretofore accepted under international law regarding the admission and sojourn of war and merchant vessels in neutral waters, roadsteads, or harbors; any submarine of a belligerent that once enters a neutral harbor must be held there," and therefore the allied Governments "warn neutral powers of the great danger to neutral submarines attending the navigation of waters visited by the submarines of belligerents."

In reply the Government of the United States must express its surprise that there appears to be an endeavor of the allied powers to determine the rule of action governing what they regard as a "novel situation" in respect to the use of submarines in time of war, and to enforce a compliance of that rule, at least in part, by warning neutral powers of the great danger to their submarines in waters that may be visited by belligerent submarines. In the opinion of the Government of the United States, the allied powers have not set forth any circumstance, nor is the Government of the United

States at present aware of any circumstances, concerning the use of war or merchant submarines which would render the existing rules of international law inapplicable to them. In view of this fact and of the notice and warning of the allied powers announced in their memoranda under acknowledgment, it is incumbent upon the Government of the United States to notify the Governments of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan that, so far as the treatment of either war or merchant submarines in American waters is concerned, the Government of the United States reserves its liberty of action in all respects, and will treat such vessels as, in its opinion, becomes the action of a power which may be said to have taken the first steps toward establishing the principles of neutrality and which for over a century has maintained those principles in the traditional spirit and with the high sense of impartiality in which they were conceived.

In order, however, that there should be no misunderstanding as to the attitude of the United States, the Government of the United States announces to the allied powers that it holds it to be the duty of belligerent powers to distinguish between submarines of neutral and belligerent nationality, and that responsibility for any conflict that may arise between belligerent warships and neutral submarines on account of the neglect of a belligerent to so distinguish between these classes of submarines must rest entirely upon the negligent power.

LANSING.

Seizure of Neutral Mails at Sea—Anglo-French Reply to Our Protests

Following is the full text of the latest memorandum of Great Britain and France in defense of their practice of seizing and censoring all transatlantic mails, including those from neutral nations to neutral nations. It is a reply to the note of May 24, 1916, in which the United States protested against certain definite infringements of neutral rights by the Allied Powers. [That note was published in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for July.] In the present communication the Allies refuse to concede any of the points in question, thus leaving the matter in as unsatisfactory a state as before.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

British Embassy, Washington,

Oct. 12, 1916.

SIR: In conformity with instructions received from Viscount Grey of Fallodon, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of the memorandum, agreed upon by his Majesty's Government and the French Government, embodying the joint reply of the Allies to your note of May 24 regarding the examination of the mails.

1. By a letter of May 24 last the Secretary of State of the United States was pleased to give the views of the American Govern-

ment on the memorandum of the allied Governments concerning mails found on merchant ships on the high seas.

2. The allied Governments have found that their views agreed with those of the Government of the United States in regard to the postal union convention, which is recognized on both sides to be foreign to the questions now under consideration; post parcels, respectively, recognized as being under the common rule of merchandise subject to the exercise of belligerent rights, as provided by international law; the inspection of private mails to the end of ascertaining whether they do not contain contraband goods, and, if carried on an enemy ship, whether they do not contain enemy property. It is clear

that that inspection, which necessarily implies the opening of covers so as to verify the contents, could not be carried on board without being attended with great confusion, causing serious delay to the mails, passengers, and cargoes, and without causing for the letters in transit errors, losses, or at least great risk of miscarriage.

That is the reason why the Allies had mail bags landed and sent to centres provided with the necessary force and equipment for prompt and regular handling. In all this the allied Governments had no other object in view than to limit, as far as possible, the inconveniences that might result for innocent mails and neutral vessels from the legitimate exercise of their belligerent rights in respect to hostile correspondence.

3. The Government of the United States acknowledges it agrees with the allied Governments as to principles, but expresses certain divergent views and certain criticisms as to the methods observed by the Allies in applying these principles.

Differences of Views

4. These divergencies of views and criticisms are as follows:

5. In the first place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice of the allied Governments is said to be contrary to their own declaration in that, while declaring themselves unwilling to seize and confiscate genuine mails on the high seas, they would obtain the same result by sending, with or without their consent, neutral vessels to allied ports, there to effect the seizure and confiscations above referred to and thus exercise over those vessels a more extensive belligerent right than that which is theirs on the high seas.

According to the Government of the United States there should be, in point of law, no distinction to be made between seizure of mails on the high seas, which the Allies have declared they will not apply for the present, and the same seizures practiced on board ships that are, whether willingly or not, in an allied port.

6. On this first point and as regards vessels summoned on the high seas and compelled to make for an allied port, the allied Governments have the honor to advise the Government of the United States that they have never subjected mails to a different treatment, according as they were found on a neutral vessel on the high seas or on neutral vessels compelled to proceed to an allied port. They have always acknowledged that visits made in the port after a forced change of course must in this respect be on the same footing as a visit on the high seas, and the criticism formulated by the Government of the United States does not, therefore, seem warranted.

7. As to the ships which of their own accord call at allied ports, it is important to point out that in this case they are really "voluntarily" making the call. In calling

at an allied port the master acts, not on any order from the allied authorities, but solely carries out the instructions of the owner; neither are those instructions forced upon the said owner. In consideration of certain advantages derived from the call at an allied port, of which he is at full liberty to enjoy or refuse the benefits, the owner instructs his Captain to call at this or that port. He does not, in truth, undergo any constraint.

In point of law the allied Governments think it a rule generally accepted, particularly in the United States, (U. S. vs. Dickleman, U. S. Supreme Court, 1875; 92 U. S. Rep. 520; Scott's cases, 204,) that merchant ships which enter a foreign port thereby place themselves under the laws in force in that port, whether in time of war or of peace, and when martial law is in force in that port. It is, therefore, legitimate in the case of a neutral merchant ship entering an allied port for the authorities of the allied Governments to make sure that the vessel carries nothing inimical to their national defense before granting its clearance.

It may be added that the practice of the Germans to make improper use of neutral mails and forward hostile correspondence, even official communications dealing with hostilities, under cover of apparently unoffensive envelopes, mailed by neutrals to neutrals, made it necessary to examine mails from or to countries neighboring Germany under the same conditions as mails from or to Germany itself; but as a matter of course mails from neutrals to neutrals that do not cover such improper uses have nothing to fear.

As to The Hague Rules

8. In the second place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice now followed by the allied Governments is contrary to the rule of Convention XI. of The Hague, 1907, which they declare their willingness to apply, and would, besides, constitute a violation of the practice heretofore followed by nations.

9. In regard to the value to be attached to the Eleventh Convention of The Hague, 1907, it may first of all be observed that it only refers to mails found at sea and that it is entirely foreign to postal correspondence found on board ships in ports. In the second place, from the standpoint of the peculiar circumstances of the present war, the Government of the United States is aware that that convention, as stated in the memorandum of the Allies, has not been signed or ratified by six of the belligerent powers, (Bulgaria, Italy, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, and Turkey;) that for that very reason Germany availed itself of Article IX. of the Convention and denied, so far as it was concerned, the obligatory character in these stipulations, and that for these several reasons the convention possesses in truth but rather doubtful validity in law. In spite of it all, the allied Governments are guided in the case of mails found on board

ships in ports by the intentions expressly manifested in the conferences of The Hague, sanctioned in the preamble to Convention XI., and tending to protect pacific and innocent commerce only. Mails possessing that character are forwarded as quickly as circumstances permit.

In regard to mails found on vessels at sea, the allied Governments have not for the present refused to observe the terms of the convention reasonably interpreted, but they have not admitted and can not admit that there is therein a provision legally binding them, from which they could not possibly depart. The allied Governments expressly reserve to themselves the right to do so in case enemy abuses and frauds, dissimulations, and deceits should make such a measure necessary.

10. As for the practice previously followed by the powers in the time of former wars, no general rule can easily be seen therein prohibiting the belligerents from exercising on the open seas as to postal correspondence the right of supervision, surveillance, visitation, and, the case arising, seizure and confiscation, which international law confers upon them in the matter of any freight outside of the territorial waters and jurisdiction of the neutral powers.

11. On the high seas, under international law, it is for the belligerents to seek and prevent transportation or other acts by which neutral vessels may lend their co-operation and assistance to hostile operations of the enemy. Now, as long as has been observed, (among others, Lord Stowell in *The Atlanta*, 6 Robinson, 440, 1, English Prize cases, 607; Scott's cases, 780,) a few lines of a letter delivered to an enemy may be as useful as or even more useful than a cargo of arms and ammunition to promote his war operations. The assistance rendered in such cases by the vessel carrying such a letter is as dangerous for the other belligerent as the assistance resulting from the transportation of military cargoes.

As a matter of fact, experience has, in the course of the present war, demonstrated the truth of this remark. Hostile acts, which had been projected in mails, have failed. Dangerous plots, from which even neutral countries are not safe at the hands of the enemy, were discovered in the mails and baffled. Finally, the addressees of certain letters, which the Allies had seen fit to respect, have evidenced a satisfaction, the hostile character of which removed every doubt as to the significance of those letters.

12. The report adopted by the conference of The Hague in support of Convention XI. leaves little doubt as to the former practice in the matter. The seizure, opening the bags, examination, confiscation, if need be, in all cases delay or even loss, are the fate usually awaiting mail bags carried by sea in time of war. (Second Peace Conference Acts and Documents, Vol. 1, p. 226.)

13. The American note of May 24, 1916,

invokes the practice followed by the United States during the Mexican and civil wars; the practice followed by France in 1870; by the United States in 1898; by Great Britain in the South African war; by Japan and Russia in 1904, and now by Germany.

14. As regards the proceedings of the German Empire toward postal correspondence during the present war, the allied Governments have informed the Government of the United States of the names of some of the mail steamers whose mail bags have been, not examined, to be sure, but purely and simply destroyed, at sea by the German naval authorities. Other names could very easily be added. The very recent case of the mail steamer *Hudikswall*, (Swedish,) carrying 670 mail bags, may be cited.

15. The allied Governments do not think that the criminal habit of sinking ships, passengers, and cargoes, or abandoning on the high seas the survivors of such calamities, is, in the eyes of the Government of the United States, any justification for the destruction of the mail bags on board, and they do not deem it to the purpose to make a comparison between these destructive German proceedings and the acts of the Allies in supervising and examining enemy correspondence.

16. As to the practice of Russia and of Japan, it may be permitted to doubt that it was at variance with the method of the allied Governments in the present war.

17. The Imperial Russian decree of May 13-25, 1877, for the exercise of the right of visit and capture, provides (Paragraph 7): "The following acts, which are forbidden to neutrals, are assimilated to contraband of war: The carrying of dispatches and correspondence of the enemy." The Russian Imperial decree of Sept. 14, 1904, reproduces the same provision. The procedure followed in regard to the mail steamers and the prize decision bear witness that public or private mails found on board neutral vessels were examined, landed, and, when occasion arose, seized.

18. Thus, in May and July, 1904, postal correspondence carried on the steamships *Osiris* (British) and *Prinz Heinrich* (German) was examined by the Russian cruisers to see whether it contained Japanese correspondence. Thus again, in July, 1904, the steamer *Calchas*, (British,) captured by Russian cruisers, had sixteen bags of mail, that had been shipped at Tacoma by the postal authorities of the United States, seized on board and landed, and the prize court of Vladivostok examined their contents, which it was recognized it could lawfully do. (Russian prize cases, p. 139.)

19. As regards the practice of Japan, the Japanese rules concerning prizes, dated March 15, 1904, made official enemy correspondence, with certain exceptions, contraband of war. They ordered the examination of mail bags on mail steamers unless there was on board an official of the Post Office, making a declaration in writing and under

oath that the bags contained no contraband; it was even added that no account should be taken of such a declaration if there existed grave suspicions. On the other hand, the Japanese prize court rules acknowledged the power of those courts in the examination of prize cases to examine letters and correspondence found on board neutral vessels. (Takahashi, "International Law Applied to Russo-Japanese War," p. 568.)

French Practice in 1870

20. The French practice during the war of 1870 is found outlined in the naval instructions of July 26, 1870, under which official dispatches were on principle assimilated to contraband, and official or private letters, found on board captured vessels, were to be sent immediately to the Minister of Marine. Subsequently the circumstances of war permitted of the rule in additional instructions, under which, if the vessel to be visited was a mail steamer having on board an official of the Post Office of the Government whose flag she displayed, the visiting officer might be content with that official's declaration regarding the nature of the dispatches.

21. During the South African war the British Government was able to limit its intervention in the forwarding of postal correspondence and mails as far as the circumstances of that war allowed, but it did not cease to exercise its supervision of the mails intended for the enemy.

22. As to the practice followed by the Government of the United States during the American civil war, particularly in the Peterhoff case, cited in the American memorandum of May 24, 1916, the following instructions issued in that case by the Secretary of State of the United States do not seem to apply to anything but the forwarding of correspondence which has been found to be innocent. "I have, therefore, to recommend that in this case, if the District Attorney has any evidence to show the mails are simulated and not genuine, it shall be submitted to the court; if there be no reasonable grounds for that belief, then that they be put on their way to their original destination." (Letter of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, April 15, 1863; VII., Moore's Dig. p. 482.)

23. Finally, as regards the free transit granted to mails by the United States during the Mexican war, one may be allowed to recall the circumstances under which this proceeding was adopted. By a letter, dated May 20, 1846, notified on the following July 10, the commander of the United States cruiser *St. Mary* announced the blockade of the Port of Tampico. Although that measure authorized, without a doubt, the seizure and confiscation of all correspondence for the blockaded port, the American naval authorities, on learning the circumstances of the case, declared "neutral non-commercial mail packets are free to enter and depart," and it was even added that "Mexican boats engaged exclusively in fishing will be allowed

to pursue their labor unmolested." (British State papers, Vol. 35, 1846-47.)

24. It seems difficult to compare the blockade of the port of Tampico in 1846 with the measures taken by the Allies in the course of this war to reduce the economic resistance of the German Empire, or to find in the method then adopted by the United States a precedent which condemns the practice now put in use by the allied Governments.

25. To waive the right to visit mail steamers and mail bags intended for the enemy seemed in the past (Dr. Lushington, "Naval Prize Law," introduction, Page 7) a sacrifice which could hardly be expected of belligerents. The allied Governments have again noted in their preceding memorandum how and why, relying on certain declarations of Germany, they had thought in the course of the Second Peace Conference of 1907 they could afford to waive that right. They have also drawn the attention of the Government of the United States to the fraudulent use Germany hastened to make of this waiver of the previous practices above mentioned.

What Is Postal Correspondence?

26. After pointing to a certain number of specific cases, where American interests happened to be injured from the postal supervision exercised by the British authorities, forming the subject of the special memorandum of the Government of his Majesty, dated July 20, 1916, the Government of the United States was pleased to make known its views as to what is to be and is not to be recognized as not possessing the character of postal correspondence.

27. In this respect the Government of the United States admits that shares, bonds, coupons, and other valuable papers; money orders, checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and other negotiable papers, being the equivalent of money, may, when included in postal shipments, be considered as of the same nature as merchandise and other property, and, therefore, be also subjected to the exercise of belligerent rights.

28. Yet the American memorandum adds that correspondence, including shipping documents, lists of money orders, and documents of this nature, even though referring to shipments to or exports by the enemy, must be treated as mail and pass freely unless they refer to merchandise on the same ship that is liable to capture.

29. As regards shipping documents and commercial correspondence found on neutral vessels, even in an allied port and offering no interest of consequence as affecting the war, the allied Governments have instructed their authorities not to stop them, but to see that they are forwarded with as little delay as possible. Mail matter of that nature must be forwarded to destination as far as practicable on the very ship on which it was found or by a speedier route, as is the case for certain mails inspected in Great Britain.

30. As for the lists of money orders to

which the Government of the United States assigns the character of ordinary mail, the allied Governments deem it their duty to draw the attention of the Government of the United States to the following practical consideration:

31. As a matter of fact, the lists of money orders, mailed from the United States to Germany and Austria-Hungary, correspond to moneys paid in the United States and payable by the German and Austro-Hungarian Post Offices. Those lists acquaint those Post Offices with the sums that have been paid there which in consequence they have to pay to the addressees. In practice, such payment is at the disposal of such addressees and is effected directly to them as soon as those lists arrive and without the requirement of the individual orders having come into the hands of the addressees. These lists are thus really actual money orders, transmitted in lump in favor of several addressees. Nothing, in the opinion of the allied Governments, seems to justify the liberty granted to the enemy country so to receive funds intended to supply by that amount its financial resisting power.

32. The American memorandum sees fit to recall firmly that neutral and belligerent rights are equally sacred and must be strictly respected. The allied Governments, so far as they are concerned, wholly share that

view. They are sincerely striving to avoid encroachment by the exercise of their belligerent rights on the legitimate exercise of the rights of innocent neutral commerce, but they hold that it is their belligerent right to exercise on the high seas the supervision granted them by international law to impede any transportation intended to aid their enemy in the conduct of the war and to uphold this resistance. The rights of the United States as a neutral cannot, in our opinion, imply the protection granted by the Federal Government to shipments, invoices, correspondence, or communications in any shape whatever, having an open or concealed hostile character and with a direct or indirect hostile destination, which American private persons can only effect at their own risk and peril. That is the very principle which was expressly stated by the President of the United States in his neutrality proclamation.

33. Furthermore, should any abuses, grave errors, or derelictions, committed by the allied authorities charged with the duty of inspecting mails, be disclosed to the Governments of France and Great Britain, they are now, as they ever were, ready to settle the responsibility therefor in accordance with the principles of law and justice, which it never was, and is not now, their intention to evade. I am, &c.,

CECIL SPRING-RICE.

An Eventful Month in the Balkans

By Charles Johnston

THERE has been a month of fierce fighting in the Balkan Peninsula, on three fronts, the only result of which, at first sight, has been very heavy loss to all belligerents—and practically all the warring nations are represented in this small area—without definite military advantage to either group of the warring powers.

Let us begin with the Dobrudja front: The battle line drawn across the oblong plateau which, standing in the direct path of the Danube's eastward flow to the Black Sea, forces the great river northward for a distance of ninety miles, after which it once more flows to the east, along the Russian frontier. The first announcement here was that the ancient fortress of Turtukai had been taken by German, Turkish, and Bulgarian troops; that 20,000 Rumanians had been captured, and that a strong army of the Central forces was driving northward,

shortly afterward capturing Silistria. To this the Rumanians rejoined that the force reported captured was larger than their entire armed force in that region, and that, for military purposes, neither Turtukai nor Silistria had any value.

The first thing that strikes one here is the smallness of the Rumanian force; on their own showing, the Rumanian Staff had less than one division to guard the only piece of territory by which an invading force could easily enter her boundaries; this, coming on the heels of the statement that Rumania had mobilized or would immediately mobilize an army of 800,000, or twenty army corps, was sufficiently extraordinary, and lends color to the published rumor that there had been an understanding between Bulgaria and Rumania that neither should invade the other's territory. Rumania declared war against Austria-Hungary, in an elaborately argued document; Ger-

many replied by declaring war against Rumania; but whether Rumania was also at war with Germany's allies, Bulgaria and Turkey, was left in doubt. It almost seems that Field Marshal von Mackensen, knowing that Rumania thought herself safe on her Bulgarian frontier, had made a surprise attack in this direction, feeling assured that he would find practically no Rumanian forces there.

Two reasons for an attack at this point are obvious: Bulgaria entered the war, in fierce resentment against the clipping of her territories by the Treaty of Bucharest after the second Balkan war in the Summer of 1913, and Kaiser Wilhelm appears to have promised King Ferdinand of Bulgaria that, if the Bulgars joined the Central Powers, the territory then lost to her, perhaps excepting the Adrianople region then retaken by Turkey, would be restored to her with interest. And the region in which Turtukai and Silistria lie was precisely the "Naboth's vineyard" which Rumania had wrested from Bulgaria, by the threat of an attack on Sofia, while Serbia and Greece attacked Bulgaria in Macedonia. The second motive was the capture of the Cherna-Voda bridge over the Danube, the only bridge east of Belgrade, which would have opened the way for an attack direct on Bucharest; with the simultaneous capture of Constanza, where are immense grain elevators and oil reservoirs, both greatly needed by the Central Powers.

Rumania was, in fact, taken by surprise, and only after the army of Mackensen had advanced more than half way from the frontier to the Bucharest-Constanza railroad was any effective bar offered to his progress. Fighting began on a line some fifty miles in length, stretching from the Danube to the Black Sea. Strong reinforcements were hurried up, probably by rail, across the Cherna-Voda bridge, both from Rumania and from Russia. For a few days the result was in doubt; then Mackensen was evidently checked, and was reported to be very hard pressed by his adversaries. The fighting sawed backward and forward without any conclusive re-

sult, but, in a month, Mackenson has made no real progress toward his goal—the railroad to Bucharest.

It seems likely that no considerable forces were employed on either side. Mackenson's force gives evidence of being short-handed, with few possible reserves in sight, and with a slender supply of munitions, perhaps of food also; nor, unless a very large Russian force descends from the north, is it clear how the deadlock at this point can be broken.

All the way up the Danube to the Iron Gates at Orsova, a distance of between two and three hundred miles, Bulgaria and Rumania touch frontiers; yet there has been almost no fighting at any point except one, just east of Rustchuk, where the Rumanians built a pontoon bridge, brought a small force across the river, and were almost immediately compelled to withdraw it, with severe losses. This again gives color to the suggestion that there was some kind of understanding between Rumania and Bulgaria; and also seems to show that the forces and resources of both combatants are somewhat sharply limited.

At Orsova and the Iron Gates Rumania made one conspicuous gain, which is likely, if she can maintain it, to be of high importance throughout the whole Near Eastern theatre of war; she established her forces on both sides of the river and, by bringing artillery to bear, closed the Iron Gates of the Danube, thus stopping the export of munitions along the great river to the Turks and Bulgars, and stopping the return stream—somewhat slender, it is true—of food to the Central Empires from the grain-fields of Asia Minor.

When we come to that part of the battle line which stretches northward from the Iron Gates to Bukowina, we find exactly the opposite situation. Here it was the Teuton forces that were taken by surprise by Rumania's sudden declaration of war; here Rumanian armies made immediate gains as spectacular and more extensive than those of Mackensen in Dobrudja.

While it seems true that Rumania may have had, when she declared war against Austria-Hungary, some 400,000 men

under arms, with an equal number within easy reach, the whole appearance of the fighting seems to show that the forces which she sent through the passes of the Carpathians and Transylvanian Alps were comparatively small; hardly more than a covering force, designed, first to fix the fighting line beyond Rumania's own territory, thus sparing her the ruin and desolation which have become a part of modern warfare; and, at the same time, serving as an advance guard, behind which much more considerable Rumanian forces could later be built up to meet the counterattack from the Teuton side which was naturally to be expected. Austria-Hungary seems to have been caught completely off her guard; to have had almost no armed forces in Transylvania; no doubt, the few who were there were elderly men, practically of the quality of militia. Austria-Hungary has been losing men far too heavily on the Russian and Italian fronts to make it likely that she would have left any considerable force of good troops in Transylvania, on a line which she evidently thought entirely immune from attack.

So even light Rumanian forces were able to get pretty far forward in the first two or three days, capturing cities which are like Teuton islands in the sea of mixed Magyar, Rumanian, and Slavonic populations. Between Transylvania, which belongs politically to Hungary, and Rumania there are several easy passes; through three of these railroads cross at moderate elevations: the Gyimes, Tomos, and Red Tower Passes; other passes are crossed by good roads. None the less, armies going through in either direction are inevitably cut up into fractions by the hills which separate the passes, and find themselves in mutually inaccessible valleys on the other side. Practically, they cannot act together.

General von Falkenhayn, who seems to have been put at the head of the counterblow against Rumania after his somewhat abrupt dismissal from the post of German Chief of Staff, took full advantage of this inherent weakness in the position of the Rumanian invading armies, and, served by a network of ex-

cellent railroads, seems to have directed a series of heavy blows against what we have suggested was the Rumanian advance guard, compelling most, if not all, the Rumanian detachments to fall backward and, at several points, driving them back to, or across, the geographical frontier of Rumania, which runs along the mountain tops, often at elevations of over 5,000 feet. It is clear that Falkenhayn, by this advance, immediately incurs the strategical disadvantage under which Rumania had labored: if he gets through the passes, he thereby cuts up his armies, which may then be attacked in detail from the Rumanian side. Further, while it would seem likely that the rapidity with which he drove in the Rumanian advance guards was due to the concentration upon them of heavy artillery, against which they could make no corresponding reply, having run ahead of their heavy guns; yet, as he climbs up the mountain slopes, Falkenhayn will find it increasingly difficult to bring his heavy artillery effectively to bear. Every mile he advances will make his progress more difficult and at the same time more hazardous.

If he actually gets through the Rumanian wall he will thereby lay himself open to new dangers: separate attacks, served by the admirable system of strategic railroads which Rumania owes to her first Hohenzollern King, and which, intimately linked with the Russian railroad system, could rapidly bring up reinforcements from the depots of Southern Russia. On the other hand, every mile the Rumanians draw backward brings them nearer to their bases of supplies, and so is likely to stiffen their resistance, and to give larger opportunities to their heavier guns.

Another consideration points the same way. We do not know even approximately how large Falkenhayn's force is, but with the enormous and continuing losses of the Teutons on the Russian and Somme fronts, following on the tremendous Teuton losses at Verdun, it seems highly improbable that any considerable force of first-class troops should have been available for the drive against Rumania. If Rumania can continue a resistance equal to that which she has already put up, it

seems very likely that we shall see Falkenhayn's drive exhaust itself, as the Crown Prince's far more formidable drive against Verdun exhausted itself. In the circumstances it seems probable that Rumania may be able to hold her own. If she does no more than this it will be immensely profitable to the Entente Powers, since it means a steady diversion from the main battle fronts of large Teutonic forces, which neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary is in any position to spare.

One is inclined to say that Falkenhayn's drive against Rumania was dictated rather by political than by sound strategical considerations; that its purpose was rather to punish Rumania for defying the Central Empires than to achieve any real military advantage. For, even in the very improbable event of Rumania's being overrun as Serbia was overrun a year ago, this, while impairing the prestige of the Entente cause, would not inflict upon them any considerable military injury, so far as the major operations of the war are concerned, while, at the same time, it would very seriously injure the cause of the

Teutonic Empires, by eating up carefully husbanded reserves, whom it is now completely impossible to replace.

While not touching Rumania geographically, the fighting on the Macedonian line before Saloniki has, indirectly, a very important bearing upon Rumania's military problem, in that it immobilizes the bulk of the Bulgarian Army, numbering on this front perhaps 250,000 to 300,000 men, who might, were they free to move, invade Rumania across the Danube. But they are not free to move; if they were withdrawn to the north, the armies of the Entente Powers would instantly follow on their heels, and would, if the movement continued, shortly find themselves in possession of Sofia and of the railroad from Hungary to Constantinople, along which a stream of munitions constantly runs to the armies of the Sultan.

To sum up, whether, for the moment, the Rumanian armies are moving westward or eastward on the Hungarian front, their presence there, and the presence there of Falkenhayn's forces, is a very valuable asset for the powers of the Entente.

The Dangerous Plight of Greece

By the Editor

GREECE, caught in the maelstrom of the European war, has been thrown into a state of political chaos bordering more and more upon tragedy. King Constantine's determination to hold Greece neutral in circumstances where neutrality is impossible has brought him and his people into a plight as painful as war, yet without any of war's satisfactions. His tragic dilemma is indicated in the simple statement that his wife is Kaiser Wilhelm's sister, and that the vast majority of his people, with ex-Premier Venizelos, their idolized leader, are heart and soul with the Entente Powers. Add to this the presence of the British and French armies, invited to Saloniki a year ago to

aid Greece's ally, Serbia, with their growing suspicion of King Constantine's German affiliations, and the subsequent course of events is already explained.

The Allies have distrusted Constantine and his Cabinets from the first, and still distrust them, perhaps unjustly; this suspicion explains the high-handed manner in which they have imposed their will upon him, compelled the demobilization of his army, occupied his capital, confiscated his navy.

The Greek people, if we may judge through the voice of Venizelos, have not doubted the sincerity of their ruler; but they have for many months been telling him, with increasing boldness and severity, that his vain attempt at neutrality

was leading them into ruin. This popular note of admonition reached its climax, first in the remarkable manifesto adopted by a mass meeting in Athens, and printed in full at the close of the present article; and later in the deliberate organization of a provisional Government, with Venizelos at its head, for the avowed purpose of carrying Greece into the war on the side of the Entente Allies.

Thus is revolution added to the harrowed nation's other troubles; not an ordinary revolution, apparently, but one whose object, thanks to the rare patriotism of its leader, is simply to compel the King to do the people's will. For one of the most memorable features of this whole strange situation is the patriotic self-abnegation of Eleutherios Venizelos, the man whose honorable leadership has made him more powerful than the King, yet who declares, even now, that he will support any Cabinet appointed by the King which will honestly fulfill Greece's treaty obligations as an ally of Serbia and make war upon Bulgaria.

When we look for the cause that has stirred Greece to revolution it is not far to seek. While the nation's hands were tied a Bulgarian army came early in September and occupied the Macedonian territory which Greece had won in the second Balkan war. Kavala was captured, with its forts, and the garrison—the Fourth Army Corps—was taken prisoner in a body and carted away to Goerlitz, in Prussian Silesia, while the population fled from the invaders by thousands, destitute and starving. The Greek commandant stated that he was ordered to give up the fortress of Kavala to the advancing German and Bulgarian troops without resistance.

So the Germans hold neutral Greek prisoners, the Bulgars hold Greek territory, the Allies hold Athens, Piraeus, and Salokini; the Venizelist rebels hold Crete, Mitylene, Samos, Chios, and the other islands, while Constantine holds a throne without sovereignty.

Before leaving Athens on Sept. 25 to place himself at the head of the revolutionary movement in Crete, M. Venizelos thus summed up the situation:

Already we have suffered all the agonies

of a disastrous war, while remaining neutral. We have had ten months of mobilization with all the consequent hardships to the families of the men mobilized, while both Balkan wars included only thirteen months, with greater funds available for the relief of the families of the soldiers. Our boundaries have been invaded; towns, crops, and farms have been destroyed, and all horrors enacted. We have had all the financial burden of war and the cost of maintaining a useless mobilization. The morale of the army, which three years ago was at the topmost pitch, has been destroyed by inaction and is now completely gone. Then we had a victorious, now we have a beaten, army.

We have even over an entire army corps of Greeks held prisoners of war in a foreign country and already we have paid the Bulgars an immense war indemnity, amounting, in military equipment, property destroyed, and loot of the Greek cities occupied, to over \$40,000,000. And, finally, we are perhaps on the verge of making now, at last, that war which we have not fought, but have paid for in blood, tears, and treasure.

At the same time M. Venizelos published the following statement regarding the object of the revolt of which he and Admiral Condouriotis were about to take command:

The betrayal of Kavala after the loss of Fort Rupel, Seres, Drama, and of the greater part of Greek Macedonia has brought matters to such a crisis in the very existence of my country that I can no longer resist the cry of my compatriots calling me to help them and save them from extermination at the hands of Bulgaria.

I can no longer wait. I have exhausted in vain every means of inducing those who govern Greece to take up arms in defense of their country. I have offered to support unconditionally any Ministry in Greece that should be ready to carry out the policy of intervention—the only policy compatible with the national interests of Greece.

Do not think I am heading a revolution in the ordinary sense of the word. The movement now beginning is in no way directed against the King or his dynasty. This movement is one made by those of us who can no longer stand aside and let our countrymen and our country be ravaged by the Bulgarian enemy. It is the last effort we can make to induce the King to come forth as King of the Hellenes and follow the path of duty in the protection of his subjects.

M. Venizelos and Admiral Condouriotis landed in Crete on Sept. 26, and on that day, amid the plaudits of the troops and the populace, a Provisional Government was then established, "with full authority to organize the forces of the country

with the object of joining the Allies and fighting by their side against all their enemies." On Oct. 12 the Provisional Government was strengthened by the addition of a third member, General Zimbrakatis, as Minister of War, and preparations were made to order the mobilization of the Greek Army. On Oct. 17 the Entente Allies formally recognized the new Government, at the same time withholding recognition from King Constantine's latest Cabinet, headed by Professor Spyridon P. Lambros. All the outlying portions of Greece have rallied swiftly to the Venizelos Government. Apparently only Athens and the Peloponnesus remain predominantly loyal to King Constantine, and here the Entente Powers are laying an increasingly heavy hand on things.

Their most drastic measure in the month just past was the seizure of the Greek fleet. Vice Admiral d'Artige du Fournet, commander of the Anglo-French fleet in the Mediterranean, presented an ultimatum demanding that Greece hand over to the Entente Powers the entire Greek naval fleet, except the armored cruiser Averoff and the battleships Lemnos and Kilkis, by 1 o'clock on Wednesday, Oct. 11. The Admiral further demanded that the three warships to be retained by Greece be disarmed and their crews reduced to one-third of the regular complement; that the forts on the seacoast be dismantled, and that the two which command the mooring place of the allied fleet be turned over to the Admiral. On Oct. 17 King Constantine issued the following Order of the Day:

Officers, Sailors: In these hours, when,

stricken and with bleeding hearts, each new moment forms new wounds deep in our souls, which so short a time ago were proud in a united and victorious Greece, my Government has been obliged to order you to leave the ships upon which you brought the news of the freeing of our liberated brothers; you came with tortured hearts and eyes wet with tears, every man faithful to his oath, to the side of your King.

I thank you and congratulate you, O my faithful sailors. - I thank you, not only as King and chief of the fleet, but as the representative of the fatherland you love so much, to which you have given so much, for which you are ready to give and suffer all.

May our hopes soon be realized and may the hours soon come when you will be able to return to your ships. The holy ikons that have protected you in the past will protect you in the future, and the glorious flag, once more caught by the winds of the Greek seas, will bring hope and consolation wherever Greek hearts beat.

At the same time the Allies took control of the Greek police, and demanded that Greek citizens be prohibited from carrying arms, that the sending of war munitions to Thessaly be stopped, and that the embargo on Thessalian wheat be lifted. Again the Cabinet complied. The French and British also took possession of various buildings in Athens for their own use. These acts of high-handed precaution against betrayal were followed by anti-Entente riots in Athens. The French Admiral and the French Minister were greeted on the street with jeers and hisses, and a crowd before the British legation shouted "Down with England!" For a time there was danger of bloodshed, but a few hundred French marines with machine guns quelled the disturbances. Meanwhile the revolution is making rapid headway all over Greece.

Address of the Greek People Admonishing Their King

Following is the text of the remarkable address to King Constantine which former Premier Venizelos drew up and which was approved by a great concourse in Athens on Aug. 27, 1916. As an example of plain speaking to an enthroned ruler it is doubtful whether it has its equal in history:

SIRE: You are the victim of persons who destroy the work of the revolution of which we are today celebrating the seventh anniversary, and to re-establish their system of corrupt government have not hesi-

tated to exploit the respect which the nation owes to the Crown and the love it bears for you, and are ready to imperil the work of regeneration achieved by five years of labor and two glorious wars in order to strike at

one of those who co-operated in that work. You are the victim of your military advisers, who, taking a narrow military view and anxious to establish a system of absolutism which would make them in effect masters of the country, have convinced you that Germany will emerge victorious from the European war.

Finally, you are the victim of your natural and human weakness. Accustomed to admire everything German, astounded by this unparalleled military preparation as by every other German organization, not only have you believed in German victory, but you have desired it. You hoped that after a German victory you would be able to concentrate in your own hands the whole power of Government and sweep aside our system of liberty.

Today we see the consequences of these blunders. Instead of expanding in Asia Minor, Thrace, and Cyprus; of ending forever our quarrels of more than a thousand years with our national enemies; of creating Greece great, powerful, and rich, fulfilling our loftiest national dreams, we see the Bulgars invading Greek Macedonia, occupying Seres and towns and forts, and making prisoners of detachments of the Greek Army there, without our being at war, declared or not declared, with the invader.

While we receive them with the irony of friendly assurance, we see them seize our munitions of war, which cost us hundreds of millions, and which the General Staff criminally abandoned after our general demobilization. Although our national enemy has mobilized, this war material was left concentrated in towns near the frontier, and so became easy prey of the invading neighbor.

From the position in which we placed Greece we see her today reduced again to a position to which she was cast down before the revolution. Instead of Greece being respected by friends and redoubtable to foes, we see her today pitied by the one and despised, scorned, and chastised by the other. Ignorant of the vital conditions of the group of powers in which alone Greece can, I do not say grow, but even live as a free State, they are driving her to an assured catastrophe.

Today's demonstration has been summoned to express the grief of the nation's soul and to manifest in perfect order the nation's anguish and anger at the misfortunes into which the country has been led and is still being led by the present policy. This demonstration seeks to enlighten you and to persuade you that, in spite of perfidious efforts, the nation does not approve what has been done, whatever they may say who surround you; to appeal to your love of the fatherland to find the strength to break with the evil influences which, as we said, exploit the love of the people for you, and which are dragging you, and with you your royal house and Greece and the nation, to a national catastrophe.

Elections are due to take place so that the people may have national representation, but these elections alone cannot give a salutary solution of the question now in issue. So long as you permit, Sire, an unworthy use to be made of your name as an enemy of a great political party, what good can come from these elections which under such conditions do no more than mask an undeclared fratricidal war? How could the Liberal Party carry out its policy should it judge it necessary to do more than observe benevolent neutrality, as the Entente Powers rightly ask of us, since the criminal conduct of the General Staff has literally dissolved the army and rendered Greece incapable of fighting? For you must learn that even if your Government were to pronounce for intervention by the Greek Army you would no longer find an army to lead to victory.

Proclamations of the association calling itself the Pan-Hellenic Association of Reservists, professing their readiness to shed their blood anew at a sign from you, in no way correspond to the reality. These proclamations are made because those who make them have been assured Greece will never depart from the neutrality policy adopted, and, above all, the manner in which this policy has been followed has provoked a very grave malady in the national organism.

We do not say this malady is incurable, but to treat it the forces of the nation must be concentrated, not divided. This reunion of forces must be carried out at once, for tomorrow may be too late. Leave to others the rôle of party leader, to which those who exploit your throne would debase you, and boldly face the enemy. By impious and satanic action they have tried, and, unhappily, with success, to divide the national forces, from the union of which alone the nation's soul expects health and the greatness of the fatherland. * * *

Apply yourself at once with your Government, and helped by us all, to revise the national sentiment weakened by prolonged mobilization, the teaching of the barracks, and the poison of the foreign propaganda, so that Greece may once again have an army, so that when the circumstances demand it—and we are sure they will demand it—it will be able to defend her vital interests, so far as they may be safeguarded side by side this time with powerful allies, traditional protectors and benefactors of Greece.

You will see by today's demonstration that the Liberal Party is not the enemy of the Crown, nor the enemy of the royal house, nor the enemy of yourself. It is only the respectful guardian of free institutions, and will suffer no one to injure them. That is the true interest of the Crown, and only those who are exploiting the Crown seek to persuade you to the contrary. They are your worst enemies.

The Italian Offensive on the Carso

By Robert Vaucher

French Correspondent on the Italian Front

[Translated from L'Illustration for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

AN ancient legend of Frioul recounts that God, after He had created the world, was getting ready to throw into the sea all the stones which remained to Him after His work was ended. He had gathered them all in a large bag, and was passing along the Isonzo, when the devil decided to play a trick on Him. Creeping up behind Him, the devil slit the bag. The stones fell upon the earth and formed the desolate plateau of the Carso.

The legend must be true. The more one traverses the Carso the more this desert of stones, with its few, very poor villages, appears to be a diabolic creation. Last year, writing from Gradisca, I had already described the immense difficulties which met our Italian allies, who were compelled to capture trench after trench, working uphill, under the fire of very powerful artillery and in spite of fortifications which seemed inexpugnable.

The Italian lines formed an immense semicircle, running from Monfalcone to Boschini. At the extreme right the enemy was, to the north and east of Monfalcone, in possession of a series of heights, the most important of which, the Debeli and Cosich, completely dominated the Italian works. At the extreme left, on the sides of St. Michael's Mount, the situation was identical. In the centre there was nothing but an entanglement of trenches and approach works climbing up from the plain of the Isonzo along the steep slopes of Selz, Monte Sei Busi, and Bosco Capuccio.

The offensive of July, October, and November had made it possible to rectify favorably the Italian front, but our allies had been able to climb only one stage of this Calvary, which led them up to the Doberdo Plateau. In spite of obstacles, the Italian troops were not discouraged. From the end of May battles succeeded each other at Monfalcone. On June 28 the 85-Meter Height was attacked. On

July 3 and 4 progress continued; on Aug. 4 a general attack was opened on the extreme right with such vigor that the Italians captured 85-Meter Hill.

The Italian troops were commanded by an old General, ill with cancer, who followed the development of operations in an invalid chair. He had persistently refused the advice of his doctors to leave his troops and undergo treatment behind the lines. His malady grew worse; it had almost carried him away when the attack was decided. The Italian troops, with superb dash, went up to the assault, overthrew the defense works, and, with the bayonet, conquered the positions. Then the General, with tears in his eyes, gravely said to those who surrounded him: "You can take me away now to die in the hospital; the battle is won." He has just been gazetted Corps Commander.

The enemy, deceived by this activity of General Cadorna's troops to the east of Monfalcone, sent important reserves to that point. For two days the Italians were forced to abandon some advanced trenches. But this action was only a demonstration. The principal attack was planned against that part of the Carso which had been best defended by nature—San Michele and Monte Sei Busi.

The system of fortifications which our allies were to attack was composed of three lines:

The first, which was certainly the most solid, followed the crests of San Michele, descended before San Martino del Carso, ran between the burned woods and the rocks dominating Sagrado, Fogliano, and Polazzo, traversed the heights of Sei Busi, overhung the Isonzo plain at the Selz caverns, ran around La Rocca, and descended to the sea on the east of Monfalcone.

The second line followed the first a slight distance further back as far as San Martino del Carso, passed behind Doberdo, climbed up the Crni Hrib hil-

lock, and supported the first line of the Debeli.

The third line descended from the valley of the Vipacco, at the height of Rupa, and gained the heights to the east of Oppacchiasella, passed Novavas and 208-Meter and 114-Meter Hills, reached 77-Meter Hill, crossed the Lissert, and reached the sea at 21-Meter Hill.

Suddenly, on Aug. 6, a terrible bombardment was begun on the Italian side. While Podgora and Monte Sabatino were shaken, the attack began from San Michele to Monte Sei Busi and Selz, also with unaccustomed vigor. A hurricane of fire was poured down upon the stone trenches. On this Carso, where so many struggles had already been fought and where so many thousands of men had found their graves, a new phase of the war was developed—the entry on the scene of powerful Italian artillery. Once the way was opened for them, the Italian regiments went up to the assault with an indescribable ardor. For long months they had suffered, in the trenches of the Carso, all possible privations. They had had to accept the furtive struggle underground. Today they were taking their revenge.

Monte San Michele, which dominated all this region west of the Carso—the most arid of all—is composed of four summits, following each other from west to east, their heights varying from 810 to 902 feet. The battle there lasted two days. The Twentieth Division of Honveds, (Hungarian Landwehr,) which was defending the positions, multiplied counterattacks, sending clouds of asphyxiating gas against the assaulting columns. On both sides the losses were terrible, but the Italians continued their advance; one by one the summits were conquered, the trenches turned, in order to be able to meet the attacks of an enemy which felt that, once San Michele was lost, the Doberdo Plateau would be invaded, the first line would be taken and the second hard hit. The innumerable machine guns hidden in the caverns spat out their fire incessantly, hand grenades flew on all sides. The attackers had to climb over heaps of dead in order to continue their advance.

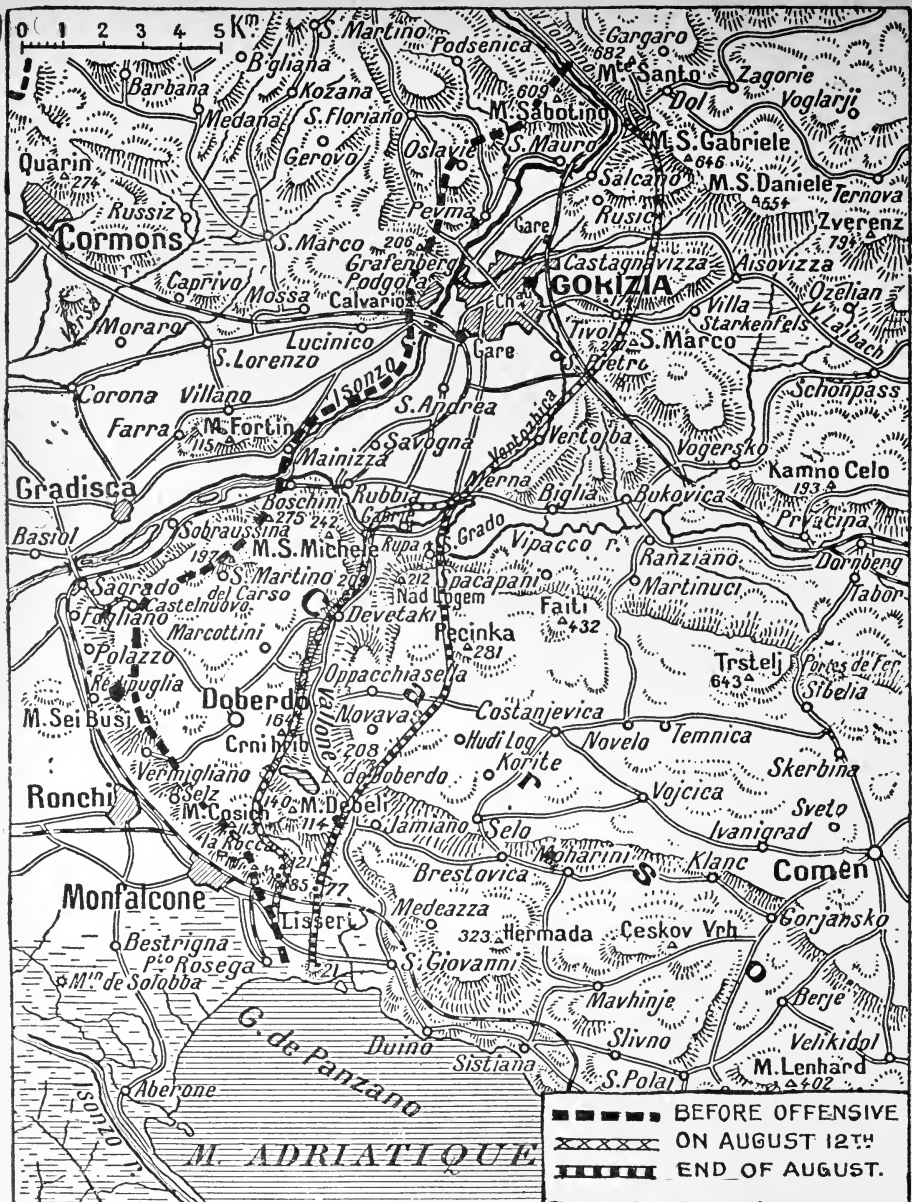
When the last height had fallen the infantry, the grenadiers, and the Bersaglieri (light infantry) rushed toward the high plateau. The Austrians suffered enormous losses. A Budapest regiment numbering 2,500 men ceased to exist.

On Aug. 9 the Italians captured San Martino del Carso, a little village completely ruined by shellfire, where the Carso cave dwellers, whom the Italians had driven forth from their grottoes, were putting up a last defense. Then the action continued with vigor; Cadorna's armies swept the whole Doberdo Plateau. One by one the positions were cleared. Doberdo, the bare peak of Cosich, Marcottini, and, to the north of San Michele, the village of Boschini were conquered by vigorous assault. The whole western part of the Carso was in the hands of the Italians; the Austrian troops withdrew to the east of Vallone.

They were not given time to fortify themselves there; the dash of the Bersaglieri and the Italian infantry was so impetuous that Oppacchiasella was soon in their hands. And, on the wooded slopes of Nad Logem, a violent action was begun.

To the south of the Carso, the forward march was more difficult; 85-Meter Hill definitely taken, the struggle began for the possession of 121-Meter Hill. The enemy had transformed that stony hill into a veritable fortress. 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; bed, chairs, sofas, tables, carpets, nothing was missing in them. The newspapers found there were dated Aug. 3, 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.

* * * * *



PROGRESS OF ITALIAN DRIVE IN THE CARSO

For several days I visited the conquered positions, and I had an opportunity to watch the fights to the northeast of Oppacchiasella. Between the trenches the corpses are numerous. Some of them have lain there a year, and are only withered skeletons, bleached by the rain and the sun, in the zone of death, which none dared to enter to give them

burial. But others are more recent, and look like mummies. The faces are like parchment, their clothes in rags. Others were killed but yesterday, and on these clouds of black flies rested. They were waiting to be buried by companies of territorials, and sent up a frightful stench.

One is struck by the enormous mass of

GLIMPSES OF WESTERN FRONT



German Soldier Killed Near His Machine Gun at the Entrance to His Dugout.



**Underground Home of French Artillerymen on the Somme Front,
Battered by German Shells.**

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

A ZEPPELIN THAT ATTACKED LONDON



Great German Airship That Fell in a Turnip Field in Essex, Destroyed, with Its Crew, by British Aviators.

(Photo © International Film Service.)



Medals from Entente Governments Presented to Verdun for Its Heroic Resistance.



French Poilus Dining at a Captured German Observation Post.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

material abandoned. The violence of the attack did not allow the Austrians to transport to the rear the stores heaped up during months at San Michele, Monte Sei Busi, Doberdo, Selz, and on the Cosich and Debeli Hills. There are supplies of every kind; explosives in considerable quantities, rifles, munitions, trench-building material, tools of every kind, even machinery for the manufacture of asphyxiating gas.

Not all the weapons taken from the Austrians can be employed by the Italians. Without doubt, they will not use either the famous steel-spiked maces with which the Honveds "finish off" the wounded, nor the explosive bullets. The climax of barbarism was attained by the Honveds. Yesterday, while making my way through trenches still full of débris and corpses, I was witness of an atrocious scene. Detachments of territorials were busy burying the bodies, rapidly decomposed by the torrid heat of this stony desert. Suddenly a detonation was heard, a bomb had just exploded. The grave-diggers fell, horribly torn and mutilated.

There was even found in the trenches north of San Michele a brand new gibbet. The Austrians had hoped to erect it in one of the villages of the Isonzo Plain. At Rubbia, Bersaglieri were hanged on trees and mutilated. * * *

Today we are in a period of calm. Our Italian allies are strengthening the positions which they occupy on the heights to the west of Pecinka. Italian artillery is ceaselessly bombarding the enemy's ways of communication. The enemy is experiencing grave difficulties in renewing his supplies, and particularly in bringing the water necessary for his troops. The water mains which he had established have been destroyed by Italian artillery.

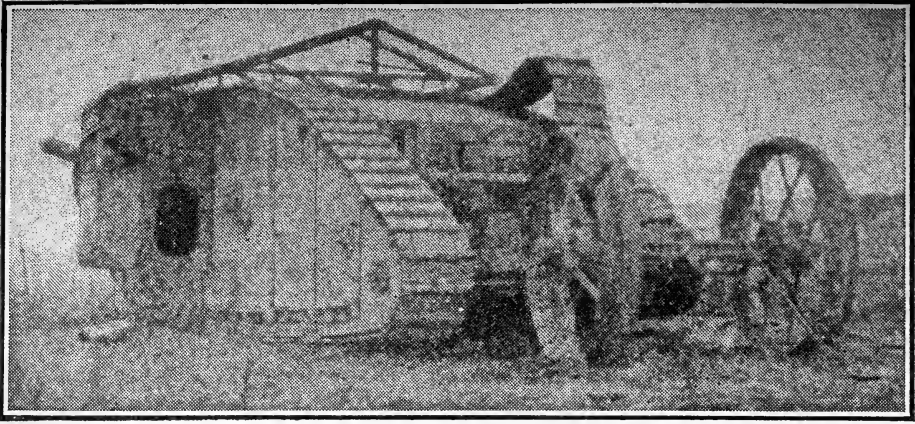
Quite recently, when the Nad Logem was taken, as soon as the 2,000 Honveds who were defending it had fired their last cartridges, the Italian soldiers suddenly saw their adversaries coming out of the trenches on the run, unarmed and waving white handkerchiefs. They easily made 1,500 prisoners, who asked one thing only: water!

At the present moment the Austrian batteries are in position behind the line of hills to the east of Oppacchiasella are furiously bombarding the shores of Lake Doberdo and the few wells which are scattered over the Carso. But our Italians fortunately have a marvelously organized supply. Auto-cisterns, barrels and reservoirs mounted on carts drawn by mules, everything is provided so that the men may not suffer from thirst. "My troops," a General said to me this morning, "have at their disposal 15,000 gallons of water per day." Here is a great problem solved.

The Austrian prisoners declare that the second system of fortifications, which receives its supplies from the Nabresina-Comen road, is very well organized. Escaped Russians, who had been captured by the Austrians in Galicia, and who are compelled to work at trench digging on the Carso on pain of being shot, tell that 60,000 of them are at work strengthening the Austrian defenses. Therefore our Italian allies have serious difficulties ahead of them.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Aosta is in command of the army of the Isonzo. This Prince, endowed with excellent qualities, of exceptional energy, heedless of danger, full of solicitude for his men, is adored by them. He is with them always, following the highest example. King Victor Emmanuel III. and Emmanuel-Philibert of Savoy (the Duke of Aosta) are the worthy heads of an army which has just gained its first great success, and which is preparing to cull other laurels.

EDITOR'S NOTE: On Oct. 11, the Italian War Office reported as follows: "On the Carso, after the intricate defenses of the enemy had been destroyed by an intense and accurate artillery and trench mortar fire, our infantry captured almost the whole of the line composed of several successive intrenchments between the Vipacco River and 208-Meter Hill, and advanced beyond it. Novavas and the adjoining strong position around the northern part of 208-Meter Hill also fell into our hands after brisk fighting. Prisoners to the number of 5,034, including 164 officers, have been reported, and we also captured a large quantity of arms and ammunition."



British Armored "Tank" Cars

THE most terrifying engine of destruction which the war has developed so far is the British armored motor car, or "tank," as the soldiers have named it. These formidable machines were first mentioned in the official dispatches of Sept. 16, 1916, and were brought into use with important results in the battle of the Somme. Since then they have figured daily in the war news and have become an important factor in the offensive. The cars are capable of moving in shell-torn areas and can negotiate a roadless wilderness of trenches.

No official description of the monster has been permitted to pass the censor, nor have any official photographs been released. *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* presents on this page the only picture of the car that has reached this country—a snapshot of one that has seen service.

This land dreadnought is an adaptation of the American caterpillar tractor manufactured at Peoria, Ill., by the Holt Manufacturing Company. Several thousand unarmored cars have been sold to the British Government, which adds the armor and armament. The cars are about 23 feet long and 9 feet wide over all. They weigh, unarmored, from 18,000 to 25,000 pounds, develop 120 horse power, and move from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 miles an hour. Each machine has two fore wheels, used only for guiding purposes. No weight rests on these wheels. The main

weight is carried on two chain belts, or caterpillars, having corrugated surfaces, on the inside of which are two lines of steel rails, jointed in short sections and operated by sprocket wheels. As the endless belt turns, the forward sprocket wheel lays down the track and the rear one picks it up again. On the rails thus laid down roll the wheels of the machine.

How the Wheels Work

The pressure on the ground under the caterpillar—the string of steel plates seven feet long and two feet wide on which the entire weight of the machine is supported—is said to be less than that caused by the foot of a horse or even of a man. And owing to the construction and location of the engines the centre of gravity of the whole machine is near the back of the caterpillar and not more than eighteen inches off the ground. For this reason the machine can roll along without danger of tipping over on an almost incredible slope, and it can run considerably more than half its length forward over a chasm without any support at all.

When it moves across a trench the front wheel, on which normally no weight rests, crosses first. The front end of the caterpillar then moves forward over the open part of the trench, and the machine is supported by the rear of the caterpillar, where most of the weight is concentrated, while the guide

wheel on each side in front acts as a stabilizer. Then by the time the rear part of the caterpillar has reached the edge of the trench the forward part will already be across and there will be very little displacement of the machine. In this way the machine can cross a trench almost as wide as the ground length of the caterpillar, and by lengthening these for war purposes the British are able to get across almost any trench or shell crater with little difficulty.

The Monsters in Action

Vivid stories come from the front of the "tanks" in action, and from the mass of material it is clear that the cars strike terror into the hearts of the enemy and accomplish useful and important results. The London Times correspondent describes the exploits in one day's fighting near Combles as follows:

"The pilot, whose steering gear went wrong, found himself astride a German trench on the outskirts of Combles—a little out of his reckoning. Here he halted, enfilading the trench repeatedly, until a chance shell of large dimensions hit the car, making it impossible to move forward or back. For five hours the crew of the 'tank' worked their guns while parties of German and British bombers lobbed their missiles across from opposite sides. Eventually the Germans were killed or driven off, and the crew of the 'tank' returned safely through a deadly enemy barrage.

"A second 'tank' traveled about half way up Bouleux Wood until in a position enabling it to enfilade the enemy's trenches. Then the commander discovered that the infantry were not coming up behind him, so he went back for them. Again he went forward, with the infantry following, passing over enemy trenches and continuing his journey to the outskirts of Morval. Subsequently the commander found that he was again alone. Not wishing to keep all the fruits of victory for himself, he again turned and went back to find the infantry for whom he was acting as a kind of chaperon. He made a return journey of more than 1,500 yards in their direction, and then discovered that the infantry had been held up by a group of machine guns

which had been turned on them from a trench previously reported as unoccupied. Calmly hoisting itself astride the trench, the 'tank' took a hand in the firing, knocking out one machine gun after the other until the trench was unoccupied—save by bodies.

A Desperate Encounter

"Unfortunately, the 'tank' became wedged in an unusually deep crater, and the crew could not extricate it, even though they emerged and tried to dig it out—with the enemy firing at them from another trench seventy yards away. Then the fun really started. Parties of German bombers worked around to one side of the car, while British bombers from the infantry took cover on the opposite side. The ensuing duel lasted an hour and a half. The Germans tried to drop their bombs on the roof of the 'tank' without success. A Corporal of the 'tank's' crew seized a German bomb which fell among his companions, and tried to fling it back, but it exploded, blowing him to pieces. Eventually the German bombers were driven off, and the crew returned to the British lines.

"In one group of advancing 'tanks' eight out of ten reached the point to which they were directed at the beginning of the offensive. Northwest of the Ginchy Telegraph one of this group silenced a group of six machine guns in a redoubt, concentrating its fire on one after another. All of them did useful work in clearing other machine-gun parties out of craters. The enemy had poised his guns on the far lip of the crater, and it was extremely difficult to spot them in the tumbled earth. Another 'tank' in this group captured a trench full of Germans just east of Delville Wood. The pilot saw a white flag waving violently and advancing toward him as he was about to halt his 'tank' on the trench and sweep it from both sides. Behind the white flag streamed a long procession of unarmed Germans with their hands in the air. The 'tank' accepted their surrender, and told them to pass back to the British lines. Early in the fighting a 'tank' 'steamed' into a redoubt where a strong detach-

ment of German machine gunners were holding up one part of the British advance, and calmly cruised about, firing in every direction. The enemy took cover, and, being unable to capture the entire position alone, the 'tank' finally came back.

Carrying Off Wounded

"One 'tank' cleared a trench near Delville Wood, and then started on another mission in a northeasterly direction. This accomplished, it halted in a region thickly strewn with British wounded. The crew alighted, and for three hours worked under heavy shell-fire tending the fallen men and helping carry them into shell craters. The 'tank' that silenced a battery outside Gueudecourt had first made a lonely tour through that enemy-held village, advancing from the direction of Flers. No Germans were found in the village—they must have fled to their dugouts when the monster hove in sight—so it came back again, and on the return journey found the field guns referred to. The guns were silenced, but a shell, which must have been aimed pointblank from another hidden battery, knocked the 'tank' out of action. 'When the commander was last seen,' continued my informant, 'he was standing beside the wrecked car dressing his wound, and a machine gun was playing on the group.'

"A curious experience befell the crew of a 'tank' that helped to clear the Germans out of Foureaux (High) Wood. It climbed into the enemy trenches in the wood and did terrible execution with its guns, when the occupants tried to bolt to their support trenches. After raking the ground for half an hour, the commander found that the infantry had not arrived in accordance with his plan. He and the crew got out to reconnoitre, and while in the German trench some of the enemy reappeared. The commander made them surrender at the point of the revolver, and just then the infantry arrived to take charge of the prisoners. 'It was an awkward moment,' said my informant, 'for otherwise he could not have taken them back in the car, and they might have realized that these few men were absolutely alone.' Another

'tank' engaged in the clearance of Foureaux Wood was told to silence the machine guns in a great crater on the eastern edge of the wood. When it rolled into the crater the gunners fled in terror, leaving their twenty-five guns. Foureaux Wood was quite free of the enemy in an hour from the time the 'tanks' began to work."

Another Description

Philip Gibbs, in describing the operations of the "tanks" in the Somme region, proceeds as follows:

"A 'tank' had been coming along slowly in a lumbering way, crawling over the interminable succession of shell craters, lurching over and down and into and out of old German trenches, nosing heavily into soft earth, and grunting up again, and sitting poised on broken parapets as though quite winded by this exercise, and then waddling forward in the wake of the infantry.

"Then it faced the ruins of the château, and stared at them very steadily for quite a long time, as though wondering whether it should eat them or crush them. Our men were hiding behind ridges of shell craters, keeping low from the swish of machine gun bullets, and imploring the 'tank' to 'get on with it.' Then it moved forward in a monstrous way, not swerving much to the left or right, but heaving itself on jerkily, like a dragon with indigestion, but very fierce. Fire leaped from its nostrils. The German machine guns splashed its sides with bullets, which ricocheted off. Not all those bullets kept it back. It got on top of the enemy's trench, trudged down the length of it, laying its sandbags flat and sweeping it with fire.

"The German machine guns were silent, and when our men followed the 'tank,' shouting and cheering, they found a few German gunners standing with their hands up as a sign of surrender to the monster who had come upon them.

"One of the most remarkable 'tank' adventures was in the direction of Gueudecourt, where our troops were held up yesterday in the usual way—that is to say, by the raking fire of machine guns. They made two attacks,

but could not get beyond that screen of bullets.

"Then a 'tank' strolled along, rolled over the trench, with fire flashing from its flanks, and delivered it into the hands of the infantry with nearly 400 prisoners, who waved white flags above the parapet. That was not all. The 'tank,' exhilarated by this success, went lolloping along the way in search of new adventures. It went quite alone, and only stopped for minor repairs when it was surrounded by a horde of German soldiers. These men closed upon it with great pluck, for it was firing in a most deadly way, and tried to kill it. They flung bombs at it, clambered on to its back, and tried to smash it with the butt-ends of rifles, jabbed it with bayonets, fired revolvers and rifles at

it, and made a wild pandemonium about it.

"Then our infantry arrived, attracted by the tumult of the scene, and drove the enemy back. But the 'tank' had done deadly work, and between 200 and 300 killed and wounded Germans lay about its ungainly carcass. For a little while it seemed that the 'tank' also was out of action, but after a little attention and a good deal of grinding and grunting it heaved itself up and waddled away.

"These things sound incredible. * * * They are true; and though I write them in fantastic style, because that is really the nature of the thing, it must not be forgotten that these 'tanks' are terrible engines of war, doing most grim work, and that the men inside are taking high risks with astonishing courage."

The Capture of Stanislavoff

By a Russian Correspondent

Stanislau, or Stanislavoff, in the Austrian Province of Galicia, was captured by the Russians on Aug. 11, 1916. The appended sketch of the historic episode has been translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

I HAVE just spent a week in the house of one of the Polish inhabitants of Stanislavoff, (Stanislau,) a certain Pan Michael, a worthy man and an excellent talker. His talk was interesting and valuable, not only because he had closely observed Austrian military developments, but even more because he was on the friendliest terms with many of the Austrian officers with whom Stanislavoff had been filled for months before we captured the city.

Pan Michael hates the Germans and everything German, and rejoices boisterously over the coming liberation of Poland. My knowledge of the Polish tongue completely secured his good graces. So Pan Michael told me about what had happened in Stanislavoff immediately before it fell.

Story of an Austrian Pole

"We who live here," he said, "had known for a long time that things would

go badly with Stanislavoff. The Germans were issuing their orders, the Austrians were issuing theirs. Not that the German orders were bad: quite the contrary; but the vanity of our Austrians was touched. 'We are not their lackeys,' I heard them say, 'that they should order us about at their own sweet wills!' Relations between the German and Austrian officers were very strained. During the last week, the two camps would not even go to the same cafés. But not all our officers hated the Germans as badly as that. Some admitted that but for German help there would have been nothing left of Austria long ago. 'Let us put our pride in our pockets for the present!' I heard them say. 'This is not the time to settle personal grudges. We have our country to save!'

"The bitterest feeling against the Germans was among the very youngest, the newly gazetted, or the elderly Generals. The latter were the worst of all. I know

for a certainty that, when your Russian armies took Tlumach, a number of superior German officers were sent to Stanislavoff to direct the defense. But nearly all their orders were counterordered or canceled by the Austrian General in command. The Germans began to send frequent telegrams to some of their authorities. The Austrian General did likewise, but, all the same, he was removed. He went, however, on the very eve of your arrival—too late. How could things have gone well under such conditions?

"Later on, when your armies were approaching, our officers lost their heads altogether. No one knew what to expect on the morrow. Many of the inhabitants wanted to leave, but they were not allowed. 'Be quite easy in your minds,' they were told; 'the Russians will never take Stanislavoff!' When at last they were allowed to go, it was too late." Thus spoke Pan Michael.

Austrians Were Confident

Incredible as it may seem, the Austrians were quite convinced that Stanislavoff was in no danger. The admirable condition of the town proves it. Czernowitz, Snyatin, Kolomea, Zaleschiki, and every other town we took from the retreating Austrians had suffered severely at their hands before falling into ours. But as to Stanislavoff—nothing of the kind. Before they went the Austrians tried to damage the railroad station; a few switches were pulled up, windows were broken in the waiting rooms, a wall was badly damaged by an explosion. Also a few freight sheds about the station had been blown up. But in the city itself neither fire nor explosion had done the least damage.

A captured Austrian officer, angry and embittered to such a degree that for a few minutes he forgot to whom he was speaking, told enough to give me an idea of the anarchy that reigned in Stanislavoff on the eve of its fall. On Aug. 5, early in the morning, two battalions, to one of which he belonged, came by rail from Halicz to Vladislavoff. According to their orders they were to go, immediately on their arrival, to a post in Tiezmenitsa. But at the railroad station

they were met by a staff officer, who gave them quite different directions; they were to go to Mariampol, not to Tiezmenitsa; that is, north instead of south. But as there was no official cancellation of the first order accompanying the new order, the misunderstanding had first to be cleared up. This took five days. The two battalions went into battle only on Aug. 10, when the Russians were closing in on Stanislavoff. Without doubt, this confusion in the minds of the Austrian Generals (and perhaps of their German mentors, also) made it possible for the Russians to take Stanislavoff with such unexpected speed.

After the capture of Tlumach on Aug. 8, General Letchitsky's army was sent straight to Tiezmenitsa. At dawn on Aug. 9 the same army, having been allowed no breathing space, began to cross the Vorona. It is not a wide river, nor very deep; but the crossing was greatly hindered by the enemy's wonderfully energetic resistance. Several fresh German battalions were hurried to the assistance of the worn-out Austrians. Without losing a minute, they undertook a series of desperate counterattacks.

Five of our companies had just begun to cross the river at the village of Gorodistche, over a newly built bridge, the enemy artillery doing its best to prevent their passage. But the shells flew considerably above the bridge, so that our crossing proceeded more or less unimpeded.

Meeting an Emergency

Further along the bank there was a narrow strip of meadow; still further, a thick copse. The Austrians had hurriedly dug trenches on the edge of the copse. One of our companies got safely across; then another. We began to attack the Austrians in short runs. Rifle fire had been going on for a half hour. Then suddenly the landing Russians saw thick lines of German troops emerging on their right from the copse. Our position became difficult. We could not cross the narrow bridge rapidly enough. Yet the companies who were across must be helped immediately; otherwise the Germans, by a quick flank attack, would

crumple them up and force them back into the river.

Without losing a moment, two of our companies, who were waiting on the further bank of the river, jumped into the water, and, some wading and some swimming, intercepted the German blow. A terrible bayonet fight ensued. The Germans fought desperately. The Austrians in the trenches on the edge of the copse attempted several sorties in aid of the Germans, but were driven back into the trenches by our fire. At last the Germans could stand it no longer. They began to fall back.

When they were thus thrown back from the Vorona River, the Austro-Germans retreated northwest, toward the Khriplin station. But in their retreat they clung literally to every hillock, to every group of trees, to every crease in the soil, in order to check our advance. Our regiments, sometimes by frontal attacks, sometimes by encircling movements, as persistently forced the Austro-Germans backward.

By noon we were directly in front of the Khriplin station. The Austro-Germans, drawing their troops to this centre from considerable distances, opened a furious rifle and machine-gun fire. Our advance on the east and southeast slackened. At this moment a battalion of infantry, coming south across the railroad from Tiezmenitsa to Stanislavoff, forded the river between the Russian and the enemy lines and occupied the high further bank, thence directing an attack on the enemy position south of the railroad. This successful move broke the Austro-German resistance. They began to retreat, after blowing up the station buildings, which vanished in clouds of black smoke, earth, and stones.

The taking of Khriplin station decided the fate of Stanislavoff, which was covered by our artillery fire from that point. On the same day, Aug. 9, our troops captured the village of Poberejie, south of Mariampol. This finally settled the fate of Stanislavoff, for the one re-

maining railroad from the town, that to Halicz, is less than three miles from Poberejie.

On the morning of Aug. 10 the battle blazed up again. The Austro-Germans centred their attention on the region of the Bystritsa River, which covered the railroad from Stanislavoff to Halicz. It was of paramount importance for them to hold the railroad, if only for a few hours, so that the staffs could escape from Stanislavoff.

Austrian prisoners later told us that the scene at the railway station baffled description. Fifty cars were allotted to every engine, so that the trains moved like tortoises. The least incline stopped them, or sent them sliding backward. Among them was a hospital train overloaded with wounded. In sliding downgrade, this train ran into one loaded with pontoons. Two hospital cars were smashed and their wounded killed. In other cars the wounded were thrown out of their cots. The sight was terrible.

The train carrying the Austrian staff was caught by our artillery fire. One of our shells smashed the car carrying the staff attendants to tinder, killing fourteen men. A flood in the Bystritsa from recent rains greatly helped the Austro-Germans by hindering us.

Our pontoon section, working under the enemy's concentrated fire, succeeded in bridging the Bystritsa at two points west of Khriplin later in the day; meanwhile the Austro-Germans had moved their last supports to positions immediately south of Stanislavoff. A fierce artillery battle ensued.

The decisive stroke came from the east. Six companies of one of our infantry regiments, pressing forward irresistibly, broke into the village of Miket-inze. A hand-to-hand fight began. Our men did not give the Austro-Germans time to get away. Quickly crossing the Bystritsa, they reached the outskirts of Stanislavoff from the southeast. That evening Stanislavoff was in our hands.

Typical Battle Between French and Germans on the Somme

(La Maisonnette)

[Translated from L'Illustration for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

Action of July 9-10

ESTABLISHED in reserve in the village of Flaucourt, which had been captured by comrades, and upon which without truce poured the heavy projectiles of the German artillery, the regiment awaited its turn. During the night, in order to make sure of the coming action by reducing the distance of the assault as much as possible, it had, on the right half of its front, driven the enemy from the Barleux-Biaches road, and pushed him some distance to the east, a little beyond the crest of the hill. Thus, on the long ridge running north and south which stretches from the Bazancourt Farm to Barleux, its line lay extended for about 1,500 paces. On the left side its position was slightly behind the military crest; on the right side, a little beyond it. Thus the distance of the assault increased gradually from the left to the right, and varied for the first objective from 250 to 650 paces. The extreme vigilance of the enemy had made it impossible to shorten it.

Powerful German Defenses

In the morning the regiment was stationed facing its objectives. It had to seize 97-Meter Hill, (170 feet above the level of the Somme,) whose summit, a remarkable point of outlook, giving views over Péronne and the Somme Valley, is slightly to the west of the powerful centre of resistance formed by the château of La Maisonnette, with its dependencies and village, and the orchards to the east, which form a veritable wood prolonged on the slopes descending toward the river. The position was preceded by four lines of trenches; the cellars of the houses had been turned into fortresses and gave shelter to artillery of the heaviest calibre, to the posts of

the German command and to their reserves; finally, the edges of the orchards and those of the Blaise Wood, to the north of the village, were nests for flanking parties, stuffed with machine guns. By the organizations of the Blaise Wood, La Maisonnette was linked on the north with the village of Biaches; by a strongly held trench called the "Trench of the Porpoises," placed on the counter-slope of the ravine which bounds the 97-meter plateau to the southwest, it communicated with the defenses of Barleux. The whole system, so powerful that the German officers who were captured there affirmed that they had not believed it would be possible for us to take it, was nevertheless carried very swiftly, and by a sudden attack.

In the morning, then, our infantrymen saw the day dawn over the ground of their assault. Facing them, they saw the belfry of Biaches and a factory chimney, the wooded heights of the Valley of the Somme, orchards gloomy-looking in the morning dusk, meadows with gentle slopes, scattered houses, the great trees of the park and the château of La Maisonnette, whose pink stones were struck by the rising sun. Before them spread yellowing fields of wheat and oats, and, among the corn, the Germans.

The Plan of Attack

To succeed in his manoeuvre—to turn La Maisonnette and the Blaise Wood by the south and east after having carried the first enemy lines—the commander had constituted two groups of his regiment. The northern group had as its mission to seize La Maisonnette directly, first carrying a defensive system which was deeply built, an operation demanding much order and method. It was made up wholly of European troops. The southern group had only one trench to

carry, the trench of the Porpoises, but it had a long distance to cover under fire. It was composed of Senegalese contingents, admirable in a fundamental action against a clear and simple objective.

The zone of attack had been well studied; all the observation points had been occupied and used, and, in spite of the fact that the condition of the crops made it possible to judge of the enemy's preparation only along short fractions of the front, we had recognized excellent breaks in the German nets and had cleared out, by a patrol, an unsuspected flanking post, which might have proved awkward for our advance.

Between noon and 2 o'clock, the heavy artillery and the field guns had poured in a violent and concentrated fire; finally, the 58s, uncovered at the last moment, delivered a rapid and sustained fire whose effect on the German trenches, which lacked deep shelters, must have been as demoralizing as could be desired.

An Exciting Charge

At 2 o'clock, preceded by wire-cutters and bombers, the companies of the first line started for the assault. Holding their line firmly, well apart, the men march, shouting and singing. The infantry action of modern warfare, fragmentary, rapid and violent, has begun.

On the front of one company, a few seconds before the hour, a hare started up and ran through the wheat, fleeing toward the Germans. "There is the signal!" cried a soldier, and the "Porpoises" bounded forward with fixed bayonets, in pursuit of the hare; in this way they reached the first trench.

Enemy groups, terror-stricken, are already surrendering. The wide breaches which the French artillery has opened in the barbed-wire entanglements make it possible for our first wave to carry the trench without breaking their rush; in the ravine to the west of our line of departure, the Germans establish a violent barrier fire, but this fire does not disturb our progress. Nevertheless, on the left, while our men are running toward their goal, a German group which has prob-

ably not been reached threatens to check the rapid advance by a flanking fire.

Lieutenant Laurent recognizes the danger; he takes a half company and runs toward this kernel of resistance, whose defenders are immediately bayoneted or made prisoners. Unfortunately, Lieutenant Laurent himself was killed in the course of the action; an eloquent mention in the Order of the Day will commemorate his courage.

Leaving a certain number of trench-cleaners behind it, the first wave, intact, pushes on to the second line, seizes it, and makes numerous prisoners there also. Meanwhile, the flank guard detachment has cleared the Triangular Wood (south-west of Biaches) of German patrols, and has got as far as the Biaches graveyard, from which it has driven a small enemy post.

The serious difficulties of the northern group only begin after gaining the second line, whose garrison, less shattered than the preceding, keeps up a violent fire; to the left, the machine guns of the Maisonnette orchard show themselves; to the right, other machine guns take us in the rear.

But the advance is not broken; at most, it is a little slackened on the two wings. In the centre, Lieutenant Carlotti is killed instantly as he is shouting, "Forward! Long live France!" turning toward his men, and he lies on the ground, his arms stretched out toward the enemy. His whole company, with the company officers leading, rushes forward against La Maisonnette, which it penetrates from the south. The neighboring elements, their difficulties lessened by this forward movement, reach the orchard; the machine gun section which was there is overcome by the bayonet.

Death of a Brave Captain

At the same moment the southern end of the third trench to the west of the position falls into our hands, and Captain Quod, the company commander, dies rejoiced by this picture of victory. He had gone ahead of his men, his whistle between his teeth; he had armed himself with a big German sword, found close to the parallel. "With this sword," he had told his men, "we shall take their

trench!" As soon as he was hit, he understood that he must die. He then had himself set with his back against a telegraph post, facing the foe, and continued to encourage his soldiers. He shouted: "Fire! Fire! Look at them, the cowards, they are fleeing in every direction!" Then Captain Quod ended his command and his life, as the French penetrated the village.

All feel their victory; the enthusiasm is admirable. Corporal Millas shows unequaled daring; he tells his comrades, "You shall see how prisoners are taken," and, slinging his rifle, he pulls out a pistol and goes off alone through a field of oats in which some of the enemy are hiding terror-stricken, and three times, by the mere threat of his little pistol, he brings back a prisoner.

Patrols began to search the village. At the moment when a cellar is about to be bombed a German Major comes out headlong, escorted by 6 officers and 150 men. All hold up their hands. The Major advances toward the Sergeant, who is leading the group of grenadiers; he pulls out his pocketbook and offers it to him, thinking to arouse pity in his conquerors. But, in words without sweetness, the Sergeant refuses. Then the German has brought from the cellar cases of wine, of champagne, cigars, biscuits. Prodigally he wishes to distribute everything, his broad face all smiles, and his tranquillity returns when he sees that his presents are accepted. This limpness of the enemy strikes and encourages the French. Some of the prisoners repeat: "End war. Always boom! boom! not caput!" and they are delighted. Some of them rush to our men and wish to shake hands with them. One even shouts, "Bravo, Frenchmen." His comrades approve. The Porpoises answered these flatteries with "Paws down!"

Taken by Surprise

The surprise is such among the enemy that when the French are entering La Maisonnette there are still, on the other side of the Somme, in the nearby supply station, trains made up ready to start. Seven engines pull out, immediately followed by our fire, and an immense quan-

tity of war material remains on the platforms, where our artillery destroys it.

In short, at 3:15 we are in possession of the village and the château; we hold the eastern edge of the orchard, the southeastern horn of the Blaise Wood, and the Biaches road toward the north-west entrance of La Maisonnette.

At 4 o'clock, at the moment when we are beginning to organize the edge of the orchard, a violent counterattack comes out of the Blaise Wood. Once more the Germans make use of the dishonorable method that is customary with them, and which they were to employ several times more in the course of the fighting at La Maisonnette. A company comes through the wheat field in the direction of the orchard. The under officer in command of them shouts, "We are coming to surrender." Several times he is ordered to lay down his arms, but he makes believe not to understand, and the troop continues to advance, holding up its guns, and as the French are about to advance with the bayonet, these soldier felons uncover machine guns and open point-blank fire. Thus were killed two French officers and fifty men. This act of treachery, combined with an outflanking movement, obliges our line to bend back for a short time to the edge of the Blaise Wood. But the enemy is soon driven out and punished. By evening the northern group has taken and held everything that it was to take.

Charge of the Senegalese

Like those of the northern group, the waves of the southern group begin the assault at 2 o'clock, preceded by their patrols. The first wave arrives without loss at the bottom of the valley; but, beginning from this moment, it is caught by the enfilading fire of machine guns hidden at the bottom of the ravine, and suffers heavy losses while crossing the glacis leading to the trench of the Porpoises. Reduced to some forty men, it takes shelter behind a steep slope about sixty paces from the German position, and even while trying to dig out shelters this handful of heroes installs itself in such a way as to keep under its fire the defenders of the trench of the Porpoises. The second wave comes for-

ward to reinforce the first, and its losses are equally cruel; it has watched its comrades falling in front of it, but nothing could turn it aside from its course. When a man falls, automatically the ranks are closed up and the survivors continue to advance.

While this weak line is fastening itself upon the Germans, an intense artillery preparation is resumed, and a platoon proceeds to the north of the trench of the Porpoises, where a kernel of resistance still exists. A bombing contest begins between 6 and 7 in the evening, and is closed by the capture of two machine guns and some thirty men.

It is now 8 o'clock; the bomb contest seems to be drawing near the trench of the Porpoises; the enemy seems to be growing weaker. The moment has come to avenge their comrades, for the heroes who, for hours under an infernal bombardment and under a crossfire of flanking machine guns, remained fixed and bent upon their goal. At the signal of their leaders, Lieutenant Meyer and Sergeant Mamadou-Diarra, they spring up and leap into the trench. The Germans surrender; a single group, urged on by an officer, defends itself to the last; it is exterminated.

Watching the Prisoners

The night has come; the prisoners continue to arrive, frightened, and file toward the rear. Sentinels are placed in advance of the position so valiantly won; the sharpshooter Moussa Tissako has been picked out by the confidence of his Sergeant to watch the movements of the enemy. He has been at his post for some time when the Sergeant calls in a low voice: "Moussa! Moussa!" "Here I am!" And in fact there Moussa is. He is holding two Germans, half upset on the slope; his big, knotty hands grasp their necks and their heads are bent down to-

ward the ground. Moussa loosens his hold; the Germans tumble over, and he explains: "They come. They talk. Then I said, 'Makou,' (silence.) They not know, then I choke a little, a little. Perhaps they gone dead." Sergeant Mamadou approves: "Very good," and goes on his rounds. He can safely leave Moussa to watch over the trench.

At the same time that the survivors of the two waves of the Senegalese assaulting party leaped into the enemy position, European elements had been moved forward to support them. It has been enough for their leader to ask: "Are you ready?" All had understood their duty, and all had started. Without heeding the hollows dug on all sides of them, they had entered the German trenches. They had thus contributed to the success; they were to have their share in the defense.

The night passed in a relative calm; at dawn the Germans make a new effort to deprive us of our conquest. At 6 in the morning, on July 10, a half section established before La Maisonnette falls victim to the enemy, who have repeated the sinister comedy of "kamerade."

At the same time a violent counter-attack is launched against the trench of the Porpoises, and is renewed during three hours. Ceaselessly the Germans spring up in the wheat forty paces before our men. But the Porpoises are electrified by their victory. Men stand up on the parapet and shout: "We'll get them!" Others sing while they are exterminating the enemy with rifle and bomb. The machine guns work wonders; sharpshooters who have fired their last cartridges fight with German weapons and munitions. In vain the enemy fights with desperation. He is compelled to give up the struggle. On the 9th the regiment has taken all that it was told to take; on the evening of the 10th it had maintained its conquests intact.



The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. See Map on Page 221]

FOR several days, beginning with Aug. 10, bad weather, which brought heavy fogs to the valley of the Somme and its plateaus, was a hindrance to operations. Nevertheless the French made interesting progress to the north of the Somme.

During the afternoon of Friday, Aug. 11, after two days devoted to destructive firing, we directed an attack to the south of Maurepas, between the valley traversed by the Comles narrow-gauge railroad and the road from Maurepas to Cléry. Almost the whole of this ground was carried, as well as a strongly fortified quarry, and two small woods to the north of Hem. The Germans, having attempted to retake the quarry, were repulsed. The positions thus won, and organized immediately, enabled us to undertake on the following day (Saturday, Aug. 12) the attack of the German third line. It was a widespread movement, on six and a half kilometers, (four miles,) from the slopes of Hardecourt as far as the Somme. The assault carried us forward to a depth of from 600 to 1,000 yards, and at one point even to a depth of 1,500 yards. Maurepas was reached; the most important part of it, with the church and cemetery, fell into our hands.

On Wednesday, Aug. 16, new gains, even more important, were made after lively fights.

To the south of the Somme, a German reconnoissance, coming forward under the protection of flaming liquids, was dispersed to the west of Vermandovillers. Two days later, on Aug. 12, the Germans, who had bombarded La Maisonnette, sketched an assault which the fire of our guns and machine guns immediately broke. To the south of the road from Péronne, between Estrées and Soyécourt,

we carried several elements of trenches on Aug. 13. On Aug. 16 we won 1,300 yards of trenches to the south of Belloy-en-Santerre.

On the English front our allies had to meet frequent attacks. They, on their part, progressed between Pozières and Thiepval, and to the north of Bazentin-the-Less.

During the period beginning Aug. 17 the struggle was concentrated between Maurepas and Guillemont, where our troops were operating in conjunction with the English. The village of Maurepas, in large part occupied by us the week before, had been the object of vigorous efforts on the part of the Germans. On Friday, Aug. 18, we resumed the offensive and carried the northern part of the village by an assault which gave us 200 prisoners. On the following night the enemy launched several successive counterattacks from Maurepas to the Somme, near Cléry. Our machine guns and the skill of our grenadiers broke all these efforts; the enemy was able to occupy only one trench element, which was taken from him again on Saturday morning, Aug. 19. This success was followed up on Sunday, Aug. 20, by the capture of a little wood between Maurepas and Guillemont, which gave us eight 77-millimeter guns; this operation was followed by an artillery duel.

A further cannonade, begun on Tuesday, Aug. 22, to the south of the loop of the Somme, toward Belloy-en-Santerre and Estrées, preceded an attack which permitted the Germans to gain a footing in one part of the trench elements which we had won the day before.

During these days the English seem to have been more active than ourselves. Each day saw the Germans undertake

ardent counterattacks in an effort to retake the important positions of the Four-eaux Wood, (High Wood,) Pozières, and the Mouquet Farm. All failed, in spite of the enemy's immense efforts. The fighting was particularly lively on the night of Aug. 16-17, and at dawn. The Germans, approaching the English positions to the northwest of Pozières, that is, between the Bapaume road and Thiepval, launched six successive waves of assault; all broke under the British fire.

On the following night the attack was renewed; the Germans, coming out from Martinpuich, threw themselves furiously against the trenches; the movement was prolonged as far as the point of contact with the French lines toward Guillemont. Everywhere the assailants were thrown back, leaving many dead on the ground. Our British allies, taking advantage of this success, occupied a part of the German trenches, several of which were filled with corpses. The English got as far as the outskirts of Guillemont and Ginchy. A thousand prisoners were taken during these three days.

The struggle little by little broadened out on an extended front, becoming general on the front of eleven miles separating Thiepval from Guillemont. So sharp had been the repulse that the Germans were thrown back all along the line, yielding 300 yards beyond the Pozières windmill, as far as the Somme and the Pas-de-Calais. From this point the British troops command immense horizons toward Bapaume.

The English have kept up their raids, each time taking elements of trenches and machine guns or prisoners. The enemy in vain tried to react; on Sunday, Aug. 20, he succeeded for a brief period in forcing the British lines near the Wood of Foureaux, from which he was almost immediately driven out. On the following day, Aug. 21, he failed near the Mouquet Farm; that is, before Thiepval. The British troops were then 1,000 yards from this village, to which they approached even closer on Tuesday, Aug. 22.

The Maurepas position, which our troops already held in great part, was completely won on Thursday, Aug. 24,

by an assault so well carried out that in a single rush we were carried more than 200 yards beyond the enemy's front line, on a breadth of 2,000 yards, from the Combles Valley-half way to Le Forest village, where a hill 12-meters (397 feet) high rises 70 meters (230 feet) above the level of the Somme. On the following night the enemy tried to retake this height; in spite of the ardor of the assailants, they were mown down before they reached our trenches; a new attempt, on the evening of Aug. 25, failed equally. The Germans suffered heavy losses; they left in our hands 600 prisoners and a score of machine guns.

To the south of the Somme nothing took place except a fruitless German attack, on the evening of Aug. 23, against the Soyécourt Wood. In all this zone, and thence as far as Roye, Lassigny, and the peninsula formed by the meeting of the Oise and the Aisne, the artillery fire was almost ceaseless, sometimes reaching an extreme intensity.

On the British front, in spite of repeated counterattacks on the part of the Germans, the troops of our allies continued to make progress along their whole front, from Guillemont to Thiepval. This last village was little by little approached by the capture of trenches to the south, the east, and the northeast, at the same time that the English right wing succeeded in coming into touch with the French left wing on the Maurepas line. In vain the enemy replied by a terrible artillery fire; our allies, who have become masters of grenade attacks, marked each day by the occupation of a few hundred yards of trenches. Besides creeping forward toward Thiepval, there have been remarkable gains along the road from Longueval to Flers, which skirts the Delville Wood. Each of these encounters cost the enemy dear; he left several hundred prisoners in the hands of the English.

The Germans reacted violently on the night of Aug. 25-26 toward Guillemont, and to the east of Thiepval, between this village and the Mouquet Farm, then to the south, toward the Leipsic redoubt. The fighting was furious at this last point, where the Prussian Guard

delivered the assault, after prolonged artillery preparation. These chosen troops, in spite of their efforts, were repulsed; at no point were they able to force the British line. Thereafter the attempts were less far-reaching, but the bombardment was continuous.

About the beginning of September it was known that an intense artillery preparation was going on. But rain and storms had made it impossible to attack the German lines.

During the night of Saturday-Sunday, Sept. 2-3, our fire and that of the English reached an extraordinary intensity. On Sept. 3 at noon the signal was given for a general attack. The British troops launched their attack upon Guillemont, which was brilliantly carried; they occupied Ginchy in part, on the elevated plateau which during the Revolution was chosen for one of the Chappe system of semaphore signals. The French troops were attacking on a wider front, nearly four miles, from the north of Maurepas as far as Cléry-on-the-Somme. Their dash was wonderful; in a very short time all the objectives appointed for our regiments were carried. The village of Le Forest, hidden at the bottom of a narrow basin, was taken; our soldiers pushed past it and got a footing on the eastern slope. At the same time other troops, starting from Maurepas, reached the approaches of the strongly fortified Combles and seized the road which connects it with Le Forest.

From Le Forest to Cléry-on-the-Somme the enemy works were rapidly invaded. Cléry, an important centre lying along a loop of the Somme, was carried. Yet it was a strong position, because of the extent of the town, whose homes were so many points of defense. But all yielded before the ardor of our troops. Almost the whole of Cléry was soon occupied—a precious success, for this is one of the few Somme crossings, its road and bridges having always had a high importance, the Créqui, who were the lords of Cléry, having defended it by a castle in the middle of the Somme marsh, which they named with the motto of their illustrious family; "Nul s'y frotte." But that day we were not able to reach the road.

The Germans immediately called on their reserves. Launched in compact masses between Le Forest and Cléry, near 109-Meter Hill, the highest point of this zone, they were not able to reach our *linés*. Our adversaries left in our hands 2,500 prisoners, 14 cannon, 60 machine guns, in Le Forest zone alone. On their side, the English had captured several hundred Germans, whether toward Guillemont, or in a fight near the Mouquet Farm, in the direction of Thiepval.

On Monday, Sept. 4, the battle was resumed, this time on both sides of the Somme. To the north of the river, our troops reached the verge of a deep ravine filled by the Marrière Wood. At the same time we had to meet a counterattack directed by the enemy from Combles, and then from the Anderlu Wood, against Le Forest. Our cannon and machine guns dispersed the assailants.

To the south of the Somme, the battle covered a much wider front. The attack developed on a front of twenty kilometers, (twelve and a half miles,) beginning at Barleux. This village is in the loop of the Somme, between Belloy and Péronne; the twelve-mile front reached to the immediate approaches of Roye.

We were in possession of Belloy-en-Santerre on the north of the Roman Road, which has become the road from Amiens to Vermond, and, on the road, we also held Estrées. The enemy was at Barleux, Berny, and Deniécourt, a hamlet of the commune of Estrées, then, further back, at Soyécourt. From Barleux our troops carried the whole first line of trenches, and the entire village of Soyécourt, which had been so fought over. The assault, brilliantly carried out, brought us to the approaches of Deniécourt.

To the south of Soyécourt, less than a kilometer away, the village of Vermandovillers covers an extensive space transformed by the German pioneers into a fortress difficult to approach. However, we reached it and occupied part of it; to the north and south French elements got beyond it, prepared to carry this strong position completely. In the direction of the Amiens railroad we occupied Lihons-en-Santerre; from this point our troops advanced in the direction of Chaunes,

and reached the long strips of wood which surround this town, a thousand yards from it; they are what remain of the old park of the Dukes of Chaulnes, laid out in the reign of Louis XIV. in the style of Versailles.

In the direction of Roye, beyond the railroad junction, the village of Chilly was taken. The enemy had fortified it by flanking it with a work established on 86-Metèr Ridge, dominating the Roye railroad at the village of Hallu. All of this was captured.

In order to stop our progress, the German command asked for reinforcements from Roye; they hastened up by the road from Paris to Lille; but, our observation service having signaled them at the moment when, reaching the region between Liancourt and Fouches, they were about to traverse the valley of the Ingon, they were caught under the fire of our heavy batteries and dispersed.

In spite of the bad weather fighting was resumed on Tuesday, Sept. 5, with success for the English and for us. Our allies, master of Guillemont, extended their progress around this village, got a footing on the little plateau of the semaphore to the east of Ginchy, and pushed the Germans back on the Combles Road for 1,500 yards, as far as a long strip of woods called the Leuze Wood on the right of the road, and the Bouleaux Wood on the left, which they captured on Sept. 6. To the south they carried a ridge fiercely defended, thanks to extensive works based on the Salsemont Farm.

During this time the French troops were advancing from the approaches of Combles to the Somme. The Anderlu Wood, to the north, from which the enemy had directed his last and very violent counterattack, was outflanked from the west; between Le Forest and Bouchavesnes, the farm of L'Hôpital was taken by assault, as was also a thicket called the Reinette Wood; our impetus carried us to the edge of the Marrière Wood, which is long and narrow, and only a kilometer (1,093 yards) from the national road which connects Péronne with Bapaume. These attacks, carried out with irresistible force, brought us at the same time to the road from Bou-

chavesnes to Cléry, where we got a foothold on a ridge crossed by the high road.

Finally, we completed the capture of Cléry by capturing, on the other bank of the Somme, the loop of *Nul s'y frotte*, and the hamlet of Omiécourt. We had already established ourselves on this winding of the river, for we held the Somme canal, which passes through a deep cut between Buscourt and the Sormont farm. This was the last Somme crossing which the Germans held downstream from Péronne.

In the region of Chaulnes, our soldiers drove the enemy from several salients which he still occupied, from Vermandovillers to Chilly. On Wednesday, Sept. 6, we carried the village of Berny, and further south we pushed our line forward to the outskirts of Chaulnes.

We had already taken a considerable number of prisoners in the fighting of Sept. 6, in this sector 4,047, of whom 55 were officers. The number of cannon captured was 36; 28 are heavy guns, which shows how rapidly the enemy's lines were crossed. More than 100 machine guns were taken.

Besides the fighting at Guillemont in connection with our attack against Le Forest, the British troops were engaged almost every day at different points of the front as far as the Ancre. On the evening of Thursday, Aug. 31, the Germans had tried to reach the Foureaux Wood; repulsed, they turned their efforts to the east, as far as Ginchy; five times they attempted an assault on this line of about two miles; their final effort gave them a footing in certain trench elements. This affair cost them dear in killed and wounded, but it was of no use to them, as during the night the British retook the greater part of the ground they had lost.

On Sunday, Sept. 3, our allies repulsed a counterattack from the direction of Thiepval, to the northwest of the Mouquet Farm. On Sept. 6 they seized the whole of the Leuze Wood, which extends as far as Combles.

[Since Sept. 6 the Allies have made important gains, notably in the capture of Combles and Thiepval. The smaller villages taken include Deniécourt, Rancourt, Vermandovillers, Morval, Les Boeufs, and Eaucourt l'Abbaye.]

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

How I Escaped From German Captivity

By Joseph W. Yoselevitch

A Soldier in the Russian Army

The author of this article, which originally appeared in the *Evreyskaya Nedielya* of Moscow, is an electro-technical engineer, a Jew born in Samarkand, Turkestan. In spite of his profession, he was sent to the trenches as an ordinary soldier.

I SERVED in the Turkestan Rifle Regiment of Samarkand. In the first months of the war our regiment guarded the railroad lines, but in October we were dispatched to the front. I participated in a series of battles together with my company. At the end of the month the Commander ordered me to take over some telephone apparatus from an officer who arrived from Moscow, to become acquainted with its use, and to instruct several soldiers in it. * * * Later I was appointed the telephone operator of the company. I had three assistants, and was placed in the same trench with the commander.

I was taken prisoner on Nov. 12, 1914, about noon. There were few on our side, only about one company, and of the Germans there were rows after rows. About 400 feet in front of us the Germans stopped and opened such a fire that we were unable to aim with our rifles, and we shot without even raising our heads from the trenches. Thus we held on from morning till noon. But it soon became impossible to hold out any longer. The Germans were getting in back of us. Then some voice shouted: "From left to right, run back one by one!" The enemy, seeing our retreat, opened even a more terrific fire from machine guns and cannon. My turn came to run. I mentally said farewell to my mother and started out. I had scarcely made 200 steps when I heard some one calling me by name. Making a few more steps, I fell into a shell crater. As I was just about to raise my head, a screeching shell flew past me so closely that I felt its heat. It exploded near me, deafening me for the moment and covering me with earth. I lost consciousness. When I

came to myself I heard a loud cry, but could not understand it. I began to rise, but was so weak that I fell again. Then I exerted myself again, and succeeded in standing up. What I saw before me congealed the blood in my veins.

Captured by the Enemy

A German, with his rifle trained, was directly in front of me, shouting something which I did not understand. From this position some approaching German cavalry saved me. One of the Uhlans struck me with his sabre and seized me by my collar, dragging me after him. I was dragged for some distance, till we reached a group of Germans. There I saw my comrades who ran out of the trench before me. I broke out in tears, caused by the nervous strain, but soon controlled myself and began to bandage the arm of a wounded comrade, Voliakoff.

But my work was interrupted by the Germans. They fell upon us as a herd of hungry jackals, taking our boots, hats, tobacco, sugar, biscuit, and money. When they were through looting they gave to some of us rags, to others—nothing. They even stripped some of us of our coats, though it was cold at the time. Later, when we passed the battery, the artillerists fell upon us, but except a rope they could find nothing on us.

After a couple of miles of marching the Germans stopped us and asked if we wanted to eat. When they heard our "Yes," one of them said, "You will eat when you get to Germany." Upon this our conversation ended. It was growing dark when we entered the town of Strikow. In the morning it had been in our hands, now it was German. We were led to a place where a gray General met

us. After learning the report of our convoy, he drew his sabre and swung it over our heads. But this pleasure soon tired him and he left us in peace, cursing. Then we were led to an open space near the church, of which only a heap of stone and burned wood remained. The passing Germans searched us, but could find nothing. Thus we spent several hours.

Another party of prisoners joined us here, and we learned from them that they had been captured three days ago, but the Germans would give them no food all the time. For seven days the Germans drove us day and night, stopping only for short intervals to rest near villages or towns. No food at all was given us. When marching through some town the Jewish women would stealthily throw us bread. But the guards kept a sharp eye on them, and often used the butt ends of their rifles upon the women. In these seven days we went through some real horrors. In addition to our receiving no food, we were forced to make thirty-mile marches daily. Our feet were all blisters. When we would by chance stop in a field where potatoes once grew, we would dig with our bare fingers into the frozen ground, and if we found frozen potatoes we ate them raw, so terrible was our hunger.

Woe befell the one whose strength gave out. He would be lifted on bayonets and gunstocks. What became of those who could not rise, I know not, as we were driven forward. Finally, toward the evening of the seventh day we reached a railroad station and were put aboard a cattle train, seventy men in each car. There were no bunks of any kind in them. The doors and windows were sealed and no pleas of ours would make the Germans open them. It was terribly hot in the car. The air was polluted. * * * When on the night of the second day we were brought to Camp Hameln, and the doors of the cars were opened, we could not look at light. Those two days in which we were hermetically sealed in the cars worked some terrible harm to us. I myself saw several corpses in our car. Thus our journey ended, and we found ourselves in Germany.

The first thing we saw upon leaving

our train was wooden barracks, surrounded by barbed wire. All around were little bridges on which sentries with machine guns and rifles stood guard. On one side was a battery of four guns, trained at the camp. We were not led to the barracks, where there were Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Russians, but to mud huts near by, separated by barbed wire from the barracks. Each of us received a number which he had to wear on his neck, a tin spoon and two bowls, one for food and the other for washing.

The huts were about one yard deep and covered with turf. Over the top and the entrance a tarpaulin was drawn, so that the front side was about four feet high. The back of the huts simply adjoined the ground, so that in order to enter them we had to crawl on all fours. It was even impossible to sit up in them, and we had to lie on the ground strewn with wood shavings. It was raining and snowing. The wind would often tear the tarpaulin away and the huts would be filled with water, as they were dug in the slope of a hill. Although each of us received later two blankets, those were useless, as we were always lying in water.

The food we got was poor. Often we would even receive no bread. We suffered terribly from hunger. It is dreadful even now to recall all that. If one fell sick he would be taken to a separate hut, where he lay without any medical attention till he recovered or died. The mortality among us was terrific. We repeatedly begged through the interpreter to be transferred to the barracks, but the commandant refused. We suffered from cold, hunger, and parasites. The latter simply ate us to death. There were cases of men actually dying because of them. And in addition we suffered from the Germans' beatings.

Prisoners Put to Work

Finally, before Christmas, we were ordered into the barracks. There was no end to our joy. Here it was clean, one could walk upright, there were mattresses, pillows, and boxes to sleep on. There was a stove. It was light and dry. Two hours a day we were allowed to smoke.

In February it was announced that we would be sent for "free" labor. On the ninth of the month we were dispatched. Five hundred of us were selected, and I was one of these. We were put on a train and rode for about twelve hours till we came to the station Kuakinbruck. From this station we walked about ten versts. Then we came to a camp of two barracks. The commanding officer divided us in two parties to be located in each of these barracks. We were led to work in groups of fifty. We drained swamps, cut forests, dug canals, leveled fields and did various other jobs. We received no pay in the first three months, then we got thirty pfennigs a day. While at work the guards would often use their bayonets and gun stocks to drive us on. Our food was meagre.

In this camp—Gerberzuschlag was its name—we began writing letters home. We were allowed to write six postal cards a week. Soon we began receiving parcels and mail from home. If they were lost on the way we were not allowed to complain about it. The money sent to us by our relatives was paid out to us in special tickets issued for war prisoners and accepted in the camp store. We could buy tobacco, sugar, cigarettes, cards, salt, and, later, black beer. Here we also had a bathhouse and a "hospital" where our own sanitary officer and a German medical assistant rendered aid. The latter recognized no sickness of any kind, this resulting in the frequent arrests of our poor sanitary officer when he dared contradict the doctor. There were cases of atrocious treatment in this camp. Once an order was posted declaring that Lieutenant officers who did not wish to work could not be compelled to do so; but when our officers tried to take advantage of this the Germans resorted to the use of arms. Lieutenant Proskurin, for instance, was such a victim. Because of his refusal to work he was badly beaten and stabbed. He received eight wounds in the back and his skull was broken. After this torture he was dragged in an unconscious state to work. The chief participants in this ordeal were Medical Assistant Kuhlman and Lieutenant Bock.

Plans for Escape

The idea of escape was always present in me, but I was not fortunate enough to be assigned to agricultural work. Finally, in February, 1916, I was sent to Kluze in Westphalia. There were fifteen of us in the party and we found thirty-eight others at the station. We were all kept in the building of a former butter plant. The windows were grated with iron. The filth was indescribable. Every morning at 6 the guards would take us to the peasants and distribute us among them for the day. With them we worked till 7 in the evening. Then we would be led back to our quarters. There was a fence of barbed wire around the building.

We began to prepare seriously for an escape. Five of us decided to run, and made one unsuccessful attempt. Then, through a comrade working in a nearby estate, we found out that there was a boat near the river. But it was hard to get hold of it. The boat was lying between two barns and the house. Two gates would have to be passed, also guards and dogs. However, we decided to try, and on April 11, taking leave of our comrades, we started out on our adventure.

By digging under the wall of the building we managed to get out into the open. Not far from the estate we left our bags and went toward the gates. We passed the first successfully, but the second creaked and immediately a light appeared in the window. We were blocked for the moment, but were evidently unnoticed, as the light was soon put out. Four of us took the boat, the fifth carried the oars, and we began to move toward the river. We did not know the road, and the boat was heavy. We finally reached the water, but we discovered here a patrol on guard. As the patrol turned in the opposite direction, we quietly lowered the boat and crossed the river. On the other side we dragged the boat out of water and hid it in the bushes.

Crossing the Boundary

Now, before we reached the Holland boundary, there were two lines of guards to be eluded. With the dawn of the new

day we found a place in the forest and hid there for the day, lying in the moss. When night came we started out again. That night we safely passed the first line of guards. The sentry was slumbering on his post, and we slipped through under his nose. We walked through swamps. Our legs would sometimes get stuck. When morning came we hid for the day again, but this time we had to lie in water.

The third night finally arrived, and we moved forward again. Toward morning we noticed some ramparts, and I decided that this was the boundary, but my comrades were of a different opinion. We crawled over these ramparts and came out in front of a wide canal. We started at first to wade through it, but found it too deep, so we had to walk along it. We subsequently came to a bridge, but here a sentry was stationed. He was in his box. I was the last of the five to pass by him, and, unfortunately, the comrade in front of me struck a board. The sentry emerged from his box. As it was very dark, I succeeded in hiding quietly. He stood for some time listening. Finally he re-entered his hut. I

safely crossed to the other side. Here we had to pass over two smaller ramparts and a narrower canal.

With my conclusion that we had passed the boundary safely my comrades would not agree. And so with the breaking of the third day we hid again. When the fourth night came we kept moving forward. This time I succeeded in converting my comrades, and we went out in the open. But still we would hide when seeing people coming in our direction on the highway. At the end we came to a city. It proved to be in Holland.

The police, whose attention we had attracted, stopped us, and upon learning that we were Russians who had escaped from Germany congratulated us, warmly pressed our hands and immediately sent us to the police station, where we were well received and fed. The following day we were directed to our Consul. On our way the people and the authorities showed much hospitality toward us. Everybody shook our hands and gave us something. I will always remember with much gratitude the warm reception given to us in Holland.

Tommy Atkins's Vocabulary

By Maurice Dekobra

The Correspondent of the Paris Journal at the British Front

[Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IF the poilus of France have a vocabulary fit to freeze the blood of members of the Academy, what will the philosophers of the future think when they study the language of Tommy Atkins! One day in camp I heard two Tommies conversing with animation. Here is a literal report of the sentences they exchanged, pipe in mouth, hands thrust into the pockets of their khaki coats:

"I say, Bill, your Captain is a bally monkey."

"Why, Jock?"

"Because he had me excused from the ball by the castor oil artist. * * * Last evening a Jack Johnson burst in

front of me. Naturally I ducked my nut, but I was shaken up in A1 style, and my neighbor was lixiviated. The sky pilot came to the rescue and made me get off the line while the fat Lizzies were dropping. Says I: 'I'll stop one of them yet.' Says he: 'My boy, smoke a coffin nail; that'll put some vinegar into your joints.' Well, I lit one, and—damnation!—a tar box came tumbling down, and then a lot of bears' cubs besides."

"Hell, what were you waiting for, Jock?"

"For the litter carrier, who was doing the crab act. He says to me, 'Stick out your peg. * * * You've got a bally wound—you're good for the No. 9 pill.'"

"He needed to have his jug closed with a direct on the piano."

"One minute! Along comes a bag of rations, and I says: 'Paddy, what would you think of a humid?' 'All right; suits me,' says he. So there I had it on my hands. We stowed our kneecaps in a smoking room with Mick, Nobby, the fellow with the hootchy-cootchy, and Ginger—you know, the tall chap who wanted to flirt with the little skirt who serves the tea. * * *"

Naturally it is difficult to reproduce in French word for word all the picturesque of a dialect unknown to Swinburne or Shelley. But the good poilus who invented the "totos," the "pinard," and the "crapouillots" will gather the drift of the two Tommies' conversation. The "castor oil artist," or "pill No. 9," is the army doctor, the "toubib" dear to our colonials. The "sky pilot" is the chaplain, and the "coffin nails" are the Virginia cigarettes which the British Quartermasters' Department distributes to its soldiers. The "tar boxes" are the big German shells, [the French term is saucepans,] the "Jack Johnsons" are the 380s, and the "bag of rations" is the pot-bellied subaltern who terrorizes the young British recruits on the drill ground.

"A humid" is a glass of beer, and when one "has it on one's hands" it means that one is ready to treat the crowd. Finally, the "hootchy-cootchy," an American dance in the days before the war, has become a synonym with the Tommies for having the itch.

In the dialect of the Tommies a Scotsman is always Mac or Jock, an Irishman Mick or Paddy, and Ginger is a soldier with red hair. In like manner they designate as "bally" everything that is disagreeable; for example, an officer who treats them well, a light wound that will give them a good term of convalescence, &c.

Sometimes Tommy learns to his cost that it is dangerous to talk slang. One night in October, 1914, I was passing with General X. along the B. Canal, when a sentinel, invisible in the obscurity, cried "Halt!" The General did not stop. Tommy immediately lowered his bayonet and cried more loudly: "Halt!

Who goes there?" Then, suspicious, he approached, raised a lantern to the nose of the General, and growled these words: "Wait a little till I cast an eye on your bloody block."

It is needless to add that Tommy's own "block" paled frightfully when he discovered the rank of his victim.

This slang of the British soldiers was known before the war, but the campaign in France has added new and extraordinary words to it, words and phrases in which English and French are married at will, offering the most astonishing linguistic salad that ever haunted the nightmares of an etymologist.

By reason of hearing the villagers answering, like a little ducky, "N'a plus," (there is no more,) to their demands for beer, eggs, or milk, the Tommies have made a word of it, pronouncing it "napou," and it serves to designate the most unexpected things. "Napou" may be an abandoned trench, a letter that brings bad news, a punishment, a missed breakfast, &c. There are clever peasant women who are not astonished to hear a Highlander tap at their window and demand: "Madame, two napous s'iou plait." They understand immediately that Tommy wants two eggs; in like manner, if he had asked for a glass of "napou" they would have brought him a mug of beer on the spot.

Tommy is really an unconscious humorist, mingling the puerility of a child with the tranquil irony of an old man. He proves it even in front of the Boches.

One morning Mac wakes up in the first-line trench, stiff with cold, and with his left cheek frightfully swollen. He regards himself aghast in a bit of broken mirror and says to his comrade, Bert:

"What do I look like with a jaw like that?"

And Bert, calmly chewing his bread and marmalade, replies with a serious air:

"Wait till the other cheek is the same size, Mac; then have yourself photographed, and send your phiz to the newspapers, to let them see how well fed we are in the army."

Silhouettes From the French Front

By Baroness Marika Stiernstedt

Swedish Author

A SWEDISH officer once said to me: "Evidently, it is the artistic and poetic sides of war that render it tolerable and even sometimes make you love it!" And here in France the artistic sense is largely gratified.

The classic red trousers of the French soldier have been changed to blue. The troop advances with rhythmic step, in fine order, but without swagger. The sum of all this blue, the blue from the uniforms and helmets, forms, during the march, a moving line, a wave which marks a delicate profile against the equally blue sky, whose effect it repeats and underlines. The men's faces are sun-burned and firm from the open air, their brown eyes look forward with conscious valor. I admire this troop, although their uniforms are often faded, their faces ill-shaven or unshaven, often with long black mustaches, little cared for. An air of vigor characterizes them, and gives their presence in this landscape its deep reason and its beauty.

Watching them march, calm and firm, with an expression of decision ennobling their rustic faces, under helmets brought back from the Middle Ages, I find myself dreaming of the predecessors of these warriors, I go back from generation to generation to their ancestors, Frenchmen of this same France, who set forth of yore to the Crusades, to deliver the Holy Land.

The men I see today have also a holy land to liberate, the sacred soil of their fatherland; and, had I been one of the gentlemen of our little caravan, I should have respectfully taken off my hat to them. But I must fain be content with a sign of the hand, to which they respond with friendly smiles. * * *

In the middle of the road we come upon a rude cart, dragged by several horses; it carries an ironclad German turret, won by the French in an enemy position. The turret is intact, its walls are at least as thick as a man's arm. It

has a melancholy air, abandoned on this rude vehicle. Its door is ajar, and I notice that it can be closed or opened only from the outside. One of the French officers draws our attention to this peculiarity; he tells us how the turret was found with its machine gun installed, and with three men shut into it—as many as it was possible to crowd in—stark dead, without the least wound, suffocated. The door of the turret had been locked behind them. They had heard the click of the bolt, and knew that they were given over by their own people to an almost certain and infinitely cruel death.

"Is it true? Is it possible? Is this war?"

"Why, yes!" the officer answers me. "That is, Madame, as they understand it!"

Another officer told me how, by the order of Kaiser Wilhelm, who thought the resistance was too "obstinate," a picked division of 25,000 young men tried to rush the defenses of the Yser, only to be mowed down line after line, so that but three or four thousand remained alive * * * and, be it remarked, without this butchery accomplishing its aim. A French officer, who had fought at the Yser, said to me:

"I never saw a more touching spectacle!—never a more complete piece of madness!" In this brief answer I seem to see the expression of the profound difference between two civilizations, two ways of viewing life. On the one side, a moral culture which, even in the horror of war, has laid down limits, in spite of everything keeping its respect for the isolated human life; and, on the other, a "Kultur" which holds massacre to be a fine thing, and for which butchery has an aesthetic value. * * *

French discipline is entirely different from the German ideal, whose motto is, blind, passive obedience. The Frenchman wishes to understand what he is doing

or is to do; he requires an explanation. The man in the ranks must be treated as a thinking being; he must feel the effort to give him an idea what his own work represents in the total of the great work. Then he will accomplish it with double enthusiasm. For he will have felt his personal responsibility; he accepts his task with all its consequences, and it will become the goal of his personal ambition.

The poilu of our days is the great-grandson of the Vieux Grogard of the Grand Army. He likes to grumble a little, to exercise the spirit of criticism; but let him perceive that his leaders are dealing squarely with him and he will march unhesitatingly to his death. Every French soldier knows that his life is dear to his great leaders, and that, in the ter-

rible and splendid problem of the war, they calculate in France scrupulously with each of the precious human existences at the front, however paradoxical this may seem. * * *

A new image rises before me, and takes its place among the rest. It is that of the General, the solitary figure, in a wide cloak, departing through the gray mist, across yellow, devastated fields, while his story was being told to us. This figure remains dominant in my memory. In my eyes, it takes the proportions of those Napoleonic heroes who once played such a marvelous game with the destinies of Europe, and who today are only shades; and I seem to see these glorious shades hovering around the living leader, laying protecting hands upon him as on the head of a beloved child.

The Touchdown of Private Snips

By R. W.

In trench warfare, where flag wagging is impossible and the telephone wires may be broken at any moment by shell fire, runners are used to maintain communications between the different military units. The position of runner is eagerly sought by adventurous young soldiers. Every officer has several runners attached to him, the number increasing with the higher ranks. The subjoined article is based on an actual experience at the British front in France.

THE officer in command of a certain section of the captured trench has completed his observations and writes a short dispatch—in triplicate, for good reasons.

“Runner!” he ejaculates.

A man immediately approaches him.

“Take this to the O.C.,” says the officer. “You’ll find him at — farm. You’ll have a tough job, I’m afraid.”

“Very good, Sir,” returns the runner briskly. There is nothing in his tone to denote that he is about to attempt an almost hopeless task.

The moment he starts for the rear he knows that the enemy snipers and machine guns will concentrate upon him. Even if he escapes these he will still have a terrific barrage to traverse.

Waiting a few moments till there is a lull in the enemy’s fire, he sprints across the open. The officer turns away briskly to superintend the work of consolidation,

but swings round at the cry: “He’s down, Sir!”

A glance confirms the words, and the officer takes another dispatch from his haversack.

“Runner!” he exclaims in a mechanical tone.

“Yes, Sir!”

The officer repeats his previous orders.

“Need I take my rifle and bandolier, Sir?” inquires the runner.

“No, leave ’em behind, ‘Snips’!” returns his superior genially.

“Snips” is not his real name, though he is so called by all the men, and by his officers, too, on occasions such as this. Below middle height, he is young and of wiry build, with a sharp, intelligent face, and at inside right has in the past brilliantly helped to uphold the honor of the regimental team.

There is a cheery smile on his face as

he gets over the parapet to make a run on this other field—in this grimmer game. Instead of starting straight for his destination he sprints off at a tangent, then, turning in a flash, darts in another direction. The machine guns are rattling away incessantly. The men cease their work for a moment to watch, as "Snips" twists and turns, dashes and darts in different directions, but all the time drawing nearer to his goal.

"Good old Snips! Doan't pass, laad! Take the ball on yoursen!"

Such were the laughing shouts which followed him. The rattle of the machine guns seems to increase in fury at their impotence to stop that dodging figure.

Suddenly "Snips" pitches forward headlong. A husky groan comes from the trench he has just left.

"Runner!" ejaculates the officer in the same toneless voice as before.

But a cry of:

"Good lad! Good old Snips!" causes him to glance quickly in that direction; and he sees his runner again dashing on.

"Lay doggo in a shell-hole to kid the Boche gunners," explains one of the men with pride.

A few minutes later "Snips" was out of danger of the machine guns, but an even greater menace lay ahead. The enemy were putting a dense barrage between him and his destination. He kept on running till he reached the shrapnel-sprayed zone he must traverse. Then he deliberately slowed down to a walk. A

runner, according to their own code, may run under rifle but not shell fire. Luck was with "Snips," for he passed through the inferno unscathed and delivered his dispatch.

* * * * *

"Snips" is on his way back, bearing a written message from the O. C. He realizes that the enemy shell fire is even greater than before as he reaches the barrage. He trudges sturdily through it. Suddenly with a gasp of pain he falls to the ground. For a moment he writhes with agony, then with his clasp-knife he rips the cloth around his knee, laying bare a ragged wound. Though quivering with pain he takes out his bandages and stoically binds it up. With an effort he stands up on his sound leg, and his face twists as he puts the other to the ground. He means to go forward, and does so, though slowly and suffering agony.

Shrapnel falls on every side of him with ominous "phuts." He struggles on and on dizzily, and well aware that he has lost idea of direction. By sheer will-power he staggers forward. Then he hears a buzz of voices and he is gripped by a strong hand.

"Steady, lad, you've come to the front trench. The 'first aid' is the other way!" exclaims an officer to whom he is unknown.

For an instant "Snips's" pain-drawn face lights up, as with a lurch he thrusts out his dispatch.

"I'm a runner, Sir," he murmurs dazedly; then slides limply to the ground.

The "Devil's Own" and "God's Own"

A Protest Concerning Preachers

AT a session of the Trade Union Congress held in London in September the following resolution was moved by Ben Tillett of the London Dockers' Union:

That this Congress regrets the unfair privilege which has been given by the Government to members of the clerical profession by granting them exemption from the operations of the Military Service act. We view with regret that a large class of able-bodied

men who are engaged in unproductive employment should not be used to better purpose during this critical period. We call upon the Parliamentary Committee at once to approach the Government with a view to removing this anomaly.

He did not wish, he said, to make any attack on the clergy. He had seen something of their good work at the front. But he protested against the anomaly of their exemption as a profession. There

were 20,000 able-bodied parsons and clerics in England. The majority of them were at the beck and call of the conscriptionists from the beginning of the war. But when conscription came near they went through the back doors of Parliament to get exemption. Two hundred theological students of Bangor thought it would be far better to be a live parson than a dead soldier. They were not playing the game. The lawyers had created a "Devil's Own." It would be far more to the credit of the clerical profession if they would create a "God's Own." Why should these men who were so fond of talking about heaven be so afraid to go through its gates? He protested against the action of "these cowardly creatures sneaking out of their obligations."

A. Law, (Spinners,) in seconding the resolution, said that he was a lay preacher in a section of the church which had a paid ministry and was not exempted, but lay preachers—working men like himself—in another section of the church which had no paid ministry were exempted. This was an intolerable injustice.

J. Sexton, (Dockers, Liverpool,) while not opposing the resolution, protested against Mr. Tillet's speech. There was

not a university or training college which had not contributed generously of its men to the army. Why single out the clergy for attack? There were some others exempted who were doing a good deal more mischief.

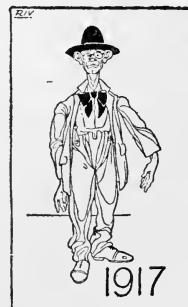
C. G. Ammon (Fawcett Association) reminded Mr. Tillet that he himself had done much to make the imposition of conscription easy by going about the country to attack his own class as slackers and loafers. As to Mr. Law, it was not the business of the Congress to help one amateur sky-pilot who had not got exemption to vent his feelings against professional brethren who had. To pass the resolution would be to approve again the whole system of conscription.

G. Milligan (Dockers, Liverpool) said Mr. Tillet must have some private motive in raising this question. It would create bitterness all over the country. To introduce his anti-clerical ideas into the Congress was a shameful thing, while his seconder was merely a blackleg minister. The resolution said the clergy were engaged in unproductive employment. Well, what did the dockers produce? The production of morals was surely a far nobler employment.

The resolution was carried by 1,379,000 votes to 1,200,000.

Evolution of the German World Conqueror

[An Italian Cartoon]



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

The Duty of the New Germany

By Adolf von Harnack

Professor of Theology and General Director of the Royal Library, Berlin

[Part of an oration delivered in Philharmonic Hall, Berlin, Aug. 1, 1916]

WHAT ends do we set before us? First in internal affairs. I will speak only of such ends as we may prepare for now during the war. I name two: The preservation and heightening of our people's energy, and the establishment of a German common economy, *i. e.*, of a national community of labor. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft.]

As to the preservation of our people's energy. We cannot replace the precious blood that has flowed so abundantly and the heavy losses that our people have suffered, but we can to some extent fill in the ghastly gaps and prepare a still stronger future. How? By care and training in every direction. We must commence by care for our most valuable possession—the rising generation. We must then—do not think this an irrelevant and trifling matter—set to work for the newborn babe, and then go on to bring into line with this the care of infants and of school children when they are in peril in children's homes. [Kinderhorte.] Further, we must develop our continuation schools still further than hitherto.

But much more is involved. I name three outstanding elements: Care for housing, for popular education, and for the prevention of disease. We must carry out improvements at any cost; otherwise we incur the gravest perils. The housing question involves health, morality, happiness, or gloom and unhappiness.

The educational problem is less difficult. A new political, geographical, and intellectual horizon has been opened to our people by the war, and its noble passion for education has received a new and powerful stimulus. We must meet this, not through the common school, on which ill-founded hopes have been set, but in many and varied ways—through the continuation schools to which I have already referred, through the establish-

ment of serious popular high schools [Volkshochschulen] in city and country. Denmark has in this matter set us an example, through popular libraries, a matter in which we are behind other countries, and through offering every kind of facility to genuine talent seeking an upward way from darkness to light. But in the universities and technical high schools there must be no lessening of effort in the pursuit of science, or we shall lose ground.

Concerning the prevention of disease I need not speak further; I am convinced that we are making powerful strides in this matter, and we shall also without hesitation deal with private relations if this is needful for the protection of the community.

Let our united energy be directed toward the accomplishment of these tasks, and we shall—in spite of all losses—not only preserve the energy of our people but increase it. In this way we shall also find the only means of checking the evil of the falling birth rate. All else that is said upon this subject is worthless talk; there is only one means—joy in healthy children and the facilitation of their training and their future. Both are closely bound together and determine our task.

The second great end in this connection is the setting up of a German common economy; that is to say, a really national community of labor. Ladies and gentlemen, all respect to the franchise—I trust the widest hopes will find fulfillment; all respect to religious freedom—I could wish that the State should no longer inquire as to the religion, but everywhere and exclusively as to capacity and fidelity to duty; but far more important than either of these appears to me the need of a decisive change in our national economic arrangements. The war has exposed the intolerable

evils of the conditions under which we suffer. What did we possess before the war? A system of international private business, and alongside it in certain departments an efficiently working fiscal and military State business. What have we experienced in the war? The fiscal and military State enterprises, under the leadership of men of genius, have widely extended their range of operation and speedily attained the greatest efficiency. On the other hand, the international private business collapsed; the foreign competition ceased, and an irresponsible internal private business, aiming purely at profit, largely took its place. Usury and profit-mongering grew up, and there was here scant trace of the spirit of August, 1914.

If it is clear that we dare never again permit this in war time, there must be a resolve to effect in peace time a great

change. This can only follow the lines of certain important undertakings of our national economy—I refer to minerals, coal mines, forestry. We require great numbers of mixed undertakings, in which the State or the local community has a share. A closer working with the State is demanded in all the chief departments of national economy—consequently, also, in the department of trade, and the relations should be so ordered that in time of peace they guarantee a defined but wide field of operations, which nevertheless can be narrowed without difficulty in war time, since the limits in every direction have already been determined. Thus the idea will gradually take possession of the people and guard them against greed of plunder, that all business is a branch of a German common business—even in peace time, and still more evidently in war.

What German Children Are Taught Regarding the Invasion of Belgium

By Alexandre Masseron

A German book for boys, Ernst Niederhausen's "Welt Krieg," has called forth the appended comment from a French writer in *Le Revue Hebdomadaire* of Paris.

NOTHING persists more profoundly in the man than the vivid impressions received by the child. Today the imagination is inspired by the echoes of the grandiose struggle. Tomorrow the imprint will appear indelible. The Germans who, in 1940, will be in the flower of their age, will know most of all of the European war what the boys of 1915 have heard related and have read in feverish excitement before going forth to sing "Die Wacht am Rhein" in *Unter den Linden*. And all this they will accept unquestioningly; their belief in it will be firm as rock; their parents' lack of judgment has already stupefied the world. For the scholars who have received Herr Ernst Niederhausen's "Welt Krieg," this collection of essays will become the Bible of the war. * * *

Herr Niederhausen treats history as a philosopher. His philosophy is simple,

with a majestic simplicity; there are the Germans, and there are the Belgians; the Germans are virtuous and strong, the Belgians are malignant and weak. The struggle between them is a symbol: it is the eternal conflict between Good and Evil. And, in order to establish its final triumph, which the world awaits in anguished eagerness, the Good, employing all its powers, must punish the Evil without pity and extirpate it from the earth. * * *

The chapter begins on a high note: "Ceaselessly marched the masses of the German Army entering Belgium, regiment upon regiment. For these potent masses of troops were followed by supporting troops. * * * If troops left their posts, others instantly took their places. The land of Germany seemed to the Belgians to be inexhaustible in defenders."

At the sight of these beneficent forces,

the hate of the malignant Belgians grew. In the shadows of the night, sinister ambushes were prepared. Hidden behind trees, or in the ditches, the Belgians fired on German troops. They even slew the weary soldiers who sought rest in the huts of the peasants, while these soldiers slept. Brigandage was rife. Often, the leading people of the country organized and directed these ambushes. It was not at all a question of single acts, committed under the impulse of anger, but rather the execution of a plan carefully prepared beforehand. Breaches were made in roofs, openings made in walls, loopholes were contrived for the treacherous muzzles of rifles; houses were joined by tunnels, so that their defenders could flee from one to the other. Savage fusillades were fired in the darkness. Houses had to be taken one by one. The German wounded were frightfully mutilated and put to death: "Every feeling of humanity seemed to have deserted the miserable Belgian people—*alles Menschen-tum schien von diesem elenden Belgischen Volke gewichen zu sein.* * * *"

On Aug. 25, the German troops entering Louvain were received in the friendliest possible way by the inhabitants. The townsfolk vied with one another in lodging the officers in the most comfortable manner possible. Abomin-

able perfidy! They sought only to isolate them!

The evening descended. Nine o'clock sounded from the city belfries. As by a single stroke, the windows opened. The flashes of a fusillade blazed forth.

All the townsfolk, favored by the shades of night, began a combat prepared in advance, following a plan, *einen planmaessig vorbereiteten Kampf*, against what was left of the German garrison.

It was now clearly to be seen why they had wished to isolate the officers, by finding separate lodgings for them.

Daggers and pistols were ready, to rob the troops of their leaders. But matters fell out far otherwise. * * *

The abominable plan had failed. The City of Louvain was burning. All the streets that the dogs of Belgians (canaille) lived in were in flames. Whoever was taken with arms in his hands was shot.

Thy sky was red as blood; heaven announced to the world how the brave German soldiers, who were fighting in a hostile land for their country, suddenly attacked, met the impotent race of cowardly assassins and defended themselves in a struggle by night against the savage onslaught of murderers. * * *

Having conscientiously vilified the Belgians, convicting them of treachery and cowardice, it only remains for Herr Niederhausen to hold up, in contrast with these wretches, the loyal Germans, the cavaliers of Righteousness, standing firm like Lohengrin, in their immaculate armor.

The Kaiser and Louis XIV.

By Gellio Cassi

Italian Historian and Publicist

This striking parallel between the present war and the attempt of Louis XIV. to impose the hegemony of the Hapsburgs upon Europe in the seventeenth century is translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the Revista d'Italia.

IN order to examine thoroughly the cause, to understand the development, and deduce, as far as possible, the consequences of the present European conflagration, consequences which have nothing of the capricious about them, but which are well-founded and serene—we must compare it with one of the other great conflicts of the world. Which shall it be?

It will not be the slow struggle, centu-

ries long, of the power of Rome against the barbarians of the Western World and the anarchy of the Eastern. It is not the marvelous effort of Napoleonic imperialism, which was intended to defend, through the hegemony of France, the sacred principles of 1789. The attempt to impose on the Continent and on the seas the supremacy of the Teuton finds its pendant only in the personal policy of Louis XIV., in that policy which, aban-

doing the glorious traditions of Richelieu and Mazarin, (that is to say, the establishment of the European equilibrium menaced by the power of the Hapsburgs,) tended to impose the hegemony of the Bourbons on Europe. Why should we choose this for our parallel?

Interesting Historic Parallels

There are historical periods in which a State, having reached the maturity of its power, conscious of its own strength, thinks it has the right to act according to the dictates of interest, of the benefits it may obtain, without consideration as to whether this breaks into the interests of the other countries. This creates perils, limits the action of the other Governments, disturbs the political equilibrium, and finally leads to war. The present Teutonic imperialism presents itself then with the same characteristics as that of the Roi Soleil; and so the general picture of European politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lends itself in the most exact way to a comparison with European events of today.

What matter if the France of that time was under the "ancien régime," and present-day Germany has a constitutional Government, since the German people are absolutely at one with the Kaiser, as the Bourbon monarchy was with the Roi Soleil—since the imperialist designs of William and his people are a resurrection of the ambitious views of the Great King? And as Germany affirms that she is fighting for Kultur and has stamped the war with the character of a divine mission for the benefit of the other peoples, so for Louis XIV. the triumph of France signified the splendor and well-being of all Europe. In the same way that the nation made itself one with the monarch, France identified itself with Europe, the fortune of the Bourbons with that of the whole Continent. It may suffice to say that Louis XIV. was the King par excellence; and, in fact, at the Court of Vienna his death was announced with these words, "The King is dead!" And has not William of Germany monopolized the name of Kaiser? * * *

The character of the reign of Louis has a close analogy with that of William; we

can even affirm that the German Empire occupied in these last years about the same position as the Bourbon realm in the middle of the seventeenth century. Everything was subordinated to a unique and grandiose conception, to which everything was to be sacrificed; that is to say, to make of the nation the predominating element in European life. The execution of the immense plan having been confided to the Government, every party, every class, every citizen was to renounce his or its own individuality and march under the same discipline under which the armies marched. Thus in France as in Germany—as much in the case of Louis as with William—not only the military classes but also the arts and sciences and thought itself were marshaled in regiments ready for mobilization at the right moment.

Louis Made Similar Excuses

Even from the military standpoint, history repeats itself, and under this head I will recall that the King of France, entering into combat with all Europe, took as his slogan that he was threatened, and was, therefore, defending himself. He started on the principle that for his State everything was permitted, and so he saw a danger for France in the legitimate defense that the other countries were creating for themselves. In discussing peace after the war with Holland, he rejected the conciliating conditions proposed him by Charles II., who acted as a mediator, regretting that any one should pretend to ask him to give up *just conquests made in a defensive war against unjustified attacks*. He became most indignant when he learned that certain German Princes, in order to oppose his domination in the matter of the election in the Palatinate, had leagued together in favor of the empire. In their combination he saw, not a common defense, but a provocation, hurtful to France, so that he found it only natural to forearm himself by capturing fortresses lying right in German territory. Neither did he change his ideas during the War of the Succession in Spain, since, when Philip was proclaimed King, the French armies entered Belgium and

seized the barriers where the garrisons were Dutch, maintaining that Holland was threatening him with that line of fortresses, whereas they had been garrisoned by that people from the time they were built. It is the eternal fable of the wolf and the lamb; and the fable was repeated in the present war when Germany declared herself offended by the aggressive demeanor of certain powers, and therefore compelled, according to the imperial phrase, to bare the sword; and so, to justify the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, she declared that if she had not invaded that kingdom her enemies would have done so.

Same Economic Situation

It is even more interesting to observe the conflicts of Louis XIV. and the present struggle from the economic standpoint, for from this side we have results that are not only identical but of capital importance.

Louis XIV. knew how to oppose many enemies at once, giving an example of military preparation and readiness that were lacking among the allies. And notwithstanding this, it was Louis himself who had to ask for peace in 1693. Why? Because to keep up his front against so many enemies the King had had to sacrifice men and money; and the exuberant use of so many forces, drawn away from the work of the fields and from the industries, represented a most grave expenditure of the nation's energy and economic resources. Nor could France safeguard her commerce or refurnish herself from abroad while England and Holland dominated the seas and struck their enemy in his lines of communication, paralyzing that economic liberty which is indispensable, and without which a battle gained is no more than a military success shorn of decisive consequences.

The Great King had triumphantly replied to the blows of the allies, but the latter refused the attempts at a peace proposed by the one who had shown himself their superior; they knew that to obtain the final success Louis needed important resources—and these were beginning to fail. France was weakened, and, notwithstanding the victories, misery was knocking at the doors of the houses, the

economic ruin of the country was moving toward the point of being irreparable.

During the war against the Augsburg League the moment arrived, then, when the Great King was forced by his enormous expenses to get money again, and he had recourse to a thousand expedients to procure it, selling public offices, instituting lotteries, and obliging his subjects to bring to the Mint all objects of gold and silver—to the extent that various works of art were lost. * * * It became worse in 1693, when the citizens were ordered, under severe penalties, to give up their gold and silver money in exchange for another currency of smaller value, though of the same face value. * * * In the same year the price of grain trebled, which produced immense uneasiness, misery, and tumults. Fénelon wrote to the King that people were dying of hunger, and it was true.

I admit that 1693 was an exceptional year; yet the fact remains that if Louis's realm had had the freedom of the seas he could have procured all the grain he needed in other places. And I want to give this reminder of France's economic situation during the war with the League of Augsburg because, while misery was conspiring against the country, the armies of the Great King were showing themselves superior to those of his enemies. And there is a close analogy between that and the present situation of the Central Empires.

Napoleon's Case Different

Let no one object that Napoleon succeeded in bending Continental Europe to his will notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain lorded it over the sea and twice defeated his fleet. The victories of the great Emperor were rapid and decisive, as the German victory would have been if the French had been defeated at the Marne. The Napoleonic campaigns were so short for the reason that he would not give the forces allied against him the time to arrange themselves in an iron ring around France and cut him off by sea: he finished the war before that happened.

When will the present conflict end? It is certain that the present struggle does not show the least sign of closing, and

that its prolongation turns to the greater detriment of the Central Empires, just as, at one time, France was sensibly weakened. The Bourbon campaigns teach us that whoever is in a position to dominate the great sea highways enjoys an incontestable superiority over his adversary, because in long conflicts an ever-watchful enemy has to be fought, namely, economic crisis; and this is not kept away from the frontier by cannon or the courage of warriors.

Approaching the Same End

The Allies, therefore, who are exceeding their enemy in the refurnishing of combatants, may, even without a definitive victory, force the Central Empires to peace by continuing to encircle them with a close siege. Let us not delude ourselves, however, as to the exhaustion of the enemy; let us remember the time and efforts that were needed to overcome the Bourbon colossus. A financial crisis like those which France sustained in 1693 and in 1709 has not yet appeared in Austria and Germany. Economic exhaustion has appeared, however; it has

barely started, but it has started, and that is enough to make us presage painful days for the two empires, even as France felt them during the last two campaigns of Louis XIV.

Let us not think, either, that a naval blockade can succeed in bringing a country to hunger while it is being helped by maritime exchange with neutrals. The Allies have therefore had to intensify the blockade even to the injury of neutrals, who, theoretically, outside of the conflict, are really maintaining the economic energy of the opponent. History records that Great Britain, in her naval contests with France, with Spain, with Napoleon, had to strike neutral Holland, put Denmark out of combat, and reduce the minor neutrals to inaction. * * *

The present conflict, which has so much affinity with the struggle of the Bourbons against Europe, will certainly close with an analogous result. The Pax Germanica is excluded for the same reasons which made the European coalition exorcise, at another period, the French peril.

Russian Democracy and the War

By Vladimir Burtzeff

Noted Revolutionary Leader and Journalist

[Translated from the Retch of Petrograd for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE period of uncertainty in the war is gone. It is now already clear that we are entering a new and last phase of the struggle. We are witnessing the beginning of the end of the war. To those who are able to understand history the end will not come unexpectedly. And it will be just the kind that it should be. What a deadly blow to all which is dear to us and on which we had lived so long would a different ending be! The danger of the spiritual destruction of democracy is already past.

The world war, like the angel of death, has visited nearly all countries, preying upon millions of men. In its wake it will leave oppressive memories for decades to come. Not only the ruins of

cities and villages will serve as reminders of it. Hundreds of thousands of invalids, lingering through many years, will speak eloquently to future generations of what Europe went through in these days of ours.

But the war did not and will not bring, we believe, that stagnation which menaced our progress in case of our enemy's victory. The crisis which we are experiencing is not for death, but for life. Humanity—all humanity, thanks to colossal sacrifices—has finally succeeded in getting off the reef on which it had been grounded for several decades. With the last shot of the machine guns there will begin to disappear all those things which have in recent years kept life

stranded on the same spot, or at best allowed it to move at turtle speed. Humanity will quickly appreciate the value of all that it has gone through in the last two tragic years, and an entirely different political order will be inaugurated. Vast problems will be advanced. To solve them the people have accumulated enormous experience. There has grown up in the masses a realization of their own powers and an understanding of their own interests, of which one only dared to dream heretofore.

All this we owe not to our muddlers, and certainly not to those political blind who showed themselves unable to find the right ground in regard to the war, but only to those who understood the war's tasks, who devoted themselves wholly to it, stopping at no sacrifices, and who knew no vacillation in their attitude toward the great conflict. * * *

The Russian people, like the English, French, and other allies, have produced political figures belonging to various parties who have honorably passed the examination of history in relation to the war by taking the right view of its problems. From the very beginning they had their position defined clearly without any doubt or opportunism, and subsequently stopped at nothing in maintaining this position.

The rôle of the Russian "Left" parties in regard to the war will especially attract the historian's attention. Due to certain characteristics of Russian politics some "Left" elements found themselves in a truly tragical position. * * * The traditional views of the radicals on Russian political life were from the very beginning discarded by these elements in favor of the thesis that Russian victory meant universal reaction in Russia. This criminal, absurd, and horrible idea that Russian victory was a peril to the fortunes of the movement for freedom found its supporters in the street. All of us encountered at one time or another this unfortunate view. It perplexed the most sincere and ardent friends of the masses.

To those of the "Left" parties that stood absolutely for the war it was an axiom, of course, that the most terrible

peril to the Russian revolutionary movement was to be found in the triumph of Germanism, of the type that history would be justified in styling "Wilhelmism." In reply to their political opponents, the supporters of the other radical factions categorically declared their credo in the following words: "If the victory of the Allies over Germany can be attained only at the expense of the Russian movement for freedom—then let it be thus! The destruction of the Russian revolutionary movement, should it take place in case of the Allies' victory, cannot but be temporary, and the peril lurking in it can in no wise be compared to the perils that a German triumph would entail to humanity. Whatever else the Teuton victory would mean to Russia, it would mean primarily material support to all the reactionary elements among us."

Such tirades were resorted to only for argumentary reasons, and not in order to calm one's own conscience. In the depth of the soul one always felt that victory for the Allies would also mean the triumph of the Russian movement for freedom, that the two were in fact synonymous. * * *

The present war is of such general national significance that we even observe an effort to comprehend it fully and labor sincerely for its success in quarters where one could least of all expect it—namely, among the nationalists, the "Right," and the reactionary forces. These elements never before manifested any true sense of serving the nation's interests, having always been guided by narrow class interests and by views of past centuries. * * * And now, even among the members of these parties, a correct estimate of the all-Russian significance of the war has at times been shown. Some of the most violent representatives of reactionary thought have even succeeded in effacing their recent past to some degree, thus creating in us a new respect for their activities.

But if some individual members of the "Right" parties manifested their sincere interest in the country's fortunes, the reactionaries as a political organization have demonstrated through their

most powerful leaders an attitude which to characterize fairly there are not words harsh enough to be found. [The censor here deleted a considerable space, which was evidently devoted to the Germanophiles among the Russian reactionaries.]

It is of course true that the "Right" are not any real agents of Wilhelm II. They are not advocates of defeat because of love for Germany. The masses under their domination desire Russian victory, and they are all working for that end as sincerely and self-denyingly as the radical masses. But there is one centripetal aim among the "Right" elements to which even their activities for victory and all their views and calculations are subordinated. During the war, just as before the war, the motive that made them love Wilhelm II. made them hate England and France with a hatred ill-concealed even now. To them the interests of reaction are above all else. To preserve these is their highest aim. They fear more than anything else the possibility that Russia may follow in the path of general European political progress. * * *

We always have opposed the war. The Russian democracy, like other world democracies, went about achieving its ideals in almost any way save the way of war. But this war was forced upon us. We could not avoid accepting the challenge without the risk of becoming slaves. To war we had to answer with war. And now there can no longer be any talk of self-defense. It is now going to be a war to the end, till full victory is achieved, securing the establishment of lasting peace among all nations.

Consequently we must not even consider what some are trying to force on us—an inconclusive peace, a separate peace. There has thrived in Europe in the past few decades the most criminal, the most terrible of reactionary powers—a power which had a world sway and which has been the curse of all peoples. This power, personifying German reactionism, was "Wilhelmism." This power must be destroyed and uprooted to its foundations. In order to achieve this there must be no premature peace. Any war is better than the further existence of this power.

Does War Lower the Birth Rate?

By Giuseppe Sergi

Professor in the Royal University of Rome

Extract from a communication to the Congress of the Italian Society for Scientific Progress, published in the *Nuova Antologia*, Rome.

EUGENICS hitherto has had two purposes: to aid human society in the normal development of its healthy elements, and to interrupt the transmission to offspring of unhealthy elements. In the former phase it is a question of giving efficiency to everything which favors the preserving of individuals free from congenital defects; this activity has great value and will contribute to bind together all the forces of society that make for individual and social conservation. The second purpose of eugenics is to eliminate the elements which for the sake of clearness we shall call degenerate; it does not attempt this in the

sense of doing away with them directly, but by preventing the transmission of these elements, which would multiply the number and increase the degree of degenerates if they were allowed to reproduce freely.

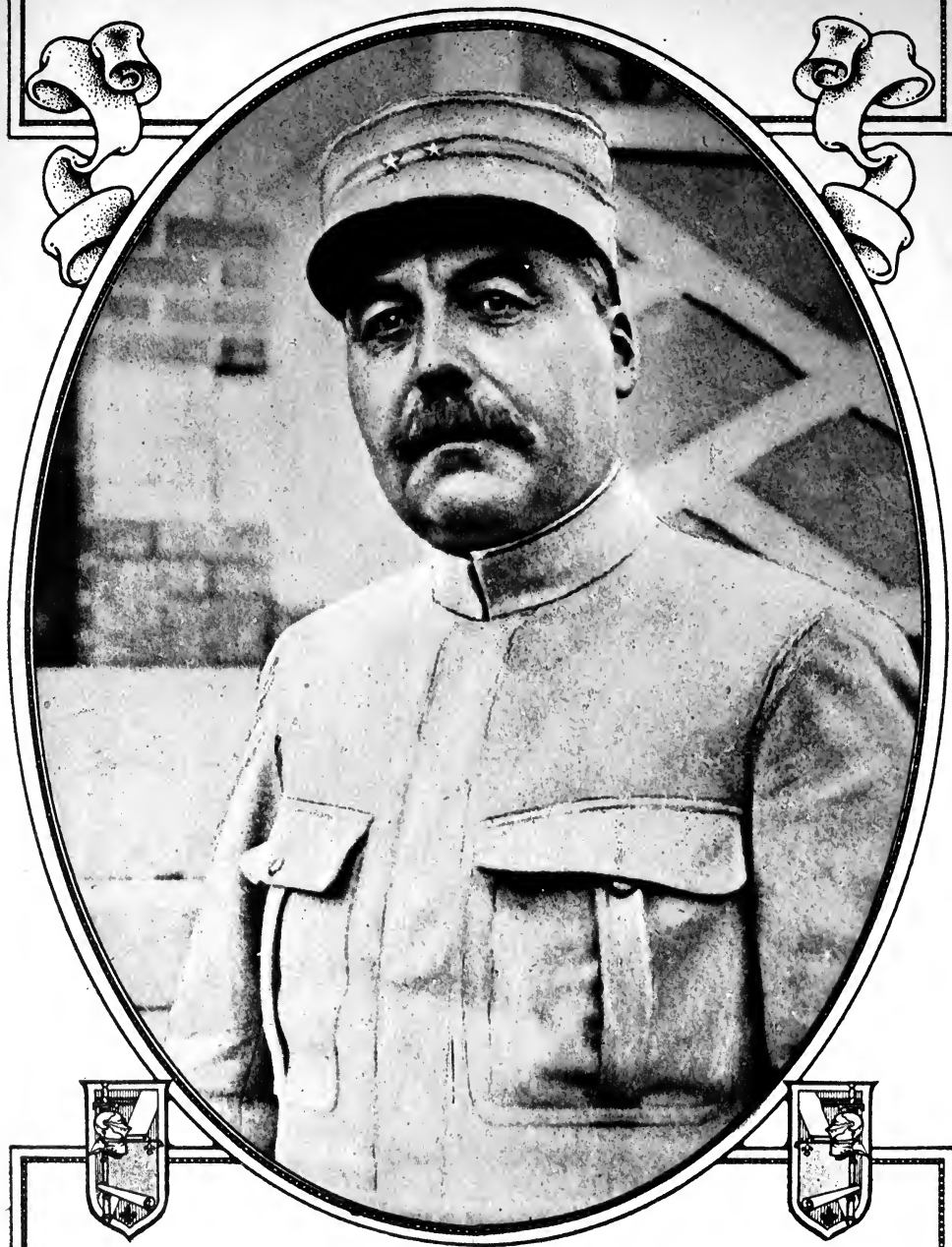
But as eugenics was born during a period of peace and in a nation that was not thinking of war, the science gave no warning that a greater danger was menacing us—war itself. The Eugenics Society of London has lately taken up this phase of the subject. In general, the conclusions of its studies seem to me very limited, because they are confined to the possible effect of the mortality

IN THE TRENCHES DURING A GERMAN GAS ATTACK



This Remarkable Photograph, From an Unretouched Snapshot Made by a Soldier, Shows the Russian Trench Near Baronovitsky at the Moment When It Is Flooded With Asphyxiating Gas.
(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL DUPORT



New Chief of the French General Staff, Highest in Command
Under General Joffre.

(Photo © International Film Service.)

among the young and robust men—the most robust and the most healthy from whom vigorous offspring were to be expected, while the weak elements remain and survive—the young men who could not bear arms, the sickly, and the old. From such considerations it has been deduced that the generations which come after the war would be the offspring of weak and inferior fathers; there would be, so to speak, an unnatural selection through the survival of the unfittest, who, however, were adapted to the social conditions to which inferiors never fail to adapt themselves under even normal conditions, because our sentiment of humanity has taken the place of the hard laws of nature.

But if the evil were limited to what I have just described, it would be only temporary, because a balance would be struck after a few generations through the remaining healthy and normal elements of the peoples affected by the war. The case is different, however; the effects are much graver than they seem at first sight, as I will attempt to demonstrate by certain demographic phenomena for which an explanation has been given which I consider erroneous.

[After a lengthy consideration of vital statistics in France during the last century, Professor Sergi places himself in decided opposition to the theory of Bertillon and others, to wit, that the failure of the French to increase their population in the

same proportion as other peoples is due to Malthusianism, or voluntary limitation of families.]

In my opinion, then, the principal cause of this relative sterility, drawn out for more than a century in France, is of a biological character. In its turn, war continued for a long time is the origin of this phenomenon, not only in the absolute sense of the loss of men in battle, but also through a series of special conditions which arise simultaneously with an unbalancing of vital processes and which create in the latter a complex phenomenon difficult to examine in every one of its elements.

[Examples in proof of this affirmation are cited from the history of Rome, of France after the time of Louis XIV., of Spain after Charles V. and Philip II., though the most striking—if less documented—are those of Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia, in all of which countries depopulation set in after long wars.]

The biological disturbance does not derive solely from the destruction of young lives, the ones best adapted to fecundity, but also from the unfavorable conditions into which a nation is unexpectedly thrown; from these come disorders of a mental and sentimental nature, nervousness, anxiety, grief, and pain of all kinds, to which the serious economic conditions of wartime also contribute; all these things have a harmful effect on the general organic economy of nations.

Hindenburg's Polish Legions

By Alexander Grau-Wandmayer

Austro-Hungarian Consular Secretary

In the official report issued by the German War Office on Sept. 30 the following sentence occurred: "On the Stokhod front a company of the Polish Legion made a successful advance near Sitowicze." The history of this Polish military organization, which is fighting with the Central Powers against the Russians, is given in detail in an article by Alexander Grau-Wandmayer of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate in New York.

After describing how the foundations for the Polish Legion had been laid among the Polish population of Galicia by Josef Pilsudski, a Lithuanian political refugee from Russia, the writer continues:

WHEN the world war broke out the members of the Riflemen's and Hunting Societies were called to arms. Already, on Aug. 3, 1914, several thousands of volunteers arrived in Cra-

cow and were formally enrolled at once. From them Pilsudski picked out 150 men, preferably those from Russian Poland, and organized them into the so-called skeleton company. He delivered an enthusiastic address to them. They all recognized the deep seriousness of the moment and their relatives and acquaintances wept bitter tears.

On Aug. 6, 1914, the first detachment of the legionaries left Cracow at 3 o'clock in the morning, and on the same day crossed the Russian border. The first shots were exchanged with the Russian border guards at Slomniki. The Polish legionaries soon occupied the City of Miechow. The first sight of these Polish soldiers, with the white eagle on their caps, fairly dazzled the eyes of the Polish population of the border districts. The people could hardly believe their eyes.

[The writer tells how on Aug. 15, 1914, at a meeting of the representatives of all the Polish parties in Galicia held in Cracow, a "Chief National Committee" was formed for the purpose of aiding in the organization of a West Galician and an East Galician Polish Legion, and of working hand in hand with the Austro-Hungarian Government for the liberation of Poland from Russian rule.]

These decisive and far-reaching resolutions by the authoritative representatives of Polish society had an electrifying effect upon every one. The Austro-Hungarian Government welcomed the movement, and Emperor Franz Josef sent a proclamation to the powers in which he designated the Polish Legions as an integral part of his army and named Field Marshal Lieutenant Durski of the Austro-Hungarian Army, himself a Pole, as Commander in Chief of the legions. Archduke Frederick, the Commander in Chief of the army, named Josef Pilsudski a Brigadier General of the legion in recognition of his notable services. The city and district committee of Galicia voted large contributions for the support of the legions, in which were included one of \$200,000 by the City of Cracow, and another of \$400,000 by the City of Lemberg. Even the Jewish congregations contributed voluntarily for this purpose,

the congregation of Lemberg sending in \$10,000.

All classes of the Polish people then gathered around the legions. University professors, farmers, poets, leading authors, lawyers, teachers, and bankers joined this military organization as common soldiers. And so did a great many Jews. The Jewish high school professor, Dr. Bartold Merwin, a grandson of Menke, the orthodox rabbi of Lemberg; the 18-year-old son of the Jewish member of the Reichsrat, Steinhaus, and many others were soon made officers because of their valor. Catholic Bishops and rabbis gave their blessings, and so a small but self-sacrificing and valiant Polish army was formed that is constantly increasing in size.

Unfortunately, some Polish politicians belonging to the National Democratic Party, (Pan-Polish,) which is subsidized by the Russians, infamously betrayed their patriotic brothers. This party, which, under the pretext of representing the higher interests of Poland, had worked hand in hand with the pro-Russian Ruthenians in East Galicia before the war to root out the Ukrainian idea, succeeded in preventing the departure of the Eastern Legion. The leaders of this party, Count Skarbel, a man mixed up in shady transactions, and the former Russian professor, Grabski, who had succeeded years before through trickery and deceit in acquiring Austrian citizenship, obtained control of the management of the politically not otherwise military societies of the east, and, under various pretexts, prolonged the final organization and equipment of these volunteers to such a degree that it became too late, as the Russians were at the gates of Lemberg.

As was revealed during the Russian invasion of Galicia, these Pan-Poles never had had the slightest intention of fighting against Russia, but were the principal supporters of the Russian administration and its attempts to Russify Galicia. Later they also fled with the Russians. Before the surrender of Lemberg some 5,000 or 6,000 Eastern legionaries who had already had military training succeeded in escaping from

Lemberg to Sanok and then to Mszana, near Krinica, but because of the lack of supplies, equipment, and proper leadership they were compelled to disband. Part of them joined the Western Legion later, while others led the life of vagabonds for a time and were arrested in masses for this reason.

Today almost the whole Polish Nation has come out for the Polish legions. They now are composed of two divisions, have their own cavalry, artillery, and machine-gun sections, and fight—and this is the main thing—with the greatest contempt for danger. During the first five months of their existence the legions

took part in three great battles, (at Laski, Krzwoploty, and Lowczowek,) twenty-nine engagements, and fifty skirmishes. They fought with great success in the Carpathians, on the Bessarabian frontier, in Russian Poland, and in Rafajlawka and Limanow, and now they are united in Polasie. There they are holding the section around the Pripet and Rokitno swamps with great bravery and endurance, and many of them have perished in that region. Last Fall, when they held their own in that section against an overwhelming number of Russians and prevented the Russians from breaking through, the German Kaiser decorated many of them with the Iron Cross.

The War and the Russian Jew

By Maxim Gorky

[Translated from the Russian Magazine, *Novy Kolos*]

THE most dangerous enemies of man are stupidity and its kindred sister, greed. Because of the greed of the wealthy and the stupidity of the poor all the troubles and misfortunes are come on earth. * * * The war, which has been exterminating for two years now millions of the strongest men, destroying the fruit of their fathers' labor, devastating the most productive lands—this war also has been born of stupidity and greed, the parents of all disaster.

And upon the fruitful earth, satiated with the blood and flesh of the slaughtered, now flourish the flowers of hatred, poisoning us with malignity and insanity. With especial brightness did this malignity bloom in the days when it became necessary to justify our military disasters, to find the culprits responsible for them. The disasters occurred because our commanders led the soldiers into battle without a sufficient supply of rifles, guns, and shells. To judge justly, the commanders were the culprits. But, instead, the Jews were declared to be the culprits; they were advertised as traitors, and the false accusation against a whole people was spread among all Russians.

Our nation is depressed by useless sac-

rificing of its best blood, irritated by the economic chaos in the State. In recent years it paid annually in taxation about 3,000,000,000 rubles. It had a right to suppose that the army was excellently supplied, shod, clothed, that the railways were in order and prepared, that everything was right. In actuality it proved to be much worse than bad. It was demonstrated that the close associates of War Minister Sukhomlinoff were spies and traitors, such as Colonel Myasoyedoff, the Austrian Altschiller, and many others—all non-Jews.

The Jews are called traitors every day, but Commandant Grigoryev, who delivered to the Germans the fortress of Kovno, was only once spoken of as a traitor, and then his name was entirely forgotten. When the betrayed people, irritated by defeats, demands to know who are the men responsible for the disasters, the Jew is pointed out to him, with the remark: "Behold, this is the culprit!" Of course, among the five million Jews living in Russia there are also bad people, but there are more of such people among the hundred million Russians. * * *

It is especially convenient to accuse the Jew, because he is defenseless and is even

deprived of those few civil rights which the Russian enjoys. The Russian may live wherever he chooses; the Jew cannot. He is forced to live in a few provinces, which were called the "Pale of Settlement," and he was not allowed to go outside this pale. At present the Jews have been driven outside of it into the interior of Russia, because the Pale of Settlement has been conquered by the Germans.

The discontent generated by the war demands a scapegoat, and for that purpose subtle people, who are anxious to throw the burden of responsibility from their own shoulders, are putting forward the Jew as the one responsible for all misfortunes that may befall us. The conscience of the Russian people is being dulled and blinded by cries about the Jews. They are not allowed to discern who is the real enemy and where he is to be located. This manoeuvre comes very handy to the real enemies of the Russian people, and is a harmful factor for this nation's future. In these difficult

and trying days it is necessary that all the elements of the multi-racial Russia—Jews, Armenians, Tatars, Letts, Lithuanians, Grusins, Ukrainians—should all live together in friendship. We must all gather force and mental power to reconstruct our life on better and freer bases. * * *

What is the purpose of accusing the Jews of all sins? Here it is: When the people begin to realize that they must rise to get their own rights there will be heard the cry, "Beat the foreigners! Beat the Jews!" It is hard to tell whether the masses will obey this order. But the people should even now understand that they are being prepared for a fight against such unfortunates as themselves.

Should the people be caught in the trap and fall on the Jews, they will be bound again, hand and foot. We must understand that internal quarrels, pogroms, disagreements in our perilous times will work, first of all, harm to our own selves.

War and Insanity

DR. WILLIAM GRAHAM, Medical Superintendent of the Belfast District Asylum, one of the leading authorities in Ireland on mental troubles, reports a marked diminution in admissions to the insane asylum in the second year of the war as compared with the preceding ten years' average. He says:

It has become a commonplace since August, 1914, to say that the world is growing mad, and there is a widespread popular notion that the distress and agony of a conflict so terrible as the present one must end in profound psychic disturbance and alienation. Yet the fact is indisputable that insanity, like crime, has lessened during the period of the war. It will not do to say that the vast number of men called to the colors include some who might otherwise be reckoned among our asylum population, for the greatest reduction is among women, 119 being admitted in 1915, against 154 in 1913.

There are solid grounds for hope that especially, though not exclusively, among women we shall find as a result of the war a great diminution in those neurotic disorders that

form part of mental abnormality. Thousands of men who have gone or are preparing to go to the front have all their life been subject to the bondage of neurasthenic weakness and incapacity or of psychasthenic fears or hypochondriacal fancies. They have never known what it is to live. But at their country's call they have flung from off them the spell of ancient inhibitions and long-established impracticalities and have gone forth to face wounds and death. Only when summoned to a possible surrender of life have they learned how wonderful life really is.

The physical régime under which these men are compelled to live can have nothing but the best effect on those subjected to its discipline. * * * Especially significant is the change coming over the lives of the women of the middle classes. These sheltered daughters of the merchant or of the professional man, victims of mid-Victorian traditions of gentility, are now falling into line with their sisters of the upper and humbler social ranks and are discovering that life is something greater than the latest novel or a game of tennis, or even the tepid gossip of a church sewing meeting. Idleness and ennui have lost their hold; healthy and unselfish activity is now the prevailing fashion. The war has

enfranchised women. It has set them free from the benumbing conventionalities that threatened to stifle their psychic energies, and so far it has contributed to soundness of mind and nerve.

Among the mighty sociological forces which the present world conflict has set in motion not the least will be the new value set upon all sorts of good work and the new

dignity which will crown the worker. With the ever-widening circle of women's interests a new barrier against mental disorder has been erected. * * * War is war. It is the destruction of culture, art, education—the finest fruits of humanity. But the human mind has the strange power of wringing out of the worst evils some great and far-reaching good.

A Flight on a Blazing Aeroplane

By a British Officer

ONE sunny afternoon four of our machines went over the lines on an offensive patrol. In other words, we were sent on a roving commission over a certain area of Boche territory, taking with us plenty of ammunition and orders to shoot all enemy machines on sight.

We wandered around for more than an hour, sitting over Boche aerodromes and picking up useful scraps of information relative to rolling stock, transport, and the like. Then, suddenly, after we had passed the important town of —, the patrol leader fired a signal-light and dived. We looked beneath him and saw three enemy biplanes.

We followed him down, and I emptied a drum and a half of ammunition into a German machine during the dive. All at once, our fuselage shivered and, looking down it, I saw that Archie had left his card in the form of a piece of burning H. E.

"Fuselage burning—pass the fire extinguisher!" I shouted down the speaking tube to my pilot. But the pilot's earpiece had slipped from his cap during the dive and he heard nothing. I stood up, leaned across and shook his shoulder. "Pass the fire extinguisher!" I yelled.

"Hun down on the left!" he shouted back, my words having been lost in the roar of the engine.

"Fire extinguisher!" I called again.

"Why don't you fire at that Hun, you fool?" was the reply.

Seeing that the flames were licking

their way back to the tail, I abandoned the attempt to get the extinguisher, and crawled down the fuselage to the scene of the fire. I managed to beat out the flames, which had eaten half way through one of the longerons.

Meanwhile, the pilot had been attacking one of the enemy machines, and a bullet had gone into our petrol tank. Confronted with a diminishing pressure, he decided to make for allied territory at once and turned west.

Five minutes later, by which time the number of revolutions had dropped alarmingly, we found the way barred by two more Boche machines. My gun having jammed, the pilot did the only thing possible—he went straight at the nearest German, firing all the time. The Boche swerved just in time to avoid a collision, but had obviously been hit, for his machine all but did a nose-dive, and he only landed with great difficulty.

Then our engine petered out altogether, and there was nothing for it but to do a long glide and try to reach the lines. We were at 4,000 feet when we started to glide, and for a long time we didn't know if we had sufficient height to get us across.

But the pilot took advantage of a small salient, and we managed to glide over the trenches at a height of about 400 yards, fired at by machine-guns and rifles, besides dear old Archie. We landed just behind the second line trenches of a certain part of the French line, and, to our joy and astonishment, we were not shelled on the ground.

German Red Cross in the World War

By General Kurt W. von Pfuel

Chairman of the Central Committee of the German Societies of the Red Cross

[Translated from the German for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

AMONG all the splendid qualities which Germany has revealed during the course of the war, and which enable her to carry on a successful struggle against a world of enemies, the wonderful German capacity for organization occupies a place in the first rank.

The organization of the relief work in Germany saw to it that the gifts that had come from America over the great waters from a great distance were immediately applied to the uses for which they were best adapted. Like the German Army, the German Red Cross had prepared itself for the mighty tasks of the war through decades of activity in peace times. On the day of the mobilization the Red Cross also mobilized, and then it was shown that the long work in time of peace had not been in vain. In closest touch with the army administration and the military hospital service, the activity of the Red Cross was begun, and as soon as the movement of troops was under way the women and men of the Red Cross entered upon their helpful work. A whole army of persons was sent into the field by the Red Cross, under the directions of the military administration, while another army of members of the Red Cross was busy at home. The highest thanks are due to all of the many thousands of self-effacing and faithful citizens who, as a plain matter of course, did, and still do, work in the service of brotherly love. And

they are the more to be thanked, because of the fact that the majority of them were by no means liable to military service during the first period of the war, and could have continued their civilian activities without molestation. The decade-long training of our hospital corps men bore fruit right here.

And, like the men of the Red Cross, the women have also earned the highest thanks. Most of them have not left their posts from the hour of mobilization up to today. With an endurance worthy of admiration, they have developed the beneficent activities in the hospitals, at the refreshment stations, in the railroad depots, at supply stations, in the people's kitchens, in the writing rooms, at the nurseries, and at many other relief stations.



GENERAL VON PFUEL

When we talk superficially about the Red Cross, of course we think at first and principally of the work of the Red Cross in aid of the actual belligerents. But the direct relief of our fighting and wounded warriors is indeed only a part of the gigantic working program, including all the hardships imposed upon the German people by the war. A glance at the war organization of the Central Committee of the Red Cross will give the best idea of the extent of this work.

Although the individual societies enjoy a large measure of independence, still the Central Committee forms the centre of the entire organization. The various separate divisions of this Central Com-

mittee furnish a clear picture of the task performed by the German Red Cross in the world war. As has already been noted, the Red Cross people had been prepared for the outbreak of war for decades, and, consequently, the departments most needed by the Central Committee in case of war were already in existence in peace times. These organized divisions—five in number—faced all at once the entire work of mobilization. It was necessary to take care that the mobilization of the Red Cross was accomplished with the same matter-of-course smoothness as that of the German Army, and it was done. Another division had the handling of the affairs of the male personnel, of all those thousands of hospital workers who were ready at the beginning of the war to devote their strength to the holy cause. No less comprehensive was the activity of another division that had to look after the voluntary hospital service by the women, which was also well prepared for the case of war through long years of work in time of peace. Very important, too, was the well-performed work of a particular division that controlled the storehouses and had the task of handling all the material stored up for war emergencies. And, finally, an important part of the work of the Central Committee in time of peace was the collecting of means for the objects of the Red Cross, and here, also, a special division had been organized.

So, already before the war a closely knit, intelligent organization was available, and all that was necessary after hostilities began was to attach the branches demanded by the war's needs. Of course, these were far from few. In the course of the war, besides the five divisions already mentioned, seven new divisions, some of them with subdivisions, have been created by the Central Committee of the Red Cross.

Above all, it soon became evident that it would be necessary to raise larger cash contributions for the work of the Red Cross, so there was added to the old Division of Collections another body that had the special task of raising funds. The work was hard, indeed, but

the self-sacrificing spirit of wide circles of the German people was revealed to a gratifying extent, as was also the case with the German brothers abroad, particularly those in the United States. Naturally the activity of this division will be maintained during the entire course of the war, for fresh demands are always being made upon the Red Cross and new supplies of money are always needed.

The division that is charged with looking after prisoners, verifying the lists of the missing, and handling the traffic in gifts sent to the prison camps is a genuine war baby. In this case it was a question of the necessity of performing a great work of the noblest humanitarianism. It was necessary to supply the German prisoners in France, England, and Russia with what they needed, and the difficulties encountered by the Red Cross in this task at first seemed absolutely insurmountable. But an iron will and hard work mastered these difficulties also. Indeed, an exchange service with the prisoners' relief organizations on the enemy's side was even established. The service of gifts to our countrymen held prisoner in the enemy's land gradually developed into a well-knit organization, even though—especially in Russia—the lot of the German prisoners remained sorrowful enough.

The sending of German Red Cross sisters to Russia under Danish protection has shown very good results. Good-sized shipments of gifts have also been able to reach the German prisoners in Russia via Finland. As already indicated, this prisoners' division also has the task of looking up the missing. And here German activity has produced notable results. It was made possible to get into touch with the competent authorities in the enemy countries, and thus a mutual service of tracing the missing was established. What this means can only be estimated by him who himself is in doubt regarding the fate of a beloved relative and who hopes, with an anxious heart, for the arrival of any kind of a sign of life. In a great many cases it has been possible to locate in good condition sol-

diers already given up for lost by their relatives.

While the service for prisoners and missing keeps in constant touch with foreign countries—and in part even with hostile lands—the activities of the Red Cross in caring for the sick and wounded lie in the German Fatherland. Naturally, our men wounded in the war are looked after by the State, and in the case of the great majority of the wounded it was of course necessary to arrange for their maintenance strictly according to law. Now, however beneficent laws may be, on the other hand their stiff regulations always embody rigors, and the softening and smoothing out of these harshnesses was the task that the Red Cross undertook in the service of the invalids.

Among the men injured in the war there are always quite a few who, for reasons of a formal nature, can only receive help from the State at a later time than when they need it the most, and right here the intervention of the Red Cross shows itself to be particularly beneficent. The wounded man receives help in the shape of money, and, furthermore, everything is attended to that has to do with the recovery and preservation of his health, the acquiring of the ability to work, the choosing of a trade, the

obtaining of a job, and the housing provisions. Many an anxious care has been chased away by this activity of the Red Cross, and many a heart has been saved from menacing desperation.

Hand in hand with the caring-for-the-invalids division goes the division for baths and sanatoriums. This sees to it that our sick and wounded soldiers, when on the road to recovery, are sent to the proper baths and medical establishments, especially after their discharge from the army.

While these activities of the Red Cross are in the direct service of the participants in the war, there is another branch of no less importance, the one devoted to general war charities and to the combating of sickness and misery in the families. The great division that handles the general war charity work is organized in three groups, the first of which has the task of fighting tuberculosis and plague, the second that of caring for nursing babies and mothers, and the third that of home assistance proper. Never before has this branch of the Red Cross work been as important as at the present moment, for it is a question of bringing up the rising generation of our German people in good health and capable of self-defense.

French Mysticism in Battle

By Maurice Barrès

Member of the French Academy

These eloquent pages are from a lecture delivered by M. Barrès before the Royal Academy in London on the subject, "Le blason de la France, ou ses traits éternels dans cette guerre et dans les vieilles épopées." The reader should by no means skip the strange experience of Lieutenant Pericard, which M. Barrès relates.

IN his "Litany of the Nations," your poet Swinburne places in the mouth of France, apostrophizing the spirit of Liberty, these words:

I am she that was thy sign and standard bearer,

Thy voice and cry;

She that washed thee with her blood and left thee fairer,

The same was I.

Were not these the hands that raised thee fallen and fed thee?

These hands defiled?

Was not I thy tongue that spake, thine eye that led thee,

Not I thy child?

This eulogy, which went to our heart, was thought by many men in many countries to have become unmerited since 1870. They had lost faith in us. They said, "Frenchmen are no longer the same." France was described as an "old nation whose day had passed." But

strangers could know little or nothing of the true life of the French, their home life, or of what was fermenting in the hearts of those who were waiting for the Crusader cry to make known their heroism to the world and to themselves.

Then came August, 1914. The call to arms resounded through the land. In all the villages the bells rang out from the old church towers whose foundations lie among the remains of the dead. They suddenly became the voices of the land of France. They summoned the men and comforted the women. So great was their clamor that it seemed as though they would break the very stones of the tombs, and their sound awakened in every French heart the noblest virtue that heart contains. * * *

One thing only counted—that France should no longer be a beaten nation. The France of Aug. 2, 1914, was born during the forty years she had passed under the menace of Germany. Sorrow, long humiliation, exploded at last in hope.

With the older men it was otherwise. Men of 40, fathers of families, do not rush to death with the same careless gallantry that marks youths of 18. "Gemens spero" was their device, but they knew wherefore they fought, and their sacrifice was not less noble for being made with deliberate heroism. At first there existed a shadow of *sans-culotisme* among these citizen soldiers, an excessive feeling of independence. But in face of the common danger it ripened, and was ennobled. These men continued to look upon each other with a severely critical eye, but took for their standard of judgment the services rendered by each to the common weal. They respected true superiority, that of the heart and that of the mind. Between them and their chiefs there grew up a respectful brotherhood. As one of them, an international Socialist, wrote, "Has not our internationalist faith been justified, seeing that it inspired our will to save France?" They all felt the need and the pride of shedding their blood for a just cause.

To perceive the height of moral feeling which they reached we must understand the symbolic action of the heroic

Lieutenant Colonel Driant, who at the risk of his life crawled to a wounded Lieutenant and under the enemy's fire received his confession and gave him absolution. Thus military units acquired a collective soul and lived in an atmosphere in which saints are born. A regiment, 3,200 strong, spick and span, passed on its way to the trenches the remnant of another regiment reduced to 250 men and commanded by a Captain. Torn, muddy, wounded, worn out, these returning heroes cried to the newcomers, "We have thrashed them!" "As we went forward," wrote one of the 3,200, "moved to the depths of our being, to take their places, they disappeared with their weary triumphal step. That day I understood *La beauté de la Gloire*."

One famous incident is known, but it will bear retelling in the words of its author, Lieutenant Pericard:

It was in the Bois-brûlé at the beginning of April, 1915. We had been fighting for three days, and were only a handful of men harassed, cut off under a hail of bombs. The enemy artillery was merciless. A Lieutenant, whose name I forget, rushed up to support us. He was shot through the temple. My men wept as he fell. Not a step could be taken without treading upon a corpse. I suddenly realized our precarious situation. The exultation of the battle left me. I was afraid. I crouched behind a heap of sandbags. A soldier, Bonnot, remained standing, fighting like a lion, one against many. I pulled myself together. His example shamed me. A few comrades joined us. Daylight was declining. It was impossible to stay as we were. To the right there was not a soul. Beyond an enormous traverse thirty yards away there might be some one. I hesitated, and then by an effort of will went to see.

The trench was full of French dead—blood everywhere. I walked gingerly, timidly, alone with all these dead. Little by little courage returned. I looked at the bodies and it seemed that they were looking at me. From the trench I had left my men regarded me with frightened eyes, as though to say, "He is going to his death." In their trenches the German efforts redoubled, their bombs fell thicker than ever. They were about to charge. Turning toward the prone corpses I thought "Shall their sacrifice be vain?" Anger seized me. I remember little of what I said or did, I know only that I shouted, "Up with you; what are you doing on the earth? Up and cast them out. Arise, ye dead!"

Was I mad? No, for the dead answered. They said, "We will follow." And, rising,

their souls seemed to mingle with mine and to make a mass of fire. Nothing could now stop us. I had found the faith that moves mountains. My hoarse voice, worn by shouting orders for two days and a night, became clear and strong. What happened exactly I do not know. Action engulfed memory. I remember only a disorderly offensive in which, foremost, the figure of Bonnot was conspicuous. A man of my platoon, wounded in the arm, kept throwing bombs covered with his blood. As for me, I felt as though I had grown immeasurably, that I had a giant's body, a bounding strength, and an extraordinary lucidity of vision and thought which allowed me to give orders, fire at the enemy, and at the same time to parry his bombs. Twice we ran out of grenades, and twice we found them at our feet, whole sacks full, mingled with sandbags. The whole day we had stood upon them without seeing them. At last the Germans fled. We consolidated our position in the communication trench, and were once more masters of the position.

That whole night and for several following days the religious emotion that had seized me when I called upon the dead governed me completely. I understood that I had lived hours which I should never live again, hours during which my head, having broken through a low ceiling, had emerged into full mystery, into the invisible world of heroes and saints. Afterward my men congratulated me. Those who know our men know also that there is no Legion of Honor to compare with such congratulations.

I know I am not a hero. Whenever I have had to cross the parapet of a trench I have shivered with fright, and what I have just described was a mere accident in my soldier's life. It was the living who led me on by their example, and the dead who took me by the hand. My cry came not from the mouth of a man, but from the heart of all who lay there living and dead. A man could not speak with that tone. It needed the joint effort of many souls, urged by circumstances, souls of which some were already in eternity. Why should it have fallen to me rather than to Colonel de Belnay, Lieutenant Erlaud, Sergeant Prot, Corporal Thévin, or Private Bonnot? I know not, save that one may receive an inspiration from on high, and yet be but a poor creature.

If ever you tell this story name all these officers and men, for the glory belongs to

them and to our regiment. The more you fuse me with the mass the nearer you will get to the truth. I am convinced that I was but the instrument of a higher power.

[M. Barrès then showed by many striking historical examples how this transfiguration of French soldiers is in agreement with the whole tradition of France from the Crusades to Jeanne d'Arc, and from Jeanne d'Arc to the Revolution. He concluded:]

The soldiers of France fight religiously. The man of year II, believing that he was bringing liberty and equality to the world, fought in the same spirit as the Crusader before Jerusalem. When the Crusader cried, "Dieu le veut," and when the volunteer of Valmy exclaimed, "La République vous appelle," their words were prompted by the same emotion. It is a question of bringing more justice, more beauty, upon the earth. To all a voice from heaven, or from their conscience, repeats the words of Archbishop Turpin in the *Chanson de Roland*:

"If ye die, ye shall be martyrs holy."

In defending France, Frenchmen have always believed that they were fighting to render humanity more beautiful. They fight for ideas, for beliefs, for aspirations. In this war, sacred if ever war was, they feel that they are renewing the *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

Not less sublime than the men are the women of France. Peasant women receiving the news of their husbands' and their sons' death on the battlefield with the cry, "Vive la France," and Mme. de Castelnau, wife of the illustrious Chief of the French General Staff, who, praying at the altar for her three sons in battle and seeing the hands of the priest tremble, understands, and asks simply, "Which?"—all are animated by the same spirit, the spirit of faith and of victory.



The Decisive Stage of the War

By Aristide Briand

Premier of France and President of the Council

Below appears the full text of the Ministerial declaration read by M. Briand at the opening of the French Chamber of Deputies, Sept. 14, 1916. This official survey of the situation contains the formal announcement that the Entente Allies have seized the military initiative and reduced the Teutonic Empires to the defensive.

GENTLEMEN: During your absence two great facts have intervened to mark with brilliancy a new and decisive stage in the course of events. Two declarations of war have followed one another at an interval of twenty-four hours—that of Italy against Germany and that of Rumania against Austria-Hungary.

These two acts were greeted by France with a thrill of joy. She grasped by instinct all their significance at the same moment that she felt their nobility and beauty. They bring to the sacred cause for which the allied armies are fighting an additional force which, morally and materially, will contribute not a little to hasten victory.

Italy and Germany

Since the month of May, 1915, Italy had taken her place by the side of the Allies to resist with them the enterprise of world domination revealed by the odious aggression of the Central Empires against Belgium and France. She had not feared to go spontaneously into this terrible war which has been imposed upon us, and whose horrors she had already been able to realize.

But it was not apparent to Italy at that time that it would be necessary for her to take the initiative in declaring war against Germany, with whom she

had no frontiers in common, and against whom she had no individual grievance. Germany rewarded her by multiplying the vexations inflicted on her citizens and by making secret war upon her.

Thus, on the day when Italy, hastening to aid the Allies in the Balkans, saw that she was destined to find herself fighting face to face against those German soldiers who had hitherto dealt their blows in the shadow, she did not hesitate to do what was necessary. She put law and fact loyally in accord with each other by the solemn act which demonstrated the complete solidarity of all the Allies engaged in the same war against the same enemies.

Thus was our unity of action on an un-

broken front affirmed once more—a unity which we are making closer each day. The Allies have placed all their efforts in common, combining and co-ordinating them, and this close co-ordination has led to a characteristic evolution of the conflict. The Teutonic Empires find themselves reduced to the defensive.

The initiative in military operations has escaped them.

Rumania's Ambitions

Affinities of race and education, an equal love of right, a community of aspirations toward the same ideal of liberty and justice—these were destined to



ARISTIDE BRIAND

range the noble country of Rumania under the same flag with the Allies when the proper moment arrived. This moment Rumania seized courageously, with a full consciousness of the rôle which it belonged to her to play in this war, and with a clear vision of the high interests which called for her intervention: those of the Rumanian Nation aspiring for many years to the deliverance of its oppressed nationals and those of all humanity, imperiled by the German attempt for domination.

Rumania, traitorously attacked by Bulgaria, may encounter greater difficulties, but she can draw from her own strength as well as from that of the Allies to surmount them, and she will travel with us along the road to a victory which will make of her the great nation which she has the legitimate ambition to become.

In close co-operation with our new ally the armies at Saloniki will fulfill the mission that has been intrusted to them. Action on that front, as on the others, is already developing according to the plans of the General Staff.

By the side of the valiant English, Italian, Russian, and French troops, the glorious Serbian Army, fully reorganized, its face turned toward its hereditary enemy, is fighting heroically for the deliverance of its invaded and mangled country. In this new theatre of operations the action of the Allies, arrayed against the Oriental dream of the Central Empires, will develop as rapidly as necessary, and events in the Balkan Peninsula will follow their inexorable course. After Turkey, Bulgaria will learn how dangerous it is for a country to desert its traditional friendships in order to subject itself to the egoistic designs of an unscrupulous nation.

The Allies in Greece

The invasion of Greek Macedonia by the Bulgars, who have met with no serious resistance from Greece, the intrigues of German agents of corruption in that country, and the deeds of spies operating with impunity, have led the Allies to take or to exact measures indispensable to the security of their troops.

The Government presided over by M. Zaimis, to whose loyalty it is only just to render homage, has conceded our first demands. We hope that the Greek people will understand the reasons and the object of our intervention.

We were called to Saloniki to contribute to the defense of Serbia, the ally of Greece. We will there prosecute to the end the work for which appeal was made to our assistance. We could not, in these circumstances, allow the intrigues of our enemies or of their accomplices to compromise the success of the operations undertaken by the allied armies.

But in intervening thus we have not been thinking solely of the safety of our troops; we have had in view the interest of Greece herself. We have sought to fulfill once more the traditional part that belongs to the guardian powers. We intend to safeguard Greek territory and to furnish to the Hellenic people—threatened as they are by our enemies, which are also theirs—the aid that is indispensable to preserve their independence.

Allies in the Ascendency

The developments in the different theatres of operation show that the Allies have taken henceforth the ascendency over the enemy, and that the sustained co-ordination of their efforts can only be accentuated as time goes on. From the present moment this unity of action has reached a point and produced results which enable us to face the future with absolute confidence. The striking victories of the glorious Russian and Italian armies, with those of the magnificent English and French soldiers on the front in France, give us the right to cherish all hopes.

The hour of reparation approaches for the individuals as well as for the nations upon which the Teutonic storm of aggression burst.

At this moment our thoughts and hearts turn toward the people of our invaded provinces. The worst treatment has been inflicted upon them by an enemy who in the exercise of force knows neither limit nor law of any sort.

It is with painful indignation that we have learned, among so many other ex-

cesses, of the wholesale deportations of the inhabitants of several communities in the Department of the North. Our enemies, not being able to deny these violations of the most elementary rules of international law, have sought to justify them on the ground of the self-interest of the communities themselves and the necessity of assuring their subsistence. They have omitted to say that they began by reducing our fellow-citizens to a state of famine by robbing them, contrary to all law, of the products of their land. It has seemed to us that while waiting for the moment when these criminal acts shall receive their punishment it would be well to have them confirmed publicly, and, through contradictory methods, by the civilized world. Having brought together the elements of the necessary proofs, we placed them under the eyes of the neutral States, and the universal conscience has been deeply stirred by these acts, which dishonor forever those who committed them.

However confident we may be that henceforth victory is certain, we should not allow ourselves to run into an excess of optimism. It would be a sad thing for us if we were to slacken our activities under the pretext that victory can no longer escape us. Let us face the truth coldly; the enemy is still powerful; he will defend himself desperately to the end; he will succumb only to repeated blows. Nothing, therefore, should be neglected to give us the best of the struggle. We ought to redouble our efforts, applying ourselves more than ever to the

task of marshaling all the resources of the country and of furnishing our armies with all the means for conquering; our armies, upon whose officers and men we lavish one and the same admiration, a single identical gratitude for the heroism and self-denial they have ceaselessly placed at the service of the country.

This is the common task of the Government and of Parliament; it calls for all our energies. By the results it has already given, the collaboration of the elect of the nations, and of the men who, under your control, hold power in these grave moments, has shown what it is capable of accomplishing. Let us make it closer still; let the collaboration be incessant for the good of France. Thus we shall respond to the deep and ardent prayers of our native land, which, from the very beginning of this war, at every instant, even the most tragic, the most agonizing, has not ceased, by the nobility and firmness of its attitude, to show itself worthy of its heroes, of the great conquerors of the Marne, of the Yser, of Verdun, and of Picardy.

The task that remains for us is arduous. However heavy it may be, we shall know how to carry it to a happy issue by the union of our efforts and with the inspiration of all the good wishes in which France is so rich. The union of all the living forces of the country is the essential condition of success; that is what will carry us to the end—peace through victory, a solid and durable peace, guaranteed against any return of violence by appropriate international penalties.



"No Interference Until Prussianism Is Crushed"

By David Lloyd George
British Secretary for War

This statement of the attitude of Great Britain and the Entente Allies was made by Lloyd George through Roy W. Howard, President of The United Press, on Sept. 28, 1916.

SUPPORTING terms are pretty well understood wherever English is spoken, I am quite sure they will be understood in America. Well, then, the British soldier is a good sportsman. He enlisted in this war in the sporting spirit—the best sense of that term. He went in to see fair play to a small nation trampled upon by a bully. He is fighting for fair play in international dealings. He has fought as a good sportsman by the thousands. He has died like a sportsman. He has never asked anything more than a sporting chance and hasn't always had that. When he couldn't get it he didn't quit. He played the game. He didn't squeal and certainly he never asked any one to squeal for him.

Under the circumstances the British, now that the fortunes of the game have turned a bit, are not disposed to stop because of the squealing done by the Germans, or for the Germans, by probably well-meaning but misguided sympathizers and humanitarians.

For two years the British soldier has had a bad time—no one knows so well as he what a bad time it was. He was sadly inferior in equipment. On the average he was inferior in training. He saw the allied cause beaten all about the ring, but he didn't appeal to either

the spectators or the referee to stop the fight on the ground that it was brutal, nor did he ask to have the rules changed. He took his punishment. Even when beaten like a dog he was a game dog.

When forced to take refuge in a trench, when too badly used up to carry the fight to the enemy, he hung on without whining, fought off every attack, bided his time, endured without wincing, worked without flagging.

And at this time, under these conditions, what was the winning German doing? Was he worrying over the terrible slaughter? No. He was talking of annexing Belgium and Poland as a result of his "victory," and while he was remaking the

map of Europe without the slightest regard for the wishes of its people the British people were preparing to pay the price we knew must be paid for the time to get the army ready.

It is one thing to look back on the pounding the British soldier took the first two years of the war, but a different thing to look forward as he did and know the beating couldn't be avoided during these months when it seemed the finish of the British Army might come quickly.

Germany elected to make it a finish fight with England. The British soldier was ridiculed, held in contempt. Now



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

we intend to see that Germany has her way. The fight must be to the finish—to a knockout.

The whole world, including neutrals of the highest purposes and humanitarians with the best motives, must know that there can be no outside interference at this stage. Britain asked no intervention when she was not prepared to fight. She will tolerate none now that she is prepared until Prussian military despotism is broken beyond repair.

There was no regret voiced in Germany over the useless slaughter. There were no tears by German sympathizers when the few thousand British citizens who never expected to be soldiers, whose military education started only a few months previously, went out to be battered, bombed, and gassed, to receive ten shells for every one they could fire—went out, fought, and died like sportsmen without even a grumble. I repeat that there was no whimpering then, and the people who are now moved to tears at the thought of what is to come watched the early rounds of the unequal contest dry eyed. None of the carnage and suffering which is to come can be worse than the sufferings of those allied dead who stood the full shock of the Prussian war machine before it began to falter.

But in the British determination to carry the fight to a decisive finish there is something more than the natural demand for vengeance. The inhumanity, the pitilessness of the fighting that must come before a lasting peace is possible is not comparable with the cruelty that would be involved in stopping the war while there remains a possibility of civilization again being menaced from the same quarter. Peace now or at any time before the final and complete elimination of this menace is unthinkable. No man and no nation with the slightest understanding of the temper of this citizen army of Britons, which took its terrible hammering without a whine or grumble, will attempt to call a halt now.

As to how long this must go on: There's neither clock nor calendar in the British Army today. Time is the least vital factor. Only the result counts—not the time consumed in achieving it.

It took England twenty years to defeat Napoleon, and the first fifteen of those years were black with British defeat. It will not take twenty years to win this war, but whatever time is required it will be done, and I say this recognizing that we have only begun to win. There is no disposition on our side to fix the hour of ultimate victory after the first success. We have no delusion that the war is nearing an end. We haven't the slightest doubt as to how it is to end.

But what of France? you ask; is there the same determination there to stick to the end, the same idea of fighting until peace terms can be dictated by Germany's enemies?

The world at large has not yet begun to appreciate the magnificence, the nobility, the wonder of France.

I had the answer to your inquiry given me a few days ago by a noble French woman. She had given four sons—she had one left to be given to France. In the course of my talk with her I asked if she didn't think the struggle had gone far enough. Her reply, without a moment's hesitation, was: "The fight will never have gone far enough until we have made a repetition of this horror impossible." That mother was voicing the spirit of France.

Yes, France will stick to the end. I suppose America's conception of France and the French soldier before the war was as erroneous as the British idea. I suppose you, too, regarded the French soldier as excitable, brilliant in attack, but lacking dogged staying qualities.

Nothing was more unwarranted than the popular idea of the Frenchman as a poor defensive fighter. History never justified this idea, but there will be a new appraisal, a new appreciation, when the real heroism, nobility, and genius of the defense of Verdun is fully understood. France has fought the longest wars of any nation of Europe, and her history itself is assurance enough that she will hold to the end.

With the British it will be the sporting spirit that will animate the army to the last, fair play the motive—fair fight the method. With the French it will be that fiercely burning patriotism that will

sustain the army to the end regardless of when the end may come.

And Russia will go through to the death. Russia has been slow to arouse, but she will be equally slow to quiet. The resentment of the Russian against having been forced into war is deep. He has neither forgotten nor forgiven the fact that this happened when he was ill-prepared and unsuspecting. No, there are and will be no quitters among the Allies. "Never again" has become the battle cry.

At home the suffering and sorrow is great and is growing. As to the war

zone, its terrors are indescribable. I have just visited the battlefields of France. I stood, as it were, at the door of hell. I saw myriads marching into the furnace. I saw some coming out of it, scorched and mutilated.

This ghastliness must never be re-enacted on this earth, and one method at least of answering that end is the infliction of such punishment upon the perpetrators of this outrage against humanity that the temptation to emulate their exploits will be eliminated from the hearts of the evil minded among the rulers of men.

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The Liars

By BARON D'ESCHYLE

Acting Belgian Ambassador to Russia

This bitter indictment of the Germans by a Belgian diplomat appeared in a Moscow paper:

When in 1839 they signed the "scrap of paper"—they lied. When they forged the Ems dispatch—they lied again.

When in 1914 they whined that they were the victims and that they had desired peace—they lied.

When their Ambassador in Brussels reassured the Belgian people twelve hours before he delivered the ultimatum—it was a premeditated lie.

When their Kaiser cabled on Sept. 8, 1914, to President Wilson—his message contained a cynical lie.

When they speak of Belgian francs-tireurs—they lie.

When they refer to a secret agreement between France and England and Belgium—it is a brazen lie.

When they make use of the white flag—they deceive.

When they signed The Hague Convention—it was a swindle.

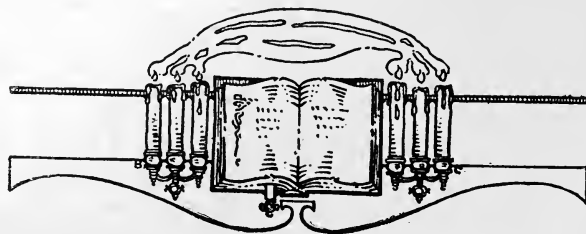
When they tell the fettered Belgian Nation that its patriotic resistance is useless—they lie.

When they say to the Belgian refugees abroad: "Give up, as others have done already"—it is a crying lie.

It is a flood, an inundation, of lies.

They lied, they are lying, they always will lie.

Don't believe them, then, those men whom a feeling of disgust prevents me from naming.



CROWN PRINCE RUPPRECHT



Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria Is in Command of the German
Armies in the Desperate Struggle on the Somme.
(Photo from Central News Service.)

DUKE ALBRECHT OF WUERTTEMBERG



Commander of the Northern End of the German Lines in France
and Belgium.

"This War of Annihilation"

By Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg

The German Chancellor

[Text of speech delivered at opening of Reichstag, Sept. 23, 1916]

OUR relations with Rumania before the war were based on the treaty of alliance first concluded between Austria-Hungary and Rumania, and then enlarged by the accession of Germany and Italy. The contracting parties engaged under the treaty to assist each other in case of unprovoked attack by a third party.

When the war broke out King Carlos with all his energy stood up for the idea that Rumania owed to the Central Powers thirty years of political security and wonderful economic development, and that, therefore, Rumania must support the Central Powers, not only on account of the provisions of the treaty but also for the sake of the country's honor. The late King regarded as sophistry the objection that Rumania had not been informed and consulted in regard to the Austro-Hungarian *démarche* in regard to Serbia.

But when the deciding session of the Crown Council was held the aged King did not succeed as against the Government, whose Prime Minister, notwithstanding treaty obligations, sympathized with the Entente Powers. A short time later the King died in consequence of the emotions caused by realization that Rumania was a traitor to her allies.

Rumania's War Policy

The Rumanian policy was now guided by Premier Bratiano, who attempted to

gain riches, without making great sacrifices, at the expense of the party suffering defeat in the war. The main point was to discover in time which party was about to win final victory, in order not to be too late. Nevertheless, during the

first year of the war, probably after the fall of Lemberg, Premier Bratiano, leaving his sovereign in ignorance, concluded a treaty of neutrality with Russia. After the fall of Przemysl he thought the time had come to reach an understanding in regard to pay for his Judas-like treason, but the negotiations failed. Russia desired to increase her own vast territory by taking the Bukowina, while Rumania not only coveted this same Bukowina, but also all Hungarian territory as far as the Theiss.



DR. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG

[The Chancellor added that in spite of this failure Rumania's policy of neutrality favored the Entente more and more. He said Rumania attempted to collaborate with the British efforts to establish a blockade of Germany, withholding grain purchased by Germany until the grain was obtained by means of energetic pressure. The Premier again hesitated when the Central Powers, initiating the offensive in Galicia in the Spring of last year, broke through the Russian line at Gorlice, and was in doubt whether he had placed his wager on the right horse. Negotiations with the Entente were almost suspended.]

The Russian offensive this Spring made Premier Bratiano believe he saw

the breaking down of the Central Powers. Accordingly he decided to obtain a share when the robbery of the dead body began. Furthermore, the Entente Powers had a freer hand in conducting negotiations than others. Serbia had been conquered, and the protectors of small, feeble States were no longer obliged to show any consideration for Serbia's former wishes in regard to annexation of territory. They could be more liberal toward Rumania.

Bratiano's Deception

In the middle of August Bratiano came to terms with our enemies. He reserved for himself, however, the decision as to the time actual hostilities were to be inaugurated, and attempted to make it dependent on military conditions. The King of Rumania up to that time had repeatedly given the most binding assurances that under all circumstances he would remain neutral. Finally, the Rumanian Minister in Berlin, on the order of the King, gave to me a formal declaration that the King desired to maintain Rumania's neutrality and that the Government was in a position to do so. Premier Bratiano declared to the German Minister at Bucharest, Baron von Bussche-Haddenhausen, that he fully indorsed the declaration of the King.

However, we were not deceived. We were informed continuously in regard to Bratiano's negotiations during August, and constantly directed the King's attention to the secret intrigues of his Prime Minister. The King declared several times that Bratiano was (not?) bound or binding himself to the Entente. As late as three days before the declaration of war the King said to our Minister that he knew the overwhelming majority of the Rumanian Nation did not desire war. To an intimate friend the King declared on the same day in the most categorical fashion that he would not sign an order for mobilization.

On Aug. 26, the day preceding Rumania's declaration of war, the King said to the Austro-Hungarian Minister that he did not wish war. I add in passing that Bratiano at the same time assured the Austro-Hungarian representa-

tive that he had decided to maintain neutrality, and that the outcome of the session of the Crown Council which had been called for the following day would prove the truth of his words.

As late as Aug. 23 the Entente Powers had not decided at what moment Rumania ought to declare war. We knew this from a most reliable source. The Rumanian army still lacked preparedness, and particularly lacked munitions, as was proved later, at the time of the fall of Turtukai and Silistria.

A Russian Ultimatum

Then events were precipitated. From information which may be considered reliable it appears that Russia suddenly presented an ultimatum that she would cross the unprotected Rumanian frontier if Rumania did not begin war before Aug. 28. Whether this ultimatum was a piece of comedy prearranged with Bratiano, in order to influence the hesitating King, I leave undecided, but the die was cast.

M. Briand, [Premier of France,] in his latest discourse, praised the beauty and loveliness of Rumania's procedure. Political conditions of such a nature that orders of Kings and Ministers amount to nothing show the doubtful value of those ideals of liberty, justice, and civilization for which the Entente pretends that it fights. Since the beginning of the world war Rumania has followed a policy of piracy, depending upon the general war situation. Rumania's military capitulation will prove as mistaken as her political capitulation to her Entente friends, which already has been proved to have been wrong. They must have hoped earnestly that Rumania's participation in the war would cause the defection of Bulgaria and Turkey, but Turkey and Bulgaria are not the same as Rumania and Italy. Firm and inviolable stands their faithfulness as allies, and they have won glorious victories in the Dobrudja.

The Military Situation

Since the beginning of July, English and French attacks on the Somme have raged almost without interruption. The common offensive of the Entente enemies wanted to break through the front of

the hated Germans, free France and Belgium, and carry the war across the Rhine into Germany.

But what has happened? The French and English have gained advantages and have pushed back our first lines some kilometers. We deplore the heavy losses in men and material. This, however, is unavoidable in the face of an offensive planned on such a broad scale. But what our enemies hoped and attempted did not succeed. Our front was not broken nor rolled up, but stands firm and unshaken. Heavy and violent is the fighting there on the Somme and the end is not yet in view. Further sacrifices are necessary. This or that trench, and this or that village may be lost. But they will not push through our lines! This is assured by our commanders and by the incomparable bravery of the troops from all parts of Germany.

On the eastern front the great Russian attempt to break through was stopped by the troops of Archduke Charles and General von Linsingen. Attacks to the west of Lutsk, on the Marayuka River and in the Carpathians then followed, but they also broke down.

There also the fighting will continue. There also it is absolutely certain that the line will be maintained by the heroism of our armies.

In the Balkans the Entente Powers planned to split our alliance, to intercept communication between Germany and the Near East, to crush Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary one after the other, and then to throw all their forces against isolated Germany. * * *

The situation of our faithful, brave allies is unshaken. Austria-Hungary stands together with us on the eastern front from Lake Narocz to Transylvania. The Turks are fighting in Galicia. German, Bulgarian, and Turkish troops have defeated the Rumanians in the Dobrudja. Hungarian, German, and Turkish troops have fought their way to Macedonia.

The plan of the Entente Powers to force a decision in the Dobrudja and Macedonia was frustrated as soon as it began. The Saloniki army has been able to make only feeble advances. The

Germans, Bulgarians, and Turks in the Dobrudja marched to the northward, while our enemies hoped that the Russians and Rumanians would march to the southward.

To sum up: On the Somme front there have been isolated hostile successes which, however, do not change the general situation. Otherwise a successful defense has been made against all hostile attacks and thus the enemy attempts have been thwarted. In the Balkans the hostile plan failed. Thus the enormous war goes on.

Allies' "Lust of Conquest"

The aims proclaimed by our enemies are becoming increasingly clear and admit of no misunderstanding. They are: Lust of conquest and annihilation. I have spoken in this House repeatedly about them. It is proposed to give Constantinople to Russia, Alsace-Lorraine to France, the Trentino and Trieste to Italy, and Transylvania to Rumania.

[The Chancellor insisted that from the very beginning the war had been for Germany "nothing but defense of our right to life and liberty," and said that, therefore, Germany, the first and only one of the belligerents, had declared her readiness for peace negotiations on Dec. 9, 1915, and on several occasions subsequently. He continued:]

We did our duty. Does any one dare ask that today we make proposals to our enemies, inasmuch as M. Briand a short time ago said that consideration of peace now would be a humiliation and a disgrace to the memory of the dead?

They continue the war because they hope to attain their Utopian aims. Their lust of conquest persists, though the mountains of corpses tower higher every day.

The French Prime Minister said in one of his latest speeches that France is fighting for a firm and lasting peace in which the freedom of nationalities will be protected by international agreements against all attacks. We, too, desire this. We wish to protect Germany forever against every attack.

But does M. Briand—united with our

enemies even before the war in an alliance of French thirst for revenge, Russian lust for conquest, and the British policy of isolating Germany and dominating the whole world, an alliance that desires to annihilate, attempts to boycott and shapes its entire policy not only for the period of the war but for the time after the war—does M. Briand believe that this prepares soil from which could grow international agreements granting to nations liberty, honor, dignity, and peaceful collaboration for the sake of humanity and progress? Or does M. Briand really believe he can obtain this lofty ideal in time by a war of annihilation in which the last of the youth of France is perishing on the devastated battlefields of Verdun and the Somme?

[Against the reports that the German Emperor in the past had used his influence with the Russian Emperor to impede Russia's evolution toward liberty the Chancellor protested:]

This report is untrue, as I state publicly in this place. It is the opposite of the truth. The arrangement of public life in Russia, whether autocratic or constitutional, is merely Russia's business. I abstain completely from criticism. I represent only German interests. What we desire from other nations, no matter whether they live in this or that form of State, is that German rights and interests shall be inviolable.

Great Britain's Aims

What Great Britain wants to make of Germany is shown by the British without any possibility of doubt. They want to destroy our national life.

The Germany which England wants to lay at her feet is a country without military defense, a country crushed economically, boycotted by the entire world, and sentenced to lasting economic infirmity.

When this German competition shall have been eliminated, when France has lost all her blood, when all her allies of war must toil as England's slaves in the financial life, when the neutral world of Europe must follow each English command and submit to every British black-

list, then England will build on devastated Germany her dream of English world dominion.

This is the aim for which England is fighting with forces and means unparalleled in her history, adding one breach of international law to another. Therefore, England is our most egoistic, our most bitter, and our most tenacious enemy. A German statesman who would refrain from using against this enemy every proper means of warfare which is apt to shorten the war deserves to be hanged.

[The Chancellor protested against reports that for any reason whatever all means of warfare were not being used as fully as possible. He declined to enter into public discussions which recently have arisen on this subject, saying that the times were too grave.]

The Chancellor then briefly reviewed the economic situation. He stated that the English starvation blockade had failed, and that the provisionment of the German Nation had been improved by the recent harvest.]

When in August, 1914, we had to draw the sword, we knew we had to protect our hearths and homes against a mighty and almost overwhelming coalition. Ardent, and until then unknown and often ignored, patriotism flamed up in all hearts, defying death and certain of victory. Today, after two years of fighting, struggling, suffering, and dying, we know more than ever before that there is only one watchword—namely, *persevere and win*. We will win. Last Winter there was pusillanimous anxiety as to whether our foodstuffs would suffice. They have sufficed. This year's harvest makes us much more secure than was the case last year. * * *

"Germany's Sublime Defiance"

I bow my head before the heroism with which women and men without distinction of rank or class bear their sacrifices, united in an ardent love for the Fatherland. Still more sublime and still greater is the defiance of death with which our sons and brothers in the field withstand the violent assaults of the enemy who, superior in numbers, are fighting with the utmost bravery. World

history—human history—has never before seen the like.

What gives us force to stand in this struggle against almost the entire world if not love for the land of our fathers, which unites all its sons with an unseverable bond; if not the uncorrupted force of arms and hearts which lives at the rock bottom of our national life and from which new generations rise?

Nothing of this which has stood the fire test can be missed in peace times. What has turned out to be true in war must live in peace. "Unmeasured work awaits me," wrote Frederick the Great when the Seven Years' War drew to an end. Unmeasured work was for us the result of all the struggles in which Prus-

sia and Germany for 150 years have had to defend their existence. This was for our good fortune and will be so again.

Great tasks which await us in all domains of State and of social, economic, and political life need all the vital, solid forces of our nation. It is necessary for the State in order to conquer all obstacles that we must find these forces and use them for the common weal. Let us clear the road for all that are fit. Let us follow this watchword in open-minded spirit and our empire will advance toward the future, in which the best of the nation from all ranks and classes gladly will participate in the works of peace just as is done now in this sanguinary struggle.

Allies Paying the Price for Gains on the Somme

By Crown Prince Rupprecht

Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, commander of the German forces on the Somme front, made the statement given below to a correspondent of the International News Service.

SUNDAY, Monday, and Tuesday, [Sept. 9, 10, 11,] the days whose tragic activity you were lucky or unlucky enough to be a witness of, marked the culmination thus far of the first desperate effort of the Entente to force our positions. My officers told you, or will tell you, the result as we on this side see it. Our losses in territory may be seen on the map with a microscope. Their losses in that far more precious thing—human life—are simply prodigious.

Amplly and in full coin have they paid for every foot of ground we sold them. They can have all they want at the same price. We have a reserve, constituted of trained officers and trained men, which has not yet been drawn upon. We are not, like the Entente Generals, forced to throw raw, untrained recruits into the very front of the fighting.

Whether this will be the last effort we cannot know. We have taken measure of their strength at its maximum tide and are prepared for anything they can deliver. For the sake of the thousands whom new attacks will slay in vain we hope they have learned a lesson. So far as the interests of the Fatherland are

concerned, we are indifferent; indeed, inclined to welcome any further folly they may indulge in.

You cannot have failed to see the absolutely impregnable nature of our positions and the superabundant adequacy of our preparations. If you can let news of what you have seen go to our friends, the English, perhaps you may have served the cause of humanity. It saddens us to exact the dreadful toll of suffering and death that is being marked up on the ledger of history, but if the enemy is still minded to possess a few more hectares of blood-sodden soil, I fear they must pay a bitter price.

Prince Rupprecht made this further statement on Sept. 28 to a correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt:

This Somme offensive brings an attack of unusual violence every six days on the average. I know this country well from the fighting of 1914. At that time we had moving warfare, while we are now in a position of siege.

In his attacks, beginning in July, the enemy has gained some ground, but a decision of the situation is not to be

thought of. One cannot prophesy how things will go here, but one thing is certain: Everything has now been so well provided for by us that one can quietly await coming events, be they what they may.

The offensive will certainly not be at an end very soon. One may well look forward to an offensive of great endurance, with very violent attacks, prepared for by a colossal expenditure of ammunition. We have, however, taken all necessary measures.

Our artillery has been strengthened

and our fliers also. In the last few days our fliers have again had some good successes after their hard fight against the enemy fliers. The fact that our fliers are getting the upper hand is of prime advantage to our artillery.

Our troops have given their all and the nut was too hard for the enemy to crack. I am of the opinion that the enemy is seeking a decision here and this year, and in this he has failed.

We must now take a Winter campaign into account and keep fighting next year as well. That is my firm conviction.

Emigration After the War

By A. Bonar Law

British Colonial Secretary

THE end is, perhaps, not within sight, but it is coming, and I wonder if you have begun to realize, as I do, what are the problems which will confront us. In my belief the problem of reconstruction after the war will be a difficult task; it will try severely the character of our people and the capacity of our Government, more even than the task which we have had in winning the war.

One of the most important is the question of emigration. It is not an easy problem. After this war, with the loss of so much of the most virile of our manhood, it will be the duty of this country to keep at home as many as we can keep. For, after all, the strength of the centre of the empire is necessary if the empire is to be strong. That is one side, but there is another. We must give to the men who are fighting our battles the best chance of the widest outlook which is available for them. There will be emigration, and the Government, whatever it is, will be much to blame if two things are not made certain. One is that whatever emigration does take place shall be within the British Empire, and shall not lessen the strength of the empire as a whole. The other is that whatever emigration there is to be shall take place under the best conditions for the men who have fought our battles.

This war, so far as our dominions are concerned, is being carried on under conditions which never existed in the world before, and which even now are almost incredible. These great dominions are, in fact, independent States. We could not have compelled a single one of them to send a man or contribute a penny, but they have sent of their best, not so much to help us as to help the empire, of which they are a part. These conditions can never occur again. It requires great good will and good sense on the part of both the dominions and the authorities at home to enable an arrangement to work by which one set of men should contribute lives and treasure and should have no voice as to the way in which those lives and that treasure are expended. That cannot continue. There must be a change.

The war has done more I believe than many generations in other circumstances could have done in uniting the empire. We feel that we are one, and I am sure of this, that here at home the people of this country are prepared to accept any system of closer union which the dominions and colonies may desire to see adopted, and to try and find some method by which in the future the unity which has characterized us in the war will be found to be as durable when peace comes.

The Seven Crosses of Verdun

By Raymond Poincaré

President of France

President Poincaré delivered the following speech at Verdun on Sept. 13, when he presented to the city seven decorations awarded by Entente Governments. Generals Joffre, Petain, Nivelle, and Dubois, with members of the military missions of the Allies, were present, and the decorations were accepted for the city by the Mayor of Verdun, who had remained at his post throughout the five months of German bombardment.

GENTLEMEN: The idea of honoring the defenders of Verdun by bestowing a decoration upon the city which they have made famous occurred spontaneously to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia at the moment when the same project was formed by the Government of France. Their Majesties the King of England, the King of Italy, the King of the Belgians, the King of Serbia, and the King of Montenegro immediately associated themselves with this pious enterprise. Thus it is that today the representatives of so great a number of allied countries have been able to come together in this unviolated citadel to offer the tribute of their homage to the heroes who saved the world, and to the proud city which has paid with so many bruises for the victory of liberty.

Here are the walls upon which the supreme hopes of imperial Germany were broken. It was here that Germany sought to achieve a brilliant and theatrical success; it was here that, with tranquil firmness, France replied: "You do not pass."

When the attack upon Verdun began, on Feb. 21, the enemy had a double objective—to prevent a general offensive of the Allies and to seize swiftly a place whose historic name should exalt the army in the eyes of the German people.

The débris of those Teutonic dreams now lies at our feet.

At three conferences held in the French Grand Headquarters on Dec. 6, 7, and 8, 1915, under the Presidency of

General Joffre, by the Commanders in Chief or the representatives of all the allied armies—British, Russian, Italian, Belgian, and Serbian—there had been adopted, at the suggestion of the French General Staff, a plan of action for the campaign of the following year. It had been decided that, with close unity of the battle fronts, the troops of the coalition would undertake in 1916 a series of concerted offensives whose dates should be so fixed as not to

allow the Central Powers to use their reserves successively on the different fields of operations. Contingent plans had also been arranged for use in case our adversaries, by anticipating us, should try to block the execution of this common program.

In place of submitting to our law Germany desired to impose hers on us and to take the initiative herself in an attack whose place and date she would choose. The admirable troops which, under Generals Petain and Nivelle, bore, through long months, the formidable shock of the Germany Army, have frustrated the designs of the enemy by their bravery and their spirit of sacrifice.



PRESIDENT POINCARE

It was they who permitted all the Allies to work with increasing activity at the manufacture of war munitions; it was they who, by marking with a luminous line the limit of Germanic force, spread abroad through the universe the faith in our ultimate victory; it was they, in fine, who, by assuring the realization of the plan drawn up by the General Staffs, gave Russia time to prepare and initiate her triumphant offensives of June 4 and July 2; gave Italy time to organize her brilliant attack of June 25 upon Gorizia; gave the Anglo-French troops time to undertake at the end of July 1, on the Somme, an uninterrupted series of methodical operations; gave the Army of the East time to equip itself and concentrate its diverse elements in order to lend to our new allies, the Rumanians, a fraternal co-operation against the Germans and Bulgarians.

Honor to the soldiers of Verdun! They have sowed and watered with their blood the harvest which is springing up today.

And see, gentlemen, the just turning of the tables. This name of Verdun, to which Germany in the intensity of her dream had given a symbolic meaning, and which was, she believed, soon to evoke before the imaginations of men a striking defeat of our army, the irremediable discouragement of our country, and the passive acceptance of the German peace—this name henceforth represents in neutral lands, as in those of the Allies, all that is most beautiful, most pure and good in the soul of the French people. It has become a synthetic synonym of patriotism, of courage, and of generosity.

Ah, it is true that the pride which this universal homage inspires in us cannot be separated from a great sadness. Those of us who are attached to this city and this region by very tender ties, those who count among these brave and cruelly tried communities on the Meuse so many friends and relatives, those who meet at every step in the charred streets of Verdun living memories of their youthful years, can but feel an insurmountable sorrow at the distressing spectacle of this wild devastation.

But Verdun will be born again from its ashes; these destroyed and deserted villages will rise again from their ruins; the inhabitants, too long exiled, will return to their restored firesides; this ravaged countryside will find again, in the shelter of a victorious peace, its smiling face as in the old happy days. And for centuries, at every point on the globe, the name of Verdun will continue to resound like a shout of victory and a cry of joy on the lips of delivered humanity.

To the City of Verdun, which has suffered for France; to the City of Verdun, which has sacrificed itself for the sacred cause of eternal right; to the City of Verdun, whose heroic defenders have left to the world an imperishable example of human grandeur, I present:

In the name of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, the Cross of St. George;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, the Military Cross;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Italy, the Gold Medal for Military Valor;

In the name of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, the Cross of Leopold I.;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Serbia and of his Highness the Prince Regent, the Gold Medal for Military Bravery;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Montenegro, the Obilitch Gold Medal;

In the name of the Government of the French Republic, the Cross of the Legion of Honor and the French War Cross.

[The President then pinned the crosses, one at a time, on a cushion which the Mayor of Verdun presented to him. As each decoration was placed on the cushion the military band played the national hymn of the country that had conferred it. Afterward a number of French decorations were conferred upon officers and soldiers who had taken brilliant parts in the city's defense, notably, the plaque of a grand officer of the Legion of Honor, attached to the breast of General Nivelle, and the cross of a Chevalier to that of the Mayor of Verdun.]

America's Treatment of Germany

By the German Crown Prince

[Statement made to William Bayard Hale, correspondent of The New York American, by the German Crown Prince at his headquarters near Verdun.]

HAVE I any message to your countrymen? Well, I fear I will have to ask you to say we feel your Government has not been quite fair, has not been quite neutral. I thoroughly understand how naturally your sympathies are drawn toward the land from which you derive your national language, with whose literature, science, and political history you are most familiar. I myself have spent much time in England, have had and I trust still have many friends in England.

But we feel the attitude of the United States toward Britain and toward Germany is unexplained, even when every consideration is given to the direction of your natural sympathies.

Neutral Governments have responsibilities and duties which transcend the personal instincts of the gentlemen who happen at the moment to be administering them.

What we feel is that your neutral duties are not discharged in the spirit of the high responsibilities resting upon you.

It is true you file protests against British interferences with your commerce, British rifling of your mails, and intrusions in your domestic affairs.

But these seem to be mere matters of form. They mean nothing. When, however, we Germans deem ourselves forced by the exigencies of this mortal combat to take measures of self-protection which are not agreeable, you denounce us as barbarians.

You excuse anything on the part of

England, but seem incapable of making any allowance whatever for the conditions which impel us to exert to the uttermost our resources for defense.

You tell me your impression, gathered in close views of our whole front from Lille to Verdun during the period of the greatest pressure which we have yet experienced, is that only a superficial impression can be made upon it. We rest absolute confidence in this conviction, this certainty. What are our enemies trying to do? I suppose they are trying to kill us off or to tire us out. Will they succeed? No.

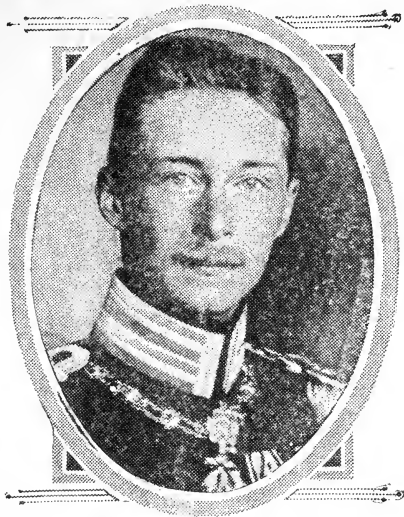
They probably also want to keep us busy here so they can spare men for the eastern front. As a matter

of fact, the west front and the east front are clearly distinct military operations. They need no help from us, we none from them. If necessity presses us, it is a matter of comparatively few hours to pass the needed reinforcements across.

Our enemies, on the other hand, cannot transfer troops between the east and west except through slow, laborious methods of transportation. This is a magnificent advantage of our central position, our invulnerable position.

The aeroplane attack you witnessed last night was only one of the continuous raids in all of this region. It is in the trenches one really hazards his life. I go there every other day, not because I like it, but because one cannot find out things unless one sees them.

The war loan? Certainly it will go



CROWN PRINCE WILLIAM

off swimmingly. Why not? The German people are united in their determination to carry on the war to any extremity necessary in defense of their hearths and homes. But it is not a sacrifice to take money out of one pocket and put it in another.

We are spending little or no money abroad. The war is not draining our resources as it is draining those of our enemies. With us everything stays at home.

We are all tired of bloodshed, we all want peace. England is the power responsible for the continuation of the hopeless effort to crush us. In the twentieth century of the Christian era mankind might have been expected to have arrived at some maturity of thought and behavior. No one can witness, as you during the last fortnight have witnessed, the spectacle presented by this appalling sacrifice, this inconceivable suffering preposterously out of proportion to any result obtained, without wondering whether reason has fled from the earth. * * *

Have you had a chance to see enough of this dreadful business, or does your heart already ache enough over the sorrows which have descended upon this sad region of the earth? What a pity,

what a pity it is! All this terrible extinction of human life, blasting of the hope and expectancy of youth, the mortgaging of our energies and resources far into the future!

It is not alone for German lives, for wasted German energies, that we mourn. We are well able, at least comparatively well able, to bear it. But all the world, including America, which has invested in the Entente's chances of success, will have to aid in footing the bill.

That, of course, is one reason why the sympathies of your capitalists are with our enemies. Isn't there a book which says "Where the treasure is there the heart is also"?

It is a pity your treasure is not invested during these hours of world agony in sowing the seed of preparation for the fruits of peace, so your prosperity would rest in the great harvest which will follow the return to natural conditions rather than in the unhappy, uncertain fruitage of war. * * *

The prospects of peace? I confess I don't see any. I tell you it is no happiness to look forward to spending the third Christmas here at —. I have a wife and family, as you know. I have been home just two fortnights in the last two years.

A Pledge Against a Trade War

By Lord Robert Cecil

British Minister of War Trade

Lord Robert Cecil made the following official statement on Oct. 6 regarding the measures determined upon at the Paris Economic Conference. His utterance is understood to be a pledge that Great Britain after the war will absolutely abandon wartime methods, including that of a blacklist, and will make no attempt to discriminate against the trade of the United States.

OUR relations with the New World will always be of vast importance to us, and they take a leading place in our plans. In answer to a great calumny, which we indignantly repudiate, I want to say that, while we are planning our measures for peace now, we pledge our honor that these plans and measures, which we are bound to take against the neutral trader with our enemies under the laws of war, have been and will be kept entirely separate.

They are worked out in different departments. They are wholly distinct. We shall never try what we know would be fatal to our own interests—to use any of our belligerent measures to enable us to replace neutral by British trade or to stifle or impede the commercial enterprise of neutral nations.

What one of the districts devastated during the war would wish to lose the opportunity to take advantage of American enterprise and capital? Suppose,

for instance, no question of friendship were involved. Then it resolves itself into a question of plain common-sense business.

[Referring to American press forecasts of discrimination against all non-Entente trade and to the fear that the United States would either be forced into preferential trade relations with Germany or into trouble with Great Britain, Lord Robert said:]

All these forecasts are examples of the inveterate tendency to draw curious implications out of perfectly simple provisions. The provision as to the preservation of neutral resources during the period of reconstruction amounts to a provision that those among the Allies who have suffered worst from the war will have the first call on the resources of those who are richest and have suffered least. In practice this means that Belgium, Northern France, Poland, and Serbia will have the first call on British capital, which has been the main financial strength of the Allies and provided many of them with arms, ammunition, and food, and which shall continue to be at their disposal in the work of reconstruction.

And yet Americans who have been disposed in the past to question the efforts of Great Britain in this war actually now throw this pledge which she has given her allies in her teeth. The same kind of considerations apply in the case of the permanent proposal con-

cerning the reciprocal exchange of products after the war. The measures here proposed are those which every nation in the world except this country has employed for years to protect its commerce. We have been alone, having neither a protective tariff nor a system of subsidies. Yet now we find ourselves criticised by others who always have employed tariff and other devices to stimulate their trade, as if there were some strange departure when we propose to help our allies increase the rewards of labor in this and allied countries after the war.

We have passed through greater straits during the last two years than any other country before in modern history. We have tremendous problems to meet. Of course we are planning to meet them; of course we are going to use Government aid in helping to meet them; of course we are going to do what every other nation always has done. Those who try to spin suspicions out of a situation so simple surely are not facing business facts in a business spirit.

[Lord Robert said he was convinced that some ideas had grown up in the United States regarding the Paris conference, which had been deliberately fostered by the Germans, who would like to have an exclusive trade agreement with the United States, and "in which case they would be in a much happier position than at present."]

Premier Asquith's Call for a New War Credit of \$1,500,000,000

Herbert H. Asquith, the British Prime Minister, moved a new vote of credit for £300,000,000 in the House of Commons on Oct. 11, and it was granted by Parliament virtually without opposition. The new credit raises the total for the current year to £1,350,000,000. It is the thirteenth since the war began, making the total new British war debt £3,132,000,000, or \$15,660,000,000 in American money.

THIS is no time for faltering counsel or wavering purpose," said Mr. Asquith. "This war cannot be allowed to end in some patched-up, precarious and dishonoring compromise masquerading under the name of peace.

"No one desires to prolong for a single moment longer than is necessary the tragic spectacle of bloodshed and destruction, but we owe it to those who have given their lives that their supreme sac-

rifices shall not have been unavailing. The ends of the Allies are well known. They have been frequently stated. They are not selfish, they are not vindictive, but they require adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future."

Parliament, Mr. Asquith said, had been asked to vote for war purposes what was equivalent to the aggregate expenditure for twenty years before the war, although that period included the South African war. When he moved the last vote of credit in July he estimated the average rate of expenditure at approximately £5,000,000 daily. That forecast had proved to be almost exactly correct.

At the commencement of the week then current, the Premier continued, there was still in hand £100,500,000, which would carry on the war until Oct. 27. He gave the aggregate expenditure in 113 days of the financial year as: Army, navy, and munitions, £379,000,000; loans to allies and dominions, £157,000,000; food supplies, railways, &c., £33,000,000. The daily average of expenditures had risen slightly, he said, and was £5,070,000 for the last seventy-seven days of the financial year. Expenditures for the army had fallen off slightly, while those for munitions had increased somewhat. Loans to Great Britain's allies and dominions were exceeding the budget estimate, at the present rate. They would not be safe in assuming that expenditures in the future would be less than £5,000,000 daily.

Reverting to the possibility of loans to allies and dominions exceeding the budget estimate of £450,000,000, Mr. Asquith said no part of the war expenditure was more important than this. Great Britain had no selfish interest in this matter, and, although the expenditure was growing beyond the estimate, he did not regret it.

Surveying the progress of the war since the last vote of credit, the Premier said hot weather had hampered operations in the secondary theatres, but that in Mesopotamia substantial progress had been made with rail and river communications, and the health of the troops had improved substantially. The defeat of

the Turks at the Katia Oasis, east of the Suez Canal, had gone far to remove the danger of attack on the canal and had impaired Turkish prestige in Arabia and Syria. In Western Egypt the Senussi tribesmen had been reduced to impotence. The allied armies on the Saloniki front had inflicted heavy losses on their opponents and prevented them from transferring troops to Dobrudja, thus rendering valuable assistance to Russia and Rumania.

The whole of the German East African coast had been occupied, the Premier continued, and the complete conquest of the colony was only a matter of time. The Premier gave high praise to General Smuts and the Belgian troops which are co-operating with him.

In the west, Mr. Asquith said, the French and British had advanced seven miles on a front of nine miles, but the most important feature of the advance was that in no case had a counterattack succeeded in driving them back. The Germans had virtually abandoned the attack on Verdun, and their losses had been very heavy. He gave the total number of prisoners taken by the Allies on the Somme front as 60,474, in addition to which there had been captured 304 guns and 1,030 machine guns. Allied aircraft, he added, had attained complete mastery of the Germans.

Premier Asquith referred to the complete co-ordination of the General Staffs of the four great Powers and to the sympathy and interest with which Great Britain is observing the courage, tenacity, and strategical skill displayed by Italy and Russia in the more distant fields. He spoke appreciatively of the part played by Serbia and Belgium, and "lastly by Rumania, whose people and King, in defiance of a thousand calls to neutrality, joined our cause."

"I wish I could add Greece, with her imperishable record of resistance against the onrush of barbarism and tyranny," he continued. "Even now Greece, wisely guided and wisely governed, might take a worthy part on the side to which she is committed by great and glorious traditions."

American Tactics in the Present War On Land and Sea.

By Thomas G. Frothingham

THE object of this article is not to give a list of American inventions that have been used in warfare, but to show that many of the tactics of this great war, the evolution from all wars, had their origin in America. These American tactics were developed in our civil war, and a study of the present war compared with the civil war is interesting.

It should be kept in mind that, from the first outbreak of secession, a military situation existed that made the grand tactics of the civil war sound. This was not from any definite plans, but the efforts to keep the border States in the Union, to save West Virginia, Missouri, and the Unionists of Tennessee, with the necessity of getting control of the Mississippi River, and the blockade of the Southern coast, all meant the beginning of the envelopment that in the end strangled the Confederacy. Consequently the problem was for the North to constrict, for the South to break the circle—and the resulting tactics had the right basis, in spite of mistakes by certain commanders.

At first the Confederates were stronger than the Federals, as the large number of Southern officers who resigned from the United States Army were scattered through the seceding States and gave a better organization to the Confederate Army.*

The early battles of the civil war followed in general European tactics. It was natural, however, where armies of such great intelligence in both officers and men were contending, with no traditions to hamper them and a sound basis of strategy for both sides, that new tactics should be developed. The outstanding feature of the campaigns of the civil war was the tactical use of what are known as "hasty intrenchments."

These intrenching tactics were a new factor in warfare. "The art of constructing and using hasty intrenchments on the field of battle is a contribution from America to the war knowledge of the world."†

Intrenchments are as old as fighting, and were constantly used in European warfare, notably in Marlborough's wars. Such trenches were, however, formally planned and laid out by engineers. Whenever an army "came out of its trenches," or was "driven out of its trenches," the trenches ceased to be a factor. The idea that an army might move, and almost literally take its trenches with it, is the product of the civil war.

Like the men of the Lexington fight, the intelligent American soldiers of both armies began to take advantage of all natural shelters. The next step, at the battle of Gaines' Mill, was using rails, logs, trees, &c. Then followed the use of the spade to help out such improvised shelters, until later in the war armies manoeuvred digging themselves in, and thus strengthening their positions as a matter of course.

All this was a gradual development of American ingenuity, not the inspiration of any tactician.

Sherman's wonderful campaign against Atlanta is the first case of hasty intrenchments reaching definite strategic value. Sherman intrenched and threw out turning forces around his enemy's flank. As a result of these tactics, repeated again and again, the Confederates were compelled to abandon positions that would have been impregnable to direct assault, and finally they were forced to evacuate Atlanta.

In Grant's last campaigns against Lee, from the Wilderness to Petersburg, the use of hasty intrenchments' was per-

* The whole loaf was leavened.—Grant, U. S. A.

† Colonel Arthur L. Wagner, U. S. A. Papers of Mass. Mil. Histo. Socy.

fect. In May, 1864, Grant moved against Lee, who intrenched against him with a greatly inferior army in the Wilderness. The campaign that followed was a series of attacks and moves to turn Lee's right by Grant. Lee, beating off direct attacks on his trenches, moved to the right whenever Grant attempted to outflank him, and kept his army steadily between the Federals and Richmond. Each army intrenched as it moved, Grant attacking from his trenches whenever he thought there might be an opening, Lee defending by counterattacks. The armies thus facing one another swung around Richmond, and came to the final deadlock and long struggle at Petersburg.

These were not battles in the European sense of the word. The Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor were all a series of attacks and counterattacks of armies intrenching against one another in each manoeuvre. Petersburg was the same with the armies brought to a standstill, trench against trench.

Formal fortresses, in the European meaning of the word, were not used in the civil war. The superiority of earthworks and intrenchments was too evident.

These civil war tactics have dominated the present war, and, if we can believe the lessons of the war, the day of formal battles and formal fortresses has passed.

It seems strange at first glance that Europe did not realize the value of the tactics thus developed in the civil war. But the prestige of Napoleon remained too overpowering for Europe even to consider innovations from America. The great Emperor fought against General Staffs and Generals imbued with the book lore of war. He was infinitely better at their own game. Much of his superiority lay in his knowledge of what his enemy would do under conditions governed by existing tactics. At Austerlitz the Emperor's order told his army just what the plan of the enemy would be. Why should he have changed the game? Yet who knows what he might have done had new tactics been necessary?

Consequently European tactics re-

mained unchanged. Only five years after the civil war came the Franco-German war. In spite of an inefficient staff the French Army fought hard and maintained its organization. After gallant efforts in the field to repel the systematically planned German onslaughts, it was drawn into fortresses where capture was only a matter of days.

It is no exaggeration to say that Woerth and Gravelotte might have been another story, if American intrenching tactics had been followed. To quote again from Colonel Wagner: "The defense of the village of Froeschweiler by a French brigade against the frontal attacks of a German army corps showed what MacMahon might have done had his whole position been intrenched." * * * "The sun might have set upon a field of French victory (Gravelotte) had Bazaine taken heed of the lesson so plainly taught in the American war."

Lee was dead—but if Grant or Sherman could have commanded the French Army, kept it in the field, and used the intrenching tactics of the civil war, would the Von Moltke campaign have gone through like clockwork? The present war, using the tactics of Lee, Grant, and Sherman, is the answer.

At the outbreak of the present war the German Staff again attempted to follow the plan of 1870, described by the victorious Von Moltke as the "plan of war—fixed from the first upon the capture of the enemy's capital, the possession of which is of more importance in France than in other countries."

The defeat of this plan, undertaken by the Von Moltke of 1914, and the present positions in the war on all fronts are the results of the tactics developed in our civil war.

In the great Teutonic drive of 1915 the Russians were greatly overmatched in guns and munitions. Yet, in spite of enormous losses in men and material, by keeping their armies in the field and using intrenching tactics, the Russians were enabled to save their armies, and gain positions from which they have again taken the offensive.

Such tactics were first used to some extent in Europe by Skobelev and Osman

Pasha in the Russo-Turkish war, and increasingly in the Russo-Japanese war and the wars in the Balkans. In the present war these American tactics have been so universally accepted that we are forced to the conclusion that the old systems have been discarded. There seems to be no future possibility of the formal battle of European tactics. The formal fortress has been proved useless. Mobile armies in the field, intrenching, attacking and counterattacking from trenches, are the factors in war today.

Great Changes in Tactics

On the sea, also, great changes in tactics have been brought about by American warfare. It is very little known that the modern dreadnought, the all-big-gun ship, is of American origin; but such is the fact, and the stages in its development are well defined.

From the first the United States Navy has made the gun all-important, and the lessons of the present war have again confirmed the wisdom of this policy.*

Our early naval constructors, with an intuition far ahead of their times, built a class of frigates, of which the Constitution is best known, and placed 24-pounders on them. Such an armament was ridiculed abroad, and it was prophesied that such ships would be useless; but in the war of 1812 these frigates became the wonder of the world. These American frigates were the first of the all-big-gun ships, which were destined to dominate naval construction.

Later, in the same spirit of progress, the United States Navy built frigates, the Wabash, Niagara, &c., which had the most powerful armaments of their class.

The civil war brought about still greater advances in the heavily armed warships that revolutionized naval tactics.

The attack in Hampton Roads on the Union fleet by the Merrimac, converted into the casemate ironclad Virginia by the Confederates, showed decisively the helplessness of wooden ships against

armored ships. The fight that followed between the Virginia and the first turret ship, the Monitor, was the first challenge to guns in casemates by guns in turrets.

The construction of the Monitor had been hurried, and she was defective in many ways. Consequently, although the Monitor saved the Union fleet, the question of superiority between the two types remained undecided in many minds.

The less known fight in Wassaw Sound in 1863 established the superiority of a few big guns in turrets over a greater number in casemates. The Atlanta, a Confederate casemate ironclad of the type of the Virginia, came out to destroy two monitors, with two excursion steamers to watch the destruction. The monitor Weehawken fired just five shots—and the contest was ended for all time in favor of big guns in turrets.

The all-big-gun ship commands the sea in this war—and the big guns in turrets have never been supplanted.

In the Monitor type from one to two turrets was but a step, and many such monitors were built. Then came the Roanoke, (1863,) another stage in the development of the monitor. The Roanoke was a "seagoing turret vessel" with three turrets all aligned over the keel. Here were the essentials of the dreadnought of today,* and this American design of big guns in turrets aligned over the keel has prevailed over all other types of armored warships.

Turrets Over the Keel

Foreign navies were slow to accept this design. They built all sorts of armored ships, and on their turret vessels used various arrangements of the turrets. English and German dreadnoughts, designed less than eight years ago, have other dispositions of the turrets; but, in the latest classes of dreadnoughts, all foreign naval constructors have conformed to the American design of turrets aligned over the keel, from which we have never swerved in mounting our heavy guns.

*For one nowadays to see a drawing of the battery plan of the U. S. S. Roanoke is to be reminded that there is nothing new under the sun.—Lieut. Commander W. P. Cronan, U. S. N. United States Naval Institute Proceedings.

*It is the gun, and the gun alone, which has determined the issue in naval battles.—Rear Admiral C. L. Goodrich, U. S. N.

From the Constitution to the Wabash, to the Monitor, to the Roanoke, to the Michigan, to the Pennsylvania, are but steps in the American idea of the all-big-gun ship.

The torpedo and submarine of today are essentially American contributions to warfare.

Probably the most extraordinary event in the American Revolution, in relation to the present war, was the first use of the torpedo and the submarine. Various forms of mines had been tried before with indifferent success, but nothing approaching the torpedo as used in the tactics of today. In 1775 David Bushnell of Connecticut, who was graduated from Yale that year, built the "diving boat" known as the "American Turtle." Its design was astonishingly modern in many ways. It was made of iron plates, propelled by a screw, and guided by a compass made visible by phosphorus. The torpedo was carried outside, to be attached to the enemy ship, and then cast loose. The action of casting off started a clockwork, which gave the submarine time to get away to a safe distance.

This submarine and torpedo were first tried against the Eagle, a 64-gun ship, lying off New York. The operator in the submarine found difficulty in attaching the torpedo, which contained 100 pounds of powder, and the explosion was not near enough to the Eagle to cause any damage. It was again tried against the Cerberus at New London. The submarine missed the large ship but blew up a schooner that lay near her, with several of her people killed. It was Bushnell who, in 1778, set afloat torpedoes against the British shipping in the Delaware River near Philadelphia. They were in kegs and did little damage, but inspired the amusing poem, "The Battle of the Kegs," written at the time.

These attempts with the submarine and the torpedo, although they did very little actual harm, caused so much alarm and kept the enemy ships away from narrow waters to such an extent that it is perfectly fair to say that the submarine and torpedo had a tactical value in the Revolutionary War.

In the War of 1812 the American inventions of the torpedo and the subma-

rine were of tactical value, although not in actual use. Robert Fulton had attempted to develop the Bushnell inventions, at first for the French and then for the English; but he had returned to America discouraged. There was some aid voted for his machines, but nothing was ever done with them in actual warfare. However, as in the Revolution, the idea that the Americans possessed such dangerous weapons proved a good defense for portions of our coast.

The use of torpedoes was developed to a high degree in the civil war. They were placed by the Confederates, as are mines in the present war, to protect narrow waters and destroy enemy craft trying to enter. The monitors Tecumseh and Patapsco, and many other Federal vessels were so destroyed.

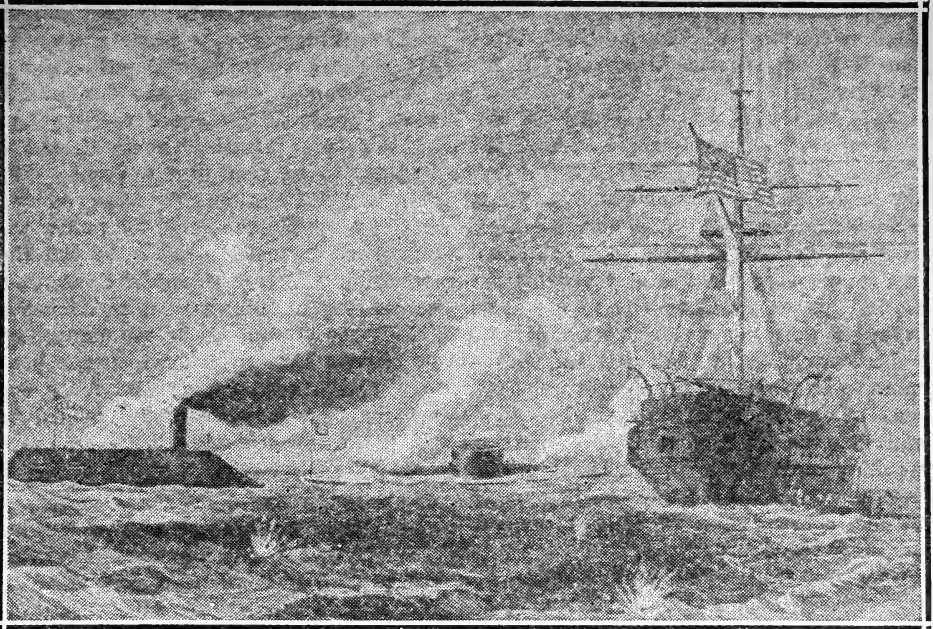
The torpedo was also used as a weapon of offense. The Confederate ram Albemarle was the most important warship so destroyed. The Albemarle was torpedoed in Cushing's daring night attack. His launch had the torpedo rigged on a spar, and it was exploded by pulling a lanyard.

There was also a great advance in the use of the submarine by the Confederates. Undersea boats approaching the modern type were built, especially at Charleston. The torpedo was thrust out in front on a spar instead of being ejected from a tube. These submarines were very dangerous to their crews, and many crews were lost in them, but they destroyed one good Federal cruiser, the Housatonic, off Charleston in 1864. Undoubtedly they led the way to the later development by American inventors which has become so great a factor in the present war.

Privateering

The destructive raids of the light German cruisers against British commerce closely followed the tactics of the Confederate Navy in the civil war.

Commerce destroying was first a real factor in warfare in the Revolution and the War of 1812. Privateering was nothing new—but it had been a matter of give and take, with profit to owners of both sides. In these wars, even with the command of the sea in the hands of the enemy, American privateers, with daring seamen in fast ships, caused such



ACTION BETWEEN THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR, MARCH 9, 1862. (THE LARGE WOODEN VESSEL IS THE MINNESOTA.)

disproportionate losses to British commerce that there is authority to say that they won advantageous peace for us in both wars.*

At the outbreak of the civil war the Confederate Government hoped to create a similar fleet of privateers. This proved impossible. The South did not have the ships, and privateering was not of much importance in the war. The South then tried new tactics, and the Confederate Navy commissioned warships whose mission was commerce destroying.

These cruisers, Sumter, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, &c., almost drove the United States flag from the seas. With the command of the sea hopelessly against them, their raids were carried on with the greatest ingenuity and daring, and it was very difficult to catch them.

In the present war the German cruisers imitated these Confederate commerce destroyers and did a great amount of damage, with the same control of the sea against them. The Alabama and

the Emden will always be associated in their kinship of successful audacity.

Blockades

For the Federals on the sea the hardest task was the blockade of the Confederate coast. Blockades had been used before in warfare, and the status of a blockade was well defined.** This was no "cabinet blockade," but an effective blockade such as had never been seen.

Here was one of the largest coastlines in the world, where harbors and inlets gave every advantage to the blockade runner. The United States Navy had not ships enough to carry out the task, but, with characteristic energy, all kinds of craft were utilized. The steamer Circassian, one of the most valuable prizes of the war, was actually captured by a Fulton Ferry boat. At first the blockade was de facto, as different portions of the coast were policed and notified of the blockade, but in an astonishingly short time the long coastline

*Maclay, &c.

**A blockade to be legal must be effective.—Declaration of Paris.

was effectively hemmed in. "As to the legal efficiency of the blockade after the first six months there can be no question."[†]

This was only the beginning of the undertaking. Great profits offered inducements to blockade runners. After the blockade became stringent and ships were being constantly seized on the high seas attempts were made to evade capture by clearing for one of the available neutral ports, touching there, and then trying to run into a Confederate port.

Bermuda, Nassau, Havana, and Matamoros were these ports, of which Nassau was much the most active. The idea was that the claim of neutral destination would protect the ship for most of its voyage, and it would only be in danger in the short run between the neutral port and the Southern port.

This practice proved easy to stop, as the character of cargo and evidence of final destination brought condemnation in the courts. This evidence was most difficult in the case of Matamoros, the only town of importance on the Confederate southern border, but so general became the forfeiture of ships and cargoes that some other evasion was necessary.

The next scheme tried was clearance for the neutral ports, and then transshipment at the neutral port. The return cargoes were to be handled in the same way. "But here again the courts stepped in, and held that though a transshipment was made, even after landing the cargo and going through a form of sale, the two voyages were parts of one and the same transaction, and the cargo from the outset was liable to condemnation, if the original intention had been to forward the goods to a blockaded port. Nor did the decision stop here. As all property, both ship and cargo, is confiscated upon proof of breach of blockade, it was held that ships carrying on this traffic to neutral ports were confiscable, provided the ultimate destination of the cargo to a blockaded port was known to the owner. In the words of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 'the ships are planks of the same bridge.'[†]

The last resort of the blockade runners was most ingenious, to break the voyage by shipping to a Federal port, then to a neutral port, then to the Confederate port. Goods were shipped to New York by regular steamship lines, thence to Nassau, to be sent to the South. This was ended when it was observed that trade with Nassau and Bermuda was abnormal, by orders issued to the Collectors of Customs to refuse clearance to vessels whose cargoes were in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, and to require owners to give ample security where there was ground for apprehension that cargoes were destined for the enemy's use.

These orders were general and named no particular ports. Yet the "merchants of Nassau" complained of this "unjust discrimination" and persuaded Earl Russell to take up the subject diplomatically. The correspondence that followed showed so plainly that "the trade of the Bahamas" was blockade running that the British Government "derived little satisfaction," and the traffic was ended.

Thus were overcome difficulties, physical and legal, that seemed insuperable. The amount of harm done to the South by these perfected blockading tactics cannot be estimated.

This well-established case of successful legal blockading tactics was at the command of the British Government at the outbreak of this war. Enforcement of a legal blockade against the Teutonic alliance would have been very difficult, but if the British had proclaimed such a blockade at the outset they could have attempted to build up their case on the case already established. Such a policy at the start might not have caused undue friction.

Instead of this Great Britain attempted to keep goods from the Teutonic allies by using her command of the sea and an increasing list of contraband. She is now avowedly trying to imitate the blockade of our civil war.

Although the American invention of the aeroplane has been of great tactical value in the present war, it does not come within the scope of this article, as it is limited to tactical developments that have

[†]Professor J. R. Soley, U. S. N.

been proved of value in American warfare.

It is impressive to sum up these American contributions to the tactics of today.

On land:

The mobile army kept in the field, and the end of formal battles.

The superiority of intrenchments, and the end of formal fortresses.

The development of "hasty intrenchments," and of armies manoeuvring and intrenching.

On the sea:

The development of the "all-big-gun ship."

The tactical superiority of the armored ship.

The tactical superiority of guns mounted in turrets—and of turrets aligned over the keel.

The tactical use of the torpedo.

The tactical use of the submarine.

The development of a legal blockade of a long coastline.

Commerce destroying as a factor in war.

The facts and results given in this article are not exaggerated. In truth, they are understated. Where American ingenuity has done so much for the freedom and defense of our country, should not every citizen do his best to see that we are not left defenseless against the tactics of our own invention?

A Song Before Battle

This poem, by an officer of the British Rifle Brigade, is inserted here as a record of the war spirit of England during the Battle of the Somme.

We, who have clung for long, long months
 To battered lines of knee-deep mud,
 Fixed targets for your slope-set guns
 To drench the ooze with British blood;
 We, who have toiled through Winter's rain
 With sandbag, shovel, plank, and wire,
 Retvetting marshy parapets,
 Building protection from your fire,
 We have weapons now, O Huns.

Rifles, ah! yes, but worthier still
 How like you thrust and stab and blow?
 And you shall find for all your guns—
 The earth is plowed with ours, you know—
 That we can jab the silent sword
 With hands exultant, freed at last
 From digging, digging night and day.
 The months of holding on are past:
 We are coming now, O Huns.

We, who have crouched as you sailed by
 Above our furrowed, pock-marked soil,
 Spotting our weakness for your guns,
 See no one of you now to spoil
 Our free enjoyment of the skies;
 You fire blindly from below;
 We force you fiercely up the hills,
 And from the last grim crest you go.
 We are rising now, O Huns.

We are rising now, a nation's tide,
 And you must dig and wire and quail;
 Your turn at last beneath our guns,
 Your turn to find defenses frail.
 We are bursting in, we are breaking through;
 The great sea sweeps your barriers down.
 You urge anew your claim on God,
 But He is silent as you drown.
 Look to yourselves, O Huns!

The War in German East Africa

By James B. Macdonald

A Former Resident of South Africa

TRAVELING on the South African railways from Port Elizabeth northward one gets a vivid impression of ascending a natural stairway of plateaus until in the Transvaal it attains an elevation of from 5,000 to 6,000 feet. Continuing the journey through Rhodesia the traveler finds himself on the down grade again—4,500 feet, 4,000 feet, 3,500 feet. From Northern Rhodesia the journey into German East Africa must be made on foot, and there the mean elevation is slightly lower, but the country is broken up into a series of mountain ranges, tablelands, and depressions.

German East Africa, with an area of 384,000 square miles, became a political entity by virtue of the treaty of 1890 between Britain, France, and Germany, by the terms of which Britain secured British East Africa, British Uganda, and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba; France obtained the island of Madagascar, and Germany her East African possessions and the island of Heligoland in the North Sea. It was organized at first under a chartered company, but a successful revolt of the Arabs against its authority compelled the Imperial Government to intervene and reconquer the country.

War with Germany Foreseen

On several occasions within the lifetime of the young colony Germany has been on the brink of a European war, and the possibility of a rupture was well recognized in German East Africa; while in South Africa the probability of a war between Britain and Germany was realized ever since the Kaiser sent his famous telegram to President Kruger. General Botha's Government, in the recent Blue Book issued at Pretoria, remarks:

"With many in this country (as elsewhere throughout the world) it had become an accepted belief that war be-

tween the two countries—England and Germany—was inevitable, and that at no distant date they would be engaged in a deadly struggle for supremacy."

The present writer also held this view while in South Africa, and explains this belief by the fact that South Africans are constantly meeting Germans, Hollanders, and Swiss in their daily relations, and therefore were more in touch with Continental thought and the German point of view than the people of Great Britain.

Perceiving the irreconcilable nature of British and German ideals, a conflict seemed inevitable, but colonial Germans, as well as those in the Fatherland, made the mistake of thinking that Britain would stand aside while France was attacked, as she did in 1870, and that the struggle between Britain and Germany would come later at the latter's convenience.

Under this comfortable belief Germany had organized her East African colony with the intention of using it as a military and naval base for operations against the French insular colonies of Madagascar and Reunion, (New Caledonia.) The latter, with its rich deposits of nickel, which meet half the world's requirements, would have been a most valuable asset to a great military power like Germany, but it was not to be. The invasion of Belgium brought Britain into the war—even with a pacifist Liberal Government in power—and upset all Germany's calculations.

The colony of German East Africa immediately found itself blockaded and shut off from the world by British sea power, instead of playing a leading rôle in the conquest of French colonies, as it had expected. To be quite just, German East Africa was prepared for a colonial war with France, but not for a colonial war with Britain.

The outbreak of war found British East Africa with half a native battalio

of the King's African Rifles and less than that number of local volunteers to protect it against their neighbor's military concentration at Moshi, but the settlers were a sporting lot and rallied with keeness to its defense.

Colonial War in 1914-15

British Nyasaland, in the south, is a Crown colony mainly settled by missionaries and coffee planters, who had a weak battalion of the King's African Rifles and a gunboat on the lake for their protection. The Belgian Congo was better prepared with military forces than the adjoining British colonies, and nature had assisted in the protection of its frontier. Northern Rhodesia is very sparsely settled, but Southern Rhodesia, with a population of about 15,000 whites, has a fine regiment of volunteers and a strong force of semi-military police, who could be moved up to the frontier. In these parts also are many pioneers experienced in native wars and others who are expert game shots.

To relieve the situation in Nyasaland a battalion of militia was hastily dispatched from South Africa, while a brigade of Indian troops, under Major General Tighe, was sent to British East Africa. The commander of the Indian troops attempted to land at the German seaport of Tanga, apparently intending to seize the Usambara railway and make a flank attack on the enemy's camp at Moshi. With a chivalry which is wasted these days he gave forty-eight hours' notice of his intention to bombard the town. The defenders availed themselves of his leniency to rail down from Moshi all the troops that could be spared to assist them. The bombardment was a success, but the landing resulted in 400 casualties, and the troops had to be reembarked for Mombasa.

The Germans followed up their success by invading British East Africa and occupied Taveta, but their further advance was held in check by the Indian contingent and local forces strung out for 600 miles along the border. In Nyasaland they were less successful, being driven back in an attempt to enter the Crown colony.

The Teutons now directed their efforts to rouse the natives against the British, but the Masai, the most powerful tribe of all, declined to join them, as part of their people lived in British territory and these refused to revolt. Large numbers of other natives, however, were enlisted as askaris, (native soldiers.) The next move was an attempt to rouse the fanaticism of the East Coast Arabs to a holy war, but the latter, mindful of German methods in suppressing their own rebellion, did not rally to the call.

The naval warfare on the great inland lakes may be characterized as being more earnest than important, and terminated in all the German vessels being disposed of.

On the seacoast hostilities were commenced by the British cruisers *Astraea* and *Pegasus* coming across from Zanzibar and bombarding the shipping and wireless at Dar-es-Salaam on Aug. 8, 1914, but the German cruiser *Königsberg* followed and sunk the *Pegasus* in Zanzibar Harbor while her fires were drawn and the engineers engaged in overhauling her boilers. A second raid on Dar-es-Salaam was made in December, 1914, by the British cruisers *Goliath* and *Fox* in reprisal for the visit to Zanzibar.

The *Königsberg* was chased by the East Indian squadron into the Rufiji River and the passage blocked by sunken colliers, while the pursuit of the *Emden* was taken up. Later the *Königsberg* was located by seaplanes and destroyed by plunging fire from monitors.

A blockade of the whole coast of German East Africa, some 300 miles in length, was declared by the British on Feb. 28, 1915, and Mafia Island occupied.

The Union of South Africa meanwhile was engaged in suppressing a rebellion within its own border, which had been brought about by collusion between some disappointed Boer politicians and the German High Command. This delayed their conquest of German West Africa, and they were unable to lend any assistance toward the invasion of German East Africa until the following year.

The main railway line in British East Africa from Mombasa, on the coast, to Port Florence, on Lake Victoria Nyanza,

German East Africa



SCENE OF THE CAMPAIGN IN WHICH GERMANY HAS LOST THE LAST OF HER COLONIES. GERMAN EAST AFRICA, AN EMPIRE IN ITSELF, WITH ITS AREA OF 384,000 SQUARE MILES, IS NEARLY TWICE AS LARGE AS GERMANY

runs more or less parallel to the German border and throws out two branches in that direction. One from Voi Station to Taveta approaches the southern slope of Mount Kilimanjaro on the British side, while the other from Kin Station terminates near Mount Longido—a solitary peak on the frontier northwest of Kilimanjaro. The Usambara railway approaches the southern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro on the German side of the frontier. These border railways, being dominant strategic factors, determined where the opening battles of the war should be fought.

The 1916 Campaign

The Germans at the commencement of the 1916 campaign still retained possession of Taveta, but were unable to advance toward the main line. Had they succeeded in cutting the latter at Voi Station they would have been in a fair way to conquer the whole colony.

In anticipation of the arrival of reinforcements from South Africa General Tighe prepared for the eventual offensive movement and organized his effective reserves into two brigades, acting along the Longido and Taveta lines, respectively.

General Sir Horace Smith Dorien, who so distinguished himself in the retreat from Mons, was appointed to the supreme command, but, falling seriously ill at Cape Town, had to relinquish it. He was succeeded as Commander in Chief by Lieutenant General Jan Christian Smuts, who had command of the Southern Army in German West Africa during the previous year.

General Smuts is better known as the brilliant South African statesman who has steered his country through troubled waters and earned the respect of Boer and Briton alike. A barrister by profession, he was Attorney General of the Transvaal during President Kruger's administration, and led a Boer commando in a raid into Cape Colony during the war of 1899-1902. In later days he has filled a place in South African politics somewhat analogous to that which the Hon. Rudolphe Lemieux occupies in Canada.

On his arrival at Nairobi General

Smuts took over General Tighe's main plan of operations, but made certain subsidiary dispositions. He decided to attack and occupy the Kilimanjaro region before the tropical rains set in. The force at his disposal consisted of the First, Second, and Third South African and Indian brigades.

General Smuts in his report states that "at the commencement of 1916 the German forces in German East Africa were estimated at some 16,000 men, of whom 2,000 were whites, with 60 guns and 80 machine guns. They were organized in companies varying from 150 to 200 strong, with 10 per cent. of whites, and an average of two machine guns per company." We are inclined to think, and the following narrative will bear this out, that General Smuts has taken a generous view of the number of white troops opposed to him and has not reckoned in the civilians, who had twenty months in which to train, nor the crew of the German cruiser Königsberg.

The road from Taveta to Moshi led through a gap between Mount Kilimanjaro on the north and the Pare Mountains in the south. This necessitated a frontal attack, which in due course was held up, but meanwhile Major General Stewart was leading a turning movement through Longido. We succeeded by a swift advance across the desert in entering the gap between Mount Meru and Mount Kilimanjaro and attacked Moshi from the rear. This manoeuvre took the defenders by surprise, and they retired down the Usambara railway, leaving 380 dead and many prisoners.

The desired object had been attained, and the South African engineers quickly linked up the two railway systems by carrying the Voi branch line through Taveta to Moshi. Kahe Station was seized after some very difficult bush fighting; while the mounted forces gained the cross roads at Arusha.

The campaign in the northeast now assumed two directions, the main column under General Smuts moving southeast to clear up the Usambara highlands and the railway to Tanga, while the other advanced southwest to cut the central railway at or near Kilimatinde, which



JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS



GENERAL SMITH DORRIEN

was formerly the administrative capital of German East Africa.

Van Deventer's Column

The Kilimatinde column under General Van Deventer fought its way across the Masai steppe through Köthersheim, Kissage, and Salanga to Kondoa Irangi. The latter place was occupied on April 19, but here the advance, when only eighty miles from the central railway, was held up. General von Lettow-Vorbeck, commander of the German imperial troops, came up with reinforcements, and personally directed strong counterattacks on May 9, 10, and 11, but these were repulsed with heavy loss.

On June 28 General Van Deventer carried the German positions by assault and pursued them toward the Central Railway, which he reached on July 29. The capture of Dodoma Station on that date severed the main German communications, and indicated that the end of the campaign was in sight.

General Botha, the Premier of South Africa, was an interested spectator of these operations.

Kibombo, fifteen miles east, and Kilimatinde, sixty miles west from Dodoma,

were captured shortly afterward, and General Van Deventer, pushing eastward, on Aug. 11 came up with the enemy strongly posted ten miles west of Mpwapwa, where he again defeated them. On Aug. 21 General Van Deventer engaged the Germans at Kilossa in an all-day fight, and to assist him General Smuts, who had now got in touch with him, detached a column to attack Mkata, on the railway twenty miles east of Kilossa, which caused the enemy to retire next day before they were cut off.

General Smuts's Column

To return to General Smuts's main expedition, which set out to overrun the Usambara highlands, in anticipation that the Germans would be found in greatest strength there. This, however, did not prove to be the case; nevertheless, the opposition, such as it was, had to be overcome to insure the safety and success of General Van Deventer's column. The railway from Tanga was built on the plain to the west of the Usambara hills and between them and the Pangani River, and likewise in relation to the Pare Hills a little further north. An excellent roadway runs parallel with the

railway to the inland terminus at Moshi, some 220 miles from the coast. The Usambara hills lie in horseshoe formation, with the heel planted about twenty miles from the coast, and form a natural stronghold. In the centre is a fruitful valley, to which access is obtained from the southeast, and through it flows the Lwengera River. There are several European village communities hereabout, of which the principal one, Wilhelmstal, lies to the southwest of the highlands, and the next most important, Korogwe, to the south. The white population of the district numbers about 3,000. The whole area may be described as the garden of the colony, and the way in which it has been developed reflects great credit alike to the settlers and the colonial Government. The British thought so much of the district that they invested about \$10,000,000 in it.

Into this peaceful region came the main tide of invasion. After the severe bush fighting near Kahe, when the rumped Askaris charged into the South African lines like crazy demons, little opposition was offered to the advance down the railway, and Wilhelmstal and Korogwe were occupied early in June. The Germans evacuated Tanga, after destroying the waterworks, and General Smuts entered it on July 7. This gave him a new base, with a safe and commodious harbor, for his further march along the coast to Dar-es-Salaam.

The advance columns had already been pushed ahead, without waiting for the fall of Tanga, and came up with the enemy at the crossing of the Lukigura River on June 24, but failed to envelop him.

While the military were progressing inland naval forces were co-operating with them along the coast, and, after slight opposition, occupied the minor port of Sadani on Aug. 1. Four days later the columns under General Smuts began a wide turning movement, in an attempt to encircle the enemy in the Nguru Mountains, some eighty miles to the west of Sadani. This again did not succeed, although the Germans were defeated in severe fighting at Matamonda on Aug. 9-11, and retreated toward Morgo, on the Central Railway.

General Smuts meanwhile entered Bagamoyo, and, getting in touch with General Van Deventer at Kilossa, swept on to the Central Railway, where he passed through Mrogoro in pursuit of the German forces retiring to the south.

Dar-es-Salaam ("the harbor of peace") surrendered to the British on Sept. 4, after a land and sea attack, and was occupied by naval and military forces. It was the former seat of government and capital of German East Africa.

The Portuguese Column

When Germany declared war on Portugal on March 9 it brought the colonial Province of Mozambique into the circle of enemies attacking German East Africa. The first move of the Portuguese was to recover Kionga and the strip of territory south of the Rovuma River which Germany had taken from them in 1894 and to harass the German posts on the river with gunboats. The principal part which the Portuguese forces were expected to play in the war was to hold the line of the Rovuma River and prevent the retreating Germans from entering Mozambique.

Congo and Uganda Columns

Coincident with these events two Belgium columns under General Tombeur invaded the northwestern part of the colony from either end of Lake Kivu and came together in German territory. The British in Uganda, after seizing the port of Bukoba on the western shore of Victoria Nyanza, also invaded the colony along the eastern shore of the lake. In this way they co-operated with the Belgians on their right and General Van Deventer's column on their left. As the Germans retreated before his converging columns General Tombeur split his force into several smaller columns spread out over the whole country between the two great lakes and commenced a southward drive having the western end of the Central Railway as its objective. In the course of these operations the allied forces rounded up one of the retreating contingents near Busirayombo, at the southwest corner of Victoria Nyanza, and, continuing the pursuit, drove the Germans in the direction

of Tabora, on the Central Railway. Toward the end of July the Belgian right wing occupied Ujiji, the most important German post on Lake Tanganyika and terminus of the railway from Dar-es-Salaam; while a few days later another column entered Rutshug, sixty-two miles further east on the Central Railway. During August Karema, on the lake, was taken and contact established with the Rhodesian expedition in the south.

After heavy fighting, Sept. 1-11, the Belgians captured Tabora, on the Central Railway, and so completed the conquest of the western half of the colony.

While steaming along the German side of Lake Tanganyika the Belgian gunboat *Netta* surprised the German gunboat *Graf von Gotzen* disembarking troops on July 28 and sunk her. This was the last of the German flotilla on the great lakes.

Yet another British column joined in the invasion of German East Africa and crossed the southwestern frontier from Rhodesia and Nyasaland under command of Brigadier General Northey. It was mainly composed of Rhodesian and South African troops, and its objective to hold the strategic line of the Livingstone Mountains and seize Neu Iringa.

General Northey's expedition entered German East Africa on May 25 on a broad front across the Stevenson Road, which was constructed between Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika. His left wing seized Bismarckburg, on the south end of Lake Tanganyika, on June 8, while his right captured Neu Langenburg, in the Livingstone Mountains. Neu Utengule, Alt Langenburg, and Ubena also fell to his advance, while Kala and Kirando, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, were occupied later.

The Concluding Stage

Having secured these strategic points General Northey now pushed on with his column for Neu Iringa and came up with the enemy in prepared positions at Malagali. The force opposed to him comprised the crew of the German cruiser *Königsberg*, and, after a stubborn fight, he drove them from their positions on July 24, and later occupied Neu Iringa.

With General Smuts at Mrogoro, General Van Deventer at Kilossa, and General Northey at Neu Iringa a concerted move was made by these commanders to round up the retiring German troops before they could cross the Rufiji River, or its tributary, the Ruaha River, or later when they entered the desolate "hunger country." The Germans were retreating toward Mahenge, in the mountains between the Ruaha and Ruhnje Rivers. After dislodging them from the Uluguru hills with the loss of nearly all their artillery General Smuts effected a junction with General Van Deventer's column near Kissaki, while the defeated army bore away in a southeastern direction.

All the southern ports, Kilwa Kivinji, Lindi, and Mikindani, were occupied by British naval and military forces, which enabled fresh troops to be shipped from Dar-es-Salaam and thrown in rear of the German line of retreat. Simultaneously the Portuguese crossed the Ruvuma River and advanced to complete the encircling move.

The war in German East Africa is now practically ended and cannot even degenerate into guerrilla warfare, as there are no white settlements in the "hunger country" to be raided. The Germans have put up a brave fight. They have been without any news from the outer world for the last two years. The surviving fragments of their armies are holding out to the last moment.

We may appropriately recall an interesting comment on the conquest of German East Africa which appeared in the official Paris communiqué as long ago as April 3, 1916:

This is Germany's last colony. The enemy has large sums invested here in railways and other exploitations. The complete conquest of the colony is only a question of time and cannot be long delayed. Consequently, the colonial empire created at such cost by Germany will disappear, and Germany will no longer have an outlet out of Germany. It is easy to see the important bearing this fact will have at the conclusion of peace. Every time, in the course of our history, that we have lost colonies, even when there had been successes on the Continent, we have had to accept disastrous terms of peace. It is probable that similar events will have similar results in the case of Germany.

The War and Religion

By the Rev. Sidney M. Berry, M. A.

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The author of this article ministers to one of the largest city churches in England and has had special opportunities besides to survey the religious life of the English Nation as affected by the war.

IMMEDIATELY upon the outbreak of war and during its opening months there happened what one might naturally have expected—a large accession of numbers in the attendance at all the churches. People who had not been accustomed to support organized religious worship came in large numbers to church. Congregations were swollen above the ordinary levels. A new spirit of intensity and earnestness seemed to be the obvious promise of those first days and weeks. Men talked glibly then of a great religious revival, and some came perilously near, in the implication of their remarks, if not directly, to extolling war as a purifying element in human life.

If accounts of eyewitnesses are to be trusted, the same features reproduced themselves among all the nations drawn into the whirlpool of international conflict. From France it was reported that many who previous to the war were either indifferent or openly hostile to religious propaganda had altered their outlook, and the Church, which had been posing as a victim of the State, seemed to be on the point of expressing the inmost soul of a people. In Belgium much the same thing happened under the stress of sudden calamity. The swift tragedy of events struck at the heart of all light avoidance of the serious issues of life, and, if in some cases it induced bitterness, in others it stirred as a challenge to the soul. In that fine pastoral letter written at the close of 1914 Cardinal Mercier, the Primate of Belgium, wrote these words:

“Men long unaccustomed to prayer are turning again to God. Within the army, within the civil world, in public, and within the individual conscience, there is prayer. Nor is that prayer today

a word learned by rote, uttered lightly by the lips; it surges from the troubled heart, it takes the form, at the feet of God, of the very sacrifice of life.”

From Germany, by those who were in that country at the time and have since returned, there have been given to us reports which carry the same impression further still, only in this case the stimulating element came not from tragedy but from success. Before the war broke out no churches in any European country were more deeply alienated from the life of the people than the churches in Germany. There had been in existence for some years a strong and definite movement away from organized religion, associated to some extent with questions of taxation, but at the same time revealing the popular mind regarding the churches. On the outbreak of war we are told the churches were crowded at once. The intensity of national sentiment found a voice in the utterances of preachers and in the old German hymns. Once again the churches seemed to be the channels through which there flowed the main currents of national sentiment and life.

It cannot be said that the same movement was witnessed to anything like the same extent in Britain. The character of the people of these islands is not favorable to sudden turns of that kind. But even here the experience of the churches throughout the length and breadth of the land is that during the first weeks of war the number of people attending religious services was in a marked degree larger than usual.

How, then, has this movement fared? Has it shown any promise of depth and permanency? I believe that in trying to answer these questions a distinction must be drawn between the experience of countries which have felt to the full the

ravages of war and that of countries which have been more favored by circumstances. In Britain, for example, under the protection of the seas over which her fleets rule supreme, it has been difficult at times to realize that the greatest war in the history of the world is in progress. The sheltered atmosphere of these islands has guarded the minds of its inhabitants from the shocks of war which others have felt. The transition from peace conditions to war conditions has been gradual, and even today, when individual liberty is severely restricted in many directions, life is not far removed from the normal.

Nor has there been any great hardship in social and industrial conditions, such as we were led to expect might fall upon us in the event of war, and which might have brought home its reality. That pinch of hardship may be felt when the war is over, but we have felt nothing of it as yet. Unemployment is almost non-existent. The cost of living has certainly increased, but, on the whole, wages have risen to meet the upward trend in prices. In thousands of homes the last two years have meant a prosperity unknown in previous times.

In many ways this has tended to a slackening of the moral fibre. In spite of the State control over the drink traffic, there has been a vast amount of drinking, and the most ominous sign of all is the growth of the habit among women, and even young girls. It would be unfair, of course, to look at this side of the picture and not at another, for the nation as a whole has responded magnificently to all the demands made upon it, and at its heart is a stern and unflinching resolve. But the present atmosphere of life in these islands is not conducive to any large growth of the religious spirit, and consequently the first increase in church attendance has declined to the old level, and even, in many cases, below that mark.

As far as Germany and Austria are concerned, very little reliable information has reached us in this country since the first few months of warfare, and what news has come through the barriers must be accepted with reserve. The

meagre accounts which have reached us would, however, lead us to suppose that much the same course has been followed in those countries as in our own. Judging by articles which have appeared in their newspapers and journals, there would seem to have been an increasing lack of self-restraint on the part of the younger portion of the population especially. There are laments, for example, over the increase of juvenile crime. And we are not without some evidence that many who turned to organized religion in the first days of the war have turned away again now that the novelty and excitement of the situation have worn away.

All this would lead us to the conclusion that it is highly unsafe to argue, from a temporary quickening of religious life on the surface, the promise of a deep spiritual movement affecting the life of the nation as a whole.

From personal observation and from the accounts of others a different story has to be told of France, which since the earliest days of the war has known the harrowing experience of the enemy encamped on her own land, with all the horror and tragedy which that fact involves. Such an experience moves the soul of a nation to its depths. No people understands what war means until it has passed through that fiery ordeal. You have only to look at the blackened ruins of French homes, the desolated churches, and the devastated villages, to understand how the sternness of the French character has asserted itself and how the war has called forth all the spiritual resources of that great people. Amid such surroundings, the attachment of the French Nation to the Church seems to be permanently deepened, an attachment which has been strengthened by the noble part which the priesthood has taken in the defense of the country. Over the length and breadth of France the Church is more truly national than ever before, at all events in modern times, and it is national in a sense which no laws of the State can increase or diminish.

These conclusions, of course, are in the nature of generalizations, to which too great value ought not to be attached. A

nation may have an organic being of its own, and especially so when a great demand breaks down the dividing barriers and leads men for the moment to forget their old divisions into classes and parties. Even so, those divisions are not destroyed; they are only transcended for a time. So, to speak of the religion of a nation must always be a loose way of talking. In any generalization of the kind there must be room for hosts of exceptions. Probably, then, the way in which a fact like the present war colors the attitude of men to religion may be seen both more truly and more vividly on the plane of the individual life than on that of the community as a whole.

To the soldiers themselves, therefore, I turn now to ask how their minds and outlook have been affected by the strange and terrible experiences through which they have passed. Has religion any deeper meaning for them than when they went out? It was with this question at the back of my mind that I visited part of our army in France during three months of last Winter, seeing the men in all kinds of conditions—in the comparative security of the base camps, in the field hospitals immediately behind the lines, and in the trenches. Here again no general verdict is possible, and everything which I have seen would lead me to a deep distrust of hasty generalizations.

Is there a revival of religion at the front? No, not in the sense in which that phrase is generally used. There is little sign of the emotional. No obvious wave of religious enthusiasm has swept over the men. There is absolutely no hint of turning to religion in a panic. Nor is there any great sign of a strengthening of the attachment between the men and official religious organizations. What is going on is beneath the surface, quiet and hidden. Yet there is a distinct movement toward religion, none the less real because it is unobtrusive. What you find there is that men who were out of touch altogether with religious organizations at home turn naturally to such a thing as prayer at a moment of great need. In private conversation with the men I heard again and again the confession that in times of great stress they

had all prayed for help. And the way in which it was told would lead one to believe that it was not the last desperate throw of the gambler with fate, but the turning to a long-neglected instrument in which they had never really lost belief.

Again, speak to men who for themselves have faced the deeper realities of life and death, speak to them, not in a conventional way, but in simple, direct, real speech, and it is not long before you are conscious of a new intensity in the atmosphere. I believe, after all that I have seen, that the men who have really faced these things will return simpler, purified, with a new hold on the things that really matter. Whether that will express itself in open and outward ways I do not venture to prophesy; so much, it seems to me, depends upon the forces of organized religion. If the churches are content to go on in the old ways, and especially emphasizing the divisions among themselves, I see very little hope of a revival within their borders. All that will happen then is that the churches will lose the biggest opportunity which has been presented to them in modern times. That issue has yet to be decided, and one could wish that there were more signs that they were prepared to take advantage of it.

But from what I have seen I am convinced that the men who have borne the heaviest part of the burden in this warfare of the nations will return to the old life again with a spirit which is essentially religious, with their sense of human brotherhood strengthened, and with a deep desire to rid the world from such an anomaly as war. I am speaking here of the best of the men, and I am fairly confident that what I have seen of our own soldiers applies to the forces of every nation engaged in the conflict. Many old illusions have fallen like scales from their eyes. Even amid the tragedies of hatred and war they have felt in a new way the reality of human brotherhood. But what form the new experience will take when they return to the tasks of civil life no one has any means of knowing. Vaguely it is said that the coming age will be an era of revolution.

For myself I believe it will be an age of new moral and spiritual values, learned by men who have seen the folly of old ways by the impasse to which they have led, and who will seek, blindly it may be at first, for a new order of life

and society. In that new order they will demand that there shall be an assured place for the individual soul within the fellowship of society and for the rights of even the weaker nations within the comity of the peoples.

New Zealand in a New Phase

By Spencer Brodneyn

THE New Zealand Military Service bill, which became law on Aug. 1, 1916, has come as a surprise to those who have always associated New Zealand with radical and progressive politics. How is it, one asks, that such a country could take a headlong plunge into militarism and adopt conscription just as determinedly as if it were a European power? Is not New Zealand ruled by the working class, which is everywhere opposed to compulsory military service?

The answer to these questions is that in New Zealand the working class no longer exercises the political influence it did during the long progressive régime which began in 1890 and continued under the successive Premier-ships of Ballance, Seddon, and Ward till a little while after the outbreak of the war, when the Conservatives led by Massey returned to power. Subsequently Massey formed a coalition with the Liberals, whose leader, Sir Joseph Ward, had become a very lukewarm radical. The object of the coalition was to eliminate party politics and concentrate upon the work of helping the empire in its hour of need. But its effect was also to close up the ranks against labor. From the moment the Massey-Ward Ministry took office the political power of the working class was practically extinguished and the only possible opposition to an ultra-imperialistic policy destroyed. In fact, it was a repetition of what had happened in England when the Liberal Prime Minister called the Tory chieftains to his side and squelched radical, labor, and Socialist opponents.

But even if the New Zealand Liberal Party had not been swallowed up by the Conservatives, it would be a mistake to

suppose that New Zealand radicalism was ever opposed to the kind of patriotism which has for first article of belief the greatness and glory of the British Empire. The great leader of the Liberal-Labor forces was the late Richard Seddon, who was Premier uninterruptedly from 1893 to the time of his death in 1906. Originally a Lancashire workingman, he remained throughout his career an intense democrat and a bold experimentalist in politics. But he was also the most fervent of British imperialists, enthusiastically advocating Chamberlainism on every occasion that problems of empire came up for discussion. For that reason he was as great a favorite with British Tories as the Australian Prime Minister, Hughes, who is a Socialist, has since become.

The British Tory imperialists are always ready to forgive radicalism in the domestic politics of the self-governing dominions so long as colonial statesmen are "loyal to the empire." Seddon could have turned New Zealand into a Socialist State and the British jingoes would not have turned a hair so long as New Zealand kept to the policy which sent troops to fight in South Africa, contributed battleships to the British fleet, and supported proposals at the imperial conferences in London which aimed at destroying liberalism in Great Britain. Seddon's successor, Ward, was not so trustworthy a democrat as Seddon, but he was, and is, no less imperialistic; and in this he represents the prevailing sentiment of the New Zealand people.

New Zealand is undoubtedly the most loyal and patriotic of all the British self-governing dominions. Its population con-

tains no separate national element, as in Canada and South Africa, nor has it ever received any influx of discontented emigrants from the British Isles, as has Australia. In New Zealand, which was almost exclusively colonized by Englishmen and Scotsmen, the mother country is deeply revered and loved without question.

This is due not merely to the character of the colonists and their children, who have been bred in the tradition of loyalty. There is also a geographical reason. New Zealand is a small country and a lonely one. It consists of a couple of islands, with an area about the same as that of the State of Colorado, that is, a little over 100,000 square miles. Even Australia is four days distant across the Tasman Sea, while it is a voyage of nearly three weeks to the North American Continent. Thus the New Zealand people, at once the most loyal of Britishers and the most isolated, feel that their safety depends upon the strength of the empire, above all on the strength of the predominant partner, Great Britain. If, for example, Germany were victorious and British power waned in the Pacific, what would be the fate of New Zealand? Visions of conquest and occupation by Germans or Japanese or some other aggressive people haunt the minds of New Zealanders, intensify their devotion to the cause of the mother country, and impel them to the sacrifice they are making of their manhood on the slaughter grounds of Europe.

There are other important circumstances which explain New Zealand's militarism. The working class, as we have seen, has lost the advantageous position it held so long in politics. Now, the reason it was ever able to enjoy any influence at all was that during the progressive period the workers were not organized as a separate political force, but formed part of the Liberal Party, the leaders of which were courageous and enlightened men, and which drew an equally large share of its strength from the small farmers. New Zealand is of no importance as a manufacturing country. The wealth it produces consists mainly of foodstuffs and raw materials, and its industrial establishments are for the most

part connected with sheep raising, agriculture, and mining. Agrarian interests are easily the most important.

Originally the issue was between the small farmers and workmen who wished to become farmers, on the one side, and the great land monopolists on the other. The so-called semi-socialistic legislation of New Zealand has been the result of a pact between the workers and the small farmers, with a decided balance in favor of the latter. The great hindrance to economic development was the holding of land in large estates, and the policy of Ballance and Seddon was to break them up into small farms. And so New Zealand radicals borrowed the single-tax idea of the American economist, Henry George, and adapted it to their purposes. A graduated tax was imposed on land values and the Government was given power to secure large estates by compulsory purchase, subdivide them, and resell to small farmers on the easiest of installment terms. The small farmers received further aid from a Government system of rural credits; the railways were completely nationalized, and the State, through the Department of Agriculture and other channels, directed its energies to the creation of a prosperous peasantry. And it has succeeded; but as this new class has grown more comfortable it has lost sympathy with the humane social philosophy to which it owed much in the beginning.

The workers also secured benefits under the régime of the progressive leaders. A democratic franchise, including votes for women, old-age pensions, assistance to widowed mothers, and a whole series of excellent laws for the protection and safety of workpeople were enacted. Labor unions were placed on a firm basis under the law, and State activity extended in many directions. Most noteworthy of all experiments in labor legislation was the establishment of a system of compulsory arbitration in disputes between employers and workers. That system has been the subject of much controversy. It has not altogether prevented strikes, for there has been at least one very serious revolt against it. On the other hand, it is claimed that

had there been no such system strikes would have been more numerous and more disastrous, and there seems no doubt that it did bring about a general rise in real wages in a peaceful manner, thus increasing the spending powers of the working class and thereby contributing to the prosperity of the country. Compared with other countries, New Zealand has good results to show in its social conditions. Its health statistics place it ahead of any other country in the world, and in other respects the showing is just as good.

But the class which gained most from the progressive régime has been undoubtedly that of the small farmers, who, while they have grown in wealth and political influence, have lost a good deal of their enthusiasm for radicalism and are actually now opposed to their old allies of the working class. Thus has come about a change in political parties of quite recent date.

The workers, finding that they could not depend upon the Liberals, no longer led by a genuine man of the people like Seddon, have at last organized as a separate political party to safeguard their own interests. The movement, begun in 1912, was not established on a solid basis until June of this year, when at a joint conference of the United Federation of Labor, the Social Democratic Party, and the Labor Representation Committee of New Zealand it was decided to found the New Zealand Labor Party with a definitely socialistic objective. This party has not yet had an opportunity of making itself felt in Parliament, and so there is no effective opposition to the capitalistic combination under Massey and Ward.

The rise of a Labor Party on one side and the fusion of Liberals and Conservatives on the other are indications that the realignment of parties is now complete. Thus it has come to pass that New Zealand, for more than a quarter

of a century an object lesson to the whole world in progressive politics, has returned to the fold of conservatism and is ruled by men who are ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of British world power.

It is therefore not surprising that New Zealand has in the most thorough manner copied the militarist methods of the mother country. In addition to enacting a compulsory service law, the Government has adopted repressive measures against the minority, which is described as "anti-war," and it has also recently passed an act to extend the duration of the present Parliament for a year beyond the term for which it was elected. This last measure seems to indicate some sort of belief that the newly organized Labor Party might provide a vigorous opposition to the Conservative-Liberal fusion Government, and to attempts by that Government, on the plea of imperial safety, to annul ideas which are the foundation of New Zealand's progressive democracy.

It is in the light of such a setback to social progress that we see the devastating results of this war. In all the belligerent countries the war is destroying almost every peaceful, humanizing activity, intellectual as well as political, besides exacting its frightful toll of human life. It seems incredibly stupid that the hideous folly of European statesmen should reach right across the world and lay wanton hands on a country from which we were all learning something of the new science of curing the ills that afflict modern society, for had not New Zealand earned the title of the "social laboratory" of the world? Alas! the "social laboratory" is now closed and the staff have turned preachers of the gospel of hatred.

[The Australian Parliament recently passed a bill for a national referendum on conscription, to be taken on Oct. 28, thus leaving the question to the decision of the people.—
EDITOR.]

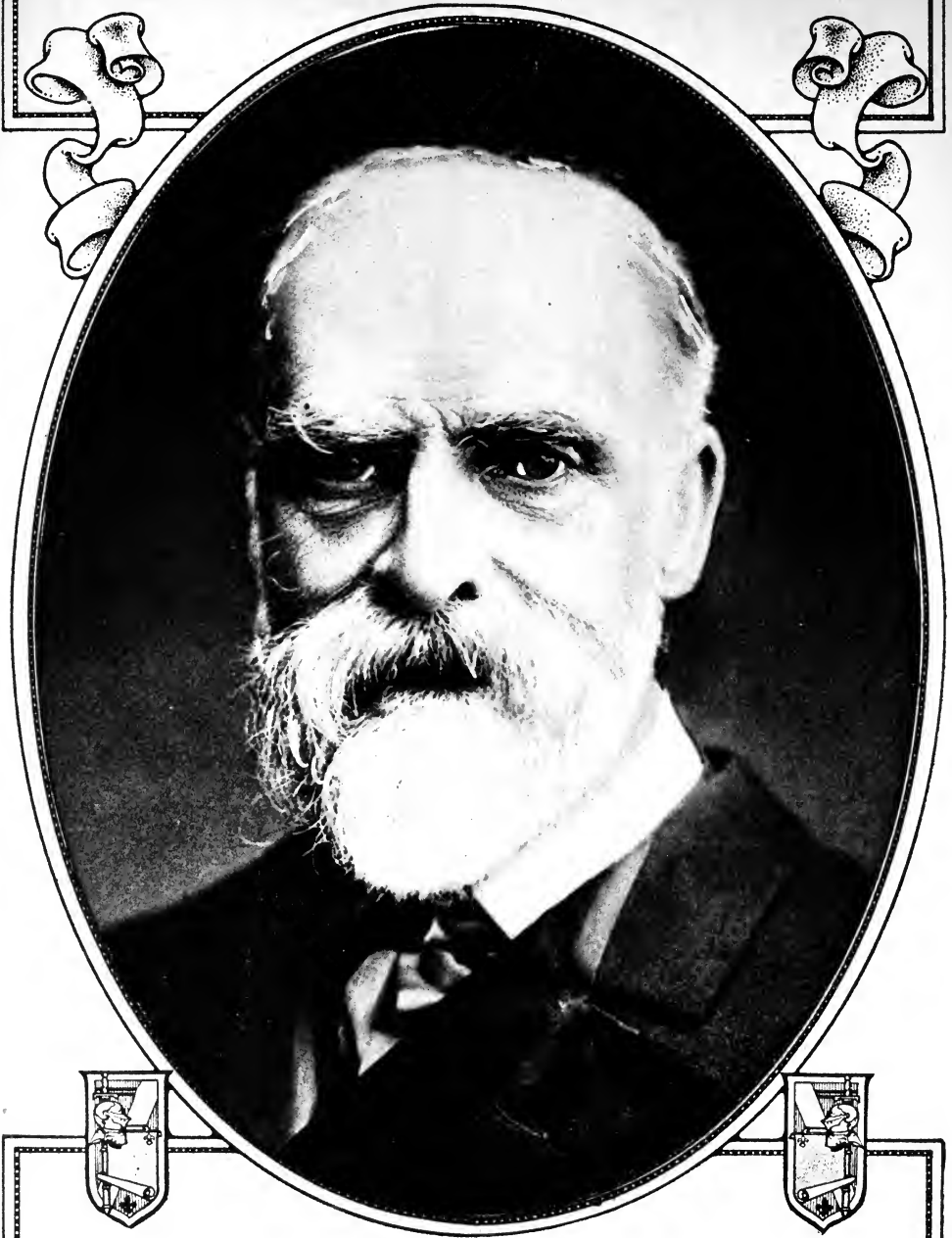


ENVER PASHA



Turkish Minister of War, the Dominating Personality in the Moslem Empire, and One of Those Responsible for the Armenian Massacres.

VISCOUNT JAMES BRYCE



Lord Bryce, Former British Ambassador to the United States,
Has Followed Up His Report on Belgium with a
Still More Harrowing Story of Armenian Sufferings.

Lord Bryce's Report on Turkish Atrocities in Armenia

Most appalling of all the documents of the world war is the record of Turkey's wholesale massacres of the Christian men, women, and children of Armenia, as revealed in a detailed report prepared by Lord Bryce, the former British Ambassador to the United States, which fills a volume of 600 pages. Lord Bryce's material, much of which was furnished by American and other neutral workers in Armenia, is edited by Arnold J. Toynbee, late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. The volume contains 150 documents, all the authentic evidence obtainable up to July, 1916, as to the massacres and deportations of Armenians and other Christians dwelling in Asia Minor and the northwestern corner of Persia invaded by Turkish troops. All the evidence goes to show the deliberate purpose of the Turkish authorities to exterminate the Armenian Nation, the most colossal crime, says Lord Bryce, in the history of the world. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents the more striking portions of the report.

Lord Bryce prefaces his volume with the following analysis of the evidence:

THIS compilation has been made in the spirit proper to a historical inquiry; that is to say, nothing has been omitted which could throw light on the facts, whatever the political bearing of the accounts might be. In such an inquiry no racial or religious sympathies, no prejudices, not even the natural horror raised by crimes, ought to distract the mind of the inquirer from the duty of trying to ascertain the real facts. * * *

Let us, however, look at the evidence itself.

1. Nearly all of it comes from eye-witnesses, some of whom wrote it down themselves, while others gave it to persons who wrote it out at the time from their statements, given to them orally. Nearly all of it, moreover, was written immediately after the events described, when the witnesses' recollection was still fresh and clear.

2. The main facts rest upon the evidence coming from different and independent sources. When the same fact is stated by witnesses who had no communication with one another, and in many cases did not even speak the same language, the presumption in favor of its truth becomes strong.

3. Facts of the same or of a very similar nature occurring in different places are deposed to by different and independent witnesses. As there is every reason to believe—and indeed it is hardly denied—that the massacres and deporta-

tions were carried out under general orders proceeding from Constantinople, the fact that persons who knew only what was happening in one locality record circumstances there broadly resembling those which occurred in another locality goes to show the general correctness of both sets of accounts. * * *

4. The volume of this concurrent evidence from different quarters is so large as to establish the main facts beyond all question. Errors of detail in some instances may be allowed for. Exaggeration may, in the case of native witnesses, who were more likely to be excited, be also, now and then, allowed for. But the general character of the events stands out, resting on foundations too broad to be shaken, and even details comparatively unimportant in themselves are often remarkably corroborated from different quarters.

5. In particular it is to be noted that many of the most shocking and horrible accounts are those for which there is the most abundant testimony from the most trustworthy neutral witnesses. None of the worst cruelties rests on native evidence alone. If all that class of evidence were entirely struck out the general effect would be much the same, though some of the minor details would be wanting. One may, indeed, say that an examination of the neutral evidence tends to confirm the native evidence as a whole by showing that there is in it less of exaggeration than might have been expected. * * *

6. The vast scale of these massacres

and the pitiless cruelty with which the deportations were carried out may seem to some readers to throw doubt on the authenticity of the narratives. Can human beings (it may be asked) have perpetrated such crimes on innocent women and children? But a recollection of previous massacres will show that such crimes are part of the long-settled and the often-repeated policy of the Turkish rulers.

Historic Precedents

In Chios, nearly a century ago, the Turks slaughtered almost the whole Greek population of the island. In European Turkey in 1876 many thousands of Bulgarians were killed on the suspicion of an intended rising, and the outrages committed on women were, on a smaller scale, as bad as those here recorded. In 1895 and 1896 more than a hundred thousand Armenian Christians were put to death by Abdul Hamid, many thousands of whom died as martyrs to their Christian faith, by abjuring which they could have saved their lives.

All these massacres are registered not only in the ordinary press records of current history but in the reports of British diplomatic and consular officials written at the time. They are as certain as anything else that has happened in our day. There is, therefore, no antecedent improbability to be overcome before the accounts here given can be accepted. All that happened in 1915 is in the regular line of Turkish policy. The only differences are in the scale of the present crimes, and in the fact that the lingering sufferings of deportations, in which the deaths were as numerous as in the massacres, and fell with special severity upon the women, have in this latest instance been added.

The evidence is cumulative. Each

part of it supports the rest because each part is independent of the others. The main facts are the same, and reveal the same plans and intentions at work. Even the varieties are instructive because they show those diversities of temper and feeling which appear in human nature everywhere.

The Turkish officials are usually heartless and callous. But here and there we see one of a finer nature, who refuses to carry out the orders given him and is sometimes dismissed for his refusal. The Moslem rabble is usually pitiless. It pillages the houses and robs the persons of the hapless exiles. But now and then there appear pious and compassionate Moslems who try to save the lives or alleviate the miseries of their Christian neighbors. We have a vivid picture of human life, where wick-



PATRIARCH OF ARMENIAN CHURCH

edness in high places deliberately lets loose the passions of racial or religious hatred, as well as the commoner passion of rapacity, yet cannot extinguish those better feelings which show as points of light in the gloom.

It is, however, for the reader to form his own judgment on these documents as he peruses them. They do not, and by the nature of the case can not, constitute what is called judicial evidence, such as a court of justice obtains when it puts witnesses on oath and subjects them to cross-examination. But by far the larger part (almost all, indeed, of what is here published) does constitute historical evidence of the best kind, inasmuch as the statements come from those who saw the events they describe and recorded them in writing immediately afterward. They corroborate one another, the narratives given by different observers showing a substantial agreement, which becomes conclu-

sive when we find the salient facts repeated with no more variations in detail than the various opportunities of the independent observers made natural.

Turks Confess Main Facts

The gravest facts are those for which the evidence is most complete, and it tallies fatally with that which twenty years ago established the guilt of Abdul Hamid for the deeds that have made his name infamous. In this case there are, moreover, what was wanting then—admissions which add weight to the testimony here presented—I mean the admissions of the Turkish Government and of their German apologists. The attempts made to find excuses for wholesale slaughter and for the removal of a whole people from their homes leave no room for doubt as to the slaughter and the removal. The main facts are established by the confession of the criminals themselves. What the evidence here presented does is to show in detail how these things were effected, what cruelties accompanied them, and how inexcusable they were. The disapproval of the palliations which the Turks have put forward is as complete as the proof of the atrocities themselves.

This preface is intended to deal only with the credibility of the evidence here presented, so I will refrain from comment on the facts. A single observation, or rather a single question, may, however, be permitted from one who has closely followed the history of the Turkish East for more than forty years. European travelers have often commended the honesty and the kindness of the Turkish peasantry, and our soldiers have said that they are fair fighters. Against them I have nothing to say, and will even add that I have known individual Turkish officials who impressed me as men of honesty and good will. But the record of the rulers of Turkey for the last two or three centuries, from the Sultan on his throne down to the district Mutessarif, is, taken as a whole, an almost unbroken record of corruption, of injustice, of an oppression which often rises into hideous cruelty.

The Young Turks, when they deposed

Abdul Hamid, came forward as the apostles of freedom, promising equal rights and equal treatment to all Ottoman subjects. The facts here recorded show how that promise was kept. Can we still continue to hope that the evils of such a Government are curable? Or does the evidence contained in this volume furnish the most terrible and convincing proof that it can no longer be permitted to rule over subjects of a different faith?

Turkish Reign of Terror

Before presenting documents of specific outrage Lord Bryce and Mr. Toynbee print a series of letters covering in a general way the whole catalogue of horrors visited upon the Armenians by their Turkish masters. One of these, written from Constantinople in July, 1915, contains the following sentences:

From May 1 onward the population of the City of Erzerum, and shortly afterward the population of the whole province, was collected at Samsoun and embarked on shipboard. The population of Kaisaria, Diarbekir, Ourfa, Trebizond, Sivas, Harpout, and the district of Van have been deported to the deserts of Mesopotamia, from the southern outskirts of Aleppo as far as Mosul and Bagdad.

"Armenia without the Armenians"—that is the Ottoman Government's project. The Moslems are already being allowed to take possession of the lands and houses abandoned by the Armenians. * * *

The exiles will have to traverse on foot a distance that involves one or two months' marching, and sometimes even more, before they reach the particular corner of the desert assigned to them for their habitation, and destined to become their tomb. We hear, in fact, that the course of their route and the stream of the Euphrates are littered with the corpses of exiles, while those who survive are doomed to certain death, since they will find in the desert neither house, nor work, nor food.

It is simply a scheme for exterminating the Armenian Nation wholesale without any fuss. It is just another form of massacre, and a more horrible form.

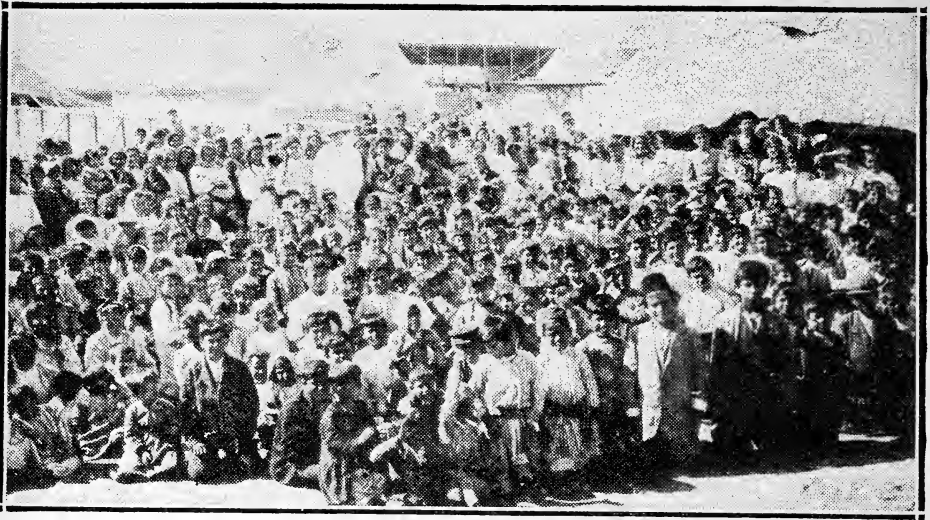
A letter from the same source, dated Constantinople, Aug. 15, 1915, states:

It is now established that there is not an Armenian left in the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Sivas, Harpout, Bitlis, and Diarbekir. About a million of the Armenian inhabitants of these provinces have been deported from their homes and sent southward into exile.

These deportations have been carried out very systematically by the local authorities since the beginning of April last. First of all, in every village and every town the population was disarmed by the gendarmerie and by criminals released for this purpose from prison. On the pretext of disarming the Armenians these criminals committed assassinations and inflicted hideous tortures. Next, they imprisoned the Armenians en masse on the pretext that they had a political organi-

In the province of Diarbekir there was an outright massacre, especially at Mardin, and the population was subjected to all the aforementioned atrocities.

In the provinces of Erzerum, Bitlis, Sivas, and Diarbekir the local authorities gave certain facilities to the Armenians condemned to deportation—five to ten days' grace, authorization to effect a partial sale of their goods, and permission to hire a cart in the case of some families. But after the first



HOMELESS ARMENIAN CHILDREN DRIVEN INTO EXILE BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT
(Photo from Mcdem Service.)

zation, and had in their possession arms, books, and so on—at a pinch, wealth or any kind of social standing was pretext enough. After that they began the deportation. And first, on the pretext of sending them into exile, they drove from their homes those who had not been imprisoned, or those who had been set at liberty through lack of any charge against them; then they massacred them. Not one of these escaped slaughter.

Before they started they were examined officially by the authorities, and any money or valuables in their possession were confiscated. They were usually shackled—either separately or in gangs of five to ten. The remainder—old men, women, and children—were treated as waifs in the province of Harpout and placed at the disposal of the Moslem population. The highest official, as well as the most simple peasant, chose out the woman or girl who caught his fancy, and took her to wife, converting her by force to Islam. As for the children, the Moslems took as many of them as they wanted, and then the remnant of the Armenians were marched away, famished and destitute of provisions, to fall victims to hunger, unless that were anticipated by the savagery of the brigand bands.

few days of their journey the carters abandoned them on the road and returned home. These convoys were waylaid the day after the start, sometimes several days after, by bands of brigands or by Moslem peasants who spoiled them of all they had. The bands of brigands fraternized with the gendarmes and slaughtered the few grown men or youths who were included in the convoys. They carried off the women, girls, and children, leaving only the old women, who were driven along by the gendarmes under blows of the lash, and died of hunger by the roadside. An eyewitness reports to us that the women deported from the province of Erzerum were abandoned some days ago on the plain of Harpout, where they have all died of hunger, (fifty or sixty a day.)

The only step taken by the authorities was to send people to bury them, in order to safeguard the health of the Moslem population.

Thousands of Corpses

The same barbarities have been committed everywhere, and by this time travelers find nothing but thousands of Armenian corpses all along the roads in these provinces. A Moslem traveler, on his way from Malatia to Sivas, a nine hours' journey, passed nothing

but corpses of men and women. All the male Armenians of Malatia had been taken there and massacred; the women and children have all been converted to Islam. No Armenian can travel in these parts, for every Moslem, and especially the brigands and gendarmes, considers it his duty now to kill them at sight.

Recently MM. Zohrab and Vartkes, the Armenian members of the Ottoman Parliament who had been sent off to Diarbekir to be

the other great massacres. At Sivas the would-be converts to Islam were offered the following terms: They must hand over all children under 12 years of age to the Government, which would undertake to place them in orphanages, and they must consent for their own part to leave their homes and settle wherever the Government directed.

At Harpout they would not accept the conversion of the men; as for the women they made their conversion conditional in each



RESCUED ARMENIAN GIRLS IN THE CAMP AT PORT SAID
(Photo from Medem Service.)

tried by the Council of War, were killed before they got there, near Aleppo. In these provinces one can only travel incognito under a Moslem name. * * *

The Armenian soldiers, too, have suffered the same fate. They were also all disarmed and put to constructing roads. We have certain knowledge that the Armenian soldiers of the province of Erzerum, who were at work on the road from Erzerum to Erzingan, have all been massacred. The Armenian soldiers of the province of Diarbekir have all been massacred on the Diarbekir-Ourfa road, and the Diarbekir-Harpout road. From Harpout alone 1,800 young Armenians were enrolled and sent off to work at Diarbekir; all were massacred in the neighborhood of Arghana. We have no news from the other districts, but they have assuredly suffered the same fate there also.

In certain towns the Armenians who had been consigned to oblivion in the prisons have been hanged in batches. During the last month alone several dozen Armenians have been hanged in Kaisaria. In many places the Armenian population, to save their lives, have tried to become Mohammedans, but this time such overtures have not been readily accepted, as they were at the time of

case upon the presence of a Moslem willing to take the convert in marriage. Many Armenian women preferred to throw themselves into the Euphrates with their infants, or committed suicide in their homes. The Euphrates and Tigris have become the sepulchre of thousands of Armenians.

All Armenians converted in the Black Sea towns—Trebizond, Samsoun, Kerasond, &c.—have been sent to the interior, and settled in towns inhabited exclusively by Moslems. The town of Shabin-Karabissar resisted disarmament and deportation and was thereupon bombarded. The whole population of the town and the surrounding country, with the Bishop at their head, was pitilessly massacred.

In short, from Samsoun on the one hand to Sughart and Diarbekir on the other, there is now not a single Armenian left. The majority have been massacred, part have been carried off, and a very small part have been converted to Islam.

History has never recorded, never hinted at, such a hecatomb. We are driven to believe that under the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid we were exceedingly fortunate.

Several important documents in the in-

dictment are written by German eyewitnesses, who call upon the German Government to stop the murderous deeds of their ally. One such document, addressed to the German Foreign Office by four teachers at Aleppo, is printed separately at the close of this article as CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE had previously obtained it through other channels. Another narrative given by Lord Bryce was printed in the *Sonnenaufgang* and the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* in October and November, 1915, respectively. After its appearance in the latter periodical the German censor forbade its reproduction and confiscated all copies on which he could get his hands, but a few were smuggled out of Germany. The article is in part as follows:

Between May 10 and May 30, 1,200 of the most prominent Armenians and other Christians, without distinction of confession, were arrested in the Vilayets of Diarbekir and Mamouret-ul-Aziz.

It is said that they were to be taken to Mosul, but nothing more has been heard of them.

On May 30, 674 of them were embarked on thirteen Tigris barges, under the pretext that they were to be taken to Mosul. The Vall's aid de camp, assisted by fifty gendarmes, was in charge of the convoy. Half the gendarmes started off on the barges, while the other half rode along the bank. A short time after the start the prisoners were stripped of all their money (about £6,000 Turkish) and then of their clothes; after that they were thrown into the river. The gendarmes on the bank were ordered to let none of them escape. The clothes of these victims were sold in the market of Diarbekir.

About the same time 700 young Armenian men were conscribed and were then set to build the Kara-Baghtché-Habashi road. There is no news of these 700 men, either.

It is said that in Diarbekir five or six priests were stripped naked one day, smeared with tar, and dragged through the streets.

In the Vilayet of Aleppo they have evicted the inhabitants of Hadjin, Sheer, Albustan, Göksoun, Tasholouk, Zeitoun, all the villages of Alabash, Geben, Shivilgi, Furnus, and the surrounding villages, Fundadjak, Hassan-Beyli, Harni, Lappashli, Dört Yöl, and others.

They have marched them off in convoys into the desert on the pretext of settling them there. In the village of Tel-Armen (along the line of the Bagdad Railway, near Mosul) and in the neighboring villages about 5,000 people were massacred, leaving only a few women and children. The people were thrown alive down wells or into the fire.

They pretend that the Armenians are to be employed in colonizing land situated at a distance of from twenty-four to thirty kilometers from the Bagdad Railway. But as it is only the women and children who are sent into exile, since all the men, with exception of the very old, are at the war, this means nothing less than the wholesale murder of the families, since they have neither the labor nor the capital for clearing the country. * * *

For a whole month corpses were observed floating down the River Euphrates nearly every day, often in batches of from two to six corpses bound together. The Turkish military authority in control of the Euphrates, the Kaimakam of Djerablous, refuses to allow the burial of these corpses, on the ground that he finds it impossible to establish whether they belong to Moslems or to Christians. He adds that no one has given him any orders on the subject. The corpses stranded on the bank are devoured by dogs and vultures. To this fact there are many German eyewitnesses. An employe of the Bagdad Railway has brought the information that the prisons at Biredjik are filled regularly every day and emptied every night—into the Euphrates. Between Diarbekir and Ourfa a German cavalry Captain saw innumerable corpses lying unburied all along the road.

The following telegram was sent to Aleppo from Arabkir: "We have accepted the true religion. Now we are all right." The inhabitants of a village near Anderoum went over to Islam and had to hold to it. At Hadjin six families wanted to become Mohammedans. They received the verdict: "Nothing under 100 families will be accepted."

Aleppo and Ourfa are the assemblage places for the convoys of exiles. There were about 5,000 of them in Aleppo during June and July, while during the whole period from April to July many more than 50,000 must have passed through the city. The girls were abducted almost without exception by the soldiers and their Arab hangers-on. One father, on the verge of despair, besought me to take with me at least his 15-year-old daughter, as he could no longer protect her from the persecutions inflicted upon her. The children left behind by the Armenians on their journey are past counting.

Women whose pains came upon them on the way had to continue their journey without respite. A woman bore twins in the neighborhood of Aintab; next morning she had to go on again. She very soon had to leave the children under a bush, and a little while after she collapsed herself. Another, whose pains came upon her during the march, was compelled to go on at once and fell down dead almost immediately.

Massacres in Mush District

The following harrowing narrative of happenings at Mush [also spelled Moush] was told by a German eyewitness, and

was turned over to Lord Bryce by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian relief:

The Winter was most severe in Mush; the gendarmes were sent to levy high taxes, and as the Armenians had already given everything to the Turks, and were, therefore, powerless to pay these enormous taxes, they were beaten to death. The Armenians never defended themselves except when they saw the gendarmes ill-treat their wives and children, and the result in such cases was that the whole village was burned down, merely because a few Armenians had tried to protect their families.

Thus the Winter passed, with things happening every day more terrible than one can possibly describe. We then heard that massacres had started in Bitlis. In Mush everything was being prepared for one, when the Russians arrived at Lice, which is about fourteen to sixteen hours' journey from Mush. This occupied the attention of the Turks, so that the massacre was put off for the time being. Hardly had the Russians left Lice, however, when all of the districts inhabited by Armenians were pillaged and destroyed.

This was in the month of May. At the beginning of June, we heard that the whole Armenian population of Bitlis had been got rid of. It was at this time that we received news that the American missionary, Dr. Knapp, had been wounded in an Armenian house and that the Turkish Government had sent him to Diarbekir. The very first night at Diarbekir he died, and the Government explained his death as a result of having overeaten, which of course nobody believed.

When there was no one left in Bitlis to massacre their attention was diverted to Mush. Cruelties had already been committed, but so far not too publicly; now, however, they started to shoot people down without any cause and beat them to death simply for the pleasure of doing so. In Mush itself, which is a big town, there are 25,000 Armenians; around Mush there are 300 villages, each containing about 500 houses. In all these not a single male Armenian is now to be seen, and hardly a woman either, except for a few here and there.

In the first week of July 20,000 soldiers arrived from Constantinople by way of Harpout with munitions and eleven guns, and laid siege to Mush. As a matter of fact, the town had already been beleaguered since the middle of June. At this stage, the Mutesarraf gave orders that we should leave the town and go to Harpout. We pleaded with him to let us stay, for we had in our charge all the orphans and patients; but he was angry and threatened to remove us by force if we did not do as instructed. As we both fell sick, however, we were allowed to remain at Mush. I received permission, in the event of our leaving Mush, to take the Armenians of our orphanage with us; but

when we asked for assurances of their safety, his only reply was: "You can take them with you, but being Armenians their heads may and will be cut off on the way."

On July 10 Mush was bombarded for several hours on the pretext that some Armenians had tried to escape. I went to see the Mutesarraf and asked him to protect our buildings; his reply was: "Serves you right for staying instead of leaving as instructed. The guns are here to make an end of Mush. Take refuge with the Turks." This, of course, was impossible, as we could not leave our charges. Next day a new order was promulgated for the expulsion of the Armenians, and three days' grace was given them to make ready. They were told to register themselves at the Government Building before they left. Their families could remain, but their property and their money were to be confiscated. The Armenians were unable to go, for they had no money to defray the journey, and they preferred to die in their houses rather than be separated from their families and endure a lingering death on the road.

As stated above, three days' grace was given to the Armenians, but two hours had scarcely elapsed when the soldiers began breaking into the houses, arresting the inmates and throwing them into prison. The guns began to fire and thus the people were effectually prevented from registering themselves at the Government Building. We all had to take refuge in the cellar for fear of our orphanage catching fire. It was heart-rending to hear the cries of the people and children who were being burned to death in their houses. The soldiers took great delight in hearing them, and when people who were out in the street during the bombardment fell dead the soldiers merely laughed at them.

The survivors were sent to Ourfa, (there were none left but sick women and children;) I went to the Mutesarraf and begged him to have mercy on the children at least, but in vain. He replied that the Armenian children must perish with their nation. All our people were taken from our hospital and orphanage; they left us three female servants. Under these atrocious circumstances, Mush was burned to the ground. Every officer boasted of the number he had personally massacred as his share in ridding Turkey of the Armenian race.

Harpout a Cemetery

We left for Harpout. Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians; from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie, and the dogs and the vultures lick their bodies. Now and then some man throws some earth over the bodies. In Harpout and Mezré the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eyebrows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else



ARMENIA, THE REGION OF ASIATIC TURKEY WHICH HAS BEEN THE SCENE OF UNPRECEDENTED MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS

hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing horses. This is all done at night time, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know of their agony soldiers are stationed around the prisons beating drums and blowing whistles. It is needless to relate that many died of these tortures. When they die, the soldiers cry: "Now let your Christ help you!"

One old priest was tortured so cruelly to extract a confession and that he would be left alone if he did it, he cried out in his desperation: "We are revolutionists!" He expected his torture to cease, but on the contrary the soldiers cried: "What further do we seek? We have it here from his own lips!" And instead of picking their victims

as they did before, the officials had all the Armenians tortured without sparing a soul.

Early in July 2,000 Armenian soldiers were ordered to leave for Aleppo to build roads. The people of Harpout were terrified on hearing this, and a panic started in the town. The Vali sent for the German missionary, Mr. Ehemann, and begged him to quiet the people, repeating over and over again that no harm whatever would befall these soldiers. Mr. Ehemann took the Vali's word and quieted the people. But they had scarcely left when he heard that they had all been murdered and thrown into a cave. Just a few managed to escape, and we got the reports from them. It was useless to protest to the Vali. The American Consul at Harpout protested several times, but the Vali takes

no account of him, and treats him in a most shameful manner.

A few days later another 2,000 Armenian soldiers were dispatched via Diarbekir, and, in order to hinder them the more surely from escaping, they were left to starve on the way, so that they had no strength left in them to flee. The Kurds were given notice that the Armenians were on the way, and the Kurdish women came with their butchers' knives to help the men. In Mezré a public brothel was erected for the Turks, and all the beautiful Armenian girls and women were placed there. At night the Turks were allowed free entrance.

The permission for the Protestant and Catholic Armenians to be exempted from deportation only arrived after their deportation had taken place. The Government wanted to force the few remaining Armenians to accept the Mohammedan faith. A few did so in order to save their wives and children from the terrible sufferings already witnessed in the case of others. The people begged us to leave for Constantinople and obtain some security for them. On our way to Constantinople we only encountered old women. No young women or girls were to be seen.

In November we knew already that there would be a massacre. The Mutesarrif of Mush, who was a very intimate friend of Enver Pasha, declared quite openly that they would massacre the Armenians at the first opportune moment and exterminate the whole race. Before the Russians arrived they intended first to butcher the Armenians, and then fight the Russians afterward. Toward the beginning of April, in the presence of a Major Lange and several other high officials, including the American and German Consuls, Ekran Bey quite openly declared their intention of exterminating the Armenian race. All these details plainly show that the massacre was deliberately planned.

In a few villages destitute women come begging, naked and sick, for alms and protection. We are not allowed to give them anything, we are not allowed to take them in; in fact, we are forbidden to do anything for them, and they die outside. If only permission could be obtained from the authorities to help them! If we cannot endure the sight of these poor people's sufferings, what must it be like for the sufferers themselves?

It is a story written in blood.

Story of Red Cross Nurses

One of the most terrible of all the tales of horror collected by Lord Bryce was supplied by two Danish Red Cross nurses, formerly in the service of the German Military Mission at Erzerum and engaged early last year in Red Cross work at Erzingan, (both of which places have since been occupied by the Russians.) While they were at Erzin-

gan the Armenians of the city were notified that they were to be deported, and were compelled to sell their property at ruinous prices. A convoy of these wretched creatures, including numerous women and children, were driven from the city toward Harpout, and soon stories were brought back by survivors of the wholesale butchery of the Armenians by their Turkish guards. Later the two Danish nurses learned of this from some of the very soldiers themselves, and determined to accompany one of the caravans of unfortunates, believing that they could prevent further slaughter.

The following morning, at a very early hour, we heard the procession of exiles passing in front of our house, along the high road leading in to Erzingan. We followed them and kept up with them as far as the town, about an hour's walk. Mr. G. came with us. It was a very large gang—only two or three of them men, all the rest women and children. Many of the women looked demented. They cried out: "Spare us, we will become Moslems or Germans, or whatever you will; only spare us! We are being taken to Kamakh Boghaz to have our throats cut!" and they made an expressive gesture. Others kept silent, and marched patiently on with a few bundles on their backs and their children in their arms. Others begged us to save their children.

Many Turks arrived on the scene to carry off children and girls, with or without their parents' consent. There was no time for reflection, for the crowd was being moved on continually by the mounted gendarmes brandishing their whips. On the outskirts of the town the road to Kamakh Boghaz branches off from the main highway.

At this point the scene turned into a regular slave market; for our part, we took a family of six children from 3 to 14 years old, who clutched hold of us, and another little girl as well. We intrusted the latter to our Turkish cook, who was on the spot. She wanted to take the child to the kitchen of Dr. A.'s private house, and keep her there until we could come to fetch her; but the doctor's adjutant, Riza Bey, gave the woman a beating and threw the child out into the street. Meanwhile, with cries of agony, the gang of sufferers continued its march, while we returned to the hospital with our six children. Dr. A. gave us permission to keep them in our room until we had packed our belongings. They were given food and soon became calmer. "Now we are saved!" they had cried when we took them. They refused to let go of our hands. The smallest, the son of a rich citizen of Baibourt, lay huddled up in his mother's cloak; his face was swollen with crying and he seemed inconsolable.

Once he rushed to the window and pointed to a gendarme: "That's the man who killed my father!" The children handed over to us their money, 475 piastres, (about £5,) which their parents had given them with the idea that perhaps the children, at any rate, would not be shot.

We then rode into the town to obtain permission for these children to travel with us. We were told that the high authorities were in session to decide the fate of the convoy which had just arrived. Nevertheless, Sister E. succeeded in getting word with some one she knew, who gave her the authorization to take the children with her, and offered to give them false names in the passport. This satisfied us, and, after returning to the hospital, we left the same evening with baggage and children and all, and installed ourselves in a hotel at Erzingan. The Turkish orderlies at the hospital were very friendly, and said: "You have done a good deed in taking these children." We could get nothing but one small room for the eight of us.

During the night there was a frightful knocking at our door, and we were asked whether there were two German ladies in the room. Then all became quiet again, to the great relief of our little ones.

Efforts to Save Children

Their first question had been, Would we prevent them from being made Mohammedans? And was our cross (the nurses' Red Cross) the same as theirs? After that they were comforted. We left them in the room, and went ourselves to take tea in the hotel café. We noticed that some discharged hospital patients of ours, who had always shown themselves full of gratitude toward us, behaved as if they no longer recognized us.

The proprietor of the hotel began to hold forth, and every one listened to what he was saying: "The death of these women and children has been decreed at Constantinople." The Hodja (Turkish priest) of our hospital came in, too, and said to us, among other things: "If God has no pity on them, why must you have pity? The Armeinans have committed atrocities at Van. That happened because their religion is ekzik, [inferior.] The Moslems should not have followed their example, but should have carried out the massacre with greater humanity." We always gave the same answer—that they ought to discover the guilty and do justice upon them, but that the massacre of women and children was, and always will remain, a crime.

Then we went to the Mutessarif himself, with whom we had not succeeded in obtaining an interview before. The man looked like the devil incarnate, and his behavior bore out his appearance. In a bellowing voice he shouted at us: "Women have no business to meddle with politics, but ought to respect the Government!" We told him that we should have acted in precisely the same way if the

victims had been Mohammedans, and that politics had nothing to do with our conduct. He answered that we had been expelled from the hospital, and that we should get the same treatment from him; that he would not stand us, and that he would certainly not permit us to go to Harpout to fetch our belongings, but would send us to Sivas. Worst of all, he forbade us to take the children away, and at once sent a gendarme to carry them off from our room.

On our way back to the hotel we actually met them, but they were hurried past us so quickly that we had not even a chance to return them their money. Afterward we asked Dr. Lindenberg to see that this money was restored to them; but, to find out where they were, he had to make inquiries of a Turkish officer, and just at the moment of our departure, when we had been told that they had already been killed, and when we had no longer any chance of making a further search for them, the aforementioned Riza Bey came and asked us for their money, on the ground that he wanted to return it to the children! We had already decided to spend it on relieving other Armenians.

At Erzingan we were now looked askance at. They would no longer let us stay at the hotel, but took us to a deserted Armenian house. The whole of this extensive quarter of the town seemed dead. People came and went at will to loot the contents of the houses; in some of the houses families of Moslem refugees were already installed. We had now a roof over our heads, but no one would go to get us food. However, we managed to send a note to Dr. A., who kindly allowed us to return to the hospital. The following day the Mutessarif sent a springless baggage cart, in which we were to do the seven days' journey to Sivas. We gave him to understand that we would not have this conveyance, and, upon the representations of Dr. A., they sent us a traveling carriage, with the threat to have us arrested if we did not start at once. * * *

One day we met a convoy of exiles, who had said good-bye to their prosperous villages, and were at that moment on their way to Kamakh Boghaz. We had to draw up a long time by the roadside while they marched past. The scene will never be forgotten by either of us; a very small number of elderly men, a large number of women—vigorous figures with energetic features—a crowd of pretty children, some of them fair and blue-eyed, one little girl smiling at the strangeness of all she was seeing, but on all the other faces the solemnity of death. There was no noise; it was all quiet, and they marched along in an orderly way, the children generally riding on the ox carts; and so they passed, some of them greeting us on the way—all these poor people, who are now standing at the throne of God, and whose cry goes up before Him. An old woman was made to get down from her donkey—she could no longer keep the saddle. Was she

killed on the spot? Our hearts had become as cold as ice.

The gendarme attached to us told us then that he had escorted a convoy of 3,000 women and children to Mama Khatoun (near Erzerum) and Kamakh Boghaz. "Hep gildi bildi," he said—"all far away, all dead." We asked him: "Why condemn them to this frightful torment; why not kill them in their villages?" Answer: "It is best as it is. They ought to be made to suffer; and, besides, there would be no place left for us Moslems with all these corpses about. They will make a stench!"

We spent a night at Enderessi, one day's journey from Shabin Kara Hissar. As usual, we had been given for our lodging an empty Armenian house. On the wall there was a pencil scrawl in Turkish: "Our dwelling is on the mountains, we have no longer any need of a roof to cover us; we have already drained the bitter cup of death, we have no more need of a judge."

The ground floor rooms of the house were still tenanted by the women and children. The gendarmes told us that they would be exiled next morning, but they did not know that yet; they did not know what had become of the men of the house; they were restless, but not yet desperate.

Shot in Cold Blood

Just after I had gone to sleep I was awakened by shots in our immediate neighborhood. The reports followed one another rapidly, and I distinctly heard the words of command. I realized at once what was happening, and actually experienced a feeling of relief at the idea that these poor creatures were now beyond the reach of human cruelty.

Next morning our people told us that ten Armenians had been shot—that was the firing that we had heard—and that the Turkish civilians of the place were now being sent out to chase the fugitives. Indeed, we saw them starting off on horseback with guns. At the roadside were two armed men standing under a tree and dividing between them the clothes of a dead Armenian. We passed a place covered with clotted blood, though the corpses had been removed. It was the 250 roadmakers, of whom our gendarme had told us.

Once we met a large number of these laborers, who had so far been allowed to do their work in peace. They had been sorted into three gangs—Moslems, Greeks, and Armenians. There were several officers with the latter. Our young Hassan exclaimed: "They are all going to be butchered." We continued our journey, and the road mounted a hill. Then our driver pointed with his whip toward the valley, and we saw that the Armenian gang was being made to stand out of the highroad. There were about 400 of them, and they were being made to line up on the edge of a slope. We know what happened after that.

Two days before we reached Sivas we

again saw the same sight. The soldiers' bayonets glittered in the sun.

At another place there were ten gendarmes shooting them down, while Turkish workmen were finishing off the victims with knives and staves. Here ten Armenians had succeeded in getting away.

Later on, in the Mission Hospital at Sivas, we came across one of the men who had escaped. He told us that about 100 Armenians had been slaughtered there. Our informant himself had received a terrible wound in the nape of the neck and had fainted. Afterward he had recovered consciousness and had dragged himself in two days to Sivas.

Twelve hours' distance from Sivas we spent the night in a Government building. For hours a gendarme, sitting in front of our door, crooned to himself over and over again: "Ermenleri hep kesdiler"—"the Armenians have all been killed!" In the next room they were talking on the telephone. We made out that they were giving instructions as to how the Armenians were to be arrested. They were talking chiefly about a certain Ohannes, whom they had not succeeded in finding yet.

One night we slept in an Armenian house where the women had just heard that the men of the family had been condemned to death. It was frightful to hear their cries of anguish. It was no use of our trying to speak to them. "Cannot your Emperor help us?" they cried. The gendarme saw the despair on our faces, and said: "Their crying bothers you; I will forbid them to cry." However, he let himself be mollified. He had taken particular pleasure in pointing out to us all the horrors that we encountered, and he said to young Hassan: "First we kill the Armenians, then the Greeks, then the Kurds." He would certainly have been delighted to add: "And then the foreigners!" Our Greek driver was the victim of a still more ghastly joke: "Look, down there in the ditch; there are Greeks there, too!"

Heroic Work of Americans

At the important City of Van a small group of American missionaries, doctors, and nurses behaved splendidly trying to do what they could to succor the Armenians. Matters in this region were complicated by the Russian campaign against the Turks, which embittered the latter greatly against the Armenians, who were accused of sympathy with the Russians, and by the fact that the Armenians resisted the Turks by force of arms in an endeavor to save their lives and property. Several of the Americans during the Van reign of terror died of disease, which ravaged

the city and outlying districts. The persecution against the Armenians of Van was carried out by Djedvet Bey, a brother-in-law of the renowned Enver Pasha, leader of the Young Turks. One of the horde of Armenian refugees who sought shelter within the group of buildings of the American mission at Van gratefully exclaimed:

"What would we do without this place? This is the third massacre during which I have taken refuge here."

From the annual report for 1915 presented by the Medical Department at Urmia to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States these extracts are taken:

A sad case was that of the mother of a girl of 12 who was being taken away to a life of slavery. The mother protested and tried to save her child, who was ruthlessly torn from her. As the daughter was being dragged away the mother made so much trouble for her oppressors, and clung to them so tenaciously, that they stabbed her twelve times before she fell, helpless to save her little girl from her fate. This woman recovered from her wounds. Some people were shot as they ran, and children that they were carrying were killed or wounded with them. In some cases men were lined up so that several could be shot with one bullet, in order not to waste ammunition on them.

One of the most terrible things that came to the notice of the Medical Department was the treatment of Syrian women and girls by the Turks, Kurds, and local Mohammedans. After the massacre in the village of —, almost all the women and girls were outraged, and two little girls, aged 8 and 10, died in the hands of Moslem villains. A mother said that not a woman or girl above 12 (and some younger) in the village of — escaped violation. This is the usual report from the villages.

One man, who exercised a great deal of authority in the northern part of the Urmia Plain, openly boasted of having ruined eleven Christian girls, two of them under 7 years of age, and he is now permitted to return to his home in peace and no questions are asked. Several women from 80 to 85 years old have suffered with the younger women.

The most diabolically cold-blooded of all the massacres was the one committed above the village of Ismael Agha's Kala, when some sixty Syrians of Gawar were butchered by the Kurds at the instigation of the Turks. These Christians had been used by the Turks to pack telegraph wire from over the border, and while they were in the City of Urmia they were kept in close confinement, without

food or drink. On their return, as they reached the valleys between the Urmia and Baradost Plains, they were all stabbed to death, as it was supposed, but here again, as in two former massacres, a few wounded, bloody victims succeeded in making their way to our hospital.

Armenians of Moush Wiped Out

A refugee called Roupen, from the district of Sassoun, communicated these details to the Armenian community of Moscow, whither he escaped:

In the month of May the Turks attempted to force their way into Sassoun, and at the same time the massacres began again without warning at Harpout, Erzerum, and Diarbekir. The Armenians repulsed the Turks and took up a position round the town of Moush, [also spelled Mush,] where a large number of Turkish troops were concentrated. This was the situation when the Turks perpetrated the great massacre of Moush at the end of June. Half the inhabitants of Moush were massacred, the other half were driven out of the town. The Armenians never knew that at that moment the Russian troops were only two or three hours' distance from Moush.

The massacres extended over the whole plain of Moush. The Armenians, who had managed to retreat on to the heights of Sassoun with a remnant of their forces and a slender supply of munitions, attacked the Turks in the valleys and gorges of Sassoun, and inflicted considerable losses upon them. A fraction of the Armenians who escaped the massacre broke through the Turkish lines and reached Van, which was already in the hands of the Russian troops.

The number of Armenian victims is very large. In the town of Moush alone, out of the 15,000 Armenian inhabitants there are only 200 survivors; out of the 59,000 inhabitants of the plain hardly 9,000 have escaped.

Early in June the authorities ordered the Armenians to surrender their arms and pay a large money ransom. The leading Armenians of the town and the headmen of the villages were subjected to revolting tortures. Their finger nails and their toe nails were forcibly extracted; their teeth were knocked out, and, in some cases, their noses were whittled down, and the victims thus done to death under shocking, lingering agonies. The female relatives of the victims who came to the rescue were outraged in public before the very eyes of their mutilated husbands and brothers. The shrieks and death cries of the victims filled the air, yet they did not move the Turkish beast. * * *

In the town of Moush itself the Armenians, under the leadership of Gotoyan and others, entrenched themselves in the churches and stone-built houses and fought for four days in self-defense. The Turkish artillery, manned by German officers, made short work

of all the Armenian positions. Every one of the Armenians, leaders as well as men, was killed fighting; and when the silence of death reigned over the ruins of churches and the rest, the Moslem rabble made a descent upon the women and children and drove them out of the town into large camps which had already been prepared for the peasant women and children. The ghastly scenes which followed may indeed sound incredible; yet these reports have been confirmed from Russian sources beyond all doubt.

The shortest method of disposing of the women and children concentrated in the various camps was to burn them. Fire was set to large wooden sheds in Alidjan, Megrakom, Khaskegh, and other Armenian villages, and these absolutely helpless women and children were roasted to death. Many went mad and threw their children away; some knelt down and prayed amid the flames in which their bodies were burning; others shrieked and cried for help which came from nowhere. And the executioners, who seem to have been unmoved by this unparalleled savagery, grasped infants by one leg and hurled them into the fire, calling out to the burning mothers: "Here are your lions." Turkish prisoners who had apparently witnessed some of these scenes were horrified and maddened at remembering the sight. They told the Russians that the stench of the burning human flesh permeated the air for many days after.

Killed by Official Order

Armenian refugees who reached the Caucasus supplied details of their experiences from which the following has been recorded in the Bryce report:

The Turks gathered together about 5,000 Armenians by treachery and deception from twenty Armenian villages around the monastery of St. Garabed, at Mush, and massacred them. This took place near the wall of the monastery. Before the massacre began, a German officer stood on the wall and harangued the Armenians to the effect that the Turkish Government had shown great kindness to and had honored the Armenians, but that they were not satisfied and wanted autonomy; he then, by the report of a revolver, gave the signal for the general massacre. Among the massacred were two monks, one of them being the father superior of Sourp Garabed, Yeghishé Vartabed, who had a chance of escaping, but did not wish to be separated from his flock, and was killed with them. From the Sahajian district about 4,000 Armenians found refuge in the forests of the monastery, and fought against the attacking Turks and Kurds. They kept themselves alive on wheat, raw meat without salt, turtles, frogs, &c. Some of them finally surrendered, but no one knows the fate of the remainder. The monastery of St. Garabed was sacked and robbed. The Turks opened the tomb of St. Garabed and de-

stroyed everything. Turkish chiefs took up their quarters in the monastery with imprisoned Armenian girls.

According to another report no one was spared in Mush, not even the orphans in the German Orphanage. Some of these were killed and others deported. The Rev. Krikor and Mr. Marcar Ghougasian, teachers in the German Orphanage, were killed, and only two escaped death, Miss Margarid Nalbandian and Miss Maritza Arisdakesian. These were graduates of the German Seminary at Mezré, and owe their lives to a kind German lady.

According to the reports of some Armenians who had found refuge in the forests of Sourp Garabed and finally made their way to the Caucasus, Hilmi Bey was appointed for the purpose of clearing the Armenian provinces of Armenians. This man reached Erzerum on May 18, and then went to Khnyss, Boulanik, Khlata, &c., massacring every Armenian in these places. According to a letter dated June 19, (July 3,) written to one of these refugees, Hilmi Bey had three army corps (?) with him, a body of gendarmes, and the volunteers of Hadji Moussa Bey and Sheik Hazret, who had come to Mush to massacre the Armenians. To these forces were joined the Turkish mob of Mush, the Turkish refugees from Alashkerd and Badnotz, Keur Husein Pasha and Abdul-Medjid Bey. The massacres were directed by Governor Djedvet of Van, Commander Halil of Diliman, Governor Abd-ul-Khalak of Bitlis, and Governor Servet Bey of Mush. The order for massacre was given on June 28, (July 11.) According to Turkish Government statistics 120,000 Armenians were killed in this district.

Slaughter at Trebizond

The Armenians of the important port of Trebizond, which has since been occupied by the Russians, also went through the throes of deportation and massacre. The decree of deportation affecting the Trebizond Armenians was promulgated on June 24, 1915. Subsequent happenings are thus described by G. Gorrini, late Italian Consul General at Trebizond:

From June 24, the date of the publication of the infamous decree, until July 23, the date of my own departure from Trebizond, I no longer slept or ate; I was given over to nerves and nausea, so terrible was the torment of having to look on at the wholesale execution of these defenseless, innocent creatures.

The passing of the gangs of Armenian exiles beneath the windows and before the door of the Consulate; their prayers for help, when neither I nor any other could do anything to answer them; the city in a state of siege, guarded at every point by 15,000 troops in

complete war equipment, by thousands of police agents, by bands of volunteers, and by the members of the Committee of Union and Progress; the lamentations, the tears, the abandonments, the imprecations, the many suicides, the instantaneous deaths caused by sheer terror, the sudden unhinging of men's reason, the conflagrations, the shooting of victims in the city, the ruthless searches through the houses and in the countryside, the hundreds of corpses found every day along the exile road, the young women converted by force to Islam or exiled like the rest, the children torn away from their families or from the Christian schools, and handed over by force to Moslem families, or else placed by hundreds on board ship in nothing but their shirts, and then capsized and drowned in the Black Sea and the River Deré Menderé—these are my last ineffaceable memories of Trebizond, memories which still, at a month's distance, torment my soul and almost drive me frantic.

When one has had to look on for a whole month at such horrors, at such protracted tortures, with absolutely no power of acting as one longed to act, the question naturally and spontaneously suggests itself, whether all the cannibals and all the wild beasts in the world have not left their hiding places and retreats, left the virgin forests of Africa, Asia, America, and Oceania, to make their rendezvous at Stamboul.

Unfortunates of Baiburt

Baiburt, mentioned often in the news as the scene of fighting between Russians and Turks, was also the scene of terrible outrages. According to an Armenian lady deported from Baiburt, who communicated her experiences to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, the Armenian population of the place was deported in three batches. She went with the third batch. She told of her sufferings on the road as follows:

We had got only two hours away from home when bands of villagers and brigands in large numbers, with rifles, guns, axes, &c., surrounded us on the road, and robbed us of all we had. The gendarmes took my three horses and sold them to Turkish mouhadjirs, pocketing the money. They took my money and the gold pieces from my daughter's neck, also all our food.

After this they separated the men, one by one, and shot them all within six or seven days—every male above 15 years old. By my side were killed two priests, one of them over 90 years of age. The brigands took all the good-looking women and carried them off on their horses. Very many women and girls were thus carried off to the mountains,

among them my sister, whose one-year-old baby they threw away; a Turk picked it up and carried it off, I know not where. My mother walked till she could walk no further, and dropped by the roadside on a mountain top.

We found on the road many of those who had been deported from Baiburt in the previous convoys; some women were among the killed, with their husbands and sons. We also came across some old people and little infants still alive but in a pitiful condition, having shouted their voices away.

We were not allowed to sleep at night in the villages, but lay down outside. Under cover of the night indescribable deeds were committed by the gendarmes, brigands, and villagers. Many of us died from hunger and strokes of apoplexy. Others were left by the roadside, too feeble to go on.

One morning we saw fifty or sixty wagons with about thirty Turkish widows, whose husbands had been killed in the war; and these were going to Constantinople. One of these women made a sign to one of the gendarmes to kill a certain Armenian whom she pointed out. The gendarme asked her if she did not wish to kill him herself, at which she said: "Why not?" and, drawing a revolver from her pocket, shot him dead.

The worst and most unimaginable horrors were reserved for us at the banks of the Euphrates and in the Erzingan Plain. The mutilated bodies of women, girls, and little children made everybody shudder. The brigands were doing all sorts of awful deeds to the women and girls that were with us, whose cries went up to heaven. At the Euphrates the brigands and gendarmes threw into the river all the remaining children under 15 years old. Those that could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water.

In a recent cablegram Lord Bryce adds: "All the civilized nations able to assist the Armenians today should know that the need is still extremely urgent. Several hundred thousand exiles who survived the horrors of deportation are now perishing of exposure and starvation in the Arabian desert. Latest reports of neutral eyewitnesses describe terrible conditions. Sick people are throwing themselves into graves, begging grave diggers to bury them; women are going mad and eating grass and carrion; parents are putting children out of their misery, digging their own graves and awaiting death. The future of the Armenian Nation depends on saving the refugees in Russia, but this requires worldwide assistance for feeding, clothing, housing, and repatriation."

Protest of German Teachers Against Massacres of Armenians

This protest to the German Foreign Office was written and signed by the Faculty of the German High School at Aleppo, Turkey, and came into the possession of the British Government through the censorship of the mails. A copy of it was found in a letter written by Dr. Edward Graetner, one of the signers, from Basle, Switzerland, on July 7, to a distinguished German theologian in a neutral country. It is presented here, with the private letter of Dr. Graetner, as documentary confirmation of the current reports of atrocities committed by the Turks against the Christian Armenians in Turkey.

ALEPPO, Oct. 8, 1915.

WE humbly beg to report the following to the Foreign Office:

We feel it our duty to call the attention of the Foreign Office to the fact that our school work, the formation of a basis of civilization, and the instilling of respect in the natives will be henceforward impossible if the German Government is not in a position to put an end to the brutalities inflicted here on the exiled wives and children of murdered Armenians.

In face of the horrible scenes which take place daily near our school buildings before our very eyes, our school work has sunk to a level which is an insult to all human sentiments. How can we masters possibly read the stories of "Snow-white and the Seven Dwarfs" with our Armenian children, how can we bring ourselves to decline and conjugate, when in the courtyards opposite and next to our school buildings death is reaping a harvest among the starving compatriots of our pupils?

Girls, boys, and women, all practically naked, lie on the ground breathing their last sighs amid the dying and among the coffins put out ready for them.

Forty to fifty people reduced to skeletons are all that is left of the 2,000 to 3,000 healthy peasant women driven down here from Upper Armenia. The good-looking ones are decimated by the vice of their jailers, while the ugly ones are victimized by beatings, hunger, and thirst. Even those lying at the water's edge are not allowed to drink. Europeans are prohibited from distributing bread among them. More than a hundred corpses are taken out daily from Aleppo.

All this is taking place before the eyes of highly placed Turkish officials. Forty to fifty people reduced to skeletons are

lying heaped up in a yard near our school. They are practically insane, and have forgotten how to eat. If one offers them bread they push it indifferently aside. They utter low groans and await death.

Ta-â-lim el alman (the cult of the Germans) is responsible for this, the natives declare.

It will always remain a terrible stain on Germany's honor among the generations to come.

The more educated inhabitants of Aleppo maintain that the Germans do not really approve of these outrages. Perhaps the German people, too, are ignorant of these events. How would it be possible otherwise for the usually truth-loving German press to report the humane treatment of Armenians accused of high treason? But it may be that the German Government's hands are tied by reason of certain contracts. No—when it is a question of thousands of helpless women and children who are being driven to certain death by starvation the words "opportun" and "Kompetenzvertäge" can no longer have any meaning. Every cultured human being is competent to intervene, and it is, in fact, his sacred duty to do so. Our esteem among the generations to come is at stake. The more refined Turks and Arabs shake their heads sorrowfully when they see brutal soldiers bringing convoys through the town of women far advanced in pregnancy, whom they beat with cudgels, these poor wretches being hardly able to drag themselves along.

There are, moreover, dreadful hecatombs of human beings, as shown in the inclosed decree of Djemal Pasha.

This is a proof that in certain places

the light is feared, but people have not yet the will to put an end to these scenes, which are degrading to mankind.

We know that the Foreign Office has already received descriptions of the local condition of affairs from other sources. Since, however, the procedure of deportation has in no way been ameliorated, we feel it more than ever our duty to submit this report for your perusal.

Above all, we realize to the full the danger with which German prestige is here threatened.

DIRECTOR HUBER,
Dr. NIEPAGE,
Dr. GRAETNER,
M. SPIELER.

In his own letter, Dr. Graetner gives further details of what he witnessed:

I am going to tell you more about the Armenian episode, for this time the question was not one of the traditional massacres, but of nothing more nor less than the complete extermination of the Armenians in Turkey. This fact Talaat Bey's Turkish officials cynically admitted with some embarrassment to the German Consul. The Government first made out that they only wanted to clear the war zone and to assign new dwellings to the emigrants.

They began by enticing the most warlike of the mountaineers out of their rocky fastnesses. This they did with the help of the securities of the Turkish Empire, of the heads of their own churches, of the American missionaries, and of one German Consul. Thereupon began expulsions from every where, even from districts to which the war will never be carried. How these were effected is shown from the fact that out of the 18,000 people driven out of Kharput and Sivas only 350 reached Aleppo, and only eleven out of the 1,900 from Erzerum. Once

at Aleppo, the poorest of these were by no means at the end of their troubles. Those who did not die here (the cemeteries are full) were driven by night to the Syrian steppes, toward the Zor on the Euphrates. Here a very small percentage drag out their existence, threatened by starvation.

I state this as an eyewitness. I was there in October of last year and saw with my own eyes several Armenian corpses floating in the Euphrates or lying about the steppe.

The Germans, with a number of laudable exceptions, witness these things quite unperturbed, holding out the following excuse:

"We just need the Turks, you see!"

I know for a fact, moreover, that an employe of the German Cotton Association and one on the Bagdad Railroad were forbidden to help the Armenians. German officers have also raised a complaint against their Consul for his sympathy with the Armenians, and a German teacher, although most capable, was not appointed to a school of the Turco-German Association on account of his having an Armenian wife. They are afraid that the Turks might take offense at this. The Turks are less considerate.

"The question is one of a Turkish internal affair; we must not mix ourselves up in it!" This is what one constantly hears people say. Once it was a question, however, of persuading the Armenians to yield, they did mix themselves up in it!

The Armenians of Urfa, seeing the fate which had befallen their compatriots from other districts, refused to leave their city and offered resistance. Thereupon no less a person than Count Wolf von Wolfskehl ordered the town to be bombarded, and after the surrender of 1,000 Armenian men he had not the power to prevent their being massacred.



ANGLO-FRENCH MUNITIONS CONFERENCE



From Left to Right: M. Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions; Mr. E. S. Montagu, British Minister of Munitions; Mr. Lloyd George, British Secretary for War.

(Pach Photo News, Inc.)

JAPAN'S NEW PREMIER



Lieutenant General Count Seiki Terauchi, Who Has Succeeded
Marquis Okuma as Premier of Japan.
(Photo from American Press Association.)

The Total of Armenian and Syrian Dead

By William Walker Rockwell, Ph. D.

Professor in Union Theological Seminary and Member of American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief

HOW many Armenian and Syrian noncombatants have died of disease, hardship, or violence during the last two years?

There are no perfectly reliable statistics of the racial elements which compose the population of Turkey. The ordinary Turkish figures for the Armenians and other Christian groups are too small, for two reasons: First, the Turks are anxious to minimize the strength of the Christian minorities, in order to block European demands for internal reforms; second, some Christian families fail to report all their men to the Government, in order to evade their full duty in the matter of military service. The Armenian figures, on the other hand, are collected by the Armenian Patriarchate, till recently in Constantinople; and they certainly do not underestimate the numbers of their own millet or community. Though some German writers have inclined to accept the Turkish figures, the consensus of foreign opinion holds that there were in Turkey before the war at least 1,600,000 to 2,000,000 Armenians. How many of them are alive today?

No official list of the deaths has been kept. Nameless and unrecorded corpses have marked every trail down which the exiles straggled on their weary march toward the region of Aleppo. The scows of Trebizond and the flatboats of the Euphrates did not record passengers "lost overboard." In the desert vultures were the only coroners. Along the line of the Bagdad Railway, where imported system prevails, more accurate information may perhaps exist; but those who may know won't tell.

In some localities the death rate has been terribly high. From one small group of villages only 15.2 per cent. of the inhabitants are known to have reached what was, for the time at least, the goal of their deportation. A common estimate of the mortality has been 50 per

cent. of the total Armenian population; in other words, that from 800,000 to 1,000,000 have perished. In May, when I tabulated in the "Fifth Bulletin of the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief" what we then knew, it seemed probable that the number of survivors was under 1,150,000. The total Armenian losses to that date would then be between 450,000 and 850,000, according as we estimate the population before the war at 1,600,000 or at 2,000,000. In view, however, of the frightful starvation since reported in the Deir-el-Zor region and elsewhere, it is quite possible that by this time the losses have reached 50 per cent.

How many Armenians have died in massacres? During the siege of Van the Turks are said to have slaughtered 55,000 Armenians in the surrounding country. That is the report brought back by the Americans who were in Van during the siege; one of them told me that the Russian authorities forbade people after that to eat fish drawn from the great inland lake of Van, because of the multitude of the floating corpses of massacre victims. How many tens of thousands have died like the 1,213 men of Marsovan, who were marched up into lonely valleys and "deported" by knives at their throats or by bullets in their backs? Who can number the Armenian soldiers in labor regiments who were divided up into squads of 300 or 400 to mend roads, only to be shot and sabred to a man on suspicion of revolutionary plots? How numerous were the bundles of those drowned by the Kurds at Kemakh, that rolled down the Euphrates and were washed ashore near the railroad bridge at Jerablus, only to be refused burial by a local Turkish official because he could not be sure of the religious affiliations of the long-since deceased? If we add horror to horror, we must at the end confess that we do not

know. To Van add Marsovan; pile on Bitlis, Trebizond, Erzerum, Erzingan, Harpout, and thrice-savage Kemakh; exhaust even the villages of those provinces (now conquered by Russia) which formed what we may style the massacre zone; make all possible deduction for exaggeration or downright lies, and you reach a ghastly total that must remain forever ringed around with impenetrable gloom.

How many Armenians are left? In May, 1916, the best figures were as follows:

Aleppo, Zor, Damascus, and southward	486,000
Constantinople and Smyrna, natives not deported, about.....	150,000
Armenians in other parts of Turkey, perhaps	300,000
Refugees in the Russian Caucasus...	182,800
In districts of Turkey occupied by Russia	12,100
In Salmas, Persia, (some of them refugees from Turkey).....	9,000
Total living Armenians.....	1,139,900

The largest item tabulated in May was 486,000. That number was, however, reported on Feb. 3. Concerning those regions we have had later cables that hundreds are dying daily; that mothers are throwing babies into the Euphrates in despair; that survivors in many regions had to eat grass—until the fierce rays of the Mesopotamian Summer dried up the grass, when some of the more desperate turned to cannibalism or attacked carrion. Therefore we may lop off another hundred thousand or two as the terrible toll of the year in which America has been toying with the problem of relief. There may be a scant million of Turkish Armenians still unburied.

The Armenians are not the only unfortunates; the Syrians also have been decimated. There are many varieties of Syrian Christians. Some lived near the Persian border and in ancient Assyria, and are known as Nestorians, or Assyrian Christians. Some of these living north of Mosul have been massacred. The Nestorian Highlanders, who, according to figures I communicate from a pamphlet now in press, claimed before the war to number 90,000, had to fight their way out to Persia in the Autumn of 1915. Our

committee fed during November and December, 1915, no less than 30,000 of these refugees from Turkey, in addition to an equal number of destitute Christians whose homes were on the Persian side of the boundary. Though the death rate has been high, it has not perhaps reached the one-third to one-half reported through native channels of information. Before the war there were from 160,000 to 200,000 Syrian Christians (inclusive of Nestorians, Roman Catholic Uniats, Protestants, and some scattered communities of Jacobites) living in the Tigris region, exclusive of Diarbekir, in the Highlands of Kurdistan, and in Northwestern Persia, (Adbarbaijan.) Great numbers have perished, but no one knows how many. During the Turkish occupation of Urmia (Jan. 2-May 20, 1915) 4,000 died of want and of epidemics in that town, and 1,000 were killed in outlying villages. That is the outstanding item in the long roll of death in Persia.

The woes of the Syrians in modern Syria, near the Mediterranean, are also crying. It is said that at least 80,000 of the inhabitants of the Lebanon have died of starvation; and some have been deported into the region of Sivas, Asia Minor. (See "The Near East," London, June 9, 1916.) The Syrian Mount Lebanon Relief Committee, a native organization in New York, asserts that 100,000 have perished in the Lebanon alone. An American traveler, just back from Beirut, says that in that centre of information the estimates vary from 80,000 to 120,000. In addition, there has been awful misery among the Palestinian Jews.

The number of marchers in New York's great "preparedness" parade last May was about 125,000. They took about thirteen hours to pass a given point, marching twenty abreast. If the ghosts of the Christian civilians who have perished miserably in Turkey since the commencement of the great holocaust should march down Fifth Avenue twenty abreast there might be a million of them, and they would then take four days and eight hours to pass the great reviewing stand—in fact, longer, for most of them would be women and children.

Austro-Hungarian Atrocities in Serbia

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in presenting the official reports of the belligerent nations regarding atrocities, does so as an unbiased annalist. The editor does not attest the accuracy of the charges, but is assured of the authenticity of the documents.

AN extraordinary contribution to the tales of horror of the present war is found in the "Report Upon the Atrocities Committed by the Austro-Hungarian Army During the First Invasion of Serbia," by R. A. Reiss, D. Sc., professor at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. This report, of which the English translation has just been published in London, is issued as an official document by the Serbian Government. Professor Reiss is a distinguished man of science, a skilled investigator, and presumably an impartial judge. He himself collected and verified his facts on the spot during the months of September, October, and November, 1914.

It is an incomplete report because at the time the enemy occupied a large part of Serbia, where it was impossible to pursue the inquiry, and because many civilians had fled from the devastated regions. The damage is therefore more considerable and the number of victims greater than even this ghastly record shows. The delay in publication is due to the troubles of the Serbian Government.

Shocking Array of Evidence

If the facts set down in cold print are shocking, the photographs with which the volume is illustrated are even more revolting, some of them, like numerous references in the text, being unfit for reproduction on account of the bestiality and obscenity which they depict.

Professor Reiss begins with an account of the explosive bullets used by the Austro-Hungarian Army. He tells how Serbian soldiers,

returning from the front, related that when the enemy attacked them with rifle fire, one could hear two detonations, viz., the sharp crack when the bullet left the rifle, and a second detonation which sometimes seemed to take place behind and sometimes in front of them. The solution of the mystery was soon found. In the cartridge pouches of the

Austrian prisoners were found cartridges * * * (containing) genuine explosive bullets, forbidden by the rules and conventions of war. Subsequently your (the Serbian) army * * * seized whole ammunition cases full of them. Besides this, machine-gun belts were found filled entirely with cartridges containing explosive bullets. * * * The labels on these boxes bear the printed designation "Einschusspatronen," (sighting cartridges.) These bullets come from the State factory at Wellersdorf, near Vienna. The Austrian eagle is conspicuous on the base of the cartridge case. * * * The bullet, which explodes within the body, is shattered and the fragments act like shrapnel. Finally there is the action of the gases which further enlarge the wounds and break the bones.

Professor Reiss questioned a great number of Austro-Hungarian prisoners and discovered that the privates did not know these bullets before the war. They were always locked up in time of peace and their use was reserved exclusively for war. The Professor proceeds:

I have also observed that the Austro-Hungarian troops made use of expanding, so-called "dumdum" bullets. * * * But at the time I was without proof positive that the Austro-Hungarians really employed expanding bullets, which are, however, far less dangerous than explosive bullets.

Massacres of the Wounded

The bombardment of open towns is described by Professor Reiss as an eyewitness, for he visited Belgrade, Shabatz, and Loznitza while they were under fire. Shabatz was sacked from end to end by enemy troops after it had been bombarded. Loznitza will have to be largely rebuilt. Countless houses were set on fire by the invaders, who were evidently provided with some special substance for making buildings burn rapidly. That Serbian soldiers who had been wounded and captured were massacred on frequent occasions was confirmed by the evidence of Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war, as well as by official reports of the Serbian military authorities, accounts of eyewitnesses, and photographs taken



CIVILIAN PEASANTS HANGED BY HUNGARIANS AT LESHINITZA, SERBIA
(PHOTOGRAPHED Aug. 20, 1914)

on the spot. Among the depositions of Austrian prisoners are the following:

No. 42, squad leader in the Twenty-eighth Infantry Regiment, deposes that Lieutenant Müller of the Third Battalion, Ninth Company of his regiment, gave orders to "finish off" the Serbian wounded, as he did not wish to be troubled with them.

The Austrian witness, No. 44, of the Fifty-third Infantry Regiment, deposes that before they crossed the frontier a man in Austrian uniform with his ears and forearms cut off was led past the troops on horseback. The officers told them: "This is what is in store for you if you surrender." They, moreover, declared that the man was a Croat; but none of the soldiers present knew him.

Professor Reiss comments on No. 44:

In my opinion the cruelty involved in thus parading on horseback one of their own men mutilated in this fashion precludes the possibility of his having been an Austrian. Is it not more likely that it was a Serbian soldier, mutilated after having been tricked out in an Austrian uniform, in order to strike terror into the hearts of the invading troops? * * * The Austrian officers spread the fable among their men that your [the Serbian] soldiers cut off the ears, noses, * * * and gouged out the eyes of their prisoners. Perhaps they sought to provide ocular demonstration at the expense of some unfortunate Serbian? This does not seem unlikely to me.

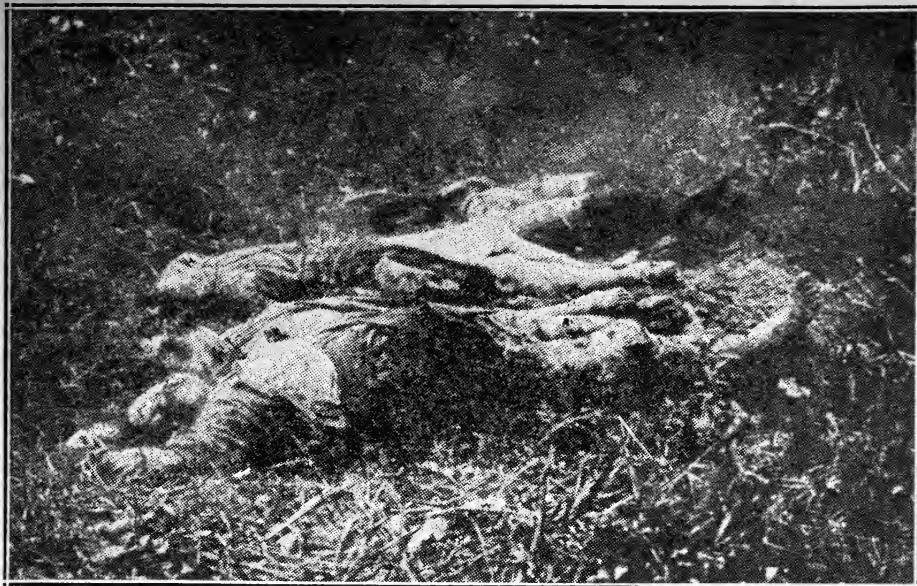
The investigator concludes:

From my inquiry then it follows that there

have been massacres of Serbian prisoners and wounded. I need not relate here in detail what happened at Yovanovatz, where a large number of soldiers of the second levy, belonging to the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Regiments, (Timok Division,) who had surrendered to the Austrians, were massacred by the enemy. You know the facts of the case, and the official reports are in your hands; you have, moreover, an ocular proof of the crime in the photographs which were taken on the spot.

Massacres of Civilians

The longest and most horrible section of the report is that dealing with the massacres and atrocities in which civilians were the victims. After discounting, as Professor Reiss does, the exaggerations due to excitement and overwrought emotions, there remains a picture of barbarities and excesses as dark and damning as any in the history of war from the earliest times. He has tabulated the different forms of death and mutilation inflicted upon the civil populace by the invading army. Very many persons were burned alive. In the parish of Prnjavor alone they number 122. Both in the case of the killed and the wounded the injuries were inflicted on all parts of the body. The number barbarously mutilated is also very great.



FAMILY MASSACRED AT KRIVAIA, SERBIA

There were many cases of the abduction of young girls and their detention for days at a time by the enemy. Officers as well as men were guilty of these outrages, but the officers did not go to the same extreme as they permitted the privates in the worst orgies of lust and drunkenness.

A great deal of the evidence is that furnished to Professor Reiss by prisoners. The following are some typical statements made by Austro-Hungarian soldiers:

No. 46 of the Twenty-eighth Regiment of the line relates that a certain Lieutenant Lazar, (Hungarian,) with his eighty soldiers, had killed no less than thirty men and women. His company saw the entrance of a café blocked with half-burned victims. This occurred near Zvornik, (the village of Zuline.)

No. 47 of the Twenty-sixth Regiment relates that he had seen scattered portions of human bodies—feet, arms, heads, &c. * * *

No. 48 of the Twenty-sixth Landsturm states that the men were given the order to bayonet all living creatures—women, men, and children—without distinction. A private of the Seventy-ninth Regiment told him that near Drenovatz the Austrian officers made a ring of twenty-six persons round a house and then set fire to the house, thus burning the twenty-six victims.

No. 49 of the Seventy-eighth Regiment says Captain Eisenhut gave the order to kill every

living thing in Serbia. The Hungarians devastated every village in Syrmia.

Execution of Hostages

The story told by the Austrian witness No. 50 contains some amazing episodes:

All men, old men and children, were captured and driven before the troops with bayonet thrusts. These people were questioned as to the position of the Serbs and the comitadjis. If their answers failed to satisfy the officers they were shot immediately. In most cases, when the troops entered a village the greater number of the hostages, or even all of them, were killed. These unfortunate people were almost always old men or children. * * *

Next morning, not far from him and four of his colleagues, (this witness was a hospital sergeant,) a private came running to him with the news that Lieutenant Berticz Joseph, a Hungarian, wanted to shoot seven innocent persons. Witness requested his friend, Lieutenant Stevan Raikovitch, to go and see what was the matter and if possible to prevent Berticz from committing the crime. As they approached a wood Berticz saw him and called out: "Don't come; if you come nearer, I will kill you." He stopped and witnessed the following: Seven men (two old men of about seventy and five boys of about fourteen or fifteen years of age) were tied together. The soldiers dug their grave before his eyes. Lieutenant Berticz went up to the first old man, a deaf mute, struck first him, and then another with his fist, showed them the pit, and said: "You Serbian swine, this

is for you." He then had the first old man led up and shot. The second was bayoneted to death. The five boys were shot by a volley. Lieutenant Raikovitch called out to Berticz: "Have you permission to do this?" And he added: "I shall go to Lieut. Col. Petrovitch (or Simonovitch) and tell him what you have done." The latter promised to make an inquiry, but did nothing. The victims had no weapons. * * *

The men were incited by their officers to commit atrocities. Wherever the regiment passed through, the officers urged them to kill everything, cows, pigs, chickens, in fact everything whether it was required for the subsistence of the army or not. The men got dead drunk with "schnapps" in the cellars. They allowed the liquor to run out so that often the cellars were inundated with alcohol. * * * At Krupanj witness was shown a young girl who had been violated. * * * The girl was pretty and 16 years old. Two women supported her statement. After the battle of Krupanj they marched on Bela Tzrkva, and everywhere witness saw the bodies of peasants, old men and young, who had been killed.

Here are two more statements by Austro-Hungarian prisoners:

No. 56, Corporal of the Twenty-eighth Landwehr Regiment, deposes that in Shabatz the Austrians killed over sixty civilians beside the church. They had previously been confined in that building. They were butchered with the bayonet in order to save ammunition. The soldiers who acted as executioners numbered eight. Witness could not bear to look at the sight. The bodies lay for two days in the square before they were buried. The eight soldiers were Hungarians. A General and the officers gave the order for the massacre. There were several old men and children among the victims.

No. 71 of the Ninety-seventh Regiment of the line, states that * * * in Yania he saw four old men dragging a cart full of rifles, ammunition, &c. A group of twenty women and children followed the cart. A few moments later he heard a volley and was informed that the whole party had been shot. He never saw them again.

Told by Serbian Civilians

Coming now to the evidence of Serbian civilians we read of wholesale massacres at different villages. At Prnjavor the Austrians had the list of the local members of the "Narodna Odrana," the society which is blamed for the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo. The Austrians shot every member of the society. At the same town the Austrians arrested 500 to 600 women and girls and kept them at the hotel for four days for the pleasure of

the soldiers. One of the worst crimes was that committed at Leshnitsa, a place of 1,200 inhabitants. A party of forty persons were taken to witness the execution of 109 victims beside the railway station. One of the witnesses, a man of 60, gives the following details:

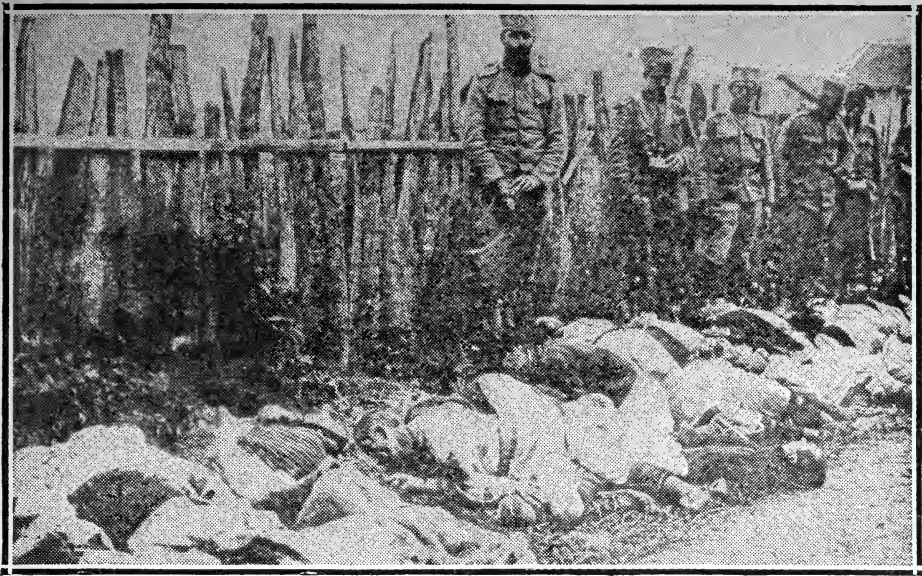
The 109 persons massacred at Leshnitsa were men and children from 3 to 15 years of age. All the victims were tied together by the arms with ropes. A wire was drawn round them. The Austrian soldiers stood on the railway embankment, and it was here that they fired their volley. The Serbs fell into the pit in front of them, which had been dug all ready beforehand. Directly after the volley the soldiers filled in the ditch without waiting to see whether their victims were dead or only wounded.

At Breziak the Austrians killed fifty-four persons in various ways. Most of them were disemboweled with large sabres. Among the victims were a man and his wife and their three daughters, aged 18, 14, and 7 years. They were found in a ditch mutilated in different ways, pinioned and all tied together, with their dog.

An Appalling Picture

The official records of the military authorities contain some of the most horrible stories. The following picture by a Serbian Lieutenant is hardly to be equaled for concentrated "frightfulness." Some of the details have had to be omitted because of their bestiality:

Being in command of the sentinels on outpost duty, I made the rounds of the village of Tzulkovitch and the neighborhood. There in a ravine I saw piled up, one on top of the other, the corpses of twenty-five lads between 12 and 15 years of age and of two old men of over 60, pierced with bullets and slashed with knives and bayonets. On exploring a house I discovered two dead women, their bodies riddled with bullets. In the yard of a house lay an old woman killed beside her daughter. * * * Within the house beside the extinct fire sat an old man, haggard and dying, covered with bleeding wounds caused by knife and bayonet thrusts. He said to me: "I cannot tell how it is that I am still alive. For three days I have sat here looking upon my dead wife and child, whose bodies lie beyond the door. After covering us with shame they massacred us with their knives and then they fled, the cowards. I am the only one left alive. I look upon that pool of blood, their blood, which spreads toward me, and I cannot even take one step to move away from it." In another yard I found a little boy of four,



PEASANTS MASSACRED AT LOZNITZA, SERBIA, BY HUNGARIAN TROOPS

thrown in there after he had been killed. The corpse had been partly devoured by dogs. Near him lay a young woman, stripped, and her slaughtered infant! * * * A little further on the body of an old woman was stretched on the ground. * * * In the interior of the house lay the body of a very beautiful young girl, all convulsed by the final agony, her clothing covered with blood. On the floor, almost hidden beneath a pile of rugs, lay an elderly woman, also killed.

In the three districts of Polzerie, Matchva, and Yadar, the various kinds of death and torture inflicted were apportioned as follows:

	Males.	Females.
Victims shot	345	64
Victims killed with knives.....	113	27
Victims hanged	7	6
Victims massacred and clubbed to death with sticks and butt-ends of rifles	48	26
Victims disemboweled	2	4
Victims burned alive	35	96
Victims pinioned and robbed....	52	12
Victims whose arms were cut off, torn off, or broken.....	5	1
Victims whose legs were cut off or broken	3	0
Victims whose noses were cut off.	28	6
Victims whose ears were cut off.	31	7
Victims whose eyes were put out.	30	38
Victims whose genital organs were mutilated	3	3
Victims whose skin was cut in strips, or portions of their face detached	15	3

	Males.	Females.
Victims stoned	12	1
Victims whose breasts were cut off	0	2
Victims cut in pieces	17	16
Victims beheaded	1	0
Little girl thrown to the pigs....	0	1
Victims killed without the manner of their deaths being specified	240	55

Summing up the evidence Professor Reiss says:

The number of victims—children, women, young men, and old men—amounts to a comparatively high percentage of the population of the territory invaded. The evidence submitted to me also proves that the manner in which the soldiers of the enemy set about killing and massacring was governed by a system. It was the same system of extermination which is also reflected in the bombardment of open towns with shrapnel and fougasses and in the systematic setting on fire of dwelling houses and farm buildings. It is impossible to look upon the atrocities that have been committed as the acts of a few apaches, such as certainly may be found in every army.

That the butchery of the population was systematic and according to order is yet more clearly proved by * * * a pamphlet issued by the Austro-Hungarian high command and found in possession of the men. * * * It is from fear lest they should be massacred themselves that they probably perpetrated their first cruelties. But at the sight of blood, the phenomenon took place which I have often had occasion to observe;

man was transformed into a bloodthirsty brute. A positive access of collective Sadic frenzy seized upon the troops. * * * Once the bloodthirsty and Sadic brute was unchained and let loose by his superiors, the work of destruction was duly carried out by men who are fathers of families and probably kindly in private life.

Thus the responsibility for these acts of cruelty does not rest upon the privates—mere victims of the instincts of the wild beast which slumbers in every human being—but on their superior officers who failed to restrain these tendencies; nay, I will say even more, who aroused them. The massacres were all the more readily committed by the Austro-Hungarian soldiers, as they were stimulated by the prospect of gain by pillage, which was permitted, and even commanded, by their superior officers. * * * In short, it is beyond all doubt that the

massacres of the civil population and the pillage were systematically organized by the command of the army of invasion; it is upon the command that all the responsibility must rest, and also the disgrace with which for all time to come this army has covered itself.

In discussing the causes of the massacres Professor Reiss lays particular stress on the press campaign in Austria-Hungary before the war, which had for its object the propagation of the belief that the Serbians would commit the abominations of which the Austro-Hungarians themselves are said to have given such a frightful exhibition. This was all part of the plan, says Professor Reiss, to wipe Serbia off the map.

2,658,283 Prisoners Held by the Central Powers

Official Statement, Aug. 1, 1916

THESE figures, not before published, were given to the German press by the Berlin authorities at the close of the second year of the war: The Central Powers now occupy in Europe the following square miles of territory of the enemy:

Belgium	11,330
France	8,200
Russia	109,375
Serbia	34,000
Montenegro	5,470

Total168,375

The Allies occupy in square miles:

Alsace	390
Galicia and Bukowina.....	8,200

Total8,590

The total number of prisoners of war on Aug. 1, the end of the two years of war, were as follows:

In Germany.....	1,663,794
In Austria-Hungary.....	942,489
In Bulgaria.....	38,000
In Turkey.....	14,000

Total2,658,283

In August, 1915, the total number of prisoners held in Germany and Austria was 1,695,400, so that in the second year of war the number increased by practically a million.

Among the total number of prisoners

held there are the following numbers of Russians:

	Officers.	Men.
In Germany.....	9,019	1,202,872
In Austria-Hungary.....	4,242	777,324
In Bulgaria and Turkey.....	33	1,435
Total	13,294	1,981,631

The prisoners of war in Germany proper are as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
French	5,947	348,731
Russians	9,019	1,202,872
Belgians	656	41,752
English	947	29,956
Serbians	23,914

Total16,569 1,647,225

The war material captured and now held in Germany is 11,036 guns, with 4,748,038 shells; 9,096 munition wagons and trucks, 1,556,132 rifles, 4,460 pistols and revolvers, and 3,450 machine guns. This does not include the large number of guns, shells, and transports which were captured and made use of at once on the field.

Statistics from hospitals and lazarets show that 90 per cent. of the wounded return to the front, 1.4 per cent. die, and 8.4 per cent. are incapacitated. Owing to the sanitary arrangements at the front the number of deaths from illness contracted has been reduced to a minimum.

Prisoners of War and Their Treatment

MILLIONS, actually millions of unfortunate soldiers and civilians are living through these terrible years as prisoners of war. The Central Powers alone hold more than 2,500,000, and the Entente Allies hold more than 1,500,000. Harsh treatment of prisoners is a constant theme of recrimination, and both sides have threatened reprisals because of cruelties charged to have been inflicted by the enemy authorities. How far actual conditions violate humanitarian principles or contravene international law cannot always be determined, but the data at hand are sufficiently authentic to be recorded here.

Prisoners in Germany

A report issued by the United States Embassy in Berlin contains the observations of Surgeon Karl Ohnesorg of the United States Navy, who visited the camps in the Berlin area. This report shows that Germany is making use of many prisoners by converting them into workmen, for which purpose they are housed in special quarters and fed by their employers.

At a large hide-curing company at Lichtenberg thirty-nine British soldiers are employed in sorting and salting hides and packing them for shipment to a tannery. A large room in the third story of one of the brick buildings of the plant has been fitted up for their use. It is well furnished, and shower baths with hot and cold water are to be had weekly. The schedule of the day's routine is as follows:

Arise at 6 A. M.	Work 2 P. M. to 4
Coffee 6:30 A. M.	P. M.
Begin work 7 A. M.	Rest 4 P. M. to 4:30
Breakfast 8-8:30 A. M.	P. M.
Work 8:30-12:30 P. M.	Work 4:30 P. M. to 7
Rest and dinner 12:30	P. M.
P. M.-2 P. M.	

The company allows each man three bottles of beer daily, and also gives them one pound of butter or margarine weekly. They receive 25 cents daily. They do not have to work on Sundays.

The City of Berlin Gas Plant employs 300 prisoners, 46 of whom are British, and they are comfortably housed in wooden barracks, and are divided into two working squads. Twenty-five work in the retort room at 36 cents a day, and the remaining 21 are employed at manual labor about the yards at 18 cents a day. The hours for work are the

same as those of the German employes, with whom the prisoners work on friendly terms.

At Niederschoneweide, where eighty-two British are employed in a smelter and casting foundry, Surgeon Ohnesorg found the housing conditions unsatisfactory, but the rate of pay was 65 cents a day. British prisoners were also engaged in farming work at the villages of Gladow and Gross Glienicke, where they messed with their employers, receiving the same food and 12 cents a day. At the City of Berlin electric light plant at Moabit prisoners were handling coal for the power house and receiving 25 cents a day. They had Sunday off.

In a large coal yard at Charlottenburg the housing conditions were far from satisfactory and the sanitary arrangements not at all good. Eighteen British are quartered in one room on the basement floor of the office building. Double tier cots, such as are used in the German barracks, supplied with straw mattresses were given the prisoners. One of their number was detailed as cook. There is much room for improvement in the conditions under which the men live.

With but few exceptions all the British were well clothed and had good shoes. They were supplied with both uniforms and working clothes, and they received their pay weekly in money.

Instances of Brutality

In contrast to Surgeon Ohnesorg's report a picture of hardship and brutality is provided in the affidavits of five members of the crew of a British trawler who were captured in the first days of the war and who have recently been exchanged because of ill-health. The five men made their affidavits for the British Government, which has officially given out the summary from which the following extracts are taken:

The horrors of the prisoners' camp at Wittenberg, which have recently been confirmed by the evidence of Belgian doctors, and the minor cruelties of Ruhleben find a striking parallel in the more open acts of violence which are now known to have been committed at Sennelager (the prisoners' camp near Paderborn) on a number of unfortunate fishermen who were captured by the Germans in the North Sea in August, 1914, and who were subsequently taken to Sennelager

by way of Wilhelmshaven and Emden. The arrival of the prisoners at Wilhelmshaven is thus described:

"We were marched through the streets of the town through a hostile crowd which jeered and spat at us, taken to a naval prison and put into a cell without blankets and with a straw sack to lie on. We received two slices of black bread and a drink of unsweetened coffee. Two days after that we were had up for inquiry. A naval officer pointed a revolver at my head and asked me what warships were in the Humber. He said: 'If you speak the truth you will go out of that door,' pointing to one of the doors in the room. 'If you lie you will go out of that door to be shot,' covering me all the time with the revolver.

"I told him I had seen no warships. I was cook and my occupation kept me below.

"At Sennelager we were drawn up in the camp, as well as some French and Algerian military prisoners. The camp commandant then addressed us in the following terms: 'You English pigs, I will feed you out of the swine tub,' and shook his fist at us. He then allowed our guards to maltreat us by kicking and striking us to their hearts' content, and looked on laughing. We all were struck. This lasted for about two hours."

For a fortnight these unfortunate men were made to sleep out in the open fields, and no blankets were provided. Subsequently tents were erected, but the wants of the English civilians were always attended to last. "Nix (nichts) for the English" was the common cry.

"The labor of our camp, though supposed to be voluntary and paid for, was incessant, and we were forced out without food in the morning to hard labor on roads and light railways at the point of the bayonet. We did not receive any pay."

Punishments for any breaches of discipline (whether real or imaginary) reached the limit of brutality, while complaints on the part of the prisoners failed to effect substantial redress:

"When we were lining up in fours for our coffee, I was bitten by a wolfhound belonging to a sentry who always treated us with great hostility. He deliberately set his dog at me, and it bit me badly in the left leg above the ankle. I was arrested very shortly afterward and taken to prison. On my way there I met a motor car containing two officers and two women. They stopped the car and said something to the sentries which I could not understand. The sentries at once knocked my head against the wheel of the car, much to the delight of the occupants, who shouted out: 'Kitchener! Kitchener!' I was knocked nearly senseless and then taken to the prison. About midnight four drunken sentries entered my cell, knocked me down and kicked me, shouting out: 'Kitchener!' They then threw cold water over me and left me. The next day I was brought before the commandant

for trial. I was told that I was charged with having spoken to an English soldier on the day on which the dog bit me. I had not even seen an English soldier. I believe the real reason they maltreated me was because I had shown sympathy to an old Belgian priest who had been knocked down by the sentries on some pretext and whom I had helped up."

Discipline seems to have been enforced by a torture known as "the ring-drill," which was apparently inflicted on trivial provocation:

"One of the most common punishments inflicted for trivial reasons (such as being a minute or two late for morning parade) was what our guards termed 'the ring-drill.' The victim had a canvas bag attached to his back with seven or eight bricks placed in it. He was then forced to run around a flagstaff erected in the camp for varying periods up to two hours. I have seen many cases where the victim fell from sheer exhaustion, and the guards kicked him until he rose, or until he was carried into the hospital on a stretcher by his fellow-prisoners. In the latter case the whole camp was paraded, and the victim was carried around so that they could all see the result of German camp discipline."

Another punishment took the form of binding prisoners to trees in such an attitude that the maximum amount of suffering was bound to follow.

In August, 1915, a representative of the American Embassy visited Sennelager, and after making an investigation told the prisoners that he would try and get them brought to Ruhleben. This plan was actually carried out in the case of certain old prisoners. Though food was very insufficient at Ruhleben, the conditions there, bad as they were, were tolerable as compared with Sennelager, and there was at least no direct brutality.

Discipline at Ruhleben

A glimpse of conditions at Ruhleben is given by William Simpson, a wool merchant of Sydney, Australia, who was interned at that camp while traveling in Germany and who was released on the ground that, being 57 years old, he was past the fighting age:

Baron Taube, the second in command, was intended for a pirate king of the worst type. For the slightest offense a prisoner was put on bread and water for seven to fourteen days. He was ably seconded by Dr. Gaiger, the Chief Surgeon, who had to pass the prisoners to be invalidated out. On one occasion two patients escaped from the hospital and got away, which enraged the Baron so much that he ordered all the other patients to leave the building and walk through a heavy snowstorm to the horse boxes, and three of them died of exposure. After a few

months we were served with mattresses and a pillow stuffed with bristly shavings. We had fish twice a week, very often putrid; meat twice a week, and thick potato soup three times weekly, which was our rations. Every morning each prisoner was given a fifth of a loaf of war bread, which was 80 per cent. potatoes and 20 per cent. coarse bran, and uneatable. Since I left Ruhleben I have gained thirty-four pounds, but still I am not up to my normal weight. If it had not been for the parcels of food sent to us from American and English women I should have died.

Treatment of Russian Prisoners

The treatment of Russian prisoners in Germany, for whose relief a central committee has been organized in Switzerland, is described by C. Oberoutcheff, secretary to that body. Information as to the condition of the Russians was first obtained from the delegates of the International Red Cross Commission and was later verified by personal talks with former prisoners, according to Mr. Oberoutcheff:

The daily rations of the prisoners is very scanty; in the morning they are given coffee without milk or sugar, and 200 grams of potato bread to last them the entire day. At noon they receive a small quantity of soup, some vegetables, and sometimes, but not often, a piece of meat. Supper is much the same. It is clear that the prisoners must go hungry. The English, French, and Belgian prisoners often receive supplies of food from their Governments, relief societies, or relatives and friends, but it is not so with the Russians. Russian prisoners often beg help, not only of their own richer countrymen, but of prisoners of other nationalities. Many of these would be glad to give it, but it is forbidden. The hungry Russians, however, take their soup plates to the French and beg for their leavings, and get them. Driven to desperation, they sometimes even search the garbage and devour everything they find there that can possibly be eaten. We have heard of this from English and French prisoners who saw it, and I have been told of it by the Russians who have actually been obliged to do it.

According to Mr. Oberoutcheff, there are more than 2,000 prison camps in Germany and Austria, and only about 100 of them receive help from relief committees.

German Prisoners in Russia

Sensational details of alleged tortures suffered by war prisoners at the hands of the Russian authorities have been printed in Germany. For example, the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, un-

der the heading, "Hell in Russia," cites a number of instances in which it charges that the Russians abused their prisoners, compelling them to work long hours without sufficient food or clothing. In the Winter, with the temperature 50 degrees below zero, it is said, prisoners, including the sick, were compelled to work in the open when barefooted and dressed in rags until arms and legs were frozen. Rheumatism, typhoid, tuberculosis, and other diseases, the account continues, have caused the death of thousands of prisoners, and medical aid is entirely insufficient. At Urgum 3,000 prisoners are reported to have died of typhoid in a short time. Many of the prisoners, the newspaper says, become insane. One instance is cited of 250 insane prisoners who are reported to have been flogged and driven into a room large enough for only 100, containing no bedding, after which the doors and windows were boarded. The account proceeds:

They were left there twenty-six hours without food or water. When the room was opened many of the prisoners fainted and the others were whipped. Other prisoners were confined for several days at a time in deep, damp pits, and were struck over the head with iron bars. Sick prisoners have been transported in cattle cars to hospitals, where they received such poor attention that, according to reports of physicians, the death rate was 90 per cent.

The punishment of prisoners is so barbarous that some Russian soldiers have refused to carry out their orders. The commander of the Moscow district, Sandetmeki, issued a public order prohibiting humane treatment of prisoners, especially officers, and in consequence prisoners were slowly tortured to death.

It was such reports as these that led the German Government to address a vigorous protest to the Russian Government "against the barbarous treatment of prisoners of war," a demand for its immediate cessation, and a threat of reprisals. According to a statement issued by the Overseas News Agency of Berlin on Aug. 31, 1916:

Officers and sailors of the Russian Navy who are prisoners in Germany have been brought into a reprisal camp because for more than a year German naval officers and sailors in Siberia have been treated by the Russians not as members of the navy but as common criminals.

The Russian officers and sailors will be

treated exactly as are the German prisoners in Russia until the Russian Government decides to treat the Germans as sailors who did their duty for their country.

The Russian actions are said to have been caused by the friendly advice of England, who declared that the Germans were not regular sailors, but pirates. All diplomatic negotiations were without result. The Russian General Staff even pretended that proved facts were untrue, and this caused the German Government to adopt the counter-measures.

The cry for reprisals has been constantly heard in England, where the Government has been accused of being too lenient. Members of Parliament have urged that only by taking measures in regard to German prisoners could the German Government be forced into improving the treatment of British prisoners in Germany. But the British Government has held to the view that such arguments would logically lead to still more reprisals and that the situation, instead of being relieved, would be aggravated.

War Prisoners in England

From the available evidence, it appears that the German prisoners in the United Kingdom are well treated. Thus, a series of reports by officials of the United States Embassy in London on twenty-three internment camps, which has been issued as a British Foreign Office document, testifies to the excellence of the accommodation and food, and also to the cordiality of the relations existing between the authorities and the prisoners. Such expressions as "the soldiers in this camp seemed to be well and in good spirits," "everything about this camp was found in excellent condition," and "this camp seemed to be almost a model of its kind," are to be found in nearly all the reports.

Certain of the camps visited are set aside entirely for the internment of civilians. One of these is at Cornwallis Road, Upper Holloway, London, where there were 714 prisoners on the date of inspection. B. A. Beal, who makes the report, states that the entire camp is run by the prisoners themselves. No prisoner is compelled to work, but those who wish to do so may find employment,

for which they receive wages. No complaints were made, although the investigator had an opportunity to talk with the prisoners privately. Other civilian camps are at Douglas and Knockaloe, Isle of Man. In the former there were 2,744 prisoners, who "appeared contented and well." At Knockaloe, which was examined by three representatives of the United States Embassy, there were 20,563 men interned, divided among four camps. The prisoners appoint their own committees, who look after such matters as the kitchen, recreation, education, and the library. In the library of each camp there are about 4,000 books. Nearly 72 per cent. of the interned men are at work. In Camp 4 Professor Albers, who has lived over twenty years in Manchester, directs the school work. The study covers commercial subjects, languages, mathematics, and physics. There were, the investigators say, no complaints of a serious nature.

Certain camps are devoted to officer prisoners and their servants. That at Donington Hall, Derbyshire, was examined by Mr. Beal and W. H. Buckler, on June 9 last. At that time there were interned 102 military officers, thirty-nine naval officers, fifty military orderlies, one naval orderly, and three civilians. The interned officers, says the report, run their own mess in the same way as an English officers' mess is run. For the regular bill of fare for three meals the officers pay 65 cents a day, which they supplement as they wish from the canteen. The system of taking walks in the surrounding country has been lately inaugurated. "On the day of our visit," the reporters add, "one of us went out with the walking party and enjoyed a pleasant walk through beautiful country." Another officers' camp is that at Holyport, near Maidenhead, under the command of Colonel J. R. Harvey, who "seems to have the confidence of the interned officers, who spoke in pleasant terms of him." The system of walks through the country on prisoners giving a limited parole was also instituted here, and the prisoners expressed themselves much pleased with this liberty.

With regard to the internment camp at Leigh, Lancashire, the report says:

This camp seemed to me to be noteworthy on account of its great neatness and cleanliness, and on account of the general good health of the men consequent thereon, and also on their regular exercise in the open air.

It is conducted on strict military principles, but the men, being soldiers, seem to understand this. They are under the charge of their own Feldwebel, (Sergeants,) who are trusted by the commandant, and who have an excellent influence over the men under them.

At Frongoch, near Bala, North Wales, the prisoners had arranged work for themselves, which included fifty-five

classes of instruction in languages, (comprising English, German, French, Spanish, and Italian,) as well as instruction in electricity, engineering, mathematics, drawing, shorthand, and gardening.

Everything in the camp at Handforth, Cheshire, where 2,713 prisoners were interned, was found in excellent condition. The German officer who had charge of the running and care of the camp seemed to have the confidence of the men, who all appeared to be in excellent physical, mental, and moral condition. The camp at Jersey is described as almost a model of its kind.

Civilians Interned in England

A special correspondent of a London daily writes this interesting description of life in the civilian prison camps:

THERE are 32,000 German civilians interned in England. I have just seen 26,000 of them. At the end of a pilgrimage which took me to the further side of the Isle of Man and ended in an Islington workhouse, which showed me the gentle alien enemy hewing stone in a hillside quarry, painting a portrait in a comfortable studio, making clogs, studying Spanish, and emerging from a game of water polo, which introduced me to alien enemies in bunks, on plank beds, and on spring mattresses, aliens who spoke English with an Oxford manner, aliens who spoke only German, aliens who spoke what no self-respecting Teuton would admit to be German, alien enemies of every sort of education, profession, social status, income, character, and temperament, I may claim a tolerably comprehensive knowledge of the treatment which German civilians receive at the hands of our Government.

We go first to the Isle of Man, where the vast majority of the German civilians under our flag are now concentrated. In Knockaloe Camp, which is some eleven miles from Douglas, near Peel, about 23,000 men are now under guard. Not one plank of all the building in this city of huts was on the ground when the war began.

This place was taken over by the authorities, and now, inside four miles of barbed wire fence, stand twenty-three clusters of wooden huts, each cluster or compound fenced off from the others and each capable of housing 1,000 men. Water was brought in from reservoirs on the mountain side, a system of water-borne drainage, with septic tanks, was constructed, hot and cold water was laid on to the shower baths in each compound, and a power station to light the whole camp with electricity was built and equipped. The military authorities provide a guard of 2,000 men for the 23,000 prisoners.

The huts are soundly built, and each man makes his tiny quarters, whether bunk or bed, cozy. The bunks are preferred, apparently because they give a certain privacy, a suggestion of a separate room. But around his bunk or above his bed each man arranges a little collection of private treasures—postcards, pictures, a book or two.

Every man has 18 ounces of bread a day. It is baked in the camp by some of the interned men under ideal conditions, and first-rate bread it is. Each man has 8 ounces of fresh meat, cooked in diverse ways. There were meatpies, there was stew with vegetables, there was that dish common to Germany and Scandinavia—a great roll of minced meat baked. Eight ounces of potatoes are in

the ration, and an ounce of margarine. Tea or cocoa—they care little for tea—sugar, and condensed milk, condiments, and fresh vegetables are issued. There is also a ration of flour and onions. The authorities will buy back, if the men so choose, a portion of this flour, and allow the money to be spent on other viands. Each compound has a Kitchen Committee, elected by the men themselves, which controls this transaction and the cooking in general.

Those who have money can add to their dietary. The canteen will sell them anything that a reasonable man can desire except alcohol. But they can buy coffee, and they do, to the tune of 5,880 pounds in a month. Cigarettes are sold by the million. When I went around the canteen it had 259 dozen pound pots of plum jam in store. In one week it sold 680 pounds of that popular sausage called Leberwurst. These figures must, of course, be considered in relation to the 23,000 mouths of the camp. The prices are fixed to cover the cost of working, and in general are rather lower than most of us pay ourselves.

Many of the prisoners also receive parcels of food from outside. Food from Germany has much diminished in the last few months. The arrangements for the delivery of parcels to the prisoners are such as to obviate any suspicion that a man does not receive what has been sent him. The one exception to this rule is articles which are contraband. Not many things are contraband, but among them are German newspapers and alcohol. Attempts to smuggle these into the camp in parcels of innocent aspect are numerous and humorous. I have seen a tin of harmless cheese in which lurked coily a bottle of liquor. A tin of lard was guilty of the same crime. A wooden box often has a double end concealing a newspaper or two. Lurking in another parcel were tablets of solidified grog, a substance not very exhilarating, but still faintly suggesting alcohol. The most ingenious piece of smuggling which I have met came from another camp. A sausage when cut disgorged the case of a clinical thermometer. Inside that tiny case was a letter rolled up small. And,

after all, there was nothing in it which, if it had been sent honestly, would not have passed the censor.

What do they do all day, these 23,000 men? A handful of them are quarrying. Another handful are at agricultural work—for that there is no lack of volunteers. But the difficulties of guarding them would prevent any such employment on a large scale, even if the Manx farms could absorb many. Some of the men are doing woodwork, and very clever stuff they turn out, which is sold on the American market. The work of the camp—cooking, baking, shoemaking, tailoring, and so forth—keeps many employed. They study, and can obtain teaching in most of the European languages. But, when all is said, the industrial output of these 23,000 is meagre.

Their recreation fields are ample and well used. They play football and the like with plenty of zest and vigor. The recreation rooms are excellent. They have orchestras of high merit, and the camp has several theatres. The best evidence that the men are well occupied is in the health of the camp, which is far better than that of the surrounding civilian population—and the Isle of Man is a health resort. The death rate of the prisoners is something less than two per 1,000.

The other camp in the Isle of Man stands just outside Douglas, and is of a different character. It is comparatively small, with only some 2,700 prisoners. A large proportion of these are housed in the permanent buildings of an institution for holiday makers. A big, imposing hall thus becomes available for gymnastics and recreation and work of all sorts, and a swimming bath sixty feet long provides more sport and exercise.

Many of the prisoners are domiciled in England, and in England their wives and families remain. Thirty-three of these wives, who are Englishwomen, are allowed to reside in the island and see their husbands once a quarter. The wives of the others are allowed to visit the island at long intervals and remain there for a week, during which they may see their husbands three times.

Quite different problems are suggested

by the camp at Islington. The workhouse in Cornwallis Road, Holloway, is its home. It is therefore situated in the middle of a thickly populated district. It has only one tennis court and one croquet ground as a means of exercise for 700 men. It has no military guard. Four policemen suffice to maintain discipline and keep the prisoners in. These are odd conditions, but they can easily be accounted for.

Every one of these men—with the exception of forty kept separate from the rest—is beyond suspicion of any attempt to get out. They have all been in England at least ten years. They are all married to English wives. If they give any trouble—which is almost unknown—the single sufficient penalty is that they may go to the Isle of Man. The English wife does not want that to happen. So

the real guard of the camp is not the four policemen, but a party of sensible, practical Englishwomen. But the prisoners need little conjugal admonition. When the barbed wire fence of the camp was blown down in a storm these obliging prisoners promptly stuck it up again. The separate forty represent yet another phase of the alien question. They are a miscellaneous collection of men, some naturalized, some not of enemy origin, who have been interned under the Defense of the Realm act. They may be spies. They may be under suspicion of spying. They are men whom, for one reason or another, it would be dangerous to have at large. Among them is Baron von Bissing. Except under escort, and then only on the rarest occasions—to see a dentist, for example—they are never allowed out.

Underfed Prisoners at Ruhleben

Official Report by Dr. Taylor of the United States Embassy at Berlin

RECENT protests from the British Government regarding the starvation of civilian prisoners in Germany are based upon the increasing severity of conditions reported earlier in the year by Dr. A. E. Taylor of the United States Embassy at Berlin. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE here reproduces the substance of two of these reports, with the dispatches which they elicited from Sir Edward Grey, in which he offered to exchange prisoners with Germany and threatened reprisals if the sufferings of the British at Ruhleben were not ameliorated.

Dr. Taylor's report of May 24, 1916, is in the following terms:

I have the honor to present a supplementary report bearing upon the conditions of food supply and nutrition in the camp of the interned civilians at Ruhleben.

In the report presented a few weeks ago a detailed statement was offered of the amount of foodstuffs devoted to subsistence during that time. Since then a sharp reduction has been made in the amount of foodstuff allotted to the camp. In order to illustrate the present state of affairs, the ration provided by the authorities for the camp in Ruhleben may be contrasted with the ration for military pris-

oners promulgated in the latest food program of the Kriegministerium. The differences are concerned largely with the allowances of meat and fish. There is also a difference in the potato ration. In other respects, such differences as exist would not have a marked bearing upon nutrition from the standpoint of energy content, though such differences as do exist are not to the advantage of the Ruhleben ration.

The Prison Menu

The menu for working prisoners of war just issued contains per week 2,800 grams (about 6 pounds) of bread, 300 grams (10½ ounces) of meat, (including bones,) 200 grams (7 ounces) of sausage, 500 grams (1 pound) of fish, fish roe, and herring, and 9,500 grams (21 pounds) net of potato, corresponding to 10,500 grams gross weight. The difference in the diet of the working and non-working prisoners lies in the bread ration, which for the non-working prisoners is 2,100 grams (4 pounds 10 ounces) per week.

The present allotment of foodstuff authorized by the military authorities for Ruhleben is much lower in meat, fish, and potato. It provides per man per week 200 grams (7 ounces) of fresh meat, (including bones.) It provides, secondly, 1,600 pounds (800 kilograms gross weight) fresh fish, (corresponding to about 215 grams per man per week,) or 200 grams sausage or legumes. The potato ration is 4,000 grams (8 pounds 12 ounces) per week per man. Viewing the protein content

of the sausage and fish as equal in both estimates, it is apparent that the military prisoner of war is allotted per week 1,150 grams of these protein-carrying foods, while the civil prisoner of war in Ruhleben is allotted 400 grams of the same article, a little more than one-third the amount allotted the military prisoner of war. The potato ration of the civil prisoner is less than half that of the military prisoner.

In the absence of a detailed and quantitative inventory of the food supplies coming into Ruhleben from outside of Germany, it is impossible to state definitely whether the total food supply in Ruhleben is now sufficient for the nutritional needs of the camp. It must be borne in mind that many of these prisoners receive little or substantially nothing from the outside. One result of the present ration allotment is already seen in the fact that some of the Jews are appearing at the camp kitchen to secure food which is to them not ritualistically clean. This reduction in allotment of food supplies is made all the more striking by the fact that the prisoners of war, as a group, receive from outside of Germany at the present time as many, or more, food units per man as are received in Ruhleben. During the last week I have visited two prison camps in which the British prisoners subsisted practically entirely upon supplies received from abroad. Nevertheless, these men have at their disposal the regular ration for prisoners of war quoted above, to take or leave at their option. It is true that many of the interned civilians in Ruhleben receive more than they need. It is also true that some of them receive in notable amounts articles of food that must be classed as luxuries. On the other hand, many of these prisoners receive little or nothing, and are, therefore, largely or entirely dependent upon the food supplied by the authorities.

Less Than Half Enough Food

A more detailed report on the food supply at Ruhleben was made by Dr. Taylor three weeks later, on June 14. After a technical analysis of various food values he pointed out that the reduced nutriment scale mentioned by him in his previous report still continued. Taking the amount of foodstuffs furnished by the German authorities during the week ended May 11, he said:

Noteworthy in this diet, as contrasted with the previous diet, is the absence of fish and of margarine. All the fat present in the diet is incidentally contained in the several foodstuffs, and the diet is as fat-free as it is practically possible for a diet to be. * * *

These figures indicate that the food supplied by the authorities to the interned civilians in Ruhleben during the last week, if applied to all the men, represented less than half of the requisite food units. For the

men who took food, less than two-thirds of the units were supplied by the authorities of the camp.

The authorities directly in charge of the subsistence of the camp are not following the official menu. When the diet of the interned civilians in Ruhleben was worked out, the sum of 66 pfennige per man per day was allotted for the purchase of foodstuffs, coal and costs of transportation being included. (The present figure for prisoners of war is 86 pfennige.) For some time the authorities in Ruhleben have not been permitted to expend this entire sum, (amounting to about 2,600 marks per day,) but only a certain fraction of it. The unexpended moneys have accumulated in the camp treasury, and this accumulation now represents a large sum. I am, of course, in no position to state what the saving has been, variously estimated between 60,000 and 200,000 marks. It is, however, clear that if the authorities in Ruhleben were permitted to expend 2,600 marks per day for food, (with or without the addition of the accumulated savings,) the difference in the amount of food now supplied and once supplied would not exist.

A notable feature of the diet for the last week was the absence of vegetables. Rhubarb was served once, and no sugar was furnished with it, but instead the kitchenmen were instructed to employ saccharine for sweetening, and a determined amount of saccharine was supplied to them for that purpose. The kitchenmen followed their instructions, and the camp as a unit protested to the kitchen against the peculiar after-taste that followed the eating of the rhubarb. It is my judgment that such manner of use of saccharine is entirely without justification. Prior to the war, the use of saccharine in foodstuffs was absolutely prohibited in Germany. If the authorities in Ruhleben are not able to furnish sugar with such foods as are normally prepared with sugar, the correct procedure would be frankly to notify the men to this effect, offer the individual men saccharine for their own use, if they choose to employ it, leave it to other men to furnish their own sugar if they wish, and not impose upon 3,000 men an artificial sweetening agent without their knowledge or consent.

During this period of time, while the authorities have been reducing the foodstuffs supplied to the camp, less and less food has been coming in from abroad, and this despite the fact that an increased number of packages came in during May as against April. Despite this increase in number of parcels, the amount of food received was reduced.

Potato Bread Rejected

During the last month a very notable deterioration in the quality of bread has been noticed; and in addition, week by week, a larger percentage has arrived in so moldy a condition as to make it unfit for food. In April the estimated loss due to poor condition was 800 packages; in May the estimated loss

has been almost one-half of the bread received.

The bread from England (which is in transit all the way from two to five weeks) has arrived in very poor condition owing to mold, 30 to 40 per cent. of it being unfit for food in April, while 80 per cent. of it was unfit for food in May. There are two English breads that always arrive in perfect condition, i. e., those of Barker and the Army and Navy Stores. Confronted with the shortage of bread, many men in the camp have attempted to use the K-bread; of these a goodly proportion report that they cannot continue its use on account of symptoms and signs of indigestion.

No relief is to be obtained from the canteen. The canteen no longer carries butter, sugar, or milk, and has practically no tinned meat of any kind. I inspected the canteen, and found it to contain only a small supply of canned vegetables and some fresh vegetables. I am advised that the canteen has reached its present low ebb because the authorities at Ruhleben are not permitted to go on the open market to purchase foodstuffs. When they apply to the higher authorities they are informed that such foodstuffs are no longer available.

Under these circumstances the men have fallen back upon their store supplies, and a number of men in the camp are at present living largely on food supplies from abroad that have been in their possession for weeks or even months. These accumulated supplies are now being rapidly reduced; when they are exhausted the men will face a critical situation.

I have attempted to determine the amount of food that comes in from abroad, but this is absolutely impossible, except by stationing a number of men at the parcels delivery to open, count, and examine the contents of 10,000 packages during a week or more.

About 1,600 of the British subjects draw relief funds. These men purchase in the canteen, or did when it contained anything they wished. They also purchase to some extent from other prisoners. As stated, not only is very little on sale in the canteen, but the prices are very high for unit food value.

In the camp is a group of some 300 or more men, who belong to a group at first termed "pro-German," but now termed "countryless," ("heimatslos.") These men were born in Germany, or have lived here since childhood; but since they were of British parentage they were technically regarded as of British citizenship, or at least not of German citizenship, though they are to a large extent German in interests and sympathies. Since these men are not upon the British relief lists, a special German relief was organized for their benefit some time ago. Through the instrumentality, and largely through the personal generosity, of Prince Max of Baden, a relief fund of considerable size was raised in order to relieve the needs of these men who were interned in the British civilian camp.

Prisoners' Dissatisfaction

Though these men receive nothing else from the outside, it is interesting to note that their sugar ration (they also receive the regular camp sugar ration) is much larger than the legal ration now authorized in Germany.

The interned men are deeply dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. It has always been their understanding that it was the policy and the intention of the German Government to supply them with a physiologically adequate ration. A review of the present ration of the prisoners of war indicates that it is the aim of the "Kriegsernährungssamt" to supply a ration which shall be physiologically adequate, though professedly containing little more than enough to cover minimal requirements; and it is believed that the official prisoners' ration contains as much as the daily food of many millions of German subjects. There is no question that the official prison ration is an adequate ration from the standpoint of animal nutrition. In addition to this allotted camp ration the prisoners possess the foods sent in from abroad as addenda.

In the case of the Russian prisoners these extra foodstuffs sent in from abroad are small in amount; in the case of the French moderate; in the case of the English large. In all the prison camps that I have visited it is the practice to prepare food for the number of men in the camp, irrespective of nationality, in accordance with the menu of Professor Backhaus. As a rule, the British prisoners take little or none of the food, and their share is eaten by prisoners of other nationalities. In Ruhleben the state of affairs at present existing has convinced the interned civilians that the situation is, so to speak, reversed; that the German authorities seem to regard the foodstuffs sent in from abroad as the regular diet of the interned men, and the camp allotments as the addenda.

Bad Housing Conditions

Later Mr. Gerard, American Ambassador at Berlin, summarized another phase of the situation at Ruhleben in the following letter to Mr. Page, our Ambassador at London:

The reports of Dr. Taylor, our expert on food questions, which have been transmitted to you, indicate in detail what are the conditions of subsistence in the camp at Ruhleben.

I regret to state that the housing arrangements of the prisoners have not been improved. At Ruhleben the prisoners are greatly overcrowded in their barracks. The imperial authorities, after two years of war, have undoubtedly had plenty of time to provide lodgings for these prisoners. It is intolerable that these educated men should be caged like animals—six in each stable stall. In some of the stalls the cots touch each other. The light is bad for reading, and reading is a necessity if these unfortunates are to be kept here through a third Winter.

In the lofts over the cattle stalls it is still worse. For example, in Barrack No. 2 a cross-section of the loft is about nine feet high in the middle, at the highest point, and the place is mansarded in such a way that the sides are only about four feet high. The floor of this part of the barn measures about thirty by forty feet.

The beds here are so close that they touch. Sixty-four men live in this narrow space. The light from the windows is so dim that the eyes of the prisoners will be seriously injured if they do not lose their sight entirely. And it cannot be doubted that this semi-obscurity will cause depression and mental troubles.

The heating system needs to be improved, and provision ought to be made for drying clothes by means of radiators, or for a drying room in each barrack. The prisoners have to respond to calls in the open air, often in the rain, and have no means of drying their soaked garments.

I learn that many things, such as soap, for instance, which are usually given even to prisoners of the common law, have never been given to the prisoners at Ruhleben. Promises have been made from time to time by various officials on the subject of improved housing. It is inadmissible that the present conditions should be maintained; they will be impossible for a third Winter.

The officials in charge of the camp—and I am convinced that they are doing all that is in their power to ameliorate these conditions—have not the authority to make the necessary reforms, but the state of things I have described must force itself upon the attention of every inspector sent by the authorities responsible for the management of the camp.

Grey Threatens Reprisals

Dr. Taylor's reports were productive of urgent notes from the British Foreign Office calling for reforms at Ruhleben and suggesting that, if Germany could not feed her prisoners, she should exchange them. The second of these notes from Sir Edward Grey, dated June 23, is here reproduced. It is addressed to Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain, and includes a threat of reprisal against Germany:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I have read with much concern the reports drawn up by Dr. A. E. Taylor of the United States Embassy at Berlin, on the food supply and nutrition at Ruhleben, which you were good enough to inclose in your notes of the 30th May and 20th ult.

It appears from Dr. Taylor's last report that the food supplied by the German authorities to the interned civilians at Ruhleben during the week ended June 14, if applied to

all the men, represented less than half of the requisite food units. It also appears that much of the bread coming from outside Germany during the last month is of inferior quality or has arrived in bad condition.

In my note of the 3d ult. I had the honor to state that if the German Government are not in a position to feed the prisoners in their hands properly, it is clearly their duty to release them.

His Majesty's Government are still awaiting the reply of the German Government to their proposal that British and German civilians should be released, if over 50 and if over 45 in cases where they are unfit for service in the field, in both cases subject to the condition that there are no military reasons for their detention, and they had intended, in the event of the German Government accepting this proposal, to make a further proposal.

In view, however, of the serious state of affairs revealed in your Excellency's note, I shall be much obliged if your Excellency will request the United States Ambassador at Berlin by telegraph to propose to the German Government that the whole of the British civilians at Ruhleben shall be released in exchange for a similar number of German civilians interned in this country.

Should the German Government not accept this proposal within a week from the receipt by them of the telegraphic summary of this note, his Majesty's Government will be compelled to consider what course they should take with reference to the rations at present supplied to German civilians interned in this country.

Since that time the British blockade has tightened and the food situation in all the 2,000 or more prison camps in Germany and Austria has not improved, though arrangements for the exchange of the older prisoners have been perfected. A report sent out by the British Official Press Bureau in September says:

"Members of the last monthly batch of British prisoners released from the camp for interned civilians at Ruhleben had some terrible stories to tell when they reached London of the unnecessary cruelties inflicted on them by their jailers. They confirmed the statement in Mr. Gerard's last report that the authorities have done nothing, although they have had two years for the effort, to ameliorate the conditions of life in the horse-box dwellings which form the prison. But for the food parcels sent from England many would be starved."

A Spaniard's Life in German Prisons

By Valentin Torras y Closa

This extraordinarily interesting narrative was related by Señor Torras to the Madrid correspondent of The London Telegraph, who wrote it in English for his paper. The first half of the story, somewhat condensed, is presented below, leaving the concluding portion, with the author's escape, for publication in a later issue.

I AM a native of Manresa, in the Province of Barcelona; and I am a little more than 36 years of age. By trade I am a mechanic. I was working at Valenciennes, a town in French Flanders, close to the Belgian frontier, in the employment of a firm named Cail. I was quite happy. I earned enough; my employers showed me much consideration, and I had already saved a few thousand francs. Who would have thought that I was about to pass from that state of modest well-being to the horrors of the German camps for prisoners of war! * * *

As long as I live I shall remember the entry of the Germans into Valenciennes. It was 7:30 o'clock in the morning of Aug. 25, 1914. During the night we had heard the noise of the guns in the distance. Suddenly four shots in rapid succession made us understand that the invaders were coming. These four shots—they were not blank—had been fired at four buildings belonging to the Postal Administration. They did a lot of material damage, but I do not know if there were any victims.

After this not very tranquilizing announcement columns of helmeted men in gray began to pass along. The people watched them from behind the windows; there was scarcely a soul in the streets. As there was not a single soldier in Valenciennes the Germans met with no resistance. They installed themselves in the public buildings and published proclamations in a sort of French, threatening terrible reprisals if they were molested. The town endured the law of war in silence.

At 2 o'clock in the morning of this day there was a terrible tragedy in the vicinity of the town. To the south of Valenciennes there is a little agricultural town called Quérénaing. The distance is about three kilometers. In it a few Eng-

lish stragglers and a lost platoon of the Twenty-sixth French Territorials had taken refuge. There were not more than eighty men altogether. The officer who had placed himself in charge of them, perceiving German patrols on the road leading from Valenciennes, requisitioned some carts in which people were fleeing from the neighborhood and turned them upside down on the railway bridge so that the Germans, detained by this obstacle, might lose time. I know the place very well. The road is down below, and the railway above on a sort of ramp.

A Taste of Frightfulness

The German advance guard arrived, and was followed by batteries of field guns. The French and English offered a brief resistance behind the shelter of the carts, then marched toward Le Cateau. The Germans did not pursue them for long. However, a German detachment entered Quérénaing, and ascertained the names and residences of the owners of the carts. The people had not fled because, owing to the brief combat which I have mentioned, it was impossible to cross the road without receiving a bullet. They were all in the town awaiting the restoration of calm. This was their undoing. The Germans shot them all—twenty men and two women—in spite of their tears and supplications. The execution took place close to the walls of a château belonging to a retired officer, about 100 yards from the last houses of Quérénaing. Then the whole town was burned with astonishing rapidity. The Mayor was sick at the time, and could not leave his bed. He was burned alive.

We learned all this in Valenciennes, because the inhabitants of Quérénaing took refuge in our town, and we helped them as best we could. I spoke with one of the refugees, who told me that they were all astonished that the Germans had

respected the château of the retired officer. But a few days later the château was sacked by order of a German Colonel, who, if I remember rightly, was named Kentzel, or something like that. All the furniture was loaded on motors and sent to Belgium.

On Aug. 25 the Mayor of Valenciennes issued a proclamation recommending absolute order, so that the town and its inhabitants might not be punished. The advice was respected. From Aug. 26 interminable columns of troops of all arms began to pass through—infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, pontoon, and machine-gun sections. It was a human sea that covered the fields and roads. As I was a neutral, I went about to see the passing of the German armies. I was quite calm and much interested in the spectacle. Nevertheless, without saying anything, I prayed for the triumph of France, the country where I earned my bread, and for which I had much affection.

Surrender of Maubeuge

All the shops were emptied in the most meticulous and orderly manner. The Germans began sacking those places whose proprietors had fled, but they soon went on to the rest. The people, resigned, hoped for the return of the French and their allies. It was known that Maubeuge, the frontier fortress close to Valenciennes, was resisting the German siege. But on Sept. 7, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, some soldiers from its garrison arrived in the neighborhood of Valenciennes. They said Maubeuge had surrendered, and that they and a few others had managed to escape. They asked if there were many Germans in Valenciennes, and were told that there was only a detachment of 200 men, but that German troops from Belgium were arriving at every moment.

I think that about 2,000 soldiers, with guns, escaped from Maubeuge. They took the direction of Douai. A platoon of them hid in ambush near Orchies and fired at a motor car conveying a German General and his adjutants. The Germans avenged themselves by shooting many of the inhabitants of that place. They said the shots had been fired by

them, and not by regular soldiers. It was about that time that the Germans shot the Curé of Maing, which is quite close to Valenciennes. The poor man was riding along the road on his bicycle, when a sentry shouted "Halt!" I do not know what happened between them. But, at any rate, a patrol brought the priest as a prisoner to the Church of Nôtre Dame de Valenciennes, and he was shut up in the sacristy for a couple of days. A German Catholic clergyman went to see him. It was believed in Valenciennes that nothing would happen to him, but he was condemned to death for espionage. The unfortunate man said that when he was seized he was going to Valenciennes to make some purchases and get news of various friends. The Mayor asked for his pardon, which was refused, and the sentence was carried out.

One evening I witnessed the following incident in the Faubourg Poirer. A German officer was riding along on a bicycle. One of the wheels broke, and the officer began to curse in his own language. Suddenly he became calm. He had seen a boy approaching, pedaling vigorously. He approached the boy, stopped him, compelled him to dismount, and rode away on the boy's cycle, leaving his own broken machine behind. But the boy began to weep, and exclaim that the bicycle was not his, that he hired it, that he had no money, and that his father would beat him. I was approaching to console him when I heard a great noise. It was the officer returning on the boy's bicycle. I thought that out of pity for the boy's despair he was going to return the machine. But things turned out differently. When the officer came close to us he shouted in French: "Shut up, apache!" and fired his revolver. The boy fell to the ground. The bullet had struck his arm. I ran to his assistance, and meanwhile the officer rode away, still on the bicycle. I did not see him again.

A Furious Officer

Three days later my misfortunes began. On Sept. 26, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, I was returning to my abode in the Faubourg de Paris. I have not mentioned that I was the only lodger in

the house of a widow. Shortly after shutting my room and stretching myself on the bed I heard loud knocking at the street door. Without knowing why, I was much alarmed. There is truth sometimes in forebodings. A German officer entered, accompanied by a patrol, and between him and me the following dialogue ensued, in French:

"You are a mechanic?"

"Yes, Sir. I was working at the Maison Cail."

"Very good. We want you. Come with me."

"Why?"

"It is not for me to give explanations."

"Pardon me, M. l'Officier, I am a citizen of a neutral country."

"That doesn't matter. We want you to work at the station, where we have put up a shop for repairing locomotives."

"I cannot obey you; I am a Spaniard. Spain is not at war with any country. Leave me here. You will be able to find other workmen."

The officer was furious. Doubtless he was not accustomed to meeting with opposition.

"You are not a Spaniard," he shouted angrily. "You are a Frenchman."

"I am a Spaniard, and I will prove it."

I opened a trunk and took out my papers. They were in order. The officer stood, fixing his eyes on me attentively.

"Very well," he said, after a few moments, "let us make an inventory of all this."

They opened my two trunks where I kept my clothes, my savings, and a few modest treasures. The whole lot was worth about 4,500 francs. The officer dictated and one of the soldiers wrote. Then the officer, taking charge of all my papers, of all I had in my pockets, and of the inventory, said: "We shall send you home through Switzerland. Follow us. We are taking you to the station."

"And my trunks?" I inquired, somewhat alarmed.

"They will also be sent to the station. My men will take charge of them."

Done as said. I bade farewell to my landlady; fortunately I owed her nothing. I had given her a little money in ad-

vance, and she still had a few francs in hand.

[After telling how he was turned over to another officer and forced into a train without his trunks, papers, or money, the author's narrative proceeds thus after his arrival at Mons the next morning:]

I got out of the train at Mons and was walking along the station, when, much to my surprise, the officer, pointing to one of the trains, full of wounded and prisoners, said:

"Get in here!"

"Why in this one? It is a military train."

"Get in at once!"

I protested. At that moment a vision of captivity passed through my mind.

"I will not get in until you return my papers and my trunks, containing all the money that I possess."

"Get in, cursed Frenchman!"

"I am not French; I am a Spaniard. This is an outrage!"

Lost Identity

People began to collect around us. The officer was irritated, and looked at me in such a way that I stepped back a few paces; I thought he was going to strike me. Probably he had an idea that I was trying to escape, for he shouted something in German, and almost instantaneously I found myself surrounded by armed soldiers. I made myself hoarse with shouting as the officer disappeared, taking my papers with him. From that horrible moment I was nobody; I could not prove my identity; I was lost.

A non-commissioned officer seized me by the arm and thrust me against the open door of a carriage. Several soldiers hoisted me in the air and threw me inside. When I recovered from my astonishment the door was shut, and outside, on the platform, two sentries stood motionless with fixed bayonets. And at that moment the train began to move. I gazed around. I was in a truck similar to those which in France and Belgium are used for the transport of cattle. The train, as I learned afterward, consisted of fifty, all of the same kind. My truck contained fifty persons—Belgian and French peasants and

wounded soldiers of the two nations. The latter were lying or squatting on straw that was stained with blood. Their wounds had received no more than a hasty dressing. Many of them were sleeping heavily and seemed to be devoured by fever. Others were talking excitedly and recounting their experiences of the war, without anybody paying any attention to them. The majority begged incessantly for water, but there was none for them. They were given an occasional draught of almost hot beer, which did not calm their constant thirst.

The doors had been locked on the outside, and the train was like an immense prison on wheels. This was the phrase of a well-dressed Belgian with gold spectacles: "We are in a rolling prison cell," he kept on repeating. And it was the truth. The peasants in the truck could not understand the reason for their capture and the journey. They had been dragged out of their houses without being given time to say farewell to their families, and had not the least notion of what the Germans intended to do with them. Many of them belonged to Valenciennes. I got into conversation with some, and related my adventures. They said that I would undoubtedly be released, because the Germans would not dare to injure a foreign subject.

The Marne Battle

The train crawled along at a tortoise pace. It stopped at every station, and waited for interminable troop trains to pass in the direction of France.

"They need all the men they can get," said one of the wounded, sitting up on the straw.

"Is that the case?" I asked.

"Yes. I was on the Marne. I saw the final. I was wounded on the Aisne, near Craonne, in an attack on a hill. The Germans took me prisoner."

He went on talking, and everybody listened to him in silence. I learned from him that there had been a great battle in Champagne, and that the Germans had retired toward the north. In Valenciennes we had not had the least news of such a notable success. Night fell, and the in-

terminable journey continued. The Germans did not give us the least attention. There was a large escort on the train, and now and again a man went along the footboard outside looking into each wagon, one by one. We should have died of hunger but for the charity of the Belgians who, whenever it was possible, came to the stations and gave us cold meat, sweets, and fruit. The wounded had no desire to eat; they begged for water, ice, or something cooling. They were parched. Inside the truck, despite the open windows, the temperature was that of an oven.

As the wounded occupied the greater part of the space the rest of us remained standing in the most uncomfortable positions. I fell into a dream, and I believe that even in my distressing posture I slept for a few moments. During the night four German sentries were placed in each truck. They were territorials, or "Landsturm," as they are called in Germany. The four in my truck all wore spectacles or pince-nez. They seemed to be sad and weary. On the following day they were relieved by another four.

Arrival at Liege

We arrived at Liège at evening on the second day. We were given some soup, which was far from appetizing; it consisted of dirty water, in which a few indefinable things floated about. The Germans were not very generous with their table furniture. As I have said, the train consisted of fifty trucks, so fifty plates, metal plates, were distributed, one for each truck. From that plate, without spoon or fork, fifty men had to eat in turn. I had no fancy for the soup, not only because it seemed to me to be very filthy but also because I was accustomed to eat from my own plate.

We spent the night at Liège station. Our truck was an inferno and a latrine. The stench was unbearable. Some of the wounded soldiers, maddened by fever, sang the "Brabançonne" and the "Marseillaise." The guards ordered them to be silent, but the men, in their delirium, laughed in a manner that filled me with dread. Hours passed without the train moving. We saw nothing except the ar-

rival and prompt departure of other trains. Sometimes the platforms were filled with German soldiers; then they remained almost empty, and we only saw the sentries or occasionally an officer who marched along hurriedly and disappeared through a door or behind a line of carriages.

At daybreak our convoy resumed its journey. We crossed the German frontier at a place which I was told afterward was Herbesthal. "Now the worst begins," said an old Frenchman. "We have left Belgium and are in Germany. The refreshments, cigars, and chocolate are finished; the insults will begin." * * *

Storms of Insults

While we were passing through the fields we were not quite so sad, although frequently the old women and boys working in them shook their fists and threw potatoes at us. But in the stations there were always crowds of the populace, who greeted us with storms of insults. I did not understand their language, but some of the Belgians translated for us. We were qualified as cowards, traitors, pigs, and so forth. Naturally we did not reply; we pretended not to hear.

On reaching Cologne we were again locked in the wagons. The sentries marched away, and we remained alone. We thought that we would get some food, but were mistaken. After stopping for two hours we resumed our journey. We were able to notice a curious thing at Cologne. In one of the streets close to the station we perceived four men of straw suspended from the balconies, just as the figure of Judas is hanged to the arm of a lamppost in some Spanish towns at the Feast of Pentecost. But the straw figures represented French soldiers. One was dressed in the uniform of a soldier of the line, another was a Chasseur Alpin, the third was a Zouave, and the fourth an artilleryman.

So we went on, crawling across Germany, day and night. I remember that journey like a dreadful nightmare. Three days passed. We received nothing—no food, no water. No attention was paid to the wounded. We were not even al-

lowed to cleanse the truck of the filth that covered the floor. We were in agony from the heat and nausea. I am a workman, and accustomed to live a hard life, and have much physical strength. Yet on the night of Sept. 30 I believed that I was dying. Weakness, the heat, fatigue—we were still unable to sit down—the sight of the agony of those poor soldiers, delirious and eaten up with gangrene; the evil stench, the indignation I felt because of the outrage of which I was the victim—all these causes united to bring on a fainting fit which my companions believed was mortal. They laid me on one side, among the moribund. They could do nothing for me. All the provisions and the bottles of various drinks given to us by the charitable Belgians were exhausted. Everybody, resigned, hoped for death as a deliverance from that torture.

Zossen-Bunsdorf Prison

When I recovered from my faint some of my companions told me that, according to one of the Landsturm—when we left Cologne four guards were again placed in each truck—we were approaching the German capital. And, as a matter of fact, we reached Berlin at 3 o'clock in the morning on Oct. 1. In the train we were given café-au-lait, a slice of bread and butter, and a piece of very hard sausage. We asked for water, and a pail was put in. It was drained in a moment. But there were many of us, and the pail was small, and we were left with our thirst unquenched. The train went on, and at 5 o'clock in the morning we arrived at Zossen-Bunsdorf. We alighted, and many of us could not stand on our feet. Some of the wounded did not move, I do not know how many had died on the way, being unable to get that information. I only know that as many of us as were not seriously wounded were lined up, while the others remained for the time being in the train. I suppose they were sent to some hospital.

We crossed the town between lines of soldiers of mature age, and were also escorted by a few police. Everything was silent, and there was nobody in the streets. We only saw one woman at the door of a baker's shop, who looked at us,

making signs of astonishment. By a road passing across some level fields we finally reached the camp which was our destination. It was a vast space, bare and sandy, almost square, with sides about 1,200 meters in length. It was inclosed by very high barbed wire fences. The quarters of the commandant were in a small house, standing apart, which had belonged to a barber. There were no huts, no canvas tents—absolutely nothing except the barbed wire and the naked earth. And it was upon the bare ground that more than 15,000 men, French, Belgian, English, and Russian, slept—or gave way to despair.

Camp Without Shelter

We underwent an inspection. Each one of us was given an enameled plate, a spoon, and a blanket, and we were told to accommodate ourselves as best we could. The next morning the camp began to show some signs of animation. The prisoners rose and made the best morning toilet that circumstances would allow. Soon groups were formed, and we conversed, or walked around the camp, keeping very close to the wire and trying to see what was going on outside the inclosure. Many of the prisoners came out of curious burrows which had been dug in the sand with the help of plates and spoons. These shelters, something like big mole runs, belonged generally to groups of four or five men. To make them a few of the men, nearly always of the same nationality, formed a group, and some excavated with plates and spoons, while the others distributed the sand, the work lasting a few days. The right of each group to its burrow was scrupulously respected. There were no disputes on this matter. Nevertheless, only a few hundreds of the prisoners had their shelters; the majority slept in the open air, "à la belle étoile," as a professor of the Sorbonne with whom I struck up a friendship said.

The food on the first day (Friday) was not so bad as I had expected. But I must confess that as time went on it grew worse and worse. I have been in Zossen, Chemnitz, and Gross-Poritsch. At the last-named place those who had

no money died from hunger. But later on we will come to those details, which are ever present to my mind.

Brotherhood in Misfortune

The majority of the French and Belgians, and all the English, procured food from the canteen, because they had money, and many of them lent to those who had none. There was true brotherhood in misfortune. The Russians were the most unfortunate; hardly one of them had a farthing, and they had to be satisfied with the camp ration, which consisted of coffee in the morning, rice, lentils, or pease about noon, and soup at night. The bread was bad in quality and small in quantity. Occasionally some hardly perceptible scraps of meat appeared in the rice. At the beginning of my stay in the camp this meat was beef or mutton. But after a few weeks—and this was told us by our guards—it was salted dog!

On that Friday, as soon as I was able, I made my appeal to the Commandant. He listened attentively. He spoke French well, and I speak it fluently.

"I am a Spaniard," I told him. "I have been the victim of an outrage which I can only suppose was due to a mistake. I must be set at liberty as soon as possible. I cannot prove my identity, because all my papers were taken from me at Valenciennes."

He said he would inquire into the matter. Four or five days later I was summoned to his office, and was no sooner in his presence than he addressed me severely:

"I know who you are. You are a Frenchman. You tried to deceive me. You are a Frenchman belonging to Valenciennes. The story you have told me is nothing but a pack of lies. But it is not easy to deceive a German officer."

I made an energetic protest, but he shook his head in disbelief. I begged to be allowed to write to the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin, but this was refused. "It is possible that you know Spanish," he said, "but that proves nothing. There are also Germans who know it, yet they are Germans none the less."

As I kept on protesting, he summoned a soldier, and ordered him to remove me

to the camp, which was done in the roughest possible manner. About that time I formed a friendship with two French prisoners, a Sergeant and a private. The Sergeant had been a chief of a department at the Bon Marché in Paris. The private was a lawyer, and highly educated. Both had money. As I had not a franc, for the officer who seized me at Valenciennes had left nothing but air in my pockets, they took pity on me, and, seeing that I ate nothing but the rations, they invited me to the canteen. They fed me precisely as they fed themselves. One evening they proposed that I should help them in making a shelter. The nights were beginning to grow cold, and it frequently rained. I joyfully accepted the proposal.

I had noticed that close to the camp a number of laborers were constructing a large barracks, and from them we managed to borrow a couple of spades. With these and our plates and spoons we set to work. It took us three days. We began by making a hole about five feet deep. Then we began a gallery, starting at the bottom of the hole, and drove it in a slanting direction upward until it reached the ground level. To enter the shelter we got into the hole, and then crawled along the gallery. There we lay down and slept, with sufficient discomfort, but at any rate protected from the inclemency of the weather.

A very tedious season began. Rain fell every day and our pit was filled with water. We tried to bail it out with our plates, but were rarely successful. And so in order to reach our mole-run we had to wade through that muddy water. Sometimes a pool formed at the top of the gallery and the water flooded it. Then we had to wake up and make a hurried escape. Moreover, we ran the danger of the roof of the gallery, which had no support, falling in and suffocating us. There had already been some accidents of this kind, and thus when we lay down we were never sure of waking up.

A Cruel Deception

About the middle of October the Commandant summoned me, and said he was going to send me to Switzerland, be-

cause it had been learned in Berlin that what I had said was true. Mad with joy, I asked for permission to say farewell to my two friends. With an ironical smile he granted my request. They were highly pleased over my good fortune, and gave me letters for their families.

A soldier conducted me out of the camp, and took me to a solitary house in the midst of a dismal plain, about a kilometer from the barbed wire. It was a prison. Much to my surprise and disgust, I was shut up in a very dirty room, which had a window close to the ceiling and a strip of matting on the floor. You may imagine my indignation and rage. I shouted and banged at the door, but to no purpose. A sentry was passing, rifle on shoulder, and when I made too much noise he said some words in German, which must have been threats. But I paid no heed, and would have been glad if he had shot me, so great was my anger and distress.

I spent two days there. Some food was thrown into my plate, which I could not wash, or even clean with sand, as we did in the camp. After forty-eight hours of this I was taken back to the camp. My French friends were surprised to see me again; they thought I was in Switzerland. But a few words they said gave me the key to the mystery. On the day after my imprisonment the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin, Señor Polo de Bernabé, arrived in the camp. As is well known, he was in charge of the interests of France and Russia in Germany as long as the war lasts. In the camp there was a Portuguese named Tonio Antuan, who was as badly treated as myself. I knew him, because he had worked in Valenciennes at a steel factory, if I am not mistaken. He approached the Ambassador and asked him to deliver a letter to the Portuguese Minister in Berlin. Señor Polo said he would do so, but informed the man that as his country and Germany were no longer friendly his claim might not be successful.

Some time later this Portuguese disappeared from the camp in a somewhat singular manner. In due course I will tell how at Chemnitz the Germans per-

sisted in making me pass for him. It is one of the most extraordinary episodes of my captivity, which I am still unable to explain.

"If we had known that you were in prison," said my friend, the Sergeant, "we would have told the Ambassador, even at the risk of punishment. But what could we do? We thought you were free."

Physical Sufferings

After that painful experience a monotonous life began for me, in which physical sufferings overcame the mental pangs. I don't know if I make myself clear. I mean that the rain, the cold, the damp, the dirt, the nightly dangers, left me no time to reflect on my misfortunes. I think it was better so, because otherwise I should have gone mad.

I had been given the uniform of a prisoner of war with the armlet on which was written in large letters the German word indicating the unhappy condition of those who wore it. But I had no change of linen. That which I wore fell to pieces, and was very dirty. And, even worse, there was no water in the camp except such as fell from heaven. They gave us a little, by measure, to drink. So there was none to waste on washing. When it rained heavily and small pools were formed, those nearest to them hurried to wash their faces and hands, or to wring out a shirt.

About the end of October, or the beginning of November, some soldiers who had been barbers sought permission to purchase scissors and razors in Zossen and to devote themselves to their profession in the camp. It was granted, and they arranged their shops in the open air. The prisoners, who had heads of hair and beards like savages, took it in turns to have their hair cut and their faces

shaved. About that time a large hut was erected at one side of the camp, in which some 400 wounded prisoners were lodged. I managed to see it one day, saying that a friend was inside. It was a very poor place. The beds were on the floor. The wounded told me that they received scarcely any attention, and that in the pharmacy there was no more than a few packets of carbolized gauze, tincture of iodine, and some lozenges. The same place served for the prisoners who fell ill in the camp.

The 15,000 or 16,000 of us in the camp were divided into companies of 250 men. Each company was commanded by a German officer. We were guarded by about 1,000 men of the Landsturm, most of whom were perfect demons. Their most frequent action was a kick. I was kicked twice during my stay at Zossen, and on both occasions it was for approaching what the guards thought was too close to the wire fencing. At the same time those soldiers who kicked us and showered upon us at every moment the worst adjectives in the German vocabulary would buy whatever we wanted in the canteen for a small reward. They never refused, and seemed very pleased to get our orders.

Many people from Zossen came to see us, and this was not the least of our trials, because, far from showing us sympathy, they hurled the grossest insults at us, and made derisive gestures with their hands, which filled us with fury. Nevertheless, there were a few exceptions. I remember a married couple, consisting of a German and a Frenchwoman, who had pity for our lot, and on a few occasions gave us some old French newspapers which had been purchased in Berlin. I was in Zossen-Bunsdorf until Dec. 18. On that day I was transferred to another prisoners' camp, and the second part of my captivity began.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[French Cartoon]

Decay



WILLIAM: "Rumania has just declared war on you."

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "It's a good idea—"

[English Cartoon]

Some Question



—From *The London Sketch*.

THE SWEET THING: "How many m's are there in 'some,' Jack?"

[German Cartoon]

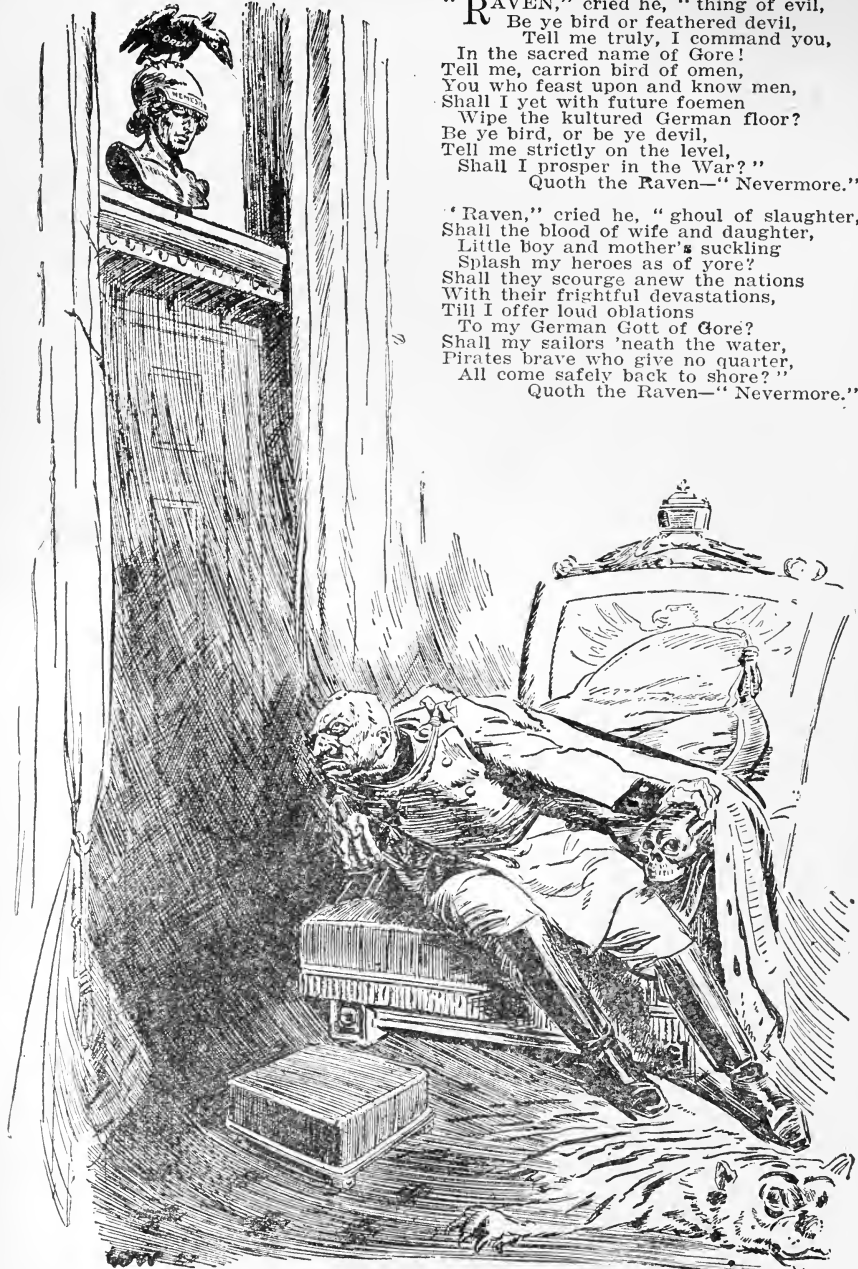
Who Enters Here Leaves Hope Behind



—① *Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

Entrance of the Entente into the third year of war: The door and the fools who pass through it.

Quoth the Raven—



"**R**AVEN," cried he, "thing of evil,
Be ye bird or feathered devil,
Tell me truly, I command you,
In the sacred name of Gore!
Tell me, carrion bird of omen,
You who feast upon and know men,
Shall I yet with future foemen
Wipe the cultured German floor?
Be ye bird, or be ye devil,
Tell me strictly on the level,
Shall I prosper in the War?"
Quoth the Raven—"Nevermore."

"**R**aven," cried he, "ghoul of slaughter,
Shall the blood of wife and daughter,
Little boy and mother's suckling
Splash my heroes as of yore?
Shall they scourge anew the nations
With their frightful devastations,
Till I offer loud oblations
To my German Gott of Gore?
Shall my sailors 'neath the water,
Pirates brave who give no quarter,
All come safely back to shore?"
Quoth the Raven—"Nevermore."

—From The Sydney Bulletin.

Nevermore!

[German Cartoon]

The Mexican Expedition



—© Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

The end of the "Mexican war"; or, the return from the wild goose chase.

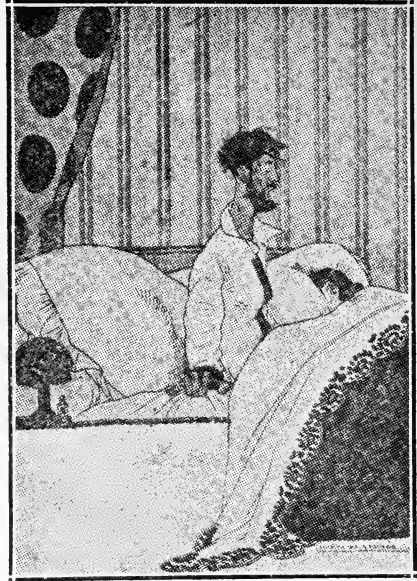
[French Cartoon]
The Latest Mode



—From *La Baionnette, Paris.*

The Best Women of All Nations Have
 Adopted It.

[French Cartoon]
The Poilu's Ordeal



—From *La Baionnette, Paris.*

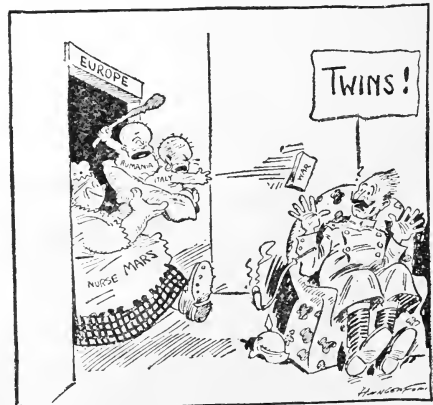
FRENCH SOLDIER, HOME ON FUR-
 LOUGH: "Ohhhh! How can one sleep in
 this silence!"

[German Cartoon]
**The Seven Neutrals and the
 Wicked Sea Cat**



UNCLE SAM: "You go first!"

[American Cartoon]
More War Babies

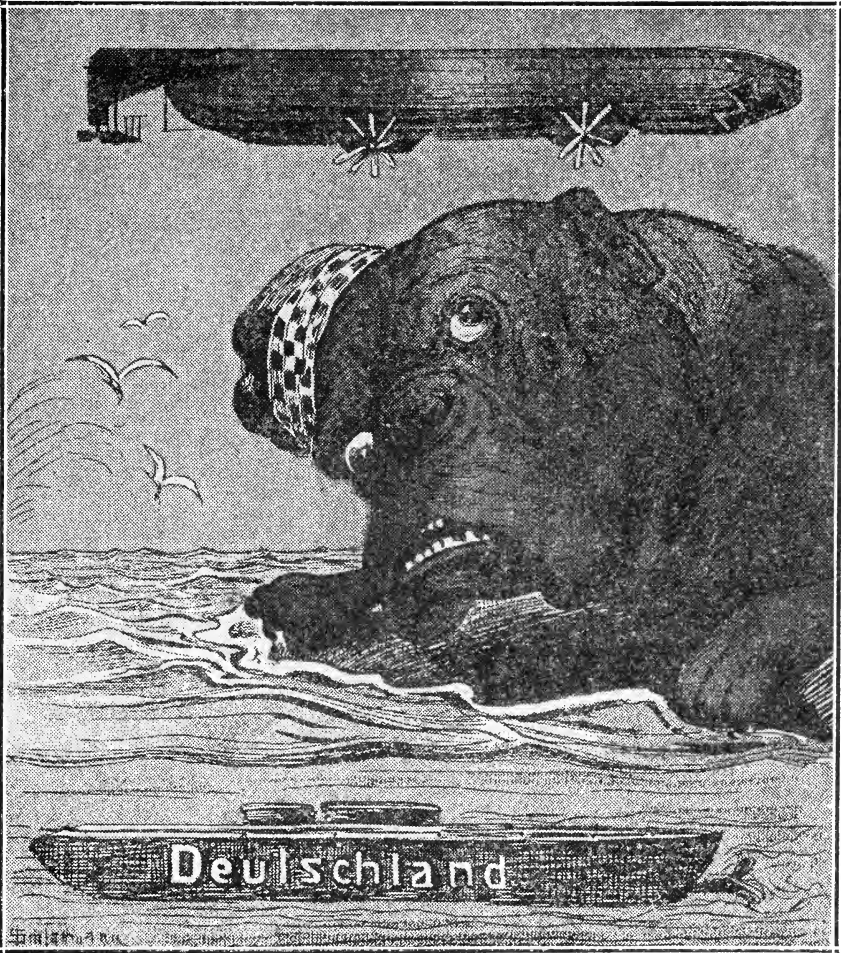


—From *The Pittsburgh Sun.*

When Italy and Rumania declared war
 on Germany.

[German Cartoon]

Hard to Understand



—© Der Brummer, Berlin.

“Both above and below I imagined Germany to be something quite different.”

[English Cartoon]

Canute the Second



—By Raemaekers, in *Land and Water*.

Germany's All-Highest bids the waves roll back.

[Russian Cartoon]

A Necessary Operation

[Pulling Turkey's German Teeth]

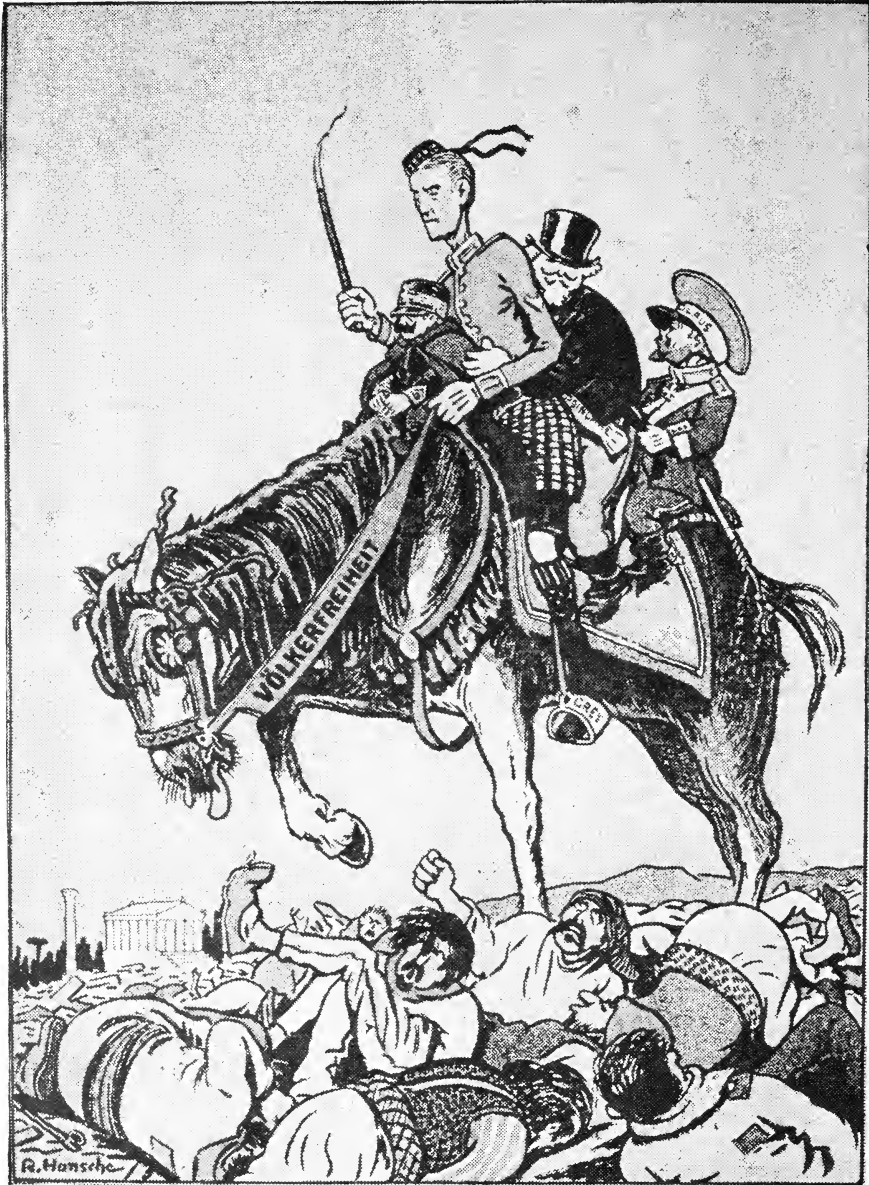


—From *Lukomorje*, Petrograd.

“Don’t you dare to bite!”

[German Cartoon]

The Violation of Greece



—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

The old, worn-out, but gayly caparisoned steed, "Freedom of Nations," is driven right on despite all opposition.

[German Cartoon]

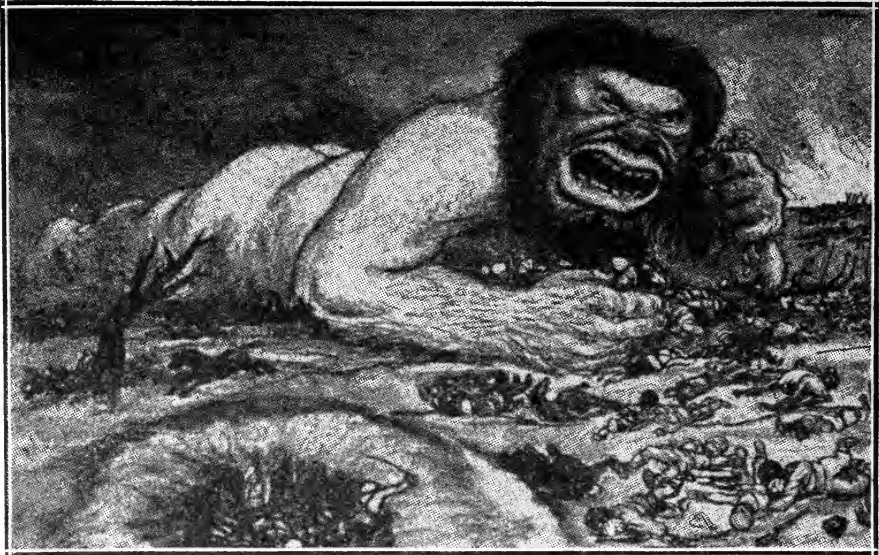
The Incendiary



—© Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

Venizelos, the Greek firebrand, mourning in the underworld because his name is remembered by posterity.

[German Cartoon]
Russia's Mass Sacrifices



—© Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

Ivan Kronos devours his own children in order to save their father.

[French Cartoon]
On the Somme



FIRST GERMAN SOLDIER: "But we're retreating!"

SECOND GERMAN SOLDIER: "Not at all, you fool; we're getting up a good speed to jump on England."

[South African Cartoon]

Rouge et Noir



—From The Cape Times, Cape Town.

The arch gambler is losing steadily.

[Russian Cartoon]

The Eclipse of the Crescent



—From *Boudilnik*, Petrograd.

Apropos of the allied campaign to cut off Turkish communications in the Balkans.

[German Cartoon]

A "Miss" Harvest



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

Miss Britannia fails to get through with her mowing machine.

[French Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Repentance

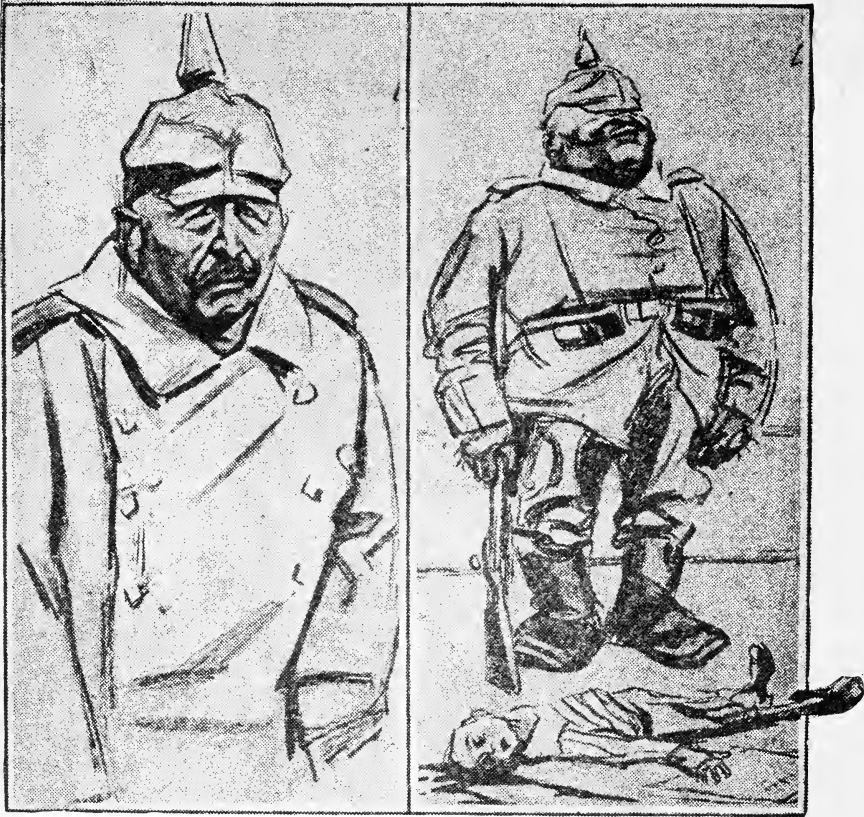


—© *Le Rive, Paris.*

“I did not will this!”

[Italian Cartoon]

Like Master, Like Servant



—By Sachetti, Italian Artist.

Paintings that attracted much attention when exhibited in London.

[English Cartoon]

The War Weary



—Will Dyson in *London Chronicle*.

It is not only the German gunners who are chained to the gun.

[French Cartoon]
An Anxious Moment



R. Sauvayre

—© Le Rire, Paris.

WILHELM: "Come on, old chap! See friend Ferdinand smashing in the door!"
FRANCIS JOSEPH: "The ass! He's going to wake up the Greeks."

[English Cartoon]
Imperial Strategy



The Kaiser's latest observation post. —By Will Dyson.

[French Cartoon]

Resurrection



—© *Le Rive, Paris.*

In spite of the German hawk, the Greek soul awakes at the approach of the hereditary enemy.

[German Cartoon]

Rumania



—○— *Lustige Blätter, Berlin.*

The dance begins.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From September 12 Up to and Including
October 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Sept. 12—Russians near the Bukowina border drive Teutons from several heights in the Bialy-Cheremosh region.
- Sept. 15—Rumanians in Transylvania commence an advance across the Aluta River; Teutons recapture positions lost west of Kapul in the Carpathians.
- Sept. 16—Russians resume closing-in movement on Halicz; Teutons dislodged from positions south of Brzezany; Rumanians in Transylvania occupy Fogaras.
- Sept. 17-19—Germans recover territory lost near Halicz and drive back Russians on the Vladimir-Volynski and Sereth River fronts.
- Sept. 20—Austrians recapture Szurduk Pass in Transylvania.
- Sept. 21—Teutons in Transylvania occupy heights on both sides of Vulcan Pass; Germans in Volhynia assault Russian Stokhod positions near the Kovel-Rovno railroad.
- Sept. 22—Russians occupy the summit of Smotrec in the Carpathians but are repulsed on the Stokhod.
- Sept. 26—Rumanians again occupy the heights on both sides of Szurduk and Vulcan Passes.
- Sept. 28-30—Germans win three-day battle at Hermannstadt, driving the Rumanian troops into the mountains.
- Oct. 1—Russians begin another strong offensive north and south of Lemberg.
- Oct. 3—Germans take offensive south of Dvinsk, attacking the Russians near Novo Alexandrovsk.
- Oct. 5—Rumanians carry Parajd in Transylvania after three days' fighting.
- Oct. 6—Rumanians withdraw from the region of Fogaras, in Transylvania, and are forced back over the Alt and Homorod Rivers.
- Oct. 8—Austro-Germans recapture Kronstadt and force entire Rumanian line to retreat in Transylvania.
- Oct. 9—Teutons continue advance in Transylvania, capturing the town of Toerzvar and an island in the Danube.
- Oct. 10—Rumanians in Transylvania driven from passes in the Hargitta and Carole Mountains.
- Oct. 11—Invasion of Rumania begun by Austro-German troops; Rumanians defeated in the Alt Valley.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Sept. 12-13—French on the Somme carry trenches from Béthune to Peronne and close in on Combles.

- Sept. 15—British pierce German lines on sixteen-mile front, taking the towns of Flers, Martinpuich, and Courcelette; French take positions east of Combles and reach the outskirts of Rancourt.
- Sept. 17—French smash German lines south of the Somme and take Vermandovillers and Berny; British take Mouquet Farm.
- Sept. 18—British take heavily fortified work between Ginchy and Bouleux Wood; French take Deniecourt.
- Sept. 25—British on the Somme take the fortified villages of Morval and Les Boeufs.
- Sept. 26—Allies take Combles, Thiepval, and Gueudecourt.
- Sept. 28—British capture the greater part of a German redoubt north of Thiepval; Germans repulsed at Verdun in attack on Thiaumont-Fleury line.
- Oct. 4—British troops north of the Somme complete the capture of Eaucourt l'Abbaye.
- Oct. 7—British break the German line from the Bapaume Road southeast for ten miles; French advance northeast of Morval.
- Oct. 8—Allies beat off German attacks near Les Boeufs and west of Sailly.
- Oct. 10—French seize strong positions north of Chaulnes.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Sept. 12—French capture two miles of Bulgar trenches on the Macedonian front.
- Sept. 13—French and Serbs drive Bulgars out of Sorovitz, near Florina.
- Sept. 15—Serbs rout Bulgars east of the Cerna; French pierce their defenses east of the Vardar and British west of the river take the town of Mukukovo; Russians and Rumanians retire in Oobrudja.
- Sept. 17—Serbs continue advance against the Bulgars west of Lake Ostrovo and defeat them near Kaimakcalan.
- Sept. 18—Russian and French forces occupy Florina.
- Sept. 19—Serbs fight on their own soil, capture Krushegrad and Neokazi, north of Florina, and take the highest summit of the Kaimakcalan Range north of Lake Ostrovo; Teutons pierce new Rumanian line in Dobrudja.
- Sept. 20—Bulgars evacuate Viglista and fall back on Svesda to defend Monastir; Rumanians check the Teutons in Dobrudja.
- Sept. 21—Rumanians resume the offensive in Dobrudja and drive Teuton and Bulgar forces back toward the Bulgarian frontier.

- Sept. 22—Serbs on the Brod River advance to Urbani.
- Sept. 24—British occupy Jenmita on the west bank of the Struma and attack Kara-Dzakovbala; Serbs begin attack at Star-kovgrob.
- Oct. 1—British break Bulgarian line on the Struma south of Orljak and take two fortified villages.
- Oct. 2—Rumanian troops cross the Danube and invade Bulgaria between the fortress of Rustchuk and Tutrakan, flanking Mackensen's army; Serbs occupy the village of Kotchovie, north of Kaimakalan.
- Oct. 3—Bulgars abandon their line along the Brod River and in the region of Star-kovgrob and are retreating northward.
- Oct. 4—Rumanians that flanked Mackensen forced by encircling attack to retreat back into Rumania; Serbs cross the Cerna River and reach the Monastir Railroad.
- Oct. 5—Allies occupy two more villages on the way to Monastir; British gain the whole of Yenikeui.
- Oct. 6—British occupy village of Nevolyen.
- Oct. 7—French troops on the Macedonian front occupy the town of German on Lake Presba; British occupy five villages on the east bank of the Struma; Russians take Kara Baka and Besaul in Dobrujda.
- Oct. 8—French take the Baba Mountains and occupy Kisovo; Serbs push on toward Monastir.
- Oct. 9—Serbs cross the Cerna River in two places; British take three more villages on the Struma front.
- Oct. 10—British occupy five more villages on the Struma front and force Bulgars to retreat to the hills northwest of Seres; Italian Army from Avlona resumes advance in Albania along the road to Monastir.
- Oct. 11—British take two more towns; French take the first line on the Doiran front.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Sept. 12—Italians beat off Austrian attacks between Vallarsa and the head of the Posina Valley.
- Sept. 14—Italians take important positions in the Zara Valley.
- Sept. 15—Italians begin new offensive on the Isonzo front, with Trieste as the objective.
- Sept. 16—Italians take important positions on the way to Trieste in the Carso region.
- Sept. 22—Austrians blow up the summit of Monte Cimone.
- Sept. 25—Italians storm the peak of Monte Cauriol.
- Sept. 26—Austrian counterattacks on Monte Sief repulsed with heavy losses.
- Sept. 27—Italians occupy a high position between Menari and Tovo, near Cimone.
- Oct. 1—Austrians driven from the slopes of Monte Lagazuoi.
- Oct. 4—Austrians repulsed in the Travignolo-Avisio Valley.
- Oct. 7—Italians seize a mountain peak over 8,000 feet high at the head of the Vanoi Cison Valley.

Oct. 10—Italians storm Austrian positions on the slopes of Monte Pasubio and advance toward Rovereto.

Oct. 11—Italians break Austrian lines north of the Vepacco River and advance in the Trentino south of Rovereto to the southern slopes of Mount Roite.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

- Sept. 12—Turks check Russian offensive in the Ognott sector of Turkish Armenia.
- Oct. 5—Russians suddenly resume their offensive west of Trebizond and capture a strongly fortified position in the River Kara Burnu region.
- Oct. 7—Russians capture fortifications of Petra Kala on the Black Sea coast, forty-five miles west of Trebizond.
- Oct. 11—Russians in the Caucasus dislodge Turks from mountain slopes and gain the right bank of the River Karshutdarasi.

AERIAL RECORD

In two days of unusual activity on the western front, Sept. 23 and 24, fifty-two aeroplanes were destroyed in France. The Germans brought down twenty-four, the Allies twenty-eight.

A fleet of twelve Zeppelins attacked the eastern counties of England on the night of Sept. 23. Two machines were brought down, thirty-eight persons were killed and 125 hurt. On the night of the 25th a fleet of seven Zeppelins made another raid, killing thirty-six persons and injuring twenty-seven. A third raid was made in the early morning of Oct. 1, and another Zeppelin was brought down. One man was killed.

NAVAL RECORD

Thirty-six vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been sunk in the war zone during the month, in addition to eleven British fishing steamers and eleven Belgian lighters.

The Cunard liner Franconia, used for transport duty, was torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea.

The French auxiliary cruiser Gallia, used as a transport, has been sunk by a submarine.

Two German submarines were sunk in the Arctic Ocean on Oct. 9 by a Russian torpedo boat, following an attack on the Russian wireless station at Sepnavolak.

The German submarine U-53 entered the harbor of Newport on the afternoon of Oct. 7, stayed a few hours, and sailed away. During the morning of Oct. 8 it ravaged shipping off the coast of the United States, sinking the British freighters Strathgena and West Point, the Dutch freighter Blommersdijk, the Norwegian freighter Christian Knudsen, and the British passenger liner Stephano, which carried a number of American citizens. The crews and passengers were given time to take to their small boats.

CREATOR OF THE GERMAN FLEET

Der Schöpfer der deutschen Flotte.



This Portrait of the Kaiser Appeared in a Leading German Magazine After the Battle of Skagerrak. Copies of It Recently Reached America on the Deutschland.

(© *Illustrirte Zeitung, Berlin.*)

MOTHER OF GENERAL VON MACKENSEN



She Is Holding a Newspaper Portrait of Her Famous Son,
Leader of the German Offensive in Dodrudja.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)

PERIOD XXVII.

Activities of German Submarines—New War Methods and Victory—Australia's Defeat of Conscription—The Profit Side of War—Germany's Promise to Poland—Forcing Belgians to Work in Germany—The Partition of Kamerun—Typical German War Surgery—Italy, Prussia, and Austria—The Invasion of Turkey—Activities of the Japanese Navy.

THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES

Progress on All Fronts

THE war situation in the past month has inclined somewhat favorably to the Allies. The British and French made advances in France, the latter having executed a brilliant and effective stroke in the recapture of Forts Douaumont and Vaux, with many prisoners and much equipment. By this feat the French regained in a few hours what cost the Germans eight months and 600,000 men; moreover, it definitely dispelled any illusions the Germans may have cherished as to the ultimate fall of Verdun, and proved a new inspiration to the French. Along the Somme and Ancre both French and English made several effective thrusts into the German inner lines, and advanced two or three miles along an extended front.

In the Balkans the fortunes of war swayed from side to side. The armies of the Central Powers made a formidable advance into Rumania, capturing the important City of Constanza and reaching a point nearly fifty miles within the Rumanian border; but early in November this advance was checked, and then changed into a retreat. At this writing the Teutonic forces have been driven back thirty miles, and one wing of Mackensen's army is in grave danger of being caught between two strong Russian armies. The Serbians, with French assistance, have achieved success along the Cerna, and have recaptured a considerable area of their own territory. By Nov. 16 their forces, co-operating with the Franco-Russo-Italian army to

the west of them, had driven the enemy back over the Bistritza River, and on Nov. 19 they captured Monastir. Greece seems to have grown quieter, and has accepted the domination of her affairs by the Entente Powers. The independent movement under Venizelos is making further progress with allied assistance.

Italy has scored a distinct success on the Carso plateau and is now within striking distance of Trieste, which seems destined ultimately to fall into Cadorna's hands.

There has been sanguinary fighting all along the eastern front, from Riga to the Carpathians. The advance of the Russians has been checked, and they have met with some reverses; the fighting in the vicinity of Halicz has been particularly severe, and the advantage seems to rest with the Germans, for the moment, but the bloody struggle still continues. No important events are chronicled in Asia Minor, but the British are completing the capture of German East Africa.

There were no important naval engagements, but the month brought a renewal of German submarine activities with great losses to English and neutral shipping. Several large steamships with Americans aboard have been torpedoed; but the Germans assert that in each instance the vessels either offered resistance or attempted to escape. The merchant submarine Deutschland again crossed the Atlantic and reached New London safely with a cargo of dyestuffs and securities valued at several million dollars. It was reloaded with a cargo

of rubber, nickel, and copper, and quietly left port before daylight on Nov. 17. A few hours after leaving, while passing through the narrow opening of Long Island Sound, the submarine rammed one of its convoying tugs; the tug was sliced in two, and immediately sank with five of its crew. The Deutschland was slightly damaged and at once returned to port. She is expected to resume her voyage before Dec. 1.

Peace Prospects Remote

The prospects of peace made no appreciable improvement during the month. The speeches of the German Chancellor and the British Foreign Minister, printed elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, offer no hope of an early solution. A feeling is manifest at Washington that the re-election of President Wilson may encourage him at an early day to take the initiative in suggesting a conference of the belligerent powers, with a view to discussing possible terms of peace, but the surface indications give slender hope that any mutual basis can be reached until the war enters a new phase.

While all the powers undoubtedly desire to end the struggle, their aims are so widely divergent and their hatreds so implacably fixed that further exhaustion must ensue before peace can come in sight. A significant passage in Viscount Grey's blacklist reply, printed elsewhere in these pages, indicates that Great Britain is preparing for a long struggle, the duration of which cannot be now foreseen.

Germany also is clearly of the same opinion, as is shown by the announcement on Nov. 15 of the proposed introduction of compulsory nonmilitary service. Major Gen. Groener, former Chief of Military Railways, has been given supreme control of all German industries and economic resources. It is understood that he will at once proceed to organize all the man power and woman power in the empire, so that every ounce of potentiality may be employed, and every available man capable of bearing arms may be released from industrial service and sent to the front.

General Fayolle, in Command on the Somme Sector

AFTER the first days of fighting on the Somme front, last July, General Fayolle, who commands the French forces there, declared that victory was certain, if the Entente forces continued to pursue it "with energy and method." The two words, the two qualities, are characteristic of the man. Energy and method General Fayolle practices himself and demands from all his subordinates. A General of Artillery, he recognizes the fact that artillery plays the essential rôle in the war today; he asks for the best guns obtainable, and he asks for the greatest results from his guns. He is in particular a master of the correlation of artillery with infantry, which has gone so far, in the French Army, that the protecting "curtain of fire" moves just far enough ahead of the advancing infantry to secure them against the spray of the bursting shells, and no further.

First, the heavy guns must smash the obstacles in the way of the infantry; then, under cover of the curtain fire, the infantry must reach exactly the objective assigned to every battalion, to every company. But it is not enough to destroy the trenches, the troops of the enemy; there remain his guns. And the best way to guard one's infantry against the enemy's guns is to make a direct attack on these guns and put them out of commission. Therefore General Fayolle has developed the organization of his "counterbatteries," whose sole objective is the guns of the enemy. He always insists that the greatest successes gained by his men are due to his domination of the enemy's guns by his own counterbatteries.

When, in crossing the field of battle, as he daily does, he notices the enemy's shells falling more thickly than usual, he immediately asks: "What are my counterbatteries doing?" And he requires a sufficient answer. General Fayolle always desires to see exactly what his guns are accomplishing. He goes to the batteries, asks what their objective is, inquires into the sighting,

the number of hits; he demands exact answers, and is no friend of zone fire or of fire not accurately controlled. He holds, in a word, that it would be foolish to ask for energy and method, unless he himself daily set the example of both. A man of 64, almost of an age with Joffre, General Fayolle is one of the most noteworthy men in the French Army.

Mackensen and Sakharoff in Dobrudja

THE outstanding fact in the Dobrudja fighting in November was the appearance of General Sakharoff to command the Russo-Rumanian troops then retreating before Field Marshal von Mackensen. Sakharoff was one of the four able Generals fighting under General Brusiloff, (Kaledin, Sakharoff, Stcherbatoff, Letchitsky,) and had greatly distinguished himself on the sector facing Lemberg. His transfer to Dobrudja shows that Russia holds this to be a very important fighting zone. Without doubt, very considerable forces, both of men and guns, went with him, crossing the Danube by pontoon bridges at Braila or Galatz, where Russia built pontoon bridges in the war of 1877, while Dobrudja was still Turkish territory.

Now, Sakharoff's forces, based on Ismailia, Reni, Galatz, and Braila, are only from 50 to 75 miles from their bases; but it is difficult to name any real base for Mackensen's army nearer than Germany, that is, some 1,000 miles off, by way of Sofia, Nish, Belgrade, and Hungary; at no nearer point, it would seem, can Mackensen get large supplies of heavy guns and the shells to load them with, and these are the backbone of his campaign. Food, in no very large quantities, he may get from Bulgaria or Turkey; but, without heavy guns and large calibre shells, he cannot go on fighting. And he can get them only over a thousand miles of railroad, much of which is only a single track.

This would seem to place an enormous advantage of position in the hands of the Russian commander, whose efforts may easily be supplemented by attacks on both of Mackensen's wings, from the Danube flotilla, on the west wing, and

from the Black Sea Fleet on the east. The dispatches leave us a good deal in the dark as to what has really happened on the Danube. There have been suggestions of Russian crossings along the line of the Czernavoda Bridge, only a short section of which may have been cut, and also further south, at a point nearer Silistria. And there are reports of artillery duels across the river both at Silistria and at Turtukai, both of which may mean preparation for a Russian crossing.

It will be remembered that in 1877 the Russians crossed the Danube by pontoon bridges at two points, first clearing the great river of Turkish monitors and gunboats, and then protecting their pontoon bridges by stringing chaplets of contact mines across the river above and below each pontoon bridge. The artillery duels at Silistria and Turtukai may well be the prelude of a similar manoeuvre; if so, then a considerable Russo-Rumanian force may at any moment appear well in the rear of Mackensen's army, and cut that thin and perilously long line of supplies. In this case, Mackensen's position would be almost desperate; it might involve the loss, or surrender, of his entire army, which must already have lost very heavily, and which can only be reinforced with the utmost difficulty—if it can be reinforced at all. Before the new year we shall probably see developments in Dobrudja which may well be decisive for this part of the campaign.

The Fall of Monastir and Its Consequences

DECEMBER would seem to be the decisive month in Balkan fighting. In the early Winter of 1877 the Russians won the great victory of the Shipka Pass, fought in the midst of blizzards, and December saw Turkey practically knocked out as a military power. In the Balkan war of 1912 the allied kingdoms reduced Turkey to impotence in December and effectively ended the war. The present month may see an equally decisive turn in the Macedonian campaign in a rapidly unfolding series of events, of which the fall of Monastir is likely to be the key.

To understand why, with a battle line of some 150 miles, General Sarrail has

been directing practically the whole of his effort against the Monastir corner of the line, we must gain some insight into the position of the mountain chains which determine the shape of the Macedonian battlefield, and thus practically compel a certain line of strategy. The mountain formation is somewhat as follows: There are three important mountain chains running almost north and south; the western chain, which separates Albania from Macedonia, runs down into Greece, with the classic name of Pindus. The central chain runs down to the eastern coast of Greece, through Mount Olympus, and forms the coast of Thessaly. The valley of the Upper Cherna ("Black River") lies between these two chains, and Monastir dominates this valley. The third, the eastern chain, runs southward from the Balkan ridge, and branches out into the three prongs of the Chalcidike peninsula, of which Mount Athos is the eastern prong. Between the second and third north-and-south chains runs the great Vardar River, reaching the sea near Saloniki. The Struma River flows beyond the third chain.

Now, it happens that there is a break in the central chain a little to the south of Monastir, and through this break the Cherna flows, bending northward, and entering the Vardar some thirty miles north of the present Bulgarian line on the Vardar. Let us suppose, then, that the composite force under General Sarrail should complete the present movement and occupy the whole of the Monastir Valley. It could then do one of two things—it could push on up to the head of that valley and through the pass at its head, coming down upon the Belgrade-Saloniki railroad, some 140 miles north of Saloniki; or it could move along the Cherna and reach the Vardar thirty miles behind the Bulgar lines. In either case the whole Bulgar army on its present line would be trapped, and its main line of supplies cut, unless it had meanwhile withdrawn all along the line for a distance of thirty miles. The English force would meanwhile advance up the Struma Valley, on the direct road to Sofia.

It seems, therefore, that Sarrail's con-

ception is brilliant and likely to succeed; he may either, by the present flanking movement, force the Bulgar army back thirty miles, away from their prepared positions, or, better still from his point of view, he may be able to get behind them, cut their line of supplies, and catch them in a trap. For these reasons, it seems likely that the present struggle in the Monastir Valley may bring about a series of very rapid and decisive military events within a comparatively short time, and that the new year may see the turning point of the whole Macedonian campaign.

A Forgotten Factor: The Natural Wastage of Armies

IN most of the calculations regarding the duration of the war based on the total available forces of the belligerents and on their admitted or estimated losses, one very important factor is left out of the reckoning, namely, the natural wastage to which all armies are subject, in time of peace, through forces which continue to be operative during war also, and which are wholly independent of the total of losses due to war, whether through death, wounds, sickness, or capture. This factor may be illustrated as follows: Taking the German Army as an example, because the figures relating to it are both full and accessible, we find that the total of the peace army—the army with the colors at any time during a period of peace—is about 800,000; as the greater number of these men served with the colors for two years, it is clear that about 400,000 recruits were added to the German Army year by year.

After two years' service these men enter the reserve, serving five years there. There follow twelve years in the Landwehr, or Second Line Army, by which time the men have reached the age of 39. From 39 to 45 they are in the Landsturm, a home defense force. Of Landsturmiers, there were, in 1912, 600,000 men who had spent two years with the colors; that is, 100,000 for each of the six years. In other words, of the 400,000 new men of the age of 20 added to the German Army each year, three-quarters, or 300,000, were gone by the

time they had reached the age of 45, and this, through causes ceaselessly operative in time of peace, but which continue, side by side with the war losses in time of war—by sickness, accident, death—in a word, by natural wastage.

If we add five years, it is clear that by the time 50 is reached the whole 400,000 are gone, so far as their fighting value is concerned; nine-tenths of them have actually joined "the great reserve." So it follows that if we take the whole period from 20 to 50 the yearly wastage of a standing army is exactly equal to the yearly number added as recruits; in other words, we may cancel the gains by the losses; the added recruits are just enough to make up those losses which have nothing to do with war.

The same thing, of course, holds good of the "peace army," the workers in munition factories and all other workers behind the fighting line. Therefore it follows that, for each country, there is a maximum which cannot be exceeded, except through the general growth of the population, and this, of course, will only

take effect after twenty years. The male children born this year become "Kanonenfutter" only twenty years hence.

Now, the maximum for Germany in 1912 was about 10,000,000, of whom 4,000,000 were trained and 6,000,000 untrained. And, while the total losses must be deducted from this number, the yearly additions of new recruits must not be added to it, since they are exactly balanced by natural wastage—by sickness and natural deaths. If, then, Germany has hitherto lost 4,000,000 men, the maximum now available is 6,000,000; of these 2,500,000 would seem to be on the western front, 1,000,000 or more on the Russian front, and, possibly, 500,000 more in the Balkan Peninsula. This would absorb 4,000,000 more, leaving 2,000,000 reserves—the maximum possible, which cannot be increased, and from which all future losses must be directly subtracted, while no additions may be made. With losses of 200,000 a month, these would last ten months. The same principle of reckoning will, of course, apply to all belligerent nations.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE POLISH QUESTION

TWO pronouncements by the heads of the Czar's Government have recently been cabled to this country, both of which are of the highest importance. The first concerns the question of a separate peace between Russia and the Teutonic powers, the declarations about which, by the President and Vice President of the Duma, were recorded in our last issue. These are now supplemented by a formal and forcible declaration of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who distinctly says that all these rumors of a separate peace to be made by Russia are deliberately manufactured by the enemies of the Entente, who are seeking to sow suspicion among the Allies and to disintegrate their coalition. The Russian Foreign Minister declares, as the Emperor himself has repeatedly declared,

that Russia has only one policy—to stand by France and England and to fight the war to a victorious conclusion.

At the outset, the Emperor of Russia declared that Russia would not cease fighting so long as there was a single enemy on Russian soil. Since by far the largest part of the Russian Empire occupied by troops of the Central Powers is constituted by the Kingdom of Poland, of which the Emperor of Russia is at present the legal sovereign, this naturally involves the whole question of Poland and of Polish autonomy, as involved in the declarations recently made at Warsaw by the Central Powers concerning the creation by Germany and Austria of an autonomous Kingdom of Poland. On this subject the Russian Government has recently made a very important declaration. The Teutonic proposal, Russian Ministers say, is obviously not made in

good faith, for two reasons—first, because, while including that portion of Poland which is legally a part of the Russian Empire, it does not include the equally Polish provinces which are now part of Germany and Austria. The Central Powers, says Russia, are very generous with what does not belong to them, but show no intention of giving up what does belong to them. So that the Teutonic proposal does not really intend a genuine reconstruction of Poland at all.

Further, the Russian Government declares, this proposal is obviously in bad faith, because the first proclamation was followed not by the announcement of a constitutional government for Poland, not even by the choice of a King for the new kingdom, but by a call for volunteers—to fight in defense of Poland; that is, to fight against Russia. This is, therefore, in the opinion of the Russian Government, the real aim of the whole movement, while the creation of an autonomous Poland is a delusion and a trick. And this purpose, say the Russians, which would range Poles—legally subjects of the Russian Empire—in battle against the Russian Empire, is a glaring breach of international law. Poles so fighting would be guilty of treason, and, if taken prisoners of war, would be dealt with not as prisoners of war, but as traitors. An important consequence of this action of the Central Powers would seem to be that, by creating a new cause of hostility in Russia, it makes permanently impossible the conclusion of a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers; or, what amounts to the same thing, it demonstrates that the Central Powers have finally given up all hope of concluding such a separate peace.

* * *

IRELAND AND THE WAR

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on Oct. 18, John Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalists, drew attention to the fact that Ireland had contributed 157,000 men—all volunteers—to the armies of the Allies; of these 95,000 were Roman Catholics and 62,000 Protestants, while there were 10,000 more Irishmen in the navy, making an Irish force of

167,000 men in all, and that they were drawn from every part of Ireland—north, south, east, and west. It will be remembered that immediately before the war Sir Edward Carson had organized the Ulster Volunteers, and that the south and west had answered by organizing the Nationalist Volunteers. Mr. Redmond pointed out that 30,000 of these Nationalist Volunteers had joined the British Army. Mr. Redmond, who was making a plea for a fuller trust in the Irish spirit, said, in conclusion:

What I feel about these Irish soldiers is that by their gallant deeds they have already won a new place for Ireland before the world, a new place in the policy and councils of the empire. My conviction is that it is for Ireland in her own interests to keep that place, and it is for the empire in the empire's interests to enable her and to help her to keep it. How? By removing once and for all this fog of bad faith and bad management and by settling Ireland on a basis of freedom and responsibility. I put on one side for the moment the question of conscription for Ireland. All I will say at this stage—we may have to speak about it later on—is that it would not be a remedy but an aggravation, and I cannot bring myself to believe that any man responsible for the government of Ireland, either in the civil or in the military sphere, would at this moment recommend it. * * *

Let the Government take their courage in both hands and trust the Irish people once and for all by putting the Home Rule act into operation, and resolutely on their own responsibility facing any problems that that may entail. * * *

As one who has honestly done his best, and is prepared to continue honestly doing his best, no matter what the risk to his popularity, to help you to win this war, I do beg the Government to hearken seriously to my warning and advice.

* * *

ASSASSINATION OF AUSTRIA'S PREMIER

THE Austrian Premier, Count Sturgkh, was assassinated on Oct. 20, 1916, while at dinner in the Hotel Meissl und Schadn at Vienna, by Dr. Friedrich Adler, who shot him three times. The assassin, who is 32 years old, is a son of Dr. Victor Adler, a Reichsrat Deputy and a Socialist of a mild type. The son, Friedrich, confessed that his motive in killing the Premier was purely political. The assassin held very radical views, and in consequence his father and he were not on amicable terms. It is believed that he was partially unbalanced. The

crime was doubtless precipitated by the Premier's action with relation to the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, which he had refused to convoke since its adjournment in 1914.

Former Prime Minister von Koerber has been appointed to the place thus made vacant. He is regarded as decidedly Pan-Germanistic in his views. Count Adam Tarnowski has been appointed Austrian Ambassador to the United States in succession to Dr. Dumba, whose recall was demanded in consequence of his relation to activities in this country against the Allies. Dr. Dumba died suddenly early in November.

* * *

WOMEN DOING MEN'S WORK

OFFICIAL reports in England show that up to July, 1916, 766,000 women had directly replaced males in general occupations other than nursing and domestic service. It is believed that this number will be increased to nearly 1,000,000 by the first of the new year. The London Times, in commenting on the new tasks for women, says:

There are women employed on the Tyne as blacksmiths' strikers; they are at the fires doing tool fettling and light blacksmith's work and at the power hammer. Women are loading and discharging trucks and weighing material in a sulphur and copper works, and in timber yards they are molding and turning and carrying timber from the trucks. In a motor garage they are washing cars and changing and removing tires. A number of women are employed in a sheet iron works making gunpowder kegs. They do all the work—making the kegs, painting, and packing them. For another firm they are loading picric acid, cleaning the nitrating house, filling and emptying whizzer, and drying and sieving. In a cordite factory they are at work on small cordite presses with men overseers—work which some firms had definitely stated they could not do. The corporations of Hastings and Brighton have women as chair attendants, and in a scientific workshop women are now engaged in assembling the parts of barometers and compasses.

* * *

A FOOD DICTATOR FOR ENGLAND.

ENGLAND is taking steps to safeguard her food supplies. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, announced in Parliament Nov. 15 that a food controller would be appoint-

ed, with full power over all departments concerned in food supplies. He added that if this measure was insufficient, it might become necessary to have recourse to food tickets. Aside from its relation to the food situation, the announcement is regarded as a significant demonstration that Great Britain is expecting protracted hostilities. Retail prices of food in England are 78 per cent. higher than before the war, 27 per cent. higher than a year ago. Eggs, fish, potatoes, and sugar are double the ante-bellum prices.

France also has begun a series of war economies. A Government edict invests a national board with powers to stop waste and compel economies in the use of coal, light, and provisions. Shops must begin closing at 6 P. M., restaurants and cafés must close at 9:30 P. M., theatres and operas must close on Mondays, motion-picture shows on Tuesdays, café concerts and music halls on Wednesdays; additional closing days may be named to reduce the consumption of coal for lighting.

* * *

GERMAN SOCIALISTS' ATTITUDE.

AN illuminating revelation of the real attitude of German Socialists with respect to war is made in an important work just published by the German Socialists under the title, "Die deutsche Sozial-demokratie in und nach dem Weltkrieg," by Konrad Haenisch, Member of the Prussian Diet. He completely destroys the illusion generally pervading this country that German Socialists are opposed to war. He says that behind the majority of the Socialists stand "millions of members of the German trade unions in compact mass. Almost unanimously they approve of the policy of Aug. 4, (the Declaration of War,) and against this rock of strength all the waves of opposition will break to pieces." He argues at length that his party was never opposed to universal service and rejoices that every boy at school and every youth from 16 to 18 will receive preliminary military training.

This Socialist author approves a manifesto by the party that "a war of defense does not exclude a war to attack the enemy, but it does mean the enemy

must be forced to accept peace." He explains that the votes of the German Socialists in the Reichstag against military estimates were not "contradictory to their national spirit. This refusal had nothing to do with the military preparedness of the country, but was always only a protest against the system * * * and the manner in which the funds were raised—indirect taxes and tariffs on the necessities of life." He says the German State has justified itself from the political, military, and organizing points of view; hence the Socialists renounce opposition to it.

* * *

EXCLUDING TEUTONS FROM TRADE

A GENERAL movement is in progress in England and France—with especial energy in England—to exclude entirely and permanently all Germans from engaging in domestic trade. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce has excluded from future membership any unnaturalized German, Austrian, Bulgarian, or Turk, or any firm in which any of the foregoing is a member, or any firm of which one-fifth or more of its stock is held by any of the foregoing nationalities. Severe restrictions are also being put upon naturalized subjects from those countries. The movement to exclude from all professional as well as commercial intercourse all unnaturalized subjects from enemy countries, and to so hamper naturalized subjects as to render their life miserable and to nullify their activities, seems to be spreading throughout England and Scotland and is receiving fresh impetus in France.

* * *

ALCOHOL AND MAN POWER

FULL-PAGE advertisements denouncing the loss of man power through strong drink are among the most striking wartime features of the London newspapers in recent weeks. The demand for national prohibition of alcoholic drinks during the war and demobilization periods has crystallized into the Strength of Britain movement, and is fighting for its object with broadsides of startling facts such as these:

The man power lost in England through

alcohol since the war began is just as if the entire man power of the United Kingdom had stood idle for 100 days. The liquor traffic is using up 500,000 workers. Alcohol has used up 3,000,000 tons of coal during the war, though tens of thousands of miners have enlisted, reducing the coal output to a point below the absolute needs of the nation. It has crowded out 60,000,000 tons of necessary freight on the railways and 50,000,000 cubic feet of shipping space on vessels, in face of the fact that important articles of food and clothing have had to be restricted or prohibited because of lack of shipping space. Since the war the manufacture of alcohol has consumed over 3,000,000 tons of food, with sugar enough to last the nation eighty days, and has forced up the cost of living.

These and similar counts in the indictment are buttressed with extracts from official reports, one of which shows that in a shipyard employing 8,000 men the absences through drink amounted to a loss of 50,000 hours in one week; in another shipyard during four weeks of March, 1915, 670,000 hours of work were lost, or one-quarter of all the normal time of all the men. "How long," demand the reformers, "will the Government allow this colossal waste of man power to go on undisturbed?" They assert that the suppression of alcohol would save \$30,000,000 a day, (more than the war is costing,) besides thousands of lives. The Strength of Britain movement has the signatures of more than a thousand of the foremost Admirals, Generals, statesmen, scientists, and literary men of the United Kingdom.

* * *

EFFECTS OF DRINK RESTRICTION

THE effects of restricted drinking on crime are conclusively shown from the English official records. Convictions for drunkenness in England and Scotland in weekly averages from January to September, 1915 and 1916, were as follows:

	1915.	1916.
London	1,055	546
Liverpool	155	116
Manchester	83	51
Newcastle	61	39
Birmingham	44	26
Leeds	26	12
Sheffield	22	11
Middlesbrough	30	17
Gateshead	21	12

Total1,497 830

This meant a reduction in 1916 of 44.6

per cent.—males, 46.9 per cent.; females, 38.7 per cent.

For Scotland the average weekly figures for the same periods were as follows:

	1915.	1916.
Edinburgh	114	80
Glasgow	505	326
Dundee	60	49
Aberdeen	43	31
Total	722	486

The reduction here is 32.7 per cent. in 1916—males, 35.3 per cent.; females, 27.1 per cent.

* * *

THE NEW ARABIAN STATE

EVENTS in Arabia, where a revolution against Turkey broke out several months ago, are developing rapidly. In August, according to Amsterdam dispatches, the leaders of the Arabian movement were negotiating with Enver Pasha, representing Turkey, for the establishment of a Caliphate in Arabia and Turkey's recognition of Arabian autonomy. Enver Pasha especially objected to the first demand, being desirous of retaining the religious hold on the Arabs which the Turkish Sultan, as the Caliph, is supposed to have in Islam. The negotiations ended in complete failure.

Early in September the French Government, in full accord with the Government of Great Britain, dispatched a delegation of French Moslems to the Grand Sherif of Mecca. The delegation left Marseilles for Jedda, Arabia, with the mission to congratulate the new Arabian Government on its deliverance from Turkey. It was also carrying a substantial sum of money for the purpose of rendering financial aid to the new State. To cover the expenses of the expedition the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, according to *Le Temps*, Paris, asked Parliament on Sept. 29 to supply him with 3,500,000 francs. The Minister spoke of the traditional interest France has always had in Moslem affairs. He disclosed the fact that the French Government had furnished a vessel for the British and French Moslems, in which to resume their annual pilgrimages to Mecca by way of Jedda. Thousands of such pilgrims have already

taken advantage of this free service. This is an important factor in the development of the Franco-Arabian relations.

The culminating event in the evolution of the new Oriental nation is the communication which reached Washington from Mecca on Nov. 11. In this document Sherif Abdullah, Minister of Foreign Affairs, asks the recognition by the United States of the new Arabian kingdom. As monarch of the new State, the leader and originator of the revolution, Grand Sherif Hussein Ben Ali of Mecca, has been chosen unanimously by the Emirs and Imams of the various Arabian tribes and regions.

* * *

JAPAN, though nominally in the war, has profited enormously in trade in consequence of the war. Her specie holdings, which stood at \$175,000,000 before the war, bid fair to reach \$350,000,000 by the end of the year. Russia has floated a \$25,000,000 loan in Japan, and has established a further credit there for war supplies of \$40,000,000. Japan has gone energetically after trade formerly held by Germany, and will prove a formidable competitor not only to that nation, but to all others. Her shipbuilding industry is expanding to an unusual extent, likewise her cotton industry. In 1916 her spindles increased 2,763,000, with 123,000 hands; in the chemical, metal, and other industries new capital is being invested, large factories are erected, and trade is being sought and developed to an extraordinary extent.

* * *

DURING the first two years of the war the United States exported goods to the value of \$7,000,000,000 and imported to the amount of \$3,900,000,000. Gold imports from Aug. 1, 1914, to Oct. 13, 1916, were \$863,473,000; exports, \$231,822,000; net imports, \$631,651,000. Railroad securities returned to the United States from Europe between Jan. 31, 1915, and July 31, 1916, were \$1,300,000,000; 748,547 shares of United States Steel common and 141,736 preferred were returned up to Sept. 30, 1916. The obligations of foreign Governments, bankers,

and merchants held here on Nov. 1, 1916, are estimated at \$1,931,000,000, distributed as follows: British America, \$212,000,000; Europe, \$1,627,000,000; Latin America, \$88,000,000; China, \$4,000,000.

* * *

SOUNDING WAR'S PRAISES

A CONTRIBUTOR to this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has written quite confidently on "The Profit Side of War," discounting many of the losses and horrors of the present conflict and drawing up an imposing array of material and spiritual blessings brought to the warring nations by the shedding of blood. The article is certain to provoke comment, but even a brief glance at another article—that upon "Human Losses in the First Two Years of War"—will present a phase in opposition to any extravagant admiration for the blessings of war. More than 5,000,000 dead! More than 13,000,000 wounded and

maimed! Place this illimitable sea of human sorrow over against all the gains that can be enumerated, and these gains look very small. It is well occasionally to count up the beneficial products of war, for even war has compensations; but any one who sees it steadily and sees it whole will be in little danger of missing the fact—namely, that the good results of war are mere by-products of a hideous survival of barbarism, whose chief effects are to destroy human happiness, to promote hatred, to pile up mountains of debt, and to retard civilization. It is a nation's first duty to fight in self-defense; but present events in Europe do not indicate that war is a good thing to start for its own sake.

* * *

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY closed last term with a grand total of 575 undergraduates, as against 3,263 in 1913. The present term starts with 500.

A French Soldier's Letter

The letter that follows was written by a wounded French corporal when about to come out of the hospital. He is a modest peasant from the Vosges Mountains, who has been decorated with the Military Medal and the War Cross, and who has lost two brothers in the war:

My Commandant: I hasten to reply to your letter of the 23d, which gave me great pleasure. I am getting much better; with two more weeks of the hospital I could go out on furlough. But I have a request to make. May I return directly to the front after seven days' leave, and rejoin my old regiment, the —th? For I have a firm desire to go back to my old corps. I even dare to think that no one can refuse me, since I have been wounded six times and am returning to the front as a volunteer for the seventh time.

If I see that my request has been refused when I get out of the hospital, I am going to rejoin the —th anyhow. In spite of everything, I will try to find some means to get on one of the permissionaire trains to the front, and will hide my weapons, which must be returned to the depot. Please tell me at once what I shall do.

I think that if this favor is refused me, and I get back to my old regiment without orders, I cannot be punished, for I deserve this favor.

I wish you good luck on your sector. Please accept, &c.,

(Signed) V——

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Conflict Enters a New Phase

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

THE military events on the various fronts during the period ending about the middle of November brought to a close one phase of the war and ushered in another. J. L. Garvin, editor in chief of the English weekly *The Observer*, writes: "The glorious chapter of the allied offensive on the Somme is closed. The new chapter is beginning, as the Germans have fully recovered their morale. There will be no breaking through by the Allies on the west this year, nor will there be any extensive withdrawal of the German line between Arras and Noyon."

General Sir Henry Rowlinson, "right hand" of General Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British forces in the west, declares that the German line undoubtedly could be broken—sooner or later. He explains that British military power has not yet reached its maximum strength, that this will not be the case until next Spring at the earliest, and next Summer at the latest. Major Gen. F. B. Maurice, Director in Chief of the military operations in the British Ministry of War, reiterates his assertion that the Allies had not at all planned a "break-through" in the West. * * *

The close of the period under discussion was marked by the fact that not the Somme front, but the Verdun area, was once more in the foreground of interest, and by the second fact that Brusiloff's "break-through" attempt against Lemberg and across the Carpathians has been compelled to yield its predominance of interest and significance to the Rumanian campaign.

The "glorious chapter of the allied offensive on the west front" ended the moment that the Entente began to figure with the probabilities of the offensive's effect upon Verdun and the Rumanian

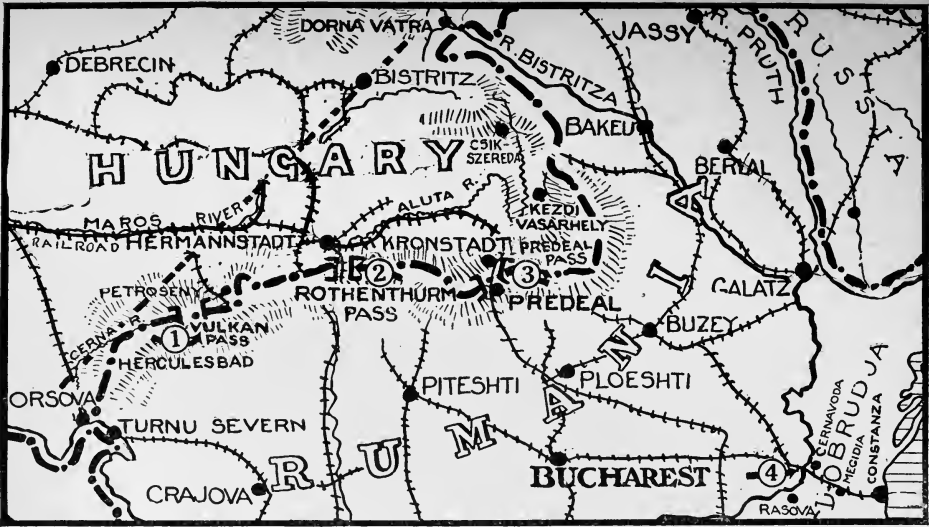
campaign. These probabilities proved deceptive. Major Gen. Maurice puts a fitting "finis" to the chapter with his declaration that the Allies never intended to break through this year.

Yet we have it on allied authorities of equal note that the great objective of the Somme front was to force the Germans to take back their lines between Arras and Noyon so far as to prepare the complete evacuation of Northern France and Belgium. That this object could have been obtained by gaining the line Péronne-Bapaume certainly cannot have been the conviction of the men conducting the war for England and France. Even the word "excursion to Bapaume" was an empty phrase. The talk of "driving the Germans back over the Rhine" was merely intended to have an inspiring effect upon the masses.

The allied Somme offensive up to date (Nov. 15) has lasted fifteen days longer than the German campaign against Verdun.

The Offensive Against Rumania

The new phase of the war may be termed the "Rumanian phase," for the Teuton-Bulgar campaign against that Balkan kingdom is the one great offensive now being executed. The developments of this campaign have virtually turned the entire military situation upside down. The Rumanians needed help. On the west front the allied offensive was to have a "long-distance effect." Russia was called upon to render more substantial aid with men and material. The Rumanian campaign is today the decisive factor for the further development of the whole war. On this comparatively small battle area there are today accumulated and expressed all the causes and ambitions of the present world conflict.



THE WAR IN RUMANIA

Attempts to invade Rumania from the north are being made through every pass on the Transylvania frontier, but are only meeting with a measure of success in the west, (Wallachia,) where the Austro-German armies under General von Falkenhayn have penetrated for a considerable distance from the Vulkan, (1,) Rothenthurm or Red Tower, (2,) and Predeal (3) Passes. The invaders plan to seize the railroads to the Bulgarian border and link up with the Bulgar-Turko-German army operating in the Dobrudja Province of Rumania—on the Black Sea coast—under the command of Field Marshal von Mackensen who, having pushed north for about thirty miles above the Constanza railroad, (4,) which at Cernavoda crossed the Danube over the only bridge spanning that stream in that region, has been driven back upon the railroad, and perhaps south of it on the Danube side.

In considering the "Rumanian phase" one must constantly bear in mind the motives that caused the intervention of the Danube kingdom on the side of the Allies. The element which finally brought it about was the pressure upon Russia by the western powers. Russia was urged to say the final "Yes" to all the Rumanian demands. These demands included Bessarabia, which Russia had kept, and the Banat, which Russia already had promised to Serbia. The Paris conference had decided that Constantinople was vital, indispensable, that the Dardanelles must be opened to the Russians, so as to allow that nation's surplus of cereals to have free passage to avert the ever-growing menace of a food famine in England, France, and Italy. The Russians, under the plan mapped out at the Paris council, were to sweep down upon the Turkish capital from the north, while the Allies in Macedonia were to push forward at last and fulfill the long-postponed mission of the Saloniki expe-

dition: the severance of the Central Powers' communication with their eastern allies.

In these circumstances, and guided by the true objects of their enemies, the attention of the Central Powers necessarily had to be centred upon the Rumanian south front, the Dobrudja, the "gate" for an invasion of Bulgaria and the base of a campaign against Turkey. The Russians, on the other hand, claimed the Rumanian main forces for themselves, in the Carpathian campaign, which, after the collapse of their great offensive, had remained the only hope for success against Hungary. It is also quite possible that Russia, in consenting, under the pressure of her western allies, to acquiesce in the cession of Bessarabia and the Banat, stipulated the concession that the Carpathian campaign must first be pushed to its conclusion—with Rumanian aid.

At any rate, the Rumanian forces immediately after Rumania's intervention

were put at Russia's disposal for the crossing of the Transylvanian Alps and the invasion of the wooded Carpathians and Siebenbuergen.

The events up to date in the Rumanian campaign may be summarized as follows:

1. The idea of the Entente to sweep down upon Constantinople, with Rumania as a starting point, and with the Rumanian Army as aid, has been buried by the victories of Mackensen's army in the Dobrudja. The Rumanian campaign was also expected by the Allies to cut the communication between the Central Empires and Turkey. But the Macedonian campaign, too, which was aimed at co-operating to this end, has received quite a different direction. The road to the east, to Constantinople, being barricaded by Mackensen, the Entente army in Macedonia heads northward, with Monastir as the immediate goal.

2. Siebenbuergen has been cleared of the Rumanian invaders. By the loss of Constanza and the main railway Constanza - Cernavoda - Bucharest, Rumania has been cut from communication with Russia by way of the Black Sea. It is forced to content itself with the scarce supply facilities afforded by the Danube ports of Galatz and Braila and their second-rate communications with the interior of the kingdom. But the gravest menace to Rumania, to her capital, is still in abeyance. The principal thrust against Bucharest will come from the north. The military operations on the north and northwest front are today the most important.

3. The expectation of the Russians to reach, with Rumanian aid, their goal in the direction of Budapest failed to be fulfilled. The Russians are themselves threatened with a catastrophe; for the road to Odessa leads from Rumania through Bessarabia into the very heart of the whole Russian economic vital organism. In the face of the broadness of this perspective the happenings on the Somme and Verdun fronts wane into insignificance.

Events on the West Front

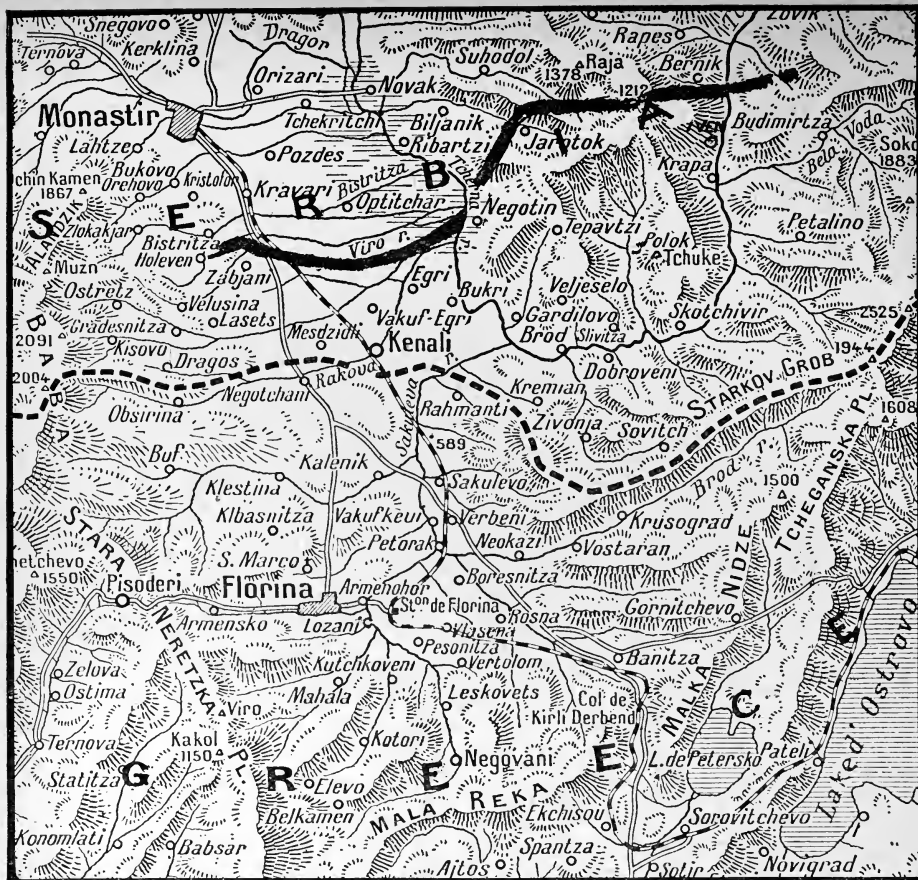
The principal event in the west, which came as a surprise, was the considerable success of the French in the region east

of the Meuse, before Verdun, a success in itself remarkable. The French attacked with four divisions—80,000 men—on a front of seven kilometers, on Oct. 24, and reconquered in one day what it had taken their opponents considerable time and large exertions of strength to take; indeed, the French in one day retook what had been the net result of the whole second phase of the German Verdun campaign, from the end of March to the end of May. The village and fort of Douaumont, the Thiaumont field works, and the farm of the same name, the Haudromont quarries, and the road from Bras to Douaumont were retaken by the French. This is the area through which the German advance had come closest to the strong fort of Souville. In the night of Nov. 1 the Germans also evacuated Fort Vaux, which had become untenable, as it was exposed to the French fire both on its western flank and from the north.

At times even the grim features of the God of War are wrapped in the wrinkles of an amused smile. Such was the case when the French, having no inkling of the German evacuation of Fort Vaux, kept firing away against its ruins. On Nov. 5 the French occupied the village of Damloup, immediately to the east of Vaux. The first word of the abandonment of the latter fort was received by the French high command when a radio message from Berlin to Sayville was picked up.

This reverse, suffered by the Germans at Verdun, is one of the many surprises of this war. Whether and how it could have been averted can be told only by the future historian. This much, however, is clear even today—that the French success, remarkable as it was in itself, can be valued only as one of a local character; for the effect upon the military situation on the Somme front, which had been expected of it by the Allies, did not come to pass.

The unity of action in the Somme battle, which had been re-established in the period from August to October, has disappeared again, and the battle once more is divided into two parts. The German defensive strategy has made extensive



THE FIGHT TO RECOVER SERBIA: THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS THE APPROACH (NOV. 15) OF THE SERBIAN AND FRENCH AND BULGARIAN FORCES TO MONASTIR, HELD BY GERMANS AND BULGARIANS.

use of the medium of attack. Thus, the Germans on Oct. 29 succeeded in regaining, to the west of Péronne, La Maisonnette Farm and the adjoining tranches as far as Biaches, an area where the French had approached closest to Péronne.

In the battles of Nov. 5 and 6 they wrested Warlencourt from the British, and at the same time pushed forward to the west of St. Pierre-Vaast Wood. The principal fighting took place east of the line Gueudecourt-Les Boeufs, in front of the northern part of the road Bapaume-Péronne, against Le Transloy; for the village of Saily-Saillisel and the St. Pierre-Vaast Wood, east of Rancourt; near Ligny-Tilloy on the British front, southwest of Bapaume.

These battles were all for the possession of Bapaume. Before Péronne the fighting has quieted down. There is no longer any talk of a "drive" against Péronne. The expectation that the allied advance would receive a new impetus through the successes of the September-October battles failed of fulfillment.

Nor have the Allies succeeded so far in gaining the Bapaume-Péronne line, which has been the main objective since the occupation of Comblès. They now aim at an extension of the British front to the north and of the French front to the south. This the French meant to achieve in their attacks around Chaulnes at the beginning of November. The British on their part succeeded in their aim by the powerful thrusts astride the

Ancre Brook. The British offensive in this area took the following course up to the time of writing:

On the northernmost end of the British front, north and south of the Ancre, large forces were thrown into battle on a front of five miles, after a powerful artillery preparation. The British took the village of St. Pierre Divion (north-northwest of Thiepval) and the village of Beaumont-Hamel, and advanced eastward as far as the village of Beaucourt-sur-Ancre. The battle spread northward to Hebuterne, and thence in a southeasterly direction beyond Serre as far as the region of Grandcourt. In this battle area the attackers were ejected from the positions they had gained by German counterattacks.

On Nov. 15 the British offensive on the Ancre came to a sudden standstill. On the same day the Germans attacked, north and south of the Somme, the French positions from Les Boeufs down to the region south of Bouchavesnes, as well as on the fronts of Ablaincourt and near the Chaulnes Wood. They succeeded in penetrating the French positions in the St. Pierre-Vaast Wood and on the Bapaume-Péronne road, and gained a foothold in the village of Pressoire, at the southernmost extremity of the French front.

The result of the battles on the Somme and Ancre can be summarized as follows:

The Allies failed to break through the German lines. They failed to destroy the German forces, which would mean the shaking of the German west front. The attackers did not even achieve the modest aim of arresting a sufficient number of Teuton troops on the western front to frustrate a great German campaign on another front. The proof of this is seen in the conquered Dobrudja and the liberated Siebenbuergen.

On Other Fronts

In Volhynia, west and northwest of Lutsk, Brusiloff's "grand offensive" is exhausting itself in equally costly and resultless attacks. On the East Galician front of Halicz-Brzezany General Count von Bothmer has opened a vigorous new offensive; German and Turkish troops

have stormed Russian positions on the east bank of the Narayuvka River. Field Marshal von Hindenburg points out that the Russians are short of ammunition, and that soon their supply by way of Archangel and Vladivostok will be completely cut off by the Winter's ice.

The ninth day of November brought a surprise on the eastern front. The army group of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, operating in the region northeast of Baranovitchi, southwest of Minsk, in the very heart of the whole battle line extending from the Baltic to Galicia, executed a powerful blow on a front of two and a half miles, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Russians, and hammered a breach in the latter's defense lines. But this surprise, too, failed to bring about any further military effects of consequence.

The Saloniki campaign has taken a new direction and is aiming at a new goal. The offensive on the Struma front, originally planned as the main blow, because intended against Bulgaria and Turkey, with a view to cutting the Orient railway, has been discontinued. The operations against Monastir are aimed at the reconquest of Serbia. With the rate of speed thus far maintained by the Allies this goal still lies in the misty future, but it must be conceded that the French and Serbians, constituting the allied left wing, have made considerable progress, particularly of late. At this writing they are reported to have taken Monastir.

The ninth Italian offensive has collapsed. After the occupation of Gorizia the Italians attempted to extend their attacks to the Vinaccio Valley and to the Karst. The "grand offensive" came to a standstill at Constanjevica and Jami-ane. In the meantime the Austro-Hungarians have launched a successful counteroffensive directly east of Gorizia, from the San Marco plateau. Italy once more is carrying on her own campaign. She was at no time a real link in the unity and simultaneousness of the "big push" so often proclaimed by the Entente. Today this unity of action is conspicuous by its absence on all theatres of war.

The Month's Military Developments

From October 15 to November 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

AS last month's review was being written, Rumania had just announced her decision to enter the war on the side of the Entente and had made her preliminary attempts to invade Hungary by way of Transylvania. But Rumanian ambition to occupy her irredenta ran away with Rumanian military prudence. It was another case where political considerations outweighed military considerations and produced a disastrous offspring. It is a fault which has been peculiar to the Entente. Germany alone controls the destinies of the Central Powers and dictates their policies. She does not permit any political considerations to cloud the main issue of the war. Her errors on this side, however, are just as culpable and just as far-reaching in their effects as are those of the Entente, erring in the other extreme.

The situation of Rumania at the outset was closely akin to that of the Italians when they began their campaign. And the Italians showed the greatest generalship. The Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps, which form the northern and the western boundary of Rumania, are like the Alps in Trentino in their relation to the military situation of the countries affected. The valley of the Isonzo lies in the same relative situation as the open Dobrudja.

Campaign in Dobrudja

The logical move for Rumania to have made was to neutralize the Transylvania country by closing up all the gaps in the mountains by which an invasion of Rumania was possible, (just as the Italians closed all the gaps leading from Trentino into Italy,) and then, being safe from an attack in the rear, to have directed all of their energies to an invasion of Bulgaria through the

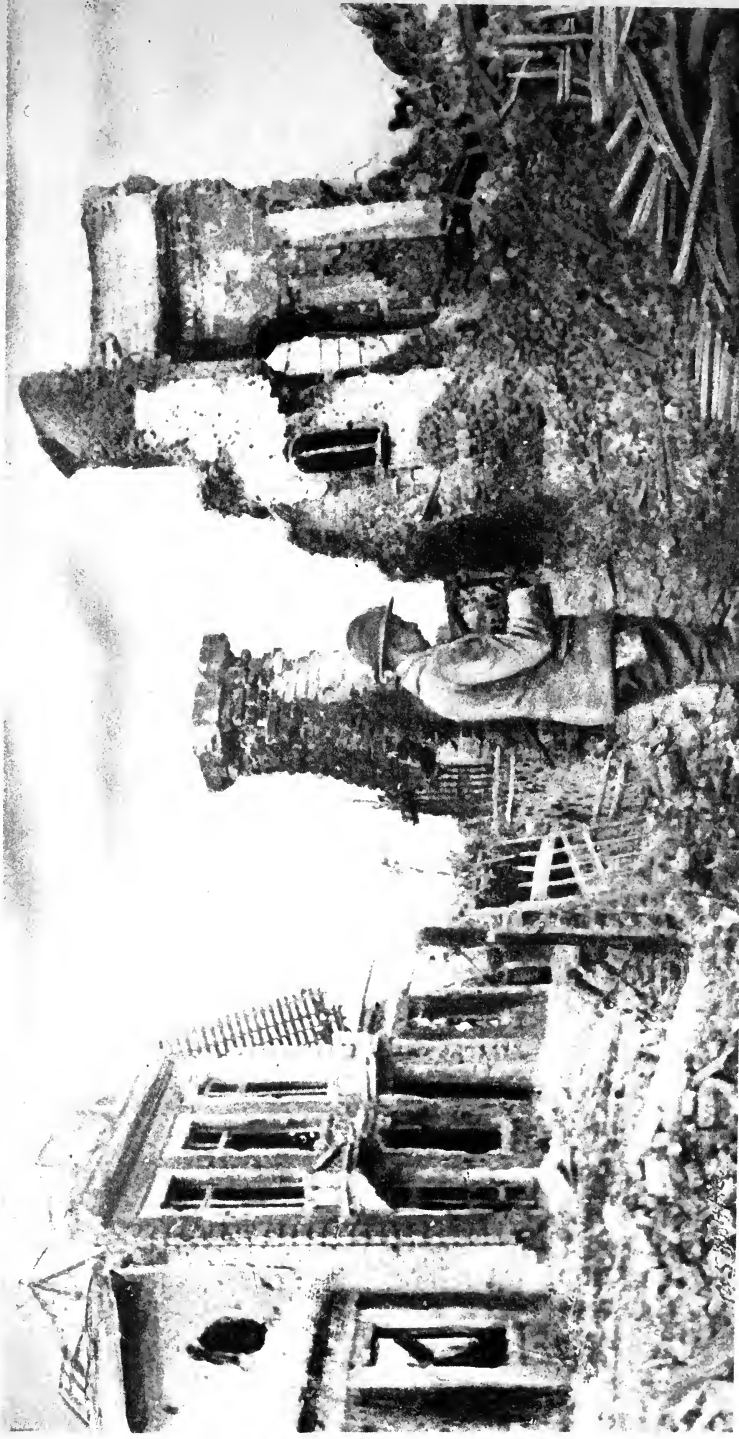
open gateway of Dobrudja. The border between Bulgaria and Dobrudja is absolutely void of any natural defense. It is low, flat open country, difficult to defend and relatively easy to attack. There is no such barrier as the Italians had to contend with on the Isonzo.

But the Rumanians had other things to do. They held what seems to be a relatively small force in Dobrudja, and extended all their early efforts to drive their way deep into Transylvania, apparently with the object of drawing their line along the Maros Valley from the southwestern tip of Bukowina to the Iron Gates near Orsava.

The Germans waited until they were thoroughly committed to this move, and then, with Mackensen in command, struck hard against the line which had been charged with the duty of defending the Dobrudja border. At first Mackensen's progress was rapid, but suddenly it slowed up. The presumption was that the Russians had been slow in reinforcing the Rumanian Army, and then, having come up in force, had immediately checked Mackensen's operations. Mackensen delayed for some time, creating reserves of artillery ammunition, and bringing up heavy guns. When ready he again struck, and this time was not halted until he had gained his object.

There is only one thing in all Dobrudja of military value. This is the railroad from Constanza to Cernavoda, which crossed the Danube over the great bridge at the latter point. This was the only bridge across the Danube east of Belgrade, and was absolutely necessary to the Rumanian plan of invasion of Bulgaria. At every other point on her southern and eastern border Rumania is held back by the almost uncrossable Danube. It was evident, therefore, that the entire German campaign had for its

CENTRE OF THE ONCE BEAUTIFUL VILLAGE OF COMBLES

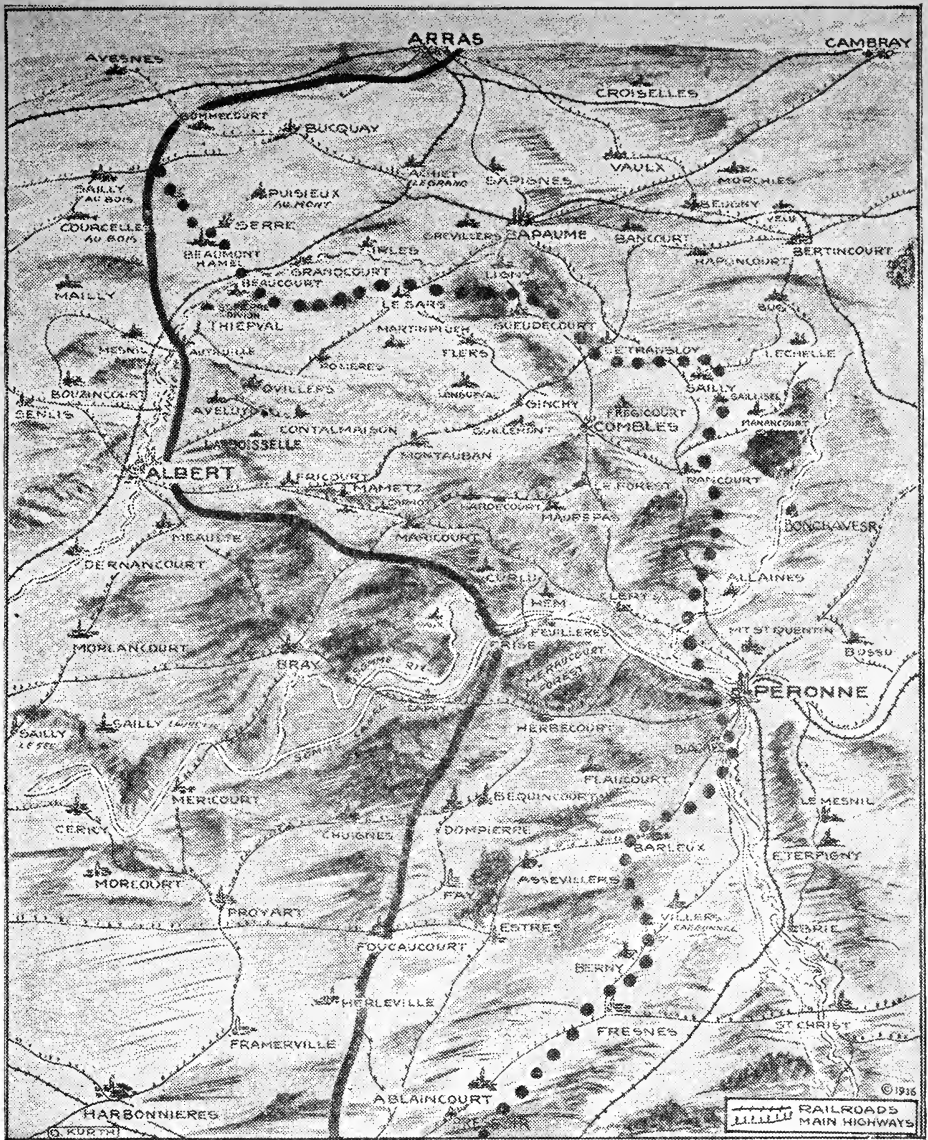


The Whole Town Had to be Ruined Thus by British and French Artillery Before the German Troops Could Be Driven Out.
(© Underwood & Underwood.)

THE SPIRIT OF DAUNTLESS FRANCE: A NATION IN ARMS



French Soldiers in Review Near the Oise. Preparatory to Returning Into the Battle Inferno on the Somme.
(Photo by Paul Thompson.)



MAP OF ANGLO-FRENCH OFFENSIVE IN PICARDY. THE BLACK LINE SHOWS ALLIES' POSITION JULY 1. THE DOTTED LINE SHOWS THEIR EXTREME FRONT NOV. 15, AFTER FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS OF BATTLE.

initial object the Cernavoda bridge with the railroad which crossed it.

In this second attack Mackensen met with a remarkable degree of success. In almost incredible time he had pushed up along the Black Sea coast to Constanza, occupied the town, and then, pivoting his army here, had swung his entire line northward across the railroad and beyond

Cernavoda. There was nothing for the Rumanians to do but to fall still further back and destroy the bridge as they retreated.

This they did, a small portion of them crossing to the west bank of the river, the remainder retreating north toward the Russian frontier. This retreat was forced for about forty miles until the

hill country in the north of Dobrudja was reached.

Mackensen Held in Check

What happened after this is doubtful. Mackensen was quiet, the Rumanians for several weeks made no attempt to strike back. Finally, however, they massed against Mackensen's left flank close to the river and began their counteroffensive. It was just as successful as the German offensive. The Germans were driven back beyond Hirsova, retreating as quickly as they had advanced. What had evidently happened was that the Russians had sent powerful reinforcements to the defeated Rumanians, possibly the veteran troops which had been fighting in the Caucasus, and these proved sufficient to turn the tide.

Mackensen's victory is negative at present, even though he does hold the bridge at Cernavoda and the railroad between that point and the sea. He cannot cross the Danube, he cannot get out by the Black Sea route. He is indeed out of the war unless von Falkenhayn, who is struggling in the Transylvanian mountains with varying success, can cut across Rumania and link up with the forces on the east bank of the Danube.

On the Transylvanian and Carpathian fronts in Rumania the Germans have been able to make but little headway. Von Falkenhayn is making his great effort south of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, where the frontier is closely paralleled by the railroad from Central Hungary. He has penetrated into Rumanian territory somewhat, but not sufficiently to create any alarm in the allied camps. At practically all other points on these fronts he has had rather the worst of the fighting. The entire matter is indecisive, and with the rapid approach of Winter it is highly improbable that the Germans will be able to accomplish anything until Spring.

Deadlock on Russian Front

On the Russian front the month has shown but little change in the respective locations of the battle lines. There has been considerable fighting of the most severe character, particularly on the section immediately east of Lemberg, be-

tween Brzezany and Halicz. The Russian efforts have been directed toward sending as much aid as possible to the Rumanians, while at the same time keeping the Germans as busy as possible so as to prevent them from reinforcing von Falkenhayn in Transylvania.

The result of all this fighting as far as change of territory is concerned is nil, neither side having gained the slightest appreciable advantage.

Serbian Success in Balkans

On the Saloniki front the fighting of the month has been concentrated in the Monastir plain, and among the hills with which it is buttressed. Here the Serbians, assisted by the French, have made a series of brilliant attacks with results that may yet prove to be far reaching. They have advanced well to the north of their position in the plains, and from the surrounding hills have all but flanked the Bulgarians' entire position. They are on the eastern hills almost as far north as Monastir itself, while the Bulgarian line in the plains stretches out some distance to the south. When their present hill positions are consolidated and made secure and the attack opens on the forces in the plain, it is certain that the Bulgarians will have to retire almost if not quite to Monastir itself.

Italian Offensive in the Carso

The Italian field is noteworthy this month as the scene of a short but powerful offensive by General Cadorna's troops in the Carso Plateau. The Italians plowed their way forward over the entire width of the Carso for several miles. But, like so many of the Italian offensives, it was short lived, lasting only about four days. The great trouble with Italy is that she has no source of supply of iron. No iron is mined in all of Italy, and any that she needs must come from outside sources. Before the war this came from Germany. Since the war England has been the source of her supply. Therefore, the Italians are forced to halt their forward movements on account of shortage of shell. It is doubtful if we shall ever see the Italians in a sustained operation. A steady flow of shell is the

primary requisite in modern war as it has developed during the last two years. On no other section of the front is this more true than in the Carso, where the calcareous nature of the ground and the many underground protections afforded by nature demand the most shattering explosives.

French Success at Verdun

The western front, however, has afforded the greatest fighting of the month. Probably the crowning feature of the western fighting was the French attack at Verdun late in October, delivered after the heaviest artillery fire. It was directed particularly at Douaumont, Fort Douaumont, Vaux, and Fort Vaux. These are the positions which the Germans regarded as the most important on the east bank of the Meuse, and rightly so. They are, in the true sense of the word, dominating positions, rising as they do above all the surrounding country. How many men the Germans sacrificed in order to take these positions no one can say, and if any one were to attempt an approximate estimate, it would be so large as to appear an exaggeration.

The French, whom Germany pictured as bleeding to death on the hills of the Meuse and the Somme, still had sufficient reserve force to strike here and strike hard. The result was most disastrous to the Germans. Douaumont and the fort of the same name fell almost without resistance, with over 5,000 prisoners. Fort Vaux met the same fate, and within a few days the village of Vaux also passed from the Germans together with the Damloup battery. Fort Vaux, which had cost the Germans so much, was evacuated in the night, without the French having to expend a life to take it.

This French success places Verdun out of all danger for the progress of the war. The Germans will never make another great effort here.

Progress on the Somme

Two other French attacks made during the month are also noteworthy. One was made against the villages of Saily and Saillisel. Both of these places have fallen

into French hands, and while they are unimportant in themselves they have an important bearing on future French movements. Their principal value lies in their relation to Péronne. Péronne is guarded solely by Mount St. Quentin, which in turn is guarded by the woods of St. Pierre Vaast, which is itself guarded by the latter of these villages. Once Saillisel is in French hands the German positions in St. Pierre Vaast Woods are turned, and its capture by the French is almost inevitable.

Again, while the fighting in this section was at its height, the exhausted French struck at still another part of the German lines, this time against the Chaulnes sector. The towns of Ablaincourt and Pressoir were occupied and the way opened for a direct attack on Chaulnes. Here the Germans have counterattacked with the greatest severity, but up to the present writing have not made the slightest indentation in the new French positions. Chaulnes is in imminent danger, is, in fact, almost surrounded. Any day may see the circle complete.

The British section of the Somme line has had a hard time making progress. The weather, has been extremely bad for military operations, preventing a major attack for some weeks. In spite of this, however, the fighting was severe, particularly about Le Sars. While this was at its height the British suddenly struck on what was considered an impregnable part of the German front, that part of the original German line which still remained in their possession north of the Ancre Brook. The line south of the river was also taken, and the Germans holding it were pinched in between the river and the British advance and captured. The towns of Beaumont, Hamel, Beaucourt, and Divion fell into English hands, together with five or six thousand men.

On the whole the month has been disastrous for the German cause. The Germans have not once, except in Dobrudja, where they were soon checked, been permitted to take the initiative, and they have been losing important ground steadily. All indications are that the turning point in the war has been reached.

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

M. ARDOUIN-DUMAZET IN L'ILLUSTRATION

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. See Map on Page 427]

DURING the first fortnight of September, the Entente Allies delivered three important attacks north and south of the Somme, and made considerable gains. Between Sept. 3 and 13 they took a total of 10,550 prisoners.

The army of General Fayolle, which holds the French front from the Somme northward to Combles, repulsed, on the evening of Wednesday, Sept. 6, a powerful German attempt to retake the Hôpital Farm, at the entrance of the Cauet Wood. The Teutons, mowed down by French machine guns, were dispersed, and their attack was not renewed.

During six days there was no infantry action on this sector. Atmospheric conditions were in part the cause. But, after an intense artillery preparation, on Tuesday, Sept. 12, about noon, General Fayolle again attacked on a front of about four miles. With admirable dash his assaulting battalions—in which colonials were fighting beside line regiments—carried, in less than a half hour, the whole system of German trenches, and then 145-Meter Hill, (475 feet above sea level, or 318 feet above the level of the Somme;) this was followed by the capture of the Marrières Wood and the group of enemy positions as far as the national road from Béthune to Péronne. On the left wing, coming out from the Anderlu Wood, our infantry succeeded in reaching the edge of the village of Ran-court. On the right wing they got as far as 76-Meter Hill, (249 feet, or 92 feet above the Somme,) to the west of Feuil-lancourt. This ridge, which dominates the north bank of the Somme, faces Mont Saint-Quentin, a veritable lair of German heavy artillery posted to guard Péronne.

In the evening the village of Bouchavesnes, attacked in its turn, was taken.

On Wednesday, Sept. 13, we captured by assault the Labé Wood Farm, 600 yards to the east of the Béthune Road, to the southeast of Bouchavesnes. In the afternoon we repulsed violent counterattacks. We were thus masters of the culminating points of the right bank, which the enemy defended desperately, our positions extending well beyond Mont Saint-Quentin and Péronne on the north.

In this affair more than 2,300 prisoners fell into our hands within a few hours, as well as ten cannon, some of which were heavy, and forty machine guns.

British Fight for Ginchy

On their side, the British troops, joining hands with us on the west of Combles, beyond the narrow-gauge railroad from Combles to Cléry, fought hard for several days for the possession of Ginchy.

This village is at the meeting place of six roads, and formed, with Guillemont, one of the advance defenses of Combles. Twice already our allies had entered it, without being able to hold their position beyond the road from Longueval to Morval, which cuts the village into two unequal parts. The Germans had concentrated their resistance in the north of the village. From Sept. 6 to 9, the struggle among the ruined houses continued fiercely. On Sept. 9, in the early afternoon, an attack was directed from Delville Wood as far as Leuze Wood, by Irish troops from Connaught, Leinster, and Munster, who had already taken Guillemont. By evening all Ginchy was in their hands. On three occasions, between Sept. 10 and 11, the Germans tried to recapture the village, but without success.

The taking of Ginchy happily completed the series of operations which, beginning with Sept. 3, allowed the British troops to take possession of Guille-

mont, the Falsemont Farm, and Leuze Wood and to realize in seven days, on a front of three and three-quarter miles, an advance to a depth varying from 300 to 3,000 yards.

In the region to the south of the Ancre and in the region of Thiepval the bombardment on both sides had been fairly lively, and 600 yards of trenches were conquered by our allies to the northeast of Pozières.

French Victory Near Chilly

To the south of the Somme, in the afternoon of Sept. 6, the army of General Micheler—which joins hands with the army of General Fayolle between Biaches and Barleux—resumed the offensive from Belloy-en-Santerre as far as Chilly, that is, on a front of some fifteen kilometers, (about ten miles,) forming an obtuse angle with its apex on the western edge of Vermandovillers.

This attack was completely successful. We carried several German trenches to the southwest of Belloy-en-Santerre, took almost the whole of Berny-en-Santerre and captured the northern part of Vermandovillers as far as the road which joins that village to Estrées. It was at this point that the struggle was fiercest, for Vermandovillers had been organized into a powerful defensive position. Further to the south we pushed our first line forward as far as the approaches of Chaulnes and even reached the railroad from Chaulnes to Roye.

The following days were filled by counterattacks, repeated sometimes five or six times, with accompaniments of flaming liquids. All came to nothing under our gun and machine-gun fire.

The eleventh week of the Anglo-French offensive on the Somme, which was also the 111th week of the war, brought the following gains to the Allies:

Five villages taken by assault—Courcelette, Martinpuich, Flers, Varmandovillers, and Deniécourt, without speaking of important positions like the Bouleaux Wood, the Fourneaux Wood, and Le Priez Farm; 7,059 additional prisoners officially registered; a general advance, varying from 1,600 to 3,200 yards, on different sectors of the Somme front,

which has a linear extent of fourteen kilometers, (8¾ miles.)

The Fight for Martinpuich

On Friday, Sept. 15, at 6:20 in the morning, the British troops attacked between Leuze Wood, to the west of Combles, and Pozières.

The German position, which they were approaching on a front of six miles, comprised three lines of trenches joined by connecting trenches and protected by strongly organized works. There was a fourth line about four miles to the rear, along the road from Bapaume to Transloy. A large number of machine guns and 1,000 cannon of all calibres completed these defenses. Within a few hours the infantry, whose road was opened by the accurate and effective fire of the artillery, had seized the whole of the first line, with the exception of two resisting islets, namely, the heights which separate Ginchy from the Leuze Wood, and the Fourneaux Wood. But these two centres of resistance, which could not be carried, were enveloped. At 10 o'clock Flers was reached, then passed. At 11 the Germans, almost surrounded in the Fourneaux Wood, began to surrender. In the afternoon Courcelette and Martinpuich were taken. Our allies also held the series of heights (156, 155, and 140 meters) which stretch from the national road connecting Albert and Bapaume, to Combles, with the exception of a hill, 154 meters high, between the Leuze Wood and Ginchy.

First Appearance of "Tanks"

Valuable aid was rendered to them in the course of these operations by novel war engines, tried for the first time—colossal armored automobiles, veritable land dreadnoughts, monsters on caterpillar tractors, which could, almost with impunity, smash down obstacles, tear up barbed wire entanglements, pour machine-gun fire into the enemy, cannonade them, and even sprinkle them with flaming liquids.

In vain the Germans brought up reinforcements from every point along their front. Their counterattacks developing on Sept. 16 and 17 in no wise

hindered the British troops from gaining one-third of a mile beyond the Fourneau Wood and, toward the east, in the direction of Les Boeufs.

At the same time the trench called the Danube trench, which flanked the south of Thiepval for a mile, was carried by assault, as well as a work at the Mouquet Farm.

The honor of this success, the hardest blow dealt by the British troops against their enemy, as an official bulletin calls it, belongs to the Northumberland and London territorials, to the English and Scotch divisions of the new army, to the Irish, to the Canadians, New Zealanders, and the Guard.

The German front which, a few days before, was marked by the villages of Thiepval, Courcelette, Martinpuich, Flers, and Combles, retained only its ends. Its centre had been driven back, forced to a defensive line on Le Sars, Eaucourt, Gueudecourt, Les Boeufs, and Morval. Even then, Combles and Thiepval were partly enveloped, their communications with the rear being gravely menaced.

It was exactly in this envelopment of Combles that the French collaborated. Their successes of the previous week had carried them, toward the east, beyond Bouchavesnes.

Closing in Upon Combles

During this week their effort was concentrated between Rancourt and Combles. Owing to its situation at the bottom of a veritable basin Combles is partly protected from gunfire. The heights which surround it form an additional natural defense. On Thursday, Sept. 14, we seized Le Priez Farm, to the northeast of the Anderlu Wood. Organized by the Germans into a fortified redoubt, it was one of the principal works protecting Combles on the east. On Sept. 15 we further carried trenches to a depth of one-third of a mile to the north of Le Priez Farm, thus practically completing the investment of the town. Finally, on Monday, Sept. 18, we took a line of trenches only 200 yards from the south side of Combles.

On Wednesday, Sept. 20, a powerful effort of the enemy, from Le Priez Farm

as far as the south of the Labé Wood Farm failed completely, after a bloody struggle begun at 9 in the morning and continued until midnight.

Four villages which offered the enemy strong points of support had hitherto checked our advance on the south of the Somme: Barleux, Berny-en-Santerre, Deniécourt, and Vermandovillers. We undertook the reduction of three of them. We succeeded.

On Friday, Sept. 15, at 10 in the morning, we released a double attack against Berny-en-Santerre and Vermandovillers. It immediately won considerable advantages for us. On Sept. 16 the enemy in vain tried to react. On Sept. 17, at 2:30 in the afternoon, our offensive was resumed. After a brilliant assault, Vermandovillers and Berny, which were already partially in our hands, were completely carried. We made ourselves masters of the trenches organized between Vermandovillers and Deniécourt, as well as between Deniécourt and Berny.

The struggle became furious about Deniécourt, where three times the enemy counterattacked with great violence. We drove him back and inflicted heavy losses on him. On the evening of Monday, Sept. 18, Berny was surrounded by us. On this same day, Deniécourt and its famous park, whose machine guns had recently tried us so severely, fell into our hands. We even pushed a thousand yards further south in the direction of Ablaincourt; we seized to the southeast of Deniécourt the three groves of Bovent, Le Tremble, and Vasset, and carried a trench between Berny and Horgny.

Events of Two Great Days

After five days of slackened activity, at least so far as infantry operations were concerned, events hurried forward on the north bank of the Somme on Monday and Tuesday, Sept. 25 and 26. The Franco-British offensive was resumed with violence. Successively, Morval, Les Boeufs, Rancourt, Frégicourt, Combles, Gueudecourt, Thiepval, fell into the hands of the Allies, as well as a number of prisoners, which cannot be less than 5,000. We must be sparing of the word victory. That of success sufficiently

characterizes the considerable advance which was realized in forty-eight hours.

The battles fought from Sept. 15 to Sept. 20 had fixed the front between the Ancre and the Somme about as follows: Immediate outskirts of Thiepval, where since Sept. 17 the British troops had held the Danube trench; counterslope of 136-Meter Hill, dominated by the Mouquet Farm; northern edge of Courcelette; 132-Meter Hill to the northeast of Martinpuich; then, after a bend toward the south, the northern verge of Flers, 154-Meter Hill between Ginchy and Les Boeuifs, the eastern edge of the Bouleaux Wood, and the Leuze Wood. At the line of the railroad from Combles to Cléry began the French sector. General Fayolle's army occupied the southwest outskirts of the Douage Wood, had passed the Le Priez Farm to the north, and reached the outskirts of Rancourt on the road from Béthune to Péronne. From this point our front descended toward the southwest, enveloped Bouchavesnes and the Bois-Labé Farm, and rejoined the Somme at 76-Meter Hill, between Cléry, which was in the hands of the French, and Feuillaucourt, which was in the hands of the Germans.

On Sept. 21 heavy rain hindered operations. Nevertheless, the Germans counterattacked, without success, on the south of the Ancre and in the region of Flers. They renewed their attempts, as uselessly, on Sept. 22, between the Le Priez Farm and Rancourt, on the night of Sept. 22-23, on the west of the Mouquet Farm, and, on Sept. 23, in three successive efforts, to the west of Les Boeuifs. At the same time our British allies, on the night of Sept. 21-22, carried two lines of trenches to a depth of 1,600 yards between Flers and Martinpuich, thus straightening their front between these two villages. During the night of Sept. 22-23 they advanced to a depth of 800 meters, to the east of Courcelette. On Sept. 23, to the south of the Ancre, they established advanced posts in the enemy front lines.

The artillery preparation was then at its height. The Germans themselves recognized that it attained an "unheard of" degree of violence. Finally, on Sept.

25, toward noon, the combined offensive of the two armies acting together was launched.

Success of Sept. 25

At the first blow the British troops succeeded in penetrating the enemy positions to a depth of 1,600 yards on a front of nearly six miles, between Martinpuich and Combles. In front of Flers they climbed the slopes which led to Gueudecourt; on the left of Les Boeuifs they carried a series of trenches, then, toward 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the village itself. In front of Ginchy they made themselves masters of the height named from the Old Semaphore, reaching, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the outskirts of Morval, occupying the western part of the village at 4 o'clock, and the whole of it in the evening. Now, Morval, by its situation on the height which commands Combles on the north, and because of the considerable works which the Germans had constructed there, was a position of great importance. During the night of Sept. 25-26 progress continued. A strong redoubt which resisted between Les Boeuifs and Gueudecourt was taken. During the forenoon of Sept. 26 the first British elements gained a foothold in the western part of Combles.

The French attack developed along parallel lines. The objectives assigned to his troops by General Fayolle were, for the first day, the village of Rancourt, which lies two kilometers to the north of Bouchavesnes, on the road from Péronne to Bapaume, the hamlet of Frégicourt, 1,100 meters to the north of Le Priez Farm, on the road from Combles to Saillisel, and the group of defenses accumulated by the enemy between Rancourt and the Somme. Almost all were reached at the first dash.

To the east of the Béthune Road we broadened our positions by two-thirds of a mile, from the Combles Road as far as Bouchavesnes; we carried by assault the height to the northeast of this village and 130-Meter Hill to the southwest, without speaking of other minor advantages, as far as the Somme. To the northeast of Combles we carried our lines to the southern outskirts of

Frégicourt and occupied all the strongly organized ground between this hamlet and 148-Meter Hill. Rancourt was carried by assault. In the night of Sept. 25-26, it was Frégicourt's turn. Reconnoissances got as far as the first houses of Combles, on its southern outskirts, and a detachment installed itself in the cemetery to the northeast of the town.

Events of Sept. 26

We have reached noon, on Sept. 26. The Germans, to connect Combles to their lines, hold only the ravine which winds to the northeast toward Sailly-Saillisel. The loss of Morval and of Frégicourt has deprived them of the other roads. And even this ravine is completely dominated by the crossfire of the allied troops, and four of our gun-bearing aeroplanes have just gone to drop eighty-two shells on the convoys in formation at Sailly-Saillisel. On the west, on the south, and on the northeast the Franco-British penetration of Combles has begun. It becomes more accentuated. The French carry by assault, in the afternoon, the whole section of the town which lies to the east and the south of the railroad. They join hands with the British forces who are cleaning up the northwestern section of the town. Combles is taken * * * in spite of the accumulation of every means of defense and of its dugouts developed into inaccessible lairs. Combles is the first canton capital reconquered by our army since October, 1914. Heaps of German corpses cover the ground torn up by shells. The wounded, left behind, are taken prisoner. The last unwounded defenders surrender or flee in disorder. An immense prey in munitions, arms, provisions of all sorts repays our efforts.

But this is not all. Between Combles and the Ancre the rest of the British army has been equally active. A counter-attack starting from Transloy, between Morval and Les Boeufs, was severely repulsed. In the centre Gueudécourt, another fortified village, was taken. Finally, on the extreme left, Thiepval, which had resisted obstinately since July 3, in its turn succumbed. Our allies even

seized the Zoilern redoubt, which dominated the village on the east.

Of the formidable line of enemy defenses whose extremities had rested on the two impregnable bastions, Thiepval and Combles, nothing remained.

During the week from Sept. 28 to Oct. 4 the allied offensive in Picardy showed a slackening, to be imputed at once to the necessities of a new preparation and to the persistent rain. In modern war, in which artillery plays the essential rôle, bad weather very considerably hinders operations. Not only does it make impossible the moving of batteries over soaking soil, but, even more, it keeps the airmen from making their sighting operations, and artillery deprived of aerial reconnoissances is blind and impotent.

Joffre's Order of the Day

This respite in the development of the great battle is marked by the Order of the Day which General Joffre addressed, on Sept. 29, to the armies of the north. Here is the text of it:

The Commander in Chief addresses the expression of his profound satisfaction to the troops who have been fighting on the Somme for almost three months without ceasing.

By their valor and their perseverance they have dealt the enemy blows from which he has difficulty in recovering. Verdun relieved, twenty-five villages won back, more than 35,000 prisoners, 150 guns taken, successive enemy lines driven back to a depth of ten kilometers, are the results already obtained.

Continuing the struggle with the same tenacious will, redoubling their ardor, in union with our valorous allies, the valiant armies of the Somme will make sure for themselves a glorious part in the decisive victory. JOFFRE.

An earlier official French announcement—dated Sept. 22—had reckoned at 55,800 the number of prisoners taken, from July 1 to Sept. 18, by the Franco-British troops, 34,050 of whom were to be credited to the French troops alone. On the other hand, a British announcement of Sept. 27 counted 10,000 new prisoners taken in the course of the preceding fortnight. Therefore the general total had exceeded 60,000. When coming to confer the Order of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, or the Collar of

Commander, on the glorious leaders of the victorious armies—the French Generals, Fayolle and Micheler, the English General Gough, who took Thiepval, and General Buttler, assistant Chief of the General Staff—the President of the Republic paid them a well-earned homage.

The British Sector

The battles of Sept. 25 and 26 had carried the British front on an almost horizontal line from Thiepval to Gueudecourt, past Courcelelette, leaving beyond it the village of Sars and the Eaucourt-l'Abbaye agglomeration. On leaving Gueudecourt, the line bent toward the southeast, enveloping Les Boeufs, Morval, Combles, and joining the French front on the north of Frégicourt. From Gueudecourt to Frégicourt nothing happened, except a slight advance on a front of 500 meters to the east of Les Boeufs during Sept. 29. On the other hand, the struggle was fierce to the north of Thiepval, in the region of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye.

To the north of Thiepval: Sunk in a kind of basin, the village of Thiepval is dominated on the north and northeast by a spur which commands the valley of the Ancre in the direction of Grandcourt. On this ridge the Germans had established two formidable works especially defended—the Schwaben redoubt, 500 yards to the north of Thiepval, and the Stuff redoubt, a mile and a quarter to the northeast. Between them ran the Hesse trench. On Sept. 27 the British troops carried the Stuff redoubt by assault. On the following day they occupied a part of the Schwaben redoubt. During the night of Sept. 28-29 there was grenade fighting of furious intensity for possession of the Hesse trench, which was successively taken, lost, retaken. During the whole of Sept. 30 the Germans counterattacked violently. Finally, on Oct. 1, they were definitively thrown back from the ground which they still held near the Stuff redoubt and from nearly the whole of the Schwaben redoubt.

In the region of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye: Eaucourt-l'Abbaye is a hamlet of the Commune of Warlencourt-Eaucourt, (Pas-de-Calais,) Arras Arrondissement, Canton

of Bapaume, a mile and a quarter southeast of Warlencourt, which is still occupied by the Germans. Beginning with Sept. 27, our British allies carried, to the north of Flers, more than a mile of trenches and reached the outskirts of Eaucourt on the left. During the night of Sept. 27-28 they established different posts at less than 800 yards to the west and southwest of the hamlet. On Sept. 28 they advanced to the north and northwest of Courcelelette. During the morning of Sept. 29 they captured Destrémont Farm, on the national road from Albert to Bapaume, 500 yards to the southwest of Le Sars. On Sept. 30 they realized a new advance to the south of Eaucourt, and during the night of Sept. 30-Oct. 1, between Flers and Le Sars. Finally, on Oct. 1, during the afternoon, an assault was delivered on a front of two miles between Eaucourt and the northeast of the Destrémont Farm. Eaucourt fell into the hands of the British troops. It is true that, on the following day, a counterattack allowed the enemy to regain a footing among the houses in ruins. But, as a result of renewed fighting, Eaucourt was entirely reconquered during the evening of Oct. 3.

In addition to these sectors, it is right to mention frequent blows struck by our allies along parts of the front not yet affected by the great offensive. During a single day, Oct. 1, there were not less than sixteen of these raids between Ypres and Neuve-Chapelle. These were soundings, intended to feel out the enemy, with a view to taking advantage of favorable circumstances.

The French Sector

On the French sector, astride of the Somme, our bulletins only announce secondary engagements—slight progress between Frégicourt and Morval, on Sept. 29; on Sept. 30, to the north of Rancourt; on the following night, to the southeast of Morval, and, along the Somme, to the southeast of Cléry; on Oct. 1, to the north of Rancourt and the southeast of Morval; on Oct. 2, to the east of Bouchavesnes; on Oct. 3, to the north of Rancourt; on Oct. 4, between Morval and the wood of Saint-

Pierre-Vaast. On Oct. 2 we stopped on the south of the Somme an enemy attack in massed formation below Vermandovillers.

On Oct. 3 the Germans tried to come out, to the north of the river, from the wood of Saint-Pierre-Vaast, one of the last important positions occupied by them. Our gun fire completely repulsed them.

Since Sept. 27 they had not even

outlined an action against General Fayolle's army.

[In the intervening weeks the Anglo-French offensive has continued to make gradual progress, with the advance of the British along the Ancre northeast of Thiepval, capturing Beaumont, Beaucourt, and other villages on the way to Miraumont, the present objective on that sector. The French have consolidated their gains at Saillisel.]

Activities of German Submarines

SUBMARINE warfare was resumed on an extensive scale by the Germans in October and November, and their operations included the sinking of several passenger ships with Americans on board. The reports of survivors seemed to indicate that Germany's pledges to the United States were being violated, in that ships carrying passengers were sunk without warning. That question is still undetermined. At this writing the whole submarine issue has arisen anew and is the subject of serious consideration in the Chancelleries of neutral and belligerent nations.

Secretary Zimmermann's Statement

On Nov. 15 the German Under Secretary of State, Herr Zimmermann, made the following statement:

The German naval forces are not sinking neutral merchant ships *per se*. They are sinking as a defensive measure ammunition transports and other contraband shipments to our enemies that are calculated to lengthen the war. It is not strictly correct, therefore, to speak of "submarine warfare" in this connection. We are conducting cruiser warfare, waged by means of submarines, acting in punctilious compliance with the rules of international law applying to cruiser warfare. Our position, therefore, both military and from the viewpoint of international law, is irreproachable, and the propagandistic accusation and charge in connection with ships sunk, as agitated by the English press, are interesting and important only as indicating how hard England is being hit by our defensive submarine measures against England's hunger war and England's economic strangle hold on the neutral nations in question.

Our cruiser warfare with submarines is being conducted in strict compliance with the

German prize regulations, which correspond to the international rules laid down and agreed to in the Declaration of London, and this despite the fact that England has refused to be bound by the London Declaration. Germany, accordingly, will continue to exercise her perfect good right to take these defensive measures. If neutrals have to lament the loss of ships and cargoes, it should be remembered that the real blame lies on England.

As the armament of several British ships has been used for attack contrary to the English declaration, and it has, therefore, endangered the lives of crew and passengers, of course armed ships cannot be considered as peaceful trade boats. It is England which has from the very first consistently violated neutral commerce and reduced it to a state of bondage, making the freedom of the seas an empty phrase in violation of international law, extending the contraband list by all means in its power, including economic pressure, and seeking to encourage and in some cases to compel the carrying of contraband to our enemies, and then crying out when its own illegal measures react like a boomerang and strike home at a vulnerable and vital spot.

England has not only blockaded neutral countries, but by means of blacklists, by the compulsory chartering of neutral tonnage, by the extension of the contraband list, by the confiscation of neutral fishing fleets and other high-handed, illegal methods, it has more and more succeeded in compelling neutral trade and commerce to comply with its will. In contradistinction to England, Germany does not seek to throttle legitimate commerce. We are merely seeking to put an end to contraband shipments to our enemies in self-defense, and I am glad to be in a position to say that our submarines are able to keep up the war and prevent contraband shipments from reaching our enemies, and to do so in a manner irreproachable in the sight of international law. It is perhaps a work of supererogation to point

out that neutrals have an effective remedy against further loss of ships in their own hands by simply resisting England's illegal economic pressure and discontinuing the carrying of contraband.

The British Admiralty charges that between May 5 and Nov. 8 thirty-three vessels were sunk without warning by submarines, and that 140 lives were lost. Of this total 26 were British ships, on which 135 lives were lost. The chief vessels and life losses were as follows: Golconda, 19; Euphorbia, 11; Franconia, 12; Marina, 18. The remainder of the losses were among the Allies and neutrals, the French losing two ships with two lives, the Norwegians three ships with one life.

Agitation for Ruthless War

During late September a violent agitation arose in Germany for resumption of ruthless submarine operations, led by Dr. Ernst Bassermann, leader of the National Liberals, who was supported by Admiral von Tirpitz. German political circles were stirred to the centre over the controversy, the Chancellor representing the opposition. A definite statement sustaining the Chancellor was attributed to Field Marshal von Hindenburg, and this had a profound influence. Finally the question was submitted to a coalition committee of the Reichstag, and it was decided to postpone action, which was construed as being equivalent to a victory for the Chancellor. There the matter rests, so far as official Germany is concerned, but it is now charged that this was a mere pretext to conceal the intention of the Berlin authorities to resume ruthless submarine warfare in disregard of their pledges.

The visit of the U-53 to Newport on Oct. 7, followed immediately by the sinking of five vessels off Nantucket, some of them in the presence of United States warships, which stood by and rescued the passengers and crews, was caustically criticised at the time by English newspapers and in Parliament, but no official protest was lodged by the Allies with our Government, and no protest against the submarine activities off our shore was made by the United States. As late as Nov. 15 this matter came up again in the British Parliament.

A definite declaration is expected from the United States Government to the effect that it will not tolerate Germany's claim of the right to sink contraband-carrying ships without warning, even though the ships carry defensive arms. The United States has held heretofore that a vessel chartered by a Government is not a transport, and is as immune from attack without warning as any other merchant vessel unless her officers and crew are under orders of an Admiralty to resist when attacked.

The Marina and Others

The cases which this Government is now seriously concerned over occurred as follows: On Oct. 30, 1916, the British steamships Marina and Rowanmore were torpedoed and sunk off the Irish coast by German submarines. The Marina, owned by the Donaldson Line, was a horse transport with a mixed crew of Americans and British. The Rowanmore was a Furness freighter bound from Baltimore for Liverpool with a mixed cargo. Six Americans were killed in the sinking of the Marina.

On Oct. 28 the steamship Lanao, bound from Manila to Havre with a cargo of rice, under Philippine registry, was sunk by a German submarine. The crew was saved.

On Nov. 7 the Peninsular and Oriental liner Arabia, 7,933 gross tonnage, with 450 passengers, was torpedoed in the Mediterranean. All the passengers were saved. It is asserted by the passengers that there was no warning.

On Nov. 8 the American Hawaiian steamship Columbian, 8,579 tons gross, from Boston to Genoa with a cargo of steel, was torpedoed in the Bay of Biscay. It is stated that the Columbian encountered the submarine during a violent tempest Nov. 6. The submarine compelled the steamship to stop, and held it under surveillance until the storm subsided two days later. The crew was then compelled to abandon the vessel in open boats, the Captain being taken aboard the submarine. The vessel was then torpedoed and sunk.

The Germans assert that warning was given except in cases where the vessel

was armed or made a hostile move against the submarine. The Arabia and Marina were both armed. The passengers assert that in neither instance was any warning whatsoever given, nor did either vessel make any hostile move.

In the case of the Columbian an interesting question has arisen as to the right of a submarine to imprison an American officer of a torpedoed boat. Captain Curtis of the Columbian states that when his vessel was torpedoed he was held a prisoner on the U-49 for six days thereafter. The Columbian had a cargo of 9,000 tons and a crew of 109 men, all of whom were saved.

The following statement was made by Captain Curtis:

Submarine U-49 fired at once two torpedoes at the Columbian, which immediately sank. The crew was left in lifeboats, while I was taken on board the submarine, which plunged immediately after I was taken into the Quartermaster's small cabin, where I found the Captains of the Seatonia and the Balto. After me came Captain Yelugsen of the Fordalen. The cabin was very small. It contained a little folding table, a folding chair, and three bunks. Everything was permeated with the odor of benzine. There was no communication with the exterior and the cabin was absolutely dark, night and day. We were fed in the morning with a few

morsels of black bread, a cup of coffee, and a small portion of bad butter; at noon with a stew of canned meat and soup, and at supper, at 10 o'clock, with coffee or tea and black bread, with butter or marmalade. The hours spent in this narrow prison were very long and disagreeable.

Captain Curtis said that between the operations of the submarine he was allowed to go on deck to smoke. He was watched by members of the crew, armed with revolvers, but when he went below the crew put aside their weapons.

The submarine signaled to the Swedish steamer Varing thirteen miles off the Spanish port of Camarinas toward noon of Nov. 9. The steamer stopped and was ordered to take aboard the Captains and land them. She was also ordered to take aboard the crews of the Columbian and Norwegian steamers. All were welcomed aboard the Varing.

The submarine watched the operation, and then ordered the Varing to make for the coast, six miles from Camarinas. The Varing was directed to set out lifeboats and embark the shipwrecked men in them. This was a long and difficult operation, and an American from the Columbian fell into the sea and narrowly escaped drowning. He was slightly injured during his rescue.

The First Gas Attack at Ypres, April 22, 1915

A British soldier-author who writes under the name of "Sapper" gives this description of the first use of asphyxiating gas by the Germans in his new book, "Men, Women, and Guns":

Utterly unprepared for what was to come, the [French] divisions gazed for a short while spellbound at the strange phenomenon they saw coming slowly toward them. Like some liquid the heavy-colored vapor poured relentlessly into the trenches, filled them, and passed on. For a few seconds nothing happened; the sweet-smelling stuff merely tickled their nostrils; they failed to realize the danger. Then, with inconceivable rapidity, the gas worked, and blind panic spread. Hundreds, after a dreadful fight for air, became unconscious and died where they lay—a death of hideous torture, with the frothing bubbles gurgling in their throats and the foul liquid welling up in their lungs. With blackened faces and twisted limbs one by one they drowned—only that which drowned them came from inside and not from out. Others, staggering, falling, lurching on, and of their ignorance keeping pace with the gas, went back. A hail of rifle fire and shrapnel mowed them down, and the line was broken. There was nothing on the British left—their flank was up in the air. The northeast corner of the salient around Ypres had been pierced. From in front of St. Julian away up north toward Boesinghe there was no one in front of the Germans.

New War Methods and Victory

By Winston Spencer Churchill

Former First Lord of the British Admiralty

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THE supreme events of this war stand out just as vividly as the old one-day battles which used to decide the history of nations.

But the size of the picture is so enormous and the style of the painting so crude that it can only be judged from a certain distance. One day of struggle is so like another. Looking back, even from no great distance, the true features of the stupendous panorama stare you in the face. We see them now stretching back like a range of mountain peaks to those far-off lands of August and September, Anno Domini 1914.

The German invasion and its victories; the salvation of Paris; the struggle for the seaward flank; Tannenberg; the Serbian morale; Przemysl; Warsaw; Suvla; Champagne; Ferdinand of Bulgaria; Verdun; Brusiloff; and, nearest of all, towering and beetling above our heads, shrouded in darkness and storm, the giant battle in Picardy which history calls—the Somme.

But although we are still so close to this stupendous episode that it is in its general mass under what has been called "a false angle of vision," there are some features which can already be discerned and appreciated. The sombre difficulty of the task and the brilliant achievements of the troops leap out to us in vivid juxtaposition. Let us measure the achievement by the difficulties.

In the old wars of Marlborough and Frederick and Napoleon the differences between the offensive and the defensive

were small. Each had its advantages and its drawbacks. But, broadly speaking, an army of sixty or seventy thousand men had no hesitation in attacking an army of fifty or sixty thousand; and there are many instances where successful attacks upon troops of equal quality have been made by skilled Generals with

a smaller army. Then came the improvement in firearms; and already, in the American civil war, at Fredericksburg, at Gettysburg, at Cold Harbor, and elsewhere we begin to see the arrest of the offensive by fire. Thus, in 1870, frontal attacks were hardly ever the means of victory, and the German method of gaining battles was seen to consist mainly in the strength of large turning or enveloping movements by very strong forces. It was on this that we were all brought up.



All the theory of modern war, as taught in the nineties, dwelt on the holding of an enemy closely in front till superior forces had overlapped and threatened to surround him; and in the Boer war it was held a crime to make a frontal attack, on account of the severity of the fire and the losses inevitably incurred. These ideas received their largest and latest application in the war between Russia and Japan. All the great battles of that war were simple adaptations of the German method of 1870 upon a much greater scale; and we see the main Japanese army advancing along the railroad with Kuroki always far out on the right flank, or, as in the culminating battle of

Mukden, with Nogi and his Port Arthur army far out on the left flank. Never do we see any success attained by reason of an unsupported battle on the main front. These are broad generalizations. But they show, what is undoubtedly true, that up to the outbreak of the present war the frontal attack on good troops in entrenched positions which cannot be turned was generally regarded by soldiers of every nation as impossible.

What has happened to alter this slowly matured, profoundly studied, universally held opinion, or the hard facts upon which it rested? Certainly it is not any diminution of the power of firearms. On the contrary, their power has increased by leaps and bounds. Improvements in weapons of all kinds, improvements in their use, the magazine rifle, the automatic rifle, the machine gun in all its forms and in undreamed of numbers, barbed wire, intrenchments of marvelous cunning, have multiplied several times the power of the defense by firearms.

The fire which arrested decisively the Japanese frontal attack at Liao Yang and blasted away their furious assaults on Port Arthur, was child's play to the fire through which the British assaults on the Somme have been pushed forward. What, then, are the new facts? There appear to be three. First, the extraordinary development of massed artillery, particularly heavy artillery, with unimagined quantities of shell; secondly, the indifference to loss of life exhibited by all the nations engulfed in Armageddon; and, thirdly, the devotion and superhuman courage of the troops.

How far have these facts affected the conclusions about modern defensive fire which had been so generally accepted before the war? I have called attention recently to some of the conditions and limitations of the latest form of the artillery attack—how overwhelming it was upon the troops and areas subjected to it; but how ponderous and slow moving in application and how local in action; and how considerably it could be mitigated by an elasticity of defense which allowed for a

certain limited cession of ground. I have shown also that it reaches its maximum intensity in cases where the defenders, as at Verdun, are resolved not to yield an inch, but where, by continual counterattacks and the pouring in of new troops, they strive with the utmost desperation to hold and regain their fixed positions. No one must underestimate the terrific power of the artillery development as a new means of offense; but neither must they forget its limitations. For the rest, there is only the heroism of the soldiers and the ruthless character of the war.

In these conditions, it is clear that only the absence of other possibilities have thrown the armies in the west back upon frontal attacks. If flank attacks were possible they would, of course, be resorted to by the commanders on both sides. But with armies so large and well equipped that the whole front from the Alps to the sea is on both sides perfectly maintained and thoroughly defended, nothing in this theatre but the frontal attack remains. And thus by the force of circumstances we have been driven to attempt tasks many times harder than those which, before the war, all military experience had held to be impossible. That any measure of success should attend such efforts is marvelous. It seems to lift the soldiers of our generation above the level of the warriors of every former age, and place the civilized and educated citizen of a modern democracy upon the supreme pedestal of martial glory.

It is usually assumed that the Germans will be able to relieve themselves of pressure in the west and reduce the strain by what is called "shortening the line." At a certain moment it is thought there will be a general retirement to a new and straighter line, saving, perhaps, a hundred miles of front and releasing 500,000 men. But this view ought not to be too readily accepted. It is by no means evident that any substantial relief will accrue to the Germans from such a retirement and contraction, while the injury to their prestige and the surrender of conquered territory will be a most serious disadvantage. Broadly

speaking, the struggle in the west is between 2,500,000 Germans and 3,500,000 French and British. These immense armies are locked in conflict with each other. They can bring their maximum power to bear upon each other equally well on a 350-mile front as on a 450 or 500 mile front. If the Germans, by "shortening their line," save 500,000 men, the same process will liberate at the same moment about 700,000 French and British troops who are now opposite them. These 700,000 men would be pressed into the attack on one of the existing battle fronts, or alternatively a new battle front will be opened, and the 500,000 Germans who had been "saved" will be required to meet their old antagonists in somewhat different circumstances.

Always remember this is a war of armies, of armies representing the life energies of nations, and it will be decided only by the killing and cowing of men. It is not a war of positions. There are no vital and decisive keys. There are no strategic points, which, even occupied, paralyze the resistance of large forces of the enemy. There are no railway junctions around which deviations cannot be made in a short time. There are no heights which dominate large areas of country. Trench warfare has robbed even the topography of the actual battlefield of much, if not all, its old tactical significance. Almost any positions can be defended by intrenchments and held at a certain increased rental, in spite of being outflanked or overlooked. In fact, one has only to look along the western lines to see examples of every kind of "untenable" position, according to old ideas, being held month after month, almost year after year, by both sides.

Also, this is a war of machinery. Generalship in this war consists largely in the application of machinery to men. The way to win the war is to beat men by machinery. The way to lose the war is to try to beat machinery by men. Wherever your enemy is forced to oppose flesh and blood to steel and fire, you are gaining. Wherever you have to rely on flesh and blood to resist steel and fire,

you are losing. This is the shrewdest test by which to try all operations on the western front, whether offensive or defensive, by us or by the enemy. The man-fund is large, but it is limited. It cannot be replenished. "Il faut ménager les hommes."

Here are the sharp prongs of thought: Either an effective method whereby three men can advance continually against two, or a war of sheer extermination. Every year 600,000 German youths reach the military age. Until this annual increase has been consumed—and every life costs at least a life—no progress has been made toward the final exhaustion of the capital. It is only the excess loss above the annual increment which constitutes definite progress toward the end. It is necessary, therefore, if the extermination plan is followed that the pace of the struggle should be urged to the extreme in order that the period be shortened.

For instance, if the war so languished that not more than 600,000 Germans were destroyed or disabled in any one year there would be no reason why their supply of men should ever run short. The pace of the struggle has already forced them to add largely to the number of their divisions. The German armies in response to the strains of 1916 have been greatly augmented, and it is probable that their field establishment comprises nearly 220 divisions, as compared with perhaps 180 at the beginning of the year.

The Verdun blunder, the victories of Brusiloff, the entry of Rumania, the tremendous pressures of the Somme offensive have extorted these new intense exertions and increased expenditure from the enemy. And it should not be supposed even if the Allies can find no better way of winning than by the crude processes of exhaustion and extermination, that they are not able and not ready to tread that terrible road. But the obligation to seek better methods is imperative on the chiefs of the Allies. Is generalship content only with ordering cannon to fire and infantry to charge? Is science bankrupt when she has made shells? Let search be made, let wits be used, let risks be dared by those who have the power to find the shortest way.

The Profit Side of War

By Charles Johnston

I.—*Losses and Gains*

LET us consider first the losses—the men killed and mutilated, the vast treasure destroyed.

There would seem to be an enormous element of illusion in both. Man born is fated to die, whether in battle or the "cow's death," as the old Vikings called it, fated to die and to be mourned, or to die unmourned, which is a greater tragedy. Let us not delude ourselves about the fundamental facts of life and death.

But even when we consider actual losses in war, there is extreme exaggeration. Take a recent instance, the British "losses" on the Somme, in a battle that may establish the power of Britain for a century. We read that each month some 100,000 Britons have been "lost"; but four-fifths of them will be "found" again; only one-fifth are killed outright, and many of the remaining four-fifths are only slightly wounded. But even if we make the extreme allowance for "losses," this does not mean that the vitality of the nation is really impaired. These men die; but their younger sons will live. The birth rate in all western countries has been steadily falling; in France it has even reached the minimum. Nothing is needed but a slight increase in the birth rate—something within the power of the nations themselves—to adjust, within a very few years, the utmost possible losses within a generation or two. The truth is that among all living things the power of increase is always very much greater than the available space; so that the greatest possible diminution will be made up with astonishing swiftness.

The pacifists tell us that, as a result of war, the feeble survive and raise feeble families, but what are the facts? Take the veterans of our own civil war, both long and destructive among modern wars; were the survivors among the combatants really the feeble? Did they, in fact, raise feeble and degenerate fami-

lies? As Dr. Johnson used to say, we should clear our minds of cant.

Then as to the loss of "treasure." The author of "The Great Illusion," following in the tracks of the able Russian, Bloch, told us that a modern war would end in swift bankruptcy, because its cost is so enormous. But the fact has smashed the theory. Each of the great belligerent nations has shown a recuperative and creative power that has made short work of the theorists. Indeed, we can see no valid reason why, so far as the element of cost is concerned, the war should not continue indefinitely.

The theorists seem to have lost sight of the fact, underlined by John Stuart Mill a half century back, that practically the whole wealth of the world, and of a nation, is created anew each year. Take the case of Germany, the simplest, because Germany is so nearly isolated. What does Germany need, in material, in order to continue the war? Food, guns, munitions; nothing more. She has demonstrated that she can produce enough food at least to keep her soldiers in fighting shape; that her mines and workshops can produce enough guns and shells. Each year creates the supply for each year; and this may continue indefinitely, so long as the German fields and mines hold out.

II.—*The Huge War Debts*

But, the pacifists allege, the European nations will be crushed to the earth by the tremendous pressure of war debt, which will be like millstones tied about their necks.

Here, again, there would seem to be an enormous element of illusion. Take once more, for the sake of illustration, Germany. It would seem that the process has been something like this—the German Government, in order to pay the war bills, has borrowed money from the German people, from the rich and from the poor. What becomes of the money thus raised? It is spent mainly in two ways—in buying food from farmers, in

A GLIMPSE OF THE POETRY OF WAR IN PICARDY



A French "Poilu's" Snapshot of His Company Resting in a Grove Just Out of Reach of the German Shells.
(© Central News Photo Service.)

A TYPICAL VILLAGE IN FRANCE NEAR THE WAR FRONT



The Once Quiet Streets Now Resound Night and Day to the Tramp of Armed Men and the Rumble of
Countless Munition Lorrries.
(© American Press Association.)

order to feed the army; in buying guns and munitions from the factories, which pay enormous numbers of workmen and women. What do the farmers and the workmen do with the money they thus receive? A large part of it they lend to the German Government, which immediately pays it back to them in wages or food payments. Quite evidently, this process might go on forever.

True, but how about the interest? Well, if we look at that deeply, it would seem to be a part of the illusion. A man needs no special inducement, when you are paying him money. He will take it readily enough. But if you want him to give you the money, you must bait the hook with something alluring. The interest is the bait. What will, in fact, happen as regards the German loan? Even Helfferich has long ago ceased to promise that the Allies will have to pay it in indemnities. Who will pay it? The German people in taxes. Yes, but who will receive it? The same German people.

In order to work the thing out ideally all that will be needed will be this—to look up the lists of subscribers to the war loans, with the amount of yearly interest due to each; then to impose taxation in such a way that each man in Germany will pay in taxes exactly what he is to receive in interest on the war loans. What injustice, what hardship, would be worked by this? And will not something substantially like this actually occur in every belligerent nation? It is all a matter of bookkeeping, and can go on in an endless circle.

III.—*The Gains: England*

What would one, who loved her, have said of England in the first six months of 1914?

There was, first, the question of votes for women. This was not being quietly and considerately debated. It had been infused with an element of violence; of what one need not hesitate to call indecency, which left the men perplexed and exasperated, and brought the "militant" women into positions which no decent man or decent woman would ever desire to see them in. Recall the now almost

mythical and archaic "forcible feeding." Is it not exceedingly difficult, viewing the splendid achievement of England today, to think one's self back to those grotesque, harrowing scenes in Pentonville Prison?

What has rendered all that obsolete? The war. What do we see instead? These same women, working long hours in munition factories, under the device: "The shell made by the wife may save the husband's life!" How does the suffrage stand in England today, in the minds and hearts of both men and women? Somewhat thus, perhaps—the steady conviction would seem to have been reached that there are two classes of "citizens," separated by a fundamental difference—first, the class fitted by God and nature to kill and be killed on the fighting line; and, second, the class not so fitted. No distribution of bits of paper will alter that. And, it should be noted, no class in England is more determined to win the war—more ready to make the grievous sacrifices by which alone the war can be won—than the women of England; they see, with intuitive keenness, what it would mean to them, the women, if the men of their nation were too philosophical to fight.

England was torn in two, next, by the perpetual, and perpetually unsolved, Irish question. Here, while no formal solution has been reached, there is no question at all that a warmer, more generous, better understanding has been created between the two nations; most of all, between the men of the two nations, who have fought side by side upon the battlefields of France. And, we may be quite confident, the air of France—that luminous, benign air—will do much for both. The Irish question may not be solved by the men now in Ireland or in England; all these are more or less in the ruts of past abortive solutions; but the Irish question may very well be solved by the Englishmen and Irishmen—whether from Ulster or the south and west, who are now fighting together in Picardy. These men will bring new light home with them, to shed on that ancient, vexed question. And those will

bring most light who have fought most valiantly.

But there were other dangers that, just before the war, cut very deep into the life and heart of England. Perhaps it would not be unfair to say that Lloyd George, in his personal history and development, is the finest, most eloquent commentary on this side of the question. If it takes an effort of historic imagination to think one's self back to the days of forcible feeding in gloomy Pentonville, so that the name sounds almost as archaic as Bedlam, does it not take an even greater effort to think one's self back from the imperial statesman who is Kitchener's successor to the orator of the famous Limehouse speech? What was the essence of that speech and the agitation it made articulate? Social unrest, founded on the sense of social injustice. Lloyd George was telling his auditors, a characteristic gathering of "the people," that they were exploited, tyrannized over, robbed, that they should rise and take their rights by force, giving him the power to act for them. It was practically the doctrine of the French Revolution.

But what is the mood of England today as regards the whole of what is called the "social question"? That it must be solved, that it will be solved, by generous co-operation, by a union of hearts forged in the melting heat of war, in the "furnace of affliction," to use the poignant phrase of Isaiah.

In the first months of the war, the first months of voluntary enlistment, it was noticeable that the upper classes, the better-educated classes, responded more readily and more generously to the call of their nation's need. Why? Because they understood more clearly the finality of that need, the imperative call of honor, to meet it. Not a noble house in England that is not wearing black today.

Only slowly, by degrees, under some pressure, did the masses of the people of England wake up to the fact of their deadly peril; wake up to see that an enormous force was organized, and armed with incalculable resources of destruction, with the deliberate intention

of wreaking that destruction upon England, of practically annulling her thousand years of history and wiping her name out from among the nations. The better born and better taught had seen that instantly, and, having the higher privileges to sacrifice, sacrificed them more speedily and generously. So much was this so that it was called in the beginning a "gentleman's war"—because it was being fought for the principles of honor and humanity that make a gentleman. Now they think of it as a war for humanity; for all that ennobles human life. We may expect to see, after the war, great changes in England—a century's advance within a few years; changes brought about, in the main, not by the men who have remained in England, but by the men who come back from France. It has been well said that England's naval power represents what England is doing for England, but that England's army—incomparably the greatest in her long history—represents what England is doing for France. An act so large hearted must bring golden fruit.

IV.—*The British Empire*

One of the calculations of the Teutonic war psychologists (whose metallurgy, as a witty Frenchman has said, is so much better than their psychology) was that, under stress of war, the colonies and dependencies of England, the "dominions beyond the sea," would seize the opportunity to cast loose, to break the ties that bound them to England, ties which, in the view of these psychological theorists, were nothing but fetters. That was one among many bad prophecies, to the vitiating principle of which we shall presently come.

Let us see how the matter worked out. Let us begin with India, one of the great historic regions of the world. How did India react? There were small conspiracies, here and there, but, curiously enough, investigation in the courts showed that they were hatched, for the most part, on our own Pacific Coast, not in India at all. They were the work of needy adventurers, one group of whom, recruited from California and British

Columbia, had the astounding plan of financing their "revolution" by burglary.

But these sunspots only made clearer the brightness of the sun. The facts are that almost the entire army of occupation (which never amounted to more than about 75,000 British soldiers, in a population of 300,000,000) was withdrawn; not only did India hold steadfastly to England, but her Princes gave their treasure, her people gave their lives, to fight for the British Empire on battlefields in lands that were mythical to them; for every Indian soldier who crossed the "black water" to fight for England was a volunteer, as much as were the Canadians or the New Zealanders. Can we doubt that the spiritual reaction on these ancient races will be immense and decisive?

Let us take next, South Africa. I suppose every one regrets, and deeply regrets, that a man of high military gifts and indomitable pluck like Christian De Wet, should have been inveigled into treason; but here, as in India, the treachery of De Wet and his associates only makes brighter the loyalty and devotion of Botha, Smuts, and their associates.

The truth is, that the Union of South Africa, created so soon after the Boer war, has shown itself to be not only generous, but, politically, most wise. Founded on the everlasting principle of justice, it has been so recognized by the Boers who fought against Britain; and they now see that it is their advantage in every way to be an integral part of the empire. Documents seized when Botha's troops conquered German Southwest Africa made it absolutely clear to the whole Boer population of South Africa that Kaiser Wilhelm had counted confidently on adding their territory to that of Germany as a result of the war. They enjoy, at present, free representative government and impartial justice; they have good reason to believe that, were they a part of the German Empire, they would in practice be submitted to military despotism, as is the Fatherland, in spite of constitutional forms. Further, there is a strong element among the Afrikanders which comes of French stock; Botha

is an example; Joubert was another. These men have no prejudices in favor of Germany. The war, therefore, is likely to see the Union of South Africa increased in area from about 475,000 to about 1,175,000 square miles, and drawn by much more cordial bonds to the rest of the empire; fighting on the same battle line will do much to bring this greater cordiality about.

Of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, one need say little, though very much might well be said. Each of its own motion, these great self-governing dominions have elected to play a splendid part in world history; to lend their weight to the decision of the greatest question that has ever faced mankind. They will gain in return—to a large degree they have already gained—what a gifted Canadian aptly called "cosmic consciousness"—the power to think in terms of the whole human race; the power to act on the whole of human destiny. We may believe that their whole future history will be colored by this decision.

V.—*The Russian Empire*

"With the war and without vodka, Russia is richer than with vodka and without the war"—those words, in a few hours, went round the world, and announced a new epoch of Russian history, an epoch of greater self-reliance, greater sacrifice.

From time to time, if we wish to keep our judgments just, we should remind ourselves that Russia is by far the youngest of the greater nations, the expression of the youngest of human races. The United States began life with a millennium of English jurisprudence, of English political life—which has been the foundation of all modern political life—behind them; they have built on this firm foundation. Russia, within the memory of men still living, was divided into two parts, one of which, less than a million, "owned" the remaining forty millions and often lost a few dozen or a few hundred "souls" over a game of cards. And today, within two generations, Russia is making steady, stalwart progress in constitutional government;

is steadily developing a sound, self-reliant productive system, uncovering natural resources equaled nowhere in the world. And this, in the nation's childhood. What astonishing things will not her maturity show?

The Japanese war did much for Russia, much for her Government and more for her army. But the Japanese war was remote, not sensibly felt by the great mass of the people. With this war, it is altogether different; it has cut Russia to the quick—and has roused her sons to make mighty efforts. The results, in many ways, have been immense.

There has been an enormous enhancement of the national consciousness. The great invasion of 1812 entered deep into the Russian heart, and will never be forgotten. This war, with its invasion also, has entered deeper, and has brought a far profounder reaction. It is, hour by hour, laying the fabric of a finer patriotism. There is, throughout much of the Russian literature of the past, throughout much of Russian music, a plaintive note, a note of weeping, heard first in the days of the terrible Tartar conquest. After this war, we may confidently believe, there will be a more virile note, a note of victory.

There will be more tangible and material gains. The needs of the war have aroused the Local Governments—the *Zemstvos*—to tremendous efforts, closely correlated for the whole nation; effort, as always, has brought power; and these local bodies, while they have furnished the army with food and shoes and underwear with marked efficiency, have supplied themselves with unselfish power and wide political experience. Further, industrial Russia will greatly gain. Her mines and ore fields, under the pressure of the munition famine, have expanded swiftly, gaining more in these two years than they would, without the war, have gained in two generations.

But the greatest gain of all is the strengthening of the fibre of Russian character; precisely such a strengthening as marks the change from boyhood to manhood; there is greater steadiness, greater force, greater self-knowledge, greater self-reliance. Russia has gained

a lifetime's growth within a few months, and has already shown marvelous powers.

VI.—The Splendor of France

What shall be said of the gains of France? First, perhaps, this: That no nation in all history, in any episode of its life, has received in so large a measure the love and admiration of mankind, as France has received since the war began. And, second, this: No nation has ever borne itself with finer dignity, greater simplicity, clearer loyalty, in the face of universal homage.

Germany began this war to exalt Germany. She has succeeded, in a degree previously unimaginable, in exalting France. She sought for herself the hegemony of Europe. She has won for France the spiritual hegemony of the world.

In Germany, before the war, they looked down on France, and despised her. There is an ugly story, very well authenticated, of the German Crown Prince declaring, six or eight months before the war, to an English guest that he "wanted to get a smack at the French swine." Well, he has had it, and a million German families are in mourning, through his personal efforts. It is said that in all Central Europe there is but one family containing six sons of military age which has not lost a son on the battlefield.

The German Emperor told his soldiers that, as the war of 1870 was ended under the walls of Paris, so the present war would be ended at Verdun. Has he yet begun to see that he may have spoken prophetically, though, like Balaam, in an opposite sense? Under Verdun France has won the admiration of the world and the certainty of victory; under Verdun Germany has tasted the first bitterness of defeat. France has shown herself to be, once more, the greatest military nation—greatest in strategy, greatest in valor. One need not say that she will win—one may already say that she has won—a sovereign place among the nations. Her ancient sceptre is once more in her hands.

And the greatest testimonial to the spirit of France is, that the whole world

feels happier for it; not a man in England, or in Russia, or in Italy, or, we may add, among the better elements of neutral nations, but feels an exultant pride in France's fine achievement. Had Germany won, all generous hearts would have felt the numbing touch of chill misgiving. France's victory brings only warmth and gladness. Can there be better evidence than that of the real place of France?

And the reaction upon France herself, not so much of her great victories at the Marne, and at Verdun, and now on the Somme, but of the heroic self-sacrifice that created these victories, has been striking. First, on her Government. No nation at this hour has a stronger Government, which so perfectly expresses the will of the whole nation. She has all the virtue of a monarchy—high ideals expressed by a unified will—and is yet intensely national. The Frenchman is the freest man on earth today, because he has freed himself by splendid sacrifice.

Next, France has gained self-knowledge and self-confidence. The grievous defeat of 1870, made possible by the dishonesties of the Second Empire, filled her with shame and self-distrust. But, even in that distrust of herself she built up an army that was able at the Marne, a month after the war opened, to smash the greatest war machine on earth. That was no extemporized victory. It had been carefully, painfully prepared; its foundations laid by years of deliberate self-sacrifice. It is because Joffre prepared that victory as well as gained it that he is sovereign in French hearts today. France was great and strong when the Marne battle began. When the battle ended she knew her greatness and her strength. We have used the phrase, "the greatest war machine"; the French soldier is not part of a machine; he is a living soul, and hence his victory.

Then, again, French literature has gained a new and vital note. In one way France, essentially pure-hearted, gravely misrepresented herself in her literature, especially in the part of it

oftenest read abroad. It was full of dramas of passion, of corrupting allurements. But this may be said for it—it was always the allurements of beauty and charm, never the sordid bribe of greed, of successful money getting; and French prose, even in novels otherwise bad, was full of beauty, of light, of poetry. The superb style carried its message of the French spirit over the head of the faulty subject matter. And even in the midst of grossness there was exquisite sensibility. Take Paul Bourget, some of whose plots are bad; does any writer know women better? Is any writer better acclaimed as their interpreter by women themselves? In Maupassant, too, there are stories of heart-breaking tenderness; there is surpassing beauty. But the new French literature, born just before and during the war, has added to these high gifts devotion and a superb purity. It is attaining heights we as yet hardly realize.

This renewal of literature is only the symptom of a renewal of life. In the years before the war there were, in France, elements of despondency, of depression, of disbelief, which brought dangerous fruit. Three years before the war the Government of France surrendered to Germany territory in Africa equal to half the area of France, under circumstances hardly distinguishable from betrayal. Political strife had flowered in assassination; Jaurès, the great orator of socialism, was slain. There was the ugly scandal of the assassination of *Le Figaro's* editor. The industrial world was convulsed; sabotage was rife and menacing; the very word is the creation of this period. The army was becoming unpopular—falling into disrepute, a target for hostile politicians. The whole question of the Church and of religion was exacerbated by the bitter policy of Combes and his successors. And today the Government of France is among the strongest in the world, and the most perfectly united, while France is aflame with magnificent patriotism. In England there have been strifes, the menace of strikes, public quarrels; in France, not a shadow of these; only splendid unanimity and heroism.

This brings us naturally to the new birth of religion in France, something so great that even the first rays of its dawn are splendid. France has had an unbroken series of great spiritual teachers and religious mystics, but never hitherto have they given expression to what was the dominant, universal spirit of the nation. But today the most genuine religious spirit, and the purest, is at the same time the most representative of France as a whole. Divine Destiny, it would seem, has in store for France gifts that will make the common kinds of success cheap and tawdry and contemptible. France is striking a new note of nobility, setting new standards for human life; we shall all have to heed them, on pain of finding ourselves among the degenerates. For men must go forward or backward; there is no halting on the path of life.

VII.—Other Entente Nations

That Italy has gained immensely in the world's esteem because of the war no one will deny; and she seems certain to gain also in territory and in wealth; to round out her national life by adding her exiled provinces; even to gain something of the extent of the older Italy, by winning a secure foothold in Africa and Asia. But there are the smaller nations. Rumania seems able, with Russia's aid, to hold her own. The first shock of attack against her is already broken, and the attack is likely to lose, rather than to gain, momentum. Had Belgium been able to hold out as long, Belgium might have escaped invasion.

But Belgium would thereby have forfeited a priceless spiritual victory. She made the supreme sacrifice, and by that sacrifice she settled forever the moral values of this war—for all who can perceive moral values. Belgium's anguish has gained her a place in history that no triumph could have given her.

What is true of Belgium is true of Serbia. She has set a new standard of heroic sacrifice and valor. She has shown herself made of rough but splendid stuff. She is likely to travel far.

VIII.—The Central Empires

Among the powers arrayed on the

other side, the Turks have probably come out best in the world's esteem; and the Hungarians next. Russians, Englishmen, who have fought against the Turks, admire them; Frenchmen, like Pierre Loti, never tire of praising them; "they fight like gentlemen," is the testimony of all their foes. And, while this war is likely to end their domination over other nations—whom they have never handled well—it may very probably confirm the strength of a genuinely Turkish state in Asia Minor, where the Turk is really at home, and where he may do magnificently.

Of the future of Bulgaria or of Austria it is yet difficult to speak; too much still remains in the balance. For Hungary, one might well wish the same destiny as for Turkey—that she may be removed from the danger—which has been a grave one for her—of finding other races in her power; so that her manly, forceful race may work out its destiny free from this pitfall.

There remains Germany. Let us conceive of some one with a love for Germany, untainted by vanity or arrogance. What gift would such a one wish that Germany might gain through the war?

This, perhaps, first: A realization of the blasphemy she has been guilty of in calling her own dark ambitions "God." And, with this, the sense that genuine religion consists, not in seeking that God shall do our will, but in sincerely seeking to do God's will.

Next, this: A deep insight into the insult she has offered to all mankind by her dogma that Germany alone is right; that other nations are Germany's natural prey; that they have no rights except what Germany is willing to give them; the tolerated liberties of slaves. When Belgium's tongue is once more untied, we shall have candid judgments on German "liberty."

Thirdly, that a worldwide organization of treachery and deceit, of bullying and falsifying, is as futile and foolish as it is evil; that the God of Truth is still King over the earth.

These would be priceless lessons; invaluable gains of war.

Britain's Daughters at Dangerous Tasks

By Hall Caine

WE have always been proudly conscious of what the sons of Britain have been doing at the front. Is it not time we realized what the daughters of Britain are doing at home?

Though the vast arsenal of Woolwich is at our own doors, few of us who sleep in London have any real sense of its colossal presence, its immense significance, the tremendous force it stands for. Its origin dates back to other wars, but when the present war began, its workers were only 14,000 in all, without a woman of their number. Now there are 17,000 women and 50,000 men.

That is not all. Notwithstanding its fierce reality Woolwich is a symbol rather than a geographical expression. To that centre on the Thames, three and a half miles by two and a half, with its numberless workshops, its endless avenues, and its 120 miles of internal railway, there radiate the activities of scores of associate factories round about, so that 30,000 workers more, chiefly women, (97,000 in all,) are feeding this almost fathomless reservoir. Woolwich is a great mechanical octopus with arms that reach over, across, and around London and the country about it.

Before going into the women's workshops you are taken to the forges of the men, for it is impossible to come to Woolwich without seeing the awful basilicas of bridled force in which the mammoth guns are created. Here is one of them, a vast place, as big as Albert Hall. A colossal Nasmyth ham-

mer, with a blow of forty tons, is pounding on a thick block of white-hot steel. First a gentle tap to make sure of position and then a thunderous thud that makes the earth quake beneath your feet.

A few moments later you are in another vast forge, but here there is nearly no noise and hardly any motion. A gigantic press of 4,000 tons' power is drilling a hole through another enormous block of white-hot metal. The great thing seems almost as large as the façade of St. Mark's at Venice, and not unlike it in form, although stark and black. Under its open arch, without a sound or the appearance of a hand to guide them, and with a motion that is almost ghost-like, the great anvils with their burning freight glide into position.

A score of stalwart men, stripped to the waist, stand round with long iron rods and pinchers. They push a thick black ring of apparently cold metal on to the top of the white-hot block. One man stands under a huge clock with his hand on a lever. No one speaks. There is scarcely a sound. Presently there comes slowly down, as from the keystone of the monster machine, a shining column of steel. It reaches the black ring, presses down on it, descends without a pause to the white-hot block, rests on top of it for a moment, there is a thud as of something falling into a pit beneath, and then the column rises, the arch is reopened, and the ring has disappeared, having passed through the metal and dropped to the ground below. The sense of silent, irresistible, oceanic,



HALL CAINE
Photo, Brown Bros.

almost motionless power has left you breathless.

But perhaps the most awesome of all sights in Woolwich is that of the big furnace house for manufacturing the steel. I think I have witnessed in various parts of the world many scenes of nature in her wrath—scenes of earthquake, eruption, tidal wave, geyser, and boiling river—but I doubt if I have ever been more awed, more moved, and in a sense more terrified, than by the spectacle here presented of the physical forces of nature chained and harnessed to the work of men.

The Big Furnace House

A huge clay-colored oven, shaped like a wart, thirty to forty feet high, topped with an open mouth like the crater of a small volcano, belching out a thick column of hungry flame, which comes with a blast and roar as from the bowels of the earth, driven up by some frantic subterranean tempest, and scattering showers of blue stars in a ring about it. The light is so fierce that you put colored glasses before your eyes to protect them; the noise is so deafening that it drowns all human speech. And around the furnace stand the half-stark furnacemen, fifteen to twenty feet away, but within the radius of its sweltering heat, silhouetted even in the glistening light of the vast chamber against the white glare of the roaring oven.

Surely this, and such as this, is a scene proper for man's work only—for man's muscle, man's naked and blackened body, man's brain and man's nerve alone. Every instinct of our nature revolts against the thought that woman, with the infinitely delicate organization which provides for her maternal functions, should, under any circumstances whatever, take part in the operations such scenes require, and just as we feel that our men only may do work like this, so we must see at the swiftest glance that to any question of which of our men should do it there can be one answer only—the skilled and brawny man who can do it best.

But Woolwich has a world of operations that are entirely suitable for women, and in a few minutes more we

are in the midst of them. There is a new shop worked entirely by women, having been built for them since the beginning of the war. The vast place covers an area which is apparently as great as that of Trafalgar Square. Two thousand women are here, and there is room for three thousand in all.

There is at first something so incongruous in the spectacle of women working masses of powerful machinery (or, indeed, any machinery more formidable than a sewing machine) that for a moment, as you stand at the entrance, the sight is scarcely believable. But you go in and move round, and after a while the astonishing fact seems perfectly natural. Although most of the machines in this shop are small, some are large, and a few alarming. Here is a slip of a girl working one of the latter kind, a huge thing that has two large wheels like mill-wheels revolving at either side of her, and though she looks like a child in the jaws of some great black monster she does not seem to be the least afraid. Here is another young girl who is feeding a round disk with bits of metal that look like discolored farthings, and as her own particular Caliban eats them up it utters from its interior a hoarse grunt that hits you like a blow on the brain, yet she does not seem to hear.

But most of the work done by the women looks simple enough, and seems perfectly natural to their sex, although it has always hitherto been done by men. One woman is turning base plates for shells on a turret lathe. Another is cutting copper bands for shells from tubes. Another is pressing the copper bands into their places. Yet another is riveting brass plugs on to high explosive shell bodies. Some are drilling the holes through the six-inch shells. Others are rough-turning the shell surfaces; and yet others are gauging and paring-off the bodies of the huge eight-inch high explosives. Many are making shell fuses, a task in which women have become amazingly proficient, and many more are at work at the inspection board, where, being trained to the use of one gauge only, they have developed an efficiency to which men have never attained.

All the women wear the same uniform, a khaki-colored overall girdled at the waist, and a cap of the shape of a bathing cap.

Hard Work and Good Pay

Their hard work does not seem to be doing much harm to their health, for their eyes are bright, their cheeks are fresh, and there is hardly any evidence of fatigue among them. The clamorous and deafening noise of the machinery, its jar and whir and clank, which make your temples throb, sings (after their first days in the factory) like music in their ears, and they would miss it if it stopped. They work day and night, in two shifts of twelve hours each, with a break of an hour for dinner and half an hour for tea. Their pay, which is usually by the piece, is generally large, the minimum being, I think, a pound a week, and the maximum five or seven pounds.

But you realize that the lure of money is not the sole or yet the chief magnet that draws women to work for the war when you leave this immense workshop for the sinister-looking sheds in which the finished shells are filled. Everybody knows that a shell is not merely a lump of dead steel, but a living reservoir of compounds which have been brought up from the bowels of the earth and transformed into terrible explosives. Everybody knows, too, that the shell has to be loaded with its deadly charge. Therefore there ought not to be any question of exciting public alarm (there is no reasonable cause for it) or any fear of betraying a secret to the enemy (it is no secret) if—as evidence of the moral and physical courage of the daughters of Britain, and as an example of the bravest single thing woman does for the war, risking her life at home even as man risks his life in the field—I describe the scene of what is known as the danger zone at Woolwich.

This section of the arsenal is at some distance from the factories, and we drive to it in a motor car.

Entering the Danger Zone

At a low footboard, which is the boundary line of the safety and danger zones, we put rubber shoes over our boots

lest the grit of the streets should strike fire from something within. We then pass into an impressive and tremendous scene.

It is a broad encampment of small one-story wooden houses or huts, separated from each other by a liberal space, and having wide streets between, with raised causeways on either side. Down the middle of the street are lines of hooded and darkened lamps at long and unequal intervals. But the streets here are not for traffic. Within this zone there is hardly a sound or sign of motion. The moon is now shining, and in the distance, under its slow-growing light, we see the shadowy figures of women workers in their khaki gowns and caps moving noiselessly about like nuns. We could almost imagine that out of the noise and tumult, the thud and roar of the forges behind us, with their tall chimneys showing black against the steel-gray sky, we have passed into the calm rest and silent atmosphere of some open-air convent.

We walk along our causeway until we come to one of the detached wooden huts. The door is open (for fresh air is wanted) and electric light is streaming out of it. A dozen women are sitting within at two oblong tables, weighing and measuring out in little brass scales, like a chemist's, with all the care of apothecaries, small quantities of black, green, yellow, and bluish powder, and then pouring them into the open mouths of half-empty shells that stand upright by their sides.

They talk very little—indeed, hardly at all. Perhaps their work requires all their attention; perhaps their spirits are under the spell of the deadly things they are dealing with. Some of them are wearing over their mouths and nostrils light green veils that are like the veils of Arab women inverted; others, in their indifference to danger, have tucked their respirators into their waistbands, and are working with nostrils and mouths exposed.

It is not for long we can bear to look on a scene like this, so fearfully charged with spiritual as well as physical tragedy, and when we step back to the causeway outside we breathe more freely.

On the Battlefields of Picardy

By Count Ferri-Pisani

Count Ferri-Pisani, a prominent French journalist, is now in America. This vivid story of what he saw at the front was written by him in French for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WITH the passing of time the cities in the rear of the Somme front, where the British have concentrated their men, animals, and war paraphernalia, have insensibly become true English cities in the heart of France. Amiens is one of these. At the street corners are "Keep to the Right" signs for the allied drivers. In the suburbs adjoining the military bases the inns desirous of attracting the new clientele have transformed themselves into tea houses. Last year's signboards of "On Loge à Pied et à Cheval" have given place to "Breakfast and Five o'Clock Tea," suggestive of British home life.

In the roadhouses along the canal, at the hour when the dockers leave work, you may hear young Flemish girls answering the salutation of Tommy as he enters. After the coming of peace, when the soldiers of Sir Douglas Haig shall have returned to their island, they will leave behind them many souvenirs, words, customs implanted in the soil. Some of the men in khaki, indeed, will remain in Amiens, establishing their fireside on the ground that they have defended. For marriages between Tommies and French girls are not at all rare in these cities of the north, where betrothals are plighted to the sound of cannonading. * * *

On the Road to Albert

Arras is a corpse. Its very soul seems to have been scattered with its inhabitants. Ruins of people and things! On the other hand, Amiens, its neighbor, has known nothing of the storm save this vivifying current of war migrations.

Scarcely sixteen miles separate Amiens from Albert, the gate to the battle. But in this brief distance we pass through at least thirty posts where I have to show the special pass which I hold through the kindness of the British Chief of Staff. The first examination of my

papers takes place in a landscape animated by the passage of tugboats towing long lines of pinnaces. Dredging the estuaries of the streams running into the English Channel, borrowing forgotten canals, English sailors now ascend into the interior of the Flemish provinces. An incredible activity has sprung up between the large English seaports and small villages of France that yesterday were rural hamlets and today are river ports. Motor boats flying the allied colors have even been seen to emerge suddenly from behind the banks of narrow creeks, take aim, fire, and disappear, leaving to the astonished soldiers of the Crown Prince a wave of death and a terrifying vision of a naval combat on a sea of gray earth.

At Amiens one could, if need be, ignore the war; but after leaving the suburbs the route to the front is staked out all the way with precise images of battle. Here, in the Valley of the Somme, along the railway, is an evacuation camp. The tents, the barbed-wire inclosure, the cooking sheds, the drinking water, the infirmary, even the fumigating room for disinfecting doubtful clothes—everything had been prepared by the English before the offensive began. As fast as German prisoners are captured they are sent to this camp, where they are counted, sorted, and sent on to England.

On other fronts, in Poland, in Serbia, I have seen Hindenburg's or Mackensen's soldiers brought into the allied lines. At that time even the most gravely wounded prisoners still looked defiance with eyes that sought a weapon to strike. They had an inner certitude of final victory. But on the Somme, among the 300 captives of Contalmaison, there certainly was no more bravado. Instead there was stupor—the physical stupor of the formidable bombardment that had isolated them for three days on a little island that was fighting a sea of steel and fire;

moral stupor caused by the assault of that British infantry which up to that time the Emperor and his famous guard thought contemptible.

At least a third of the captives that I saw belonged to the élite Prussian corps. Well equipped, mostly young, they were among the enemy's best troops of attack. They showed none of the rage of the knowing themselves conquered—only stupor. To have believed the French worn out with the battle of Verdun, and then to find them more redoubtable than ever on the Somme! To discover, in place of a handful of English mercenaries, whole army corps of volunteers, sure of themselves, solidly organized, brave even to madness! What deception!

The Birdmen of Battle

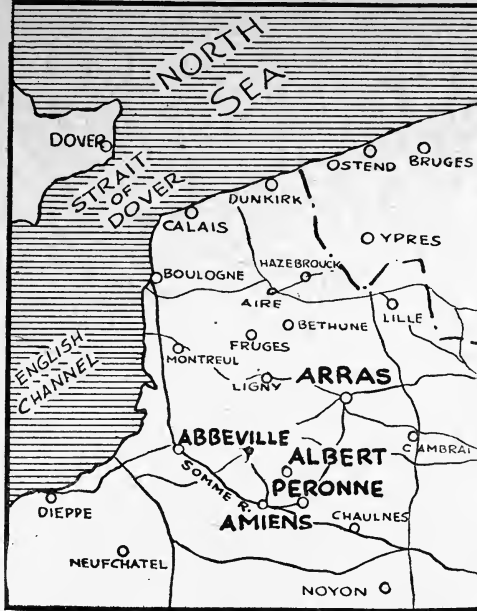
A ray of sun has pierced the fog that veiled the rolling plain of Picardy. Like a gigantic curtain the mist divides, disclosing villages, bell towers, water courses, green meadows, blonde fields that stretch now to the four horizons. A magnificent setting for a spectacle still more magnificent! Toward the high heavens, all blue, a famous air squadron is going to fly. The camp is on the edge of a forest glade. It is a camp of ultra-modern, scientific Bohemians. The aeroplane is a bird of luxury that demands for its service a whole group of specialists and an imposing outfit—motor tractors, a park of artillery, automobile workshops, a wireless station, a photo-electric van. To the person of the aeroplane are attached mechanics, photographers, carpenters, telegraphers, electricians, armorers.

Here are the birds in a row before their tents of green canvas. On the ground, in repose, they look like inoffensive yellow penguins. But wait till, roused by the song of the motor, they scale the clouds with outstretched wings! They will be bold falcons then. Their pilots, with legs gaitered in fawn-colored

leather and body enveloped in furs, for the moment are pacing the esplanade in couples. They are waiting.

Already the helpers are busy over the machines, testing for a last time the soundness of the stays, verifying the cleanness of the magnetos. The motors utter their staccato volleys, the fans whirl, luminous, driving the air over the shuddering grass.

When they are silent one hears the rumble of the cannon yonder on



MAP SHOWING RELATION OF SOMME FRONT TO ENGLISH CHANNEL

the Somme. * * *

In the chief's headquarters a bell has sounded. A marine officer, map in hand, advances. Over the map, fly specked with red and blue dots, the pilots lean. The last orders are given by numbers. In the past the objects of battles were cities with resounding names—victories were called Austerlitz, Wagram. Those were the days when one could plant a flag on the walls of a conquered redoubt. You could see your triumph. Today you receive the order on leaving: "Drop six bombs on 325. * * * Photograph 2113 at a height of 500 yards." How often is the man who obeys an order ignorant of the result of his act! It is the reign of abstract figures.

But the incendiary arrows are ready, in the carlings the bombs are in their place; the young men in furs approach

their birds. Some one pointed out to me an aviator who before the war led all the noted cotillions in Paris. Another in times of peace had been only a humble workman. Here is a poet; he is the observer on board a machine piloted by a celebrated boxer. Each social class has contributed its quota to the personnel of the fliers.

At Albert, Gate to Chaos

My auto now glides along the road of the offensive, which today bears an English name, for our allies rebaptize as fast as they advance. * * * On the Somme there is none of the fever that marked the road to Verdun. The motor trucks run on first speed. Who would have suspected that so much calmness led, a few miles further on, to the formidable offensive? Up to the gates of Albert women and old men are working in the fields.

Enveloped in a shroud of impalpable dust, Albert, the bombarded city, rises before us. I look in vain for the spectacle of atrocious desolation that awaits me further on with the annihilation of Fricourt, the less than nothing of Mametz and Curlu. Albert has appeared to me always since that day as a flourishing city with streets, roofs, walls, half a church. Out of a shattered window leans the resigned head of an old woman. A cat mews under a crumbled porte-cochère. A little girl crosses a dangerous zone, running. It is life again beginning to overflow these reconquered towns, which within the hour are to present to me a vision of the world before its creation.

On the route to the offensive, Albert is the last thing to which one can give a name. As soon as one has traversed what remains of the city, one advances in the midst of a monstrous leprosy that has eaten into everything, leaving nothing standing, from one place to another, but the mangled trunk of a branchless tree. Pick and shovel, shells, mines and countermines, smudges, torpedoes of all shapes and calibres, gas, the feet of men, the hoofs of beasts, the wheels of motor trucks—all have for two years done their worst against the soil. Even with the map of the General Staff in one's

hand, one risked going astray. No more horizon, no more lines, no more water, no more anything. What wandering tribe, however miserable, would consent to live in such a place?

Yet millions of men do more than live here: they die here.

Today the villages, the meadows, the roads, the groves, present to the eye only a sea of gray earth, with no other guide-point than miserable wrecks. It is a gigantic bric-à-brac that floats on waves of clay and chalk. As in a junk dealer's shop, so here one finds the débris of vehicles, old iron, rags of uniforms, black wadding, formless boots, old ammunition cases. Empty benzine cans cover whole fields. All the Bohemians in the world seem to have camped here, and yet it is here that a victorious army has passed.

The Factory of Death

One must be forewarned, for the factory of death before us is a factory all invisible, in caves. Its roads creep under the earth, its rails stretch along the bottoms of ravines. Its observatories neighbor with its catacombs. When the factory talks with the heavens, the conversation is carried on from subterranean depths, in whose obscurity shine only the eyes of the radio telegraphers leaning over their copper commutators. All is new here, and terrible, even to the unknown language which these cave dwellers employ when they throw mysterious figures to distant batteries.

Yes, it is indeed a dying factory; a factory in the proper sense of the word, both by reason of the innumerable materials which modern battle exacts, and by reason of the strict division of labor which is imposed on each of the workers. Yonder in the factory at the rear 500 different hands have labored in the making of a single shell. One gives only a stroke of the file, another only a stroke of the brush. Here, in the factory of the front, there are destinies of the humblest. I have known many men who, if asked after a day of decisive action, "What did you do during the terrible battle?" could only reply, "I displaced one stone," or "I dug a hole," or even, "I waited." And yet all these any-

mous tasks go to make the perfect achievement.

The factory of death advances. Sometimes it seems to stop. It is getting its breath to clear a few more yards, from one funnel to another funnel, from one ravine to the next.

Devastation at Fricourt

The place where Fricourt stood is marked by a few strands of rusted wire, vestiges of conquered enemy trenches. Albert, which was under the German guns for twenty months, is still a city. Fricourt, which was under the British guns a little more than twenty hours, is not even a souvenir of a village. The fire has devoured the last joist. The bombardment has reduced the stones to dust. Of cities overwhelmed by Vesuvius one still finds ruins after twenty centuries. Here of the barns, of the cemetery, of the church, there remains not one slate, not one beam, not one brick. Only things made of iron have resisted. Over the sea of earth the tools of the farming village rise, charred, but recognizable. At night-fall they take on strange proportions—the souls of the peasants who handled them in other days seem to animate them. Ghosts full of menace, they take part in the war, and one might believe them new infernal machines invented to accelerate the work of death.

We follow the direction of the moving death factory. * * * In the direction of Guillemont the machine guns are stuttering. One-half of the effective English troops are counterattacking in order to permit the other half to lengthen the factory a few hundred paces.

"Strategic truths are eternal," remarked my guide. "If the Roman legions were so long invincible, it is because the legionaries were magnificent removers of earth. Every evening, even for a rest of one night, Caesar's soldiers erected their camp, and fortified it as if they were going to live there and defend themselves for ten years. That work with the shovel was one of the secrets of Rome's power. Certainly today victory is reserved for the army that possesses the most intrepid aviators, the heaviest guns, and the bravest infantry;

but victory already belongs to the army that shall have shoveled the most earth."

In Presence of the Guns

The manoeuvre of the earth workers had led us insensibly into the kingdom where Lizzie, Woolly Bear, and Grandmother roared. But any one who expected to "see" a modern battle upon arriving even at the extreme limit of the firing line would be cruelly disillusioned. In order to understand an action, it is necessary to keep at a distance, in some army quarters, often out of the range of cannon. The clear vision of a combat is gained only at the rear, however paradoxical that may seem. In proportion as the spectator approaches the holes where the killing is going on the deeds around him take on the aspect of separate acts and the horizon contracts until it is limited by the embrasure of a battle-ment.

On that day the eight-inch guns into whose den I had penetrated were bombarding Combles. An important business, certainly, but for a mortar pointer the bombardment of Combles or of Strasbourg is all the same thing; for the heavy artilleryman recognizes neither meadow, nor woodland, nor citadel. It is a matter of figures, distances, ready reckoners.

It was terribly hot, and the dust that rose from the battlefield had changed the radiant morning into a dull gray afternoon. Under my eyes three "eight-inchers" were turning on elevated carriages that were themselves mounted on small wheels. Seen in silhouette, there was nothing beautiful about them. The rural "75" has an elegance of its own. But war is an affair of force, not of beauty. The mortars held their muzzles in the air, as if to see what was going on in front of them.

The men who served these guns, long intent upon the monotony of the invisible battle, were laboring bareheaded, in their shirtsleeves. Their motions were like those of bakers before an oven. At each discharge the gun advanced two yards, as if it meant to follow the shell. In its movement it carried along the men. Before the carriage had resumed its normal

position the empty shell was already removed and the new projectile had taken its place. A lightning flash, a roar, a slap in the face, a noise of wings in the sky! These are asphyxiating shells, the latest model, which come at \$500 apiece. It is hard to count by lightning flashes, for one must be able to look in all directions at the same time. To calculate by roars would be still more impracticable, for the roar is continuous. It is indeed the "drum fire" of which the Germans speak. The most precise method is to count the slaps; at each discharge the displacement of the air administers a formidable buffet to the face of the gunner.

Road Marked by Graves

To reach Hardecourt our auto had only to follow the graves that marked the stages of the British advance on the right bank of the Somme. Little crosses of wood, a name, a date, and the traditional "Killed in Action." From all corners of the world they have come to die here, the children of old England. In this bloody martyrdom all the provinces of the great island are represented. The distant dominions have offered in sacrifice the most beautiful of their sons. Irish fusiliers, whose death agony is soothed by Catholic priests; brawny Highlanders, critical Welshmen, Scottish rifles whose eyes, the pupils widened by death, still preserve their eternal dream of lake and mountain; impossible Hindus, Canadians full of French enthusiasm, New Zealanders, city street gamins, elegants from Piccadilly, cockneys from Whitehall—all the races, all religions, all the social classes.

Before one of the new graves a platoon of Australian cavalry had halted. While the horses, with loose bridle, were sniffing with astonishment at this soil where not a blade of grass grows, the men were reverently bordering the humble mound with white pebbles. Elsewhere the cherished dead rest beneath armfuls of flowers or leaves.

"The man who lies here is one of our own," said the cavalry chief; "he was a colonist, like myself, in distant Queensland." And the Sergeant told us in a few words the story of that ridiculous little mortar at Hardecourt.

On the eighth day of the allied offensive five infantrymen under the orders of an officer—the same whose grave the Australians are decorating—arrived during a grenade charge at the very heart of the village of Hardecourt. Scarcely had the British installed themselves in their new position when a counterattack was launched against them by the enemy. The Huns are a thousand. Our allies are six men, cut off from the main body of their forces. As their sole means of defense they have one little mortar, half way between a catapult and a crapouillaud in size, and poorly supplied with ammunition. Impassively the five soldiers under their officer set themselves to working the little mortar with the precision and pride of artillerymen serving a siege piece. The orders come with the same fullness as in a heavy eight-inch battery. A magnificent spectacle this of six men opposing the march of a whole battalion. The Germans are only 300 yards away. Suddenly the little mortar is silent.

"First pointer!" cries the impromptu artillery officer from his post of command.

"Killed, Sir," answers a voice.

The body of the first pointer, struck by a shrapnel full in the forehead, lies across the little mortar.

"Second pointer!" orders the Lieutenant. The Huns are 200 yards away. The second pointer has drawn aside the body of his comrade, and again the little cannon thunders. Not long, for in his turn the second pointer drops at his post.

"Second pointer!"

"Killed, Sir."

"Third pointer!"

Three more times the scene is renewed. The fourth time it is the Lieutenant himself who, all his men being dead, loads, aims, and fires the ridiculous little mortar, which, crammed with small bullets, carries terror into the enemy's ranks. The resistance of the six Britishers has been such that at the very moment when the Germans thought themselves masters of the position Australian reinforcements dashed upon the scene, occupying forever the village won by the heroic folly of the old colonist from Queensland. But the

latter had paid with his life for the magnificent exploit. While he was being carried in his agony to the first-aid post the dying man could still murmur:

"You understand? The ridiculous little mortar—we defended it to the end. It would have been shocking to abandon our battery."

After telling me this story the Sergeant added: "We shall soon be three millions of Britishers ready to do that same thing." All the indomitable tenacity of an army fighting, first as a business, then for honor, and now for the salvation of the race itself, was revealed in the words of that simple Sergeant.

In First-Line Trenches

On a punt we crossed the Somme, with its clayey banks. When we were in the middle of the current the cannonade stopped for a space of thirty seconds, during which an agonizing silence suspended all life.

Then suddenly we found ourselves in the trenches of the first line. The piled-up defenses, the posts beyond posts, each section preparing a new section, all seemed to withdraw into infinity for us the moment that our guide could at last say, as we adventured our gaze between two bags of earth: "There, in front, Péronne!" A ridge of chalky earth ran, a thousand yards away, parallel to the French works. On the right, a wood. Further to the north, in a shaded depression, the imprisoned city. It lay spread out in the elbow of the Somme, where we could see its pointed roofs, its brick fortification, its marshy environs, its roads bordered with turf pits.

A new and strange emotion thrilled us. It is true, I had already looked upon cities of France across the enemy's lines, but the houses of those villages were dead things, empty of all inhabitants. Here in Péronne, whose streets and squares we can distinguish; in Péronne, which lies within reach of the voice, almost near enough to touch it, perhaps here there is French flesh and blood. Among the blue helmets who stormed Biaches day before yesterday there are some whose dear ones—their wives, their children—are in the imprisoned city.

They have been waiting and hoping there now for two years. They hope because they know. The allotment of enemy troops that traverses Péronne, the increasing number of German wounded, the din of battle approaching—all are magnificent promises and hopes. Already our batteries have lowered their curtain of fire over the road from Bussu. When will our troops enter the first reconquered French city?

But the enemy's guns are already trained upon the roofs, the streets are mined; the Crown Prince of Bavaria is preparing to defend Péronne as he defended Carnoy, Maricourt, Curlu, Herbecourt, Fay. This time again we shall deliver only stones, and to reconquer even these we shall perhaps have to destroy them ourselves. * * *

A Night Attack

It is night, and not the voices of our 75s, not the roar of our more distant heavy pieces, nothing can drown the monotonous and terrible noise from the enemy's line. * * * An attack has been ordered. The wave is about to go forth. Already nothing separates these French soldiers from annihilation—nothing but a sack of earth and fate. * * * It is the moment when he who is going to die feels death coming.

Along the trench the Captain passes. He repeats before each man: "Come, old fellow, we must go into the thick of it." He says it without a tremor in his voice, but also without inflecting the first syllable more than the last. It is as monotonous and as terrible as the tac-tac of the German machine guns on the border of the wood. "Come, old man, we must go into it." A whistle sounds, and a physical thrill runs through the troop. Once outside the magic wall, all these men have again become fierce savages of the killing factory. The wave melts into the chaotic landscape. The last soldier to come out of the trench repeats, mechanically, "Come, old man, we must go into it." Those words epitomize the whole battle, the great, implacable war, which for two years has kept ten million men oscillating between the beast and divinity.

A Night Battle and a Close Call

By Harry C. Collins

A Soldier in the French Army

The writer of this vivid battle narrative is the son of J. Henry Collins, President of the New England Electrical Supply Corporation. He is 26 years old, a Harvard graduate, and was living in Paris when the war broke out. He joined the French Army and has been on the firing line since Oct. 19, 1914, fighting in Belgium, France, and the Balkans. He is now "somewhere in France."

OUR line of trenches had been broken through by the enemy, a few rods to our right. There was a deep depression in the line a short distance to our left, which left the trenches occupied by our battalion almost entirely cut off from the rest of the regiment, and threatened from both sides as well as the front, by the enemy.

Though the deep depression in our lines to the left was far from being a reassuring sight, it was nothing compared with the chaos that existed to our right. Here, as I said before, the enemy had succeeded in capturing a length of our trenches, and had even pushed a little beyond them, hastily digging new ones, in which they faced our troops, who had fallen back some hundred yards.

The result of this was that our communication with our troops to the right was interrupted, except by some "boy-aux," (trenches of communication,) far in the rear. Consequently, in case of attack, we would be subjected to a galling flank fire to which it would be extremely difficult to reply, as our bullets would not only strike the foe, but would to a great extent fly past them and over into our own ranks.

It was midnight. The darkness was so intense that it seemed to press down on us like a great, suffocating weight. As I stretched out on the damp ground,

which exhaled a sickening, heavy odor—dismal souvenir of past conflicts—I was obsessed with the presentiment that the night was going to be marked by events of a violent nature. So, pulling my rifle alongside of me, within easy reach of my hand, so as to be ready for any proposition that might present itself, I drifted off into the "land of Nod," where the greater part of my comrades had preceded me.



HARRY C. COLLINS

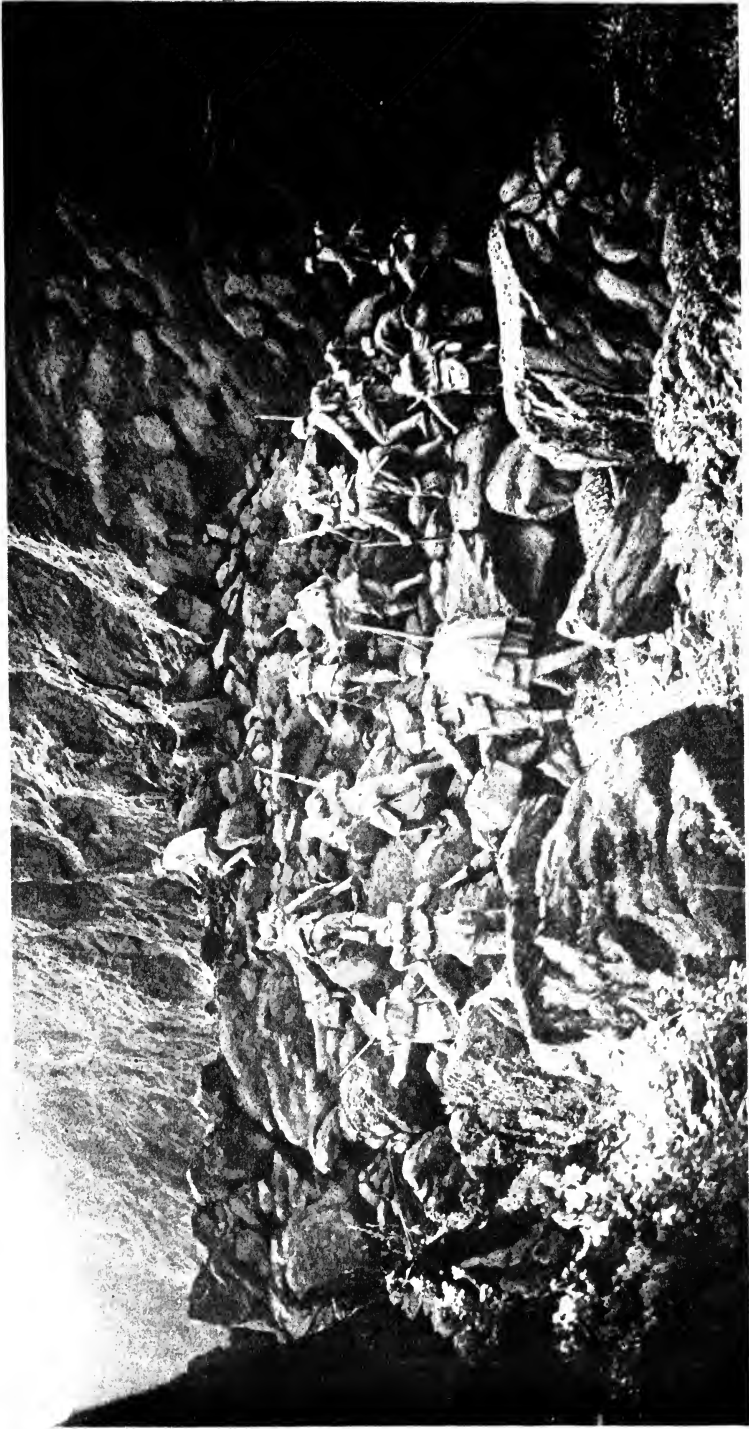
"Aux armes! Aux armes! Stand by to the left there, boys! Here they come! Remember, boys, aim at their bellies—at their bellies! Remember, keep cool and take your time! Now, all together—o n e, t w o, t h r e e, f i r e! Crack-ck-k! Boom! S-s-s

Spat! Look out! They're sneaking up on the right there. Now! Crack! Crack! Tic-tic-tic! Boom! S-s-s Spat!"

As my sleep numbed brain grasped the situation I sprang to my feet, rushing over to where I heard my Sergeant's voice snapping out order after order in his quick, sharp, incisive manner, which resembled to a striking degree the sharp, dry snap of a lash.

As I reached his side the enemy sent a long, rolling volley of riflefire in our direction, and its rumbling "crack-ck-ck" indicated that he was attacking, as was his custom, in great, closely packed masses. The sinister whistling "S-s-s-s!" of the flying bullets and the ugly sound-

ITALIAN ALPINI CHARGING UNDER DIFFICULTIES



An Austrian Position Just Beyond the Jagged Rocks Has Been Blown Up by a Mine, and the Agile Italian Soldiers Are Pressing Forward to Capture It.

(Fuch Photo News.)

A HIGH EXPLOSIVE SHELL BURSTING ON AN ITALIAN TRENCH



This Remarkable Photograph Shows a Great Austrian Shell Exploding in the Wire Entanglements of an Italian Mountain Trench, Causing Several Deaths.

(Pach Photo News.)

ing "Spat" of the striking ones had not yet died away, however, before our machine-gun operators, turning the muzzles of their deadly arms full on this onward rushing wave of humanity, poured forth steady streams of steel as the clocklike tic-tic-tic of their madly speeding machines attained a tremendous rate of speed.

The shrieks of anguish, curses, and groans that greeted their operation testified to the valuable service they were rendering us, and added their discordant notes to the horrible, hellish concert that was crashing out in full play under the terrible leadership of its pitiless conductor, the Grim Reaper.

From time to time this music of war was punctuated by the hollow sounding "boom" of heavy artillery, or interlaced by the silvery clang of rasping bayonets; but these sounds were rare and only served to bring out in strong contrast the sullen, frightful roar of battle that bites into a man's nerves and shatters them.

"They seem to be coming in bunches," I observed to the Sergeant, as a bursting war-rocket swirled madly, high in the heavens, casting its greenish glare on the agitated mass of violently struggling men below, revealing to our searching eyes the presence of line after line of troops, who, as they hurled themselves desperately forward in the very teeth of our galling fire, fell like flies, forming heaps and mounds of corpses, over which their comrades stumbled and often fell in their frenzied onward rush.

The greatest noise and uproar seemed to be coming from our right; but there was a significant lack of activity on our left that evidently seemed suspicious to the Sergeant, for, in reply to my observation, he remarked:

"Yes; they are certainly piling in on us here, but unless I'm mistaken, all this is only a blind to attract our attention from the left, where they are going to make a desperate effort to break through our lines and cut us off from the rest of the regiment; however, we'll see.

"Come on, boys, keep on firing. Don't stop; aim low and take your time. Don't get excited. We'd stop them if there

were ten times as many. Come on, boys, get a move on. This is—"

Boom!

A shell from the enemy's "77" (cannon) interrupted the Sergeant's flow of speech by bursting with an infernal fracas a few yards away and sending us all sprawling under a perfect avalanche of earth, branches, and débris.

We were more shaken up than hurt, however, and, emerging from our covering, like so many shadowy spirits issuing from the bowels of the earth, we set to work firing faster than ever in our endeavor to make up for lost time, when the soundness of the Sergeant's judgment was proved by the sounds of heavy fighting on our left and the Adjutant's voice, crying:

"Hold steady, my lads; aim low and take your time."

"Come on, boys! Double-quick time to the left!" shouted our Sergeant, as he motioned to the greater part of us to follow him and hurled himself over to the point where the combat was at its greatest height.

On arriving at the threatened point we found our troops already being slowly but surely forced back under the overwhelming weight of the innumerable troops that were being constantly hurled against them. As we added our numbers to the defense there was an instant's hesitation in the forward push of the enemy, and a moment later we found ourselves struggling desperately in the midst of the German mass.

The next few moments would tax the pen of a Dante to describe. In my memory that encounter only stands forth as a sort of unearthly, chaotic nightmare in which friend and foe sweep unceasingly by in a kaleidoscopic scene of violence and carnage.

Kill or be killed — this was the situation, and every man there fully realized it; so every possible means of defense and offense was brought into play, and all rules of fair combat were thrust ruthlessly aside in the great common love of life.

Commencing with a duel of rifles, the battle assumed more and more the aspect of a stone-age combat as the men came

closer together in hand-to-hand fighting. After the rifles, the bayonet; then the rifle butt, and finally our fists and feet. The sudden bursting of a war rocket overhead revealed the fact that some sixty of us were almost entirely cut off from the main body; so, as one man, we hurled ourselves forward in a frantic attempt to keep in touch with the others. Too late! Our enemy saw our precarious situation at the same moment as we, and, quickly taking advantage of it, forced their way into the final "boyau" that connected us with our comrades, thus leaving us no means of retreat excepting a narrow strip of high, exposed ground, flanked on both sides by trenches held by the enemy.

To have attempted to escape by this passage would have been sheer suicide; so settling back in the short line of trenches left to us, we gazed desperately right and left, hoping to discover some line of retreat overlooked in the frenzied excitement of battle. Vain hope. All routes of retreat, except the one I previously mentioned, were closed to us. The bitter fact of our complete isolation was forced on us.

Isolated! With what horror we grasped the full significance of our position! Across our memories flashed, like the shifting scenes of a cinematograph, scenes of similar nature where the victims, after a long, brave, and painful fight against starvation and thirst, had at last succumbed under the slow but implacable action of those inexorable foes.

"Come, boys, let's throw this wreckage out of here, so we'll have room to move around while waiting for the counterattack that will set us free," cried the Sergeant, in a cheerful, matter-of-fact tone, as if no possible doubt existed as to a quick delivery from our uncomfortable position. He spoke and acted in this manner to distract our minds from the grim reality, for nothing renders a man more helpless and impotent than a feeling of discouragement or fear.

His ruse succeeded. In a few minutes every one had forgotten the existence of the grim spectre that hung over us, in the absorbing interest of cleaning out the trench, which was littered from one

end to the other with a heterogeneous collection of dead bodies, broken timber, rifles, swords, brush, and so forth.

As we were working I noticed that there seemed to be a great lull in the battle, as if the enemy had reached the extreme limit of his forward push and was endeavoring to settle himself solidly in the trenches he had already captured, so as to be able to repulse the counter-attack which our men would certainly launch against him.

The counterattack! Would it be successful or not? This was the question.

The silence. The waiting. Occasionally, a scattering volley of rifle fire broke out. Then, the cold shafts of searchlights would flash out, painting the mounds of dead bodies white; a bursting shell would paint them scarlet, or a soaring war-rocket would paint them a ghastly green. The moment was weird, horrible.

One instinctively felt that both sides were hastily and frantically preparing for another great struggle. No sign of life or movement was visible; for the most important factor in the game of modern warfare is concealment. Minutes that seemed like hours, hours that seemed days, dragged painfully by. The eastern horizon assumed a faint grayish hue that foreboded the coming of the all-revealing daylight, which would expose our trench to a hurricane of fire and steel from three directions at the same time, and as yet our side had made no move to regain the territory it had lost.

A strained anxiety was visible in each man's face, showing plainly that all were fully conscious of the gravity of our plight. Suddenly, there seemed to be some activity manifested by our heavy artillery, which gradually increased. Each man asked himself hopefully: "Is our side preparing for an attack?"

The question was hardly formulated in our minds when it was answered in the affirmative by the increased intensity of our cannons' roar, and the feverish activity manifested by the foe as he frantically hastened his work of reconstructing his captured trenches so as to be able to repulse the impending assault. Needless to say, the guns of the enemy were not idle all this time, but were booming

out their messages of defiance and death, with clocklike regularity.

As the moment for action drew nearer, the nervous tension on both sides increased proportionately, and soon the entire sky glowed luridly with the glare of soaring war rockets and flames of bursting shells.

As we were too near their own men to be bombarded by the Germans and naturally spared by our own artillery, we were able to enjoy this magnificent scene of savage beauty without great danger.

The spectacle was of short duration, however, for the bombardment ceased even more abruptly than it had commenced, and, in the comparative silence that followed, we could plainly hear the falling back to earth of parts of trenches, men, and rifles, which our shells had blown high in the air, and, what was more important, the shouted orders of our officers as they led their men forward to the charge. At the same time, to our right and left scores of guttural German voices repeated the orders that were passing down their lines.

"The dance is on!" ejaculated the Sergeant, as he snapped open and closed a couple of times the magazine of his rifle, to make sure it was in good working order. "Here's where the fun begins."

His remarks were abruptly terminated by a shower of hand bombs thrown by the enemy, who had evidently received orders to wipe us out of existence without delay, as our presence in their lines was a constant source of danger to them.

Following their usual motto, "Victory at any cost," they hurled themselves directly into the withering blast of our rifle fire, which cut them down as the farmer's scythe mows down the stalks of wheat.

Onward they came, from right and left in closely pressed masses that continued their unfaltering march over the bodies of their comrades, and we saw that, in spite of our most desperate defense, we would be sooner or later crushed and annihilated under this avalanche of humanity, unless our own comrades, who had already quit their trenches and were running toward us, cheering, could reach us in time to save

us from the final rush of the foe. From firing, our rifle barrels became red hot, burning and blistering our fingers most cruelly; but at this moment of life or death we never noticed the pain, but continued charging and firing automatically into the great surging mass before us that never seemed to diminish in spite of all our efforts.

The smoke of burned powder was strangling us, but we did not cough. We were too busy; at times we were rendered completely blind from the same cause, but that was not important; we could charge and fire our rifles blindfolded.

Finally, our groping fingers searched in vain for more cartridges, and we suddenly realized that on our defense with the bayonet depended our lives. "A few minutes more and all will be over," was the dispirited thought that flashed through our minds as we rapidly and mechanically shifted our positions so as to form with our bayonets a glittering, menacing barrier of steel.

A moment's pause. Then over the parapet of our trench appeared the leering face of the enemy, who, realizing our helpless condition, was already tasting the unholy joy of vengeance and was fully determined to exterminate us.

But at this moment the sharp, shrill bugle call "En avant!" ("Forward!") sounded out clearly and triumphantly on the night air, followed instantly by such a great commotion that the savage horde, which had been on the point of hurling itself on us, hesitated and turned to face the new danger that thus suddenly loomed up behind them.

What they saw caused them to rush in the direction from which they had come.

This was our signal to leap out of our trench, and, with Sergeant Chapuis at our head, crying, "En avant, mes garçons! C'est pour la France! Vive la France!" we charged forward at the point of the bayonet.

We had not gone a dozen rods before we caught up with the foe, who was struggling desperately, man to man, with our comrades.

Without a moment's hesitation we drove our long, slender bayonets home

to the hilt in the struggling, writhing backs before us, and then threw the weight of our number into the swirling group of combatants.

At first our side seemed to be in the minority, but reinforcement after reinforcement surged up from the rear, and finally the advantage of numbers was on our side.

The enemy fought bravely and stubbornly, but nothing could have resisted the impetuous forward sweep of the French troops; and gradually the slow, methodical retreat of the enemy changed into a panic-stricken flight.

Still fairly burning with the lust of battle, we wished to rush after them and continue the primitive hand-to-hand combat; but our officers restrained us, and a moment later we saw the wisdom of their action, for when the foe was about twenty yards away and beating a wild, disorderly retreat in full view, scores of our machine guns, which had been silent up to this time, suddenly opened up on them a perfect hail of fire and steel that cut them down like flies.

The enemy continued his desperate retreat, leaving behind him the trenches he had conquered a few hours before. Finally arriving, much diminished in numbers, at the trenches from which he had commenced his attack, he stopped, evidently decided to make face to our attack from his strongly fortified position. He had barely thrown himself into these trenches, however, before our heavy artillery began to thunder with triple and quadruple force, obliging the Germans to lie flat on the ground in order to escape the flying fragments of shells and bombs, while we, profiting by this impenetrable wall of fire and steel before us, continued to advance rapidly across the corpse-strewn ground with but little danger to ourselves.

Finally, however, the rolling thunder of heavy artillery behind us suddenly ceased, and we realized we must be very near the enemy's trenches. Several volleys of rifle fire from before us confirmed this opinion. The enemy had risen from the bottom of his trenches, where he had lain hidden during the

bombardment, and was already firing on our advancing columns.

"En avant à la baïonnette!" ("Forward with the bayonet!") shouted the Captain in a voice that seemed to thrill the heart of every man present with its patriotism, for hardly had the command been given before the men were coming swiftly forward into the very teeth of the enemy's fire, singing the "Marseillaise" and crying "Vive la France!"

Our comrades dropped to our right and to our left, and we could plainly hear the shrill whistling "s-s-s" of passing bullets or the ugly "spat!" of those that had attained their human target; but our surroundings, horrible as they were, impressed us but feebly, for we were carried away, intoxicated by the feverish lust and excitement of battle.

On we went, on, on, right to the edge of the trench, where our enemies, huddled together like so many sheep, glared up at us with eyes expressing hate and fury. This exchange of glances was only momentary, for the surging mass behind us lifted us from our feet and threw us bodily on the enemy. In a few moments the trench was in our hands and we were firing at the enemy, who was beating a hasty retreat to his next line of trenches.

Very soon, however, our firing became unnecessary, for our heavy artillery began to roar again, and placed between them and their trench a wall of fire and steel through which they could not pass, while our favorite light cannon, the "75s," opened on them a continuous fire that was merciless in its intensity and accuracy.

The trapped Teutons rushed madly back and forth like mice in a trap, not knowing where to flee. To rush forward into the wall of fire created by our heavy artillery was almost certain death; to remain still under the fire of our "75s" and machine guns, which were systematically sweeping the ground, meant annihilation; and to have attempted to return against us, who were now strongly established in our trench, would have been suicide; so, after rushing madly from side to side for a few moments in a fruitless attempt to escape the ever-pur-

suing, withering fire we directed on them, they finally realized that they must choose between surrender and death. Naturally, they chose the former, and a white shirt waved frantically in the air informed us of the fact.

Their white "flag" of surrender barely made its appearance before the order came drifting down the line, "Cessez le feu!" ("Cease firing!") Instantly the rifles, machine guns, and 75s were silent, but the heavy artillery maintained a barrier of fire between the prisoners and their trenches, for we knew well by long experience the character of our foe.

They came toward us in great numbers, their hands high in the air, and a humble, conciliating smile on their lips, muttering in a timid voice: "Kamerad! Pas kapout! Kamerad!"

They were ordered to come forward in small groups, and, as they reached our trench, they were hustled behind the line, placed under guard, and sent back immediately toward the interior, where, after having undergone a period of questioning by the Colonel and his staff, they were

sent to the various prison camps scattered through France and her African colonies.

As the last detachment of them passed into our line and was conducted to the rear under guard, our heavy artillery ceased its firing, and, as its smoke slowly drifted away on the wings of the gentle breeze of the new-born day, a scene of terrible desolation was enrolled before us.

Turning my eyes from this distressing scene, I encountered the quizzical gaze of the Sergeant, who had evidently been reading my thoughts:

"Well, boy, what do you think of all this?" he demanded, smiling. "What do you think of war?"

"You know what Sherman, the American General, said, don't you?"

"Yes," laughed he; "and you share his opinion?"

"I certainly do!" replied I, emphatically, as my eye alighted on a group of Red Cross men carrying away the torn and lifeless body of one of my best "pals" in the regiment.

The Voyage of the Deutschland

CAPTAIN PAUL KOENIG IN HIS NEW BOOK

The second voyage of the German merchant submarine *Deutschland* has added to her fame. She landed at New London, Conn., on Nov. 1, took on a cargo of rubber, nickel, and other valuable commodities, and attempted to get away to sea during the night of Nov. 16-17, with the aid of three tugs, which were to convoy her through the tidal currents at the mouth of Long Island Sound. Suddenly an eddy flung the tug T. A. Scott, Jr., in her way, causing a collision, with the almost instant sinking of the tug and the drowning of five of the six men on board. The *Deutschland's* bow was injured, so that Captain Koenig had to return to New London for repairs, delaying his departure a week or more. The article here translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* is from a book in which Captain Koenig has told the story of his first voyage—from Bremerhaven to Baltimore. It is from the chapter entitled "The Snare Spread for the Submarine," and the scene is the North Sea.

THE further we get away from land the heavier the seas become, and the boat is already tossed about in the usual fashion. I feel the motion as I lie in my cabin. About 2 o'clock in the morning I am waked by a "Hello!" hurled at me by the speaking tube that hangs on the wall near my head. Second Officer Cyring, who is on watch, warns me that a white light is approaching rapidly on the starboard side. I jump out and turn carefully,

keeping my balance, in the central compartment, and by the ladder I mount through the turret hatchway to the bridge.

Cyring shows me a white light at no great distance. It appears to be approaching. We do not wish to let it come any nearer; we give the alarm and dive.

Then, for the first time I experience the singular impression of surprising security which the power of swift immer-

sion gives you. And it seems quite natural. One is sailing in these world-war times upon an unarmed transport on a dark night; a light approaches—it may be an enemy, probably is one; in a couple of minutes a couple of cannon shots may ring out, and shells shatter your turret, letting the water rush in in a solid mass, and soon the North Sea closes over you. But now nothing of that sort happens. A brief order to the central compartment, a few manoeuvres on valves and wheels, and we go on our way without danger.

We travel more easily submerged in safety, and remain under water until daybreak. About 4 o'clock we emerge. The sky is already bright; unfortunately, the sea is extremely uncomfortable. In the distance we see a couple of fishing boats devoting themselves laboriously to their work. At first we watch them attentively, but their inoffensive nature is soon clearly apparent, and we continue on our course. This, however, is no longer a pleasure. The movements of the boat soon become so violent that the confinement in close quarters, with no air except from the ventilators, makes its effects felt upon the heads and stomachs of the men; a part of the crew gives up eating. Besides, it is impossible to remain on the deck, which is swept continually by the seas. Thus we go on all day. * * *

The weather cleared up toward evening and the sea grew calmer. The sun had just set among the clouds, which it colored magnificently. All the members of the crew who were not on watch had gone on deck to get a breath of fresh air and take a quick pull at a cigarette or cigar. Below it is strictly forbidden to smoke. The men crowded into the sheltered spots,

jammed closely against each other, flattened against the wall of the turret. They looked like a hive of bees, a cluster of men in rough, heavy sea garb. Little etiquette is observed at such a moment; I let the men take their ease; they have not much comfort below, and when a head happens to emerge from the hatch to get a few puffs at a pipe, I willingly grant the indulgence. Involuntarily all eyes search the horizon.

There is good in that. The more sailors there are looking, the more one sees, and many of our men have the eyes of a hawk.

Thus it is that in the limpid twilight of a June evening, at a great distance, two masts appear, soon followed by a smokestack, after which the hull of a steamer looms above the horizon. With the aid of good glasses we watch it attentively. We wish to ascertain its route in order to get out of its way. We

take our bearings quickly, and I pick up the chart; I look, compare, observe again, make calculations, look at the map again, and remain confused. Judging from its direction, the steamer is not going toward any port. Is this possible? On that course it is running straight toward shore, no matter where, upon the rocks.

I call Krapohl and show him my calculations. We look again through the glasses, examine the charts. That is fine! The fellow is sailing away into emptiness, without aim or object. Meanwhile we had come near enough to distinguish the vessel's lines perfectly. The pure, clear twilight of June allowed us to observe it clearly. It was a beautiful steamer of medium tonnage, flying a large flag of a neutral country, and upon its hull, strangely enough, were painted the colors of the same neutral country. The middle of the hull bore in large let-



CAPTAIN PAUL KOENIG
© International Film Service.

ters a double name, but this we could not read. All at once Krapohl cried:

"Good heavens! How comes it that fellow, so long after sunset, has not yet taken down his flag? Is it mere chance? And what means that strange display of paint in this time of submarine peace?"

THE NEW MERCURY



HUMOROUS GERMAN VIEW OF SUBMARINE TRADE WITH AMERICA

(Zur Zeit des U-Boot Friedens.) The chap is open to suspicion!"

I shared his opinion. What surprised me most was the senseless direction. Boats do not go for a pleasure stroll on the North Sea at night during a world war.

We consider what should be done. The steamer has not yet seen us; it continues on its mysterious way and seems to pay no attention to us. I decide therefore not to dive, as our ways will soon part. Suddenly the steamer tacks and heads straight for us. Now we can see that the brave neutral is manoeuvring the tow lines of her small boats, the better, of course, to prove her character as an

inoffensive merchant vessel that has stopped and is ready to conform itself immediately to the orders of a warship.

This grand display of innocence was enough for us. I sent all my men below and gave the alarm. We cleared way for the dive, and turned toward the steamer to take a crosswise position, which makes the submersion easier. Then, to our great surprise, this is what happened: Scarcely had the neutral seen our movement and our submersion when it turned about at full speed; as we went under we saw it, amid clouds of smoke, scuttle away in a series of characteristic zigzags. This confession of a bad conscience was simply a triumph for us. We had never laughed as much as we did at that flight of an honest man who had no known destination. The Artful Dodger believed himself unmasked, and was afraid of getting a torpedo between his ribs. And in what a rage he must have been! It would have been so beautiful to come close, as a neutral, to the "pirate," and then, at a sure distance, drop at once his false ports and his pure intentions—and shoot. The snare was so well spread for the U-boat; the German "pirate" had only to come a little closer. Instead of that, we made a hole in the water and remained below for two hours.

On returning to the surface I first inspect the horizon through the periscope, and then, still half submerged, open the turret hatch to take a look through the glasses. The air is clear; to the south the moon has risen and renders the soft clarity of the Summer night more transparent. But as long as I look the sea is deserted; no steamer is in view. The Deutschland can go on her way without disquietude. Besides the unmixed joy that we derive from the deceptions of the wily layer of traps, I am convinced henceforth that we shall see other vessels before they can see us. And that is already so much to the good.



Italy and the Pinch of War

By Dr. Bruno Roselli

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TWO months ago I crossed the Franco-Italian frontier at Ventimiglia. I had not been in Paris; but I had visited such great cities as Bordeaux and Marseilles, such world-renowned resorts as Nice and Monte Carlo, such quaint little towns as Arles and Carcassonne; and the heroic behavior of France had manifested itself to me in the cheerfully met but all too apparent contrast between an undaunted resolve to win and a daily life on whose every phase war had left its unmistakable stamp. Briefly, France feels the pinch of war, although she smiles in proud defiance.

French Vintimille confirmed this; Italian Ventimiglia had a surprise in store for me. The clutch of war was not there. At first I thought it a local accident. But as I proceeded toward the heart of the Peninsula, along the two Rivas dotted with picturesque villages and with the palatial villas of the Genoese who have made fortunes in Argentina, I realized that the indescribable atmosphere of war, which had been so all-pervasive in France, was totally absent in Italy. Yet during those very days thousands of military trains and tens of thousands of autocars were pouring into the threatened valley of the Adige that vast improvised army which stopped the Austrian drive at Arsiero and Asiago, and began the counteroffensive which has not yet slackened. This, as I said, was two months ago; and during this time I have not only revisited many Italian cities, and talked over the situation with scores of Italian acquaintances, (it is a pity that all American writers of war impressions do not have a similar opportunity,) but I have also spoken with many a contadino, charcoal burner, shepherd, village priest, and hill-town Postmaster or druggist, and I am now able to state unequivocally that Italy, except

for her loss in men, does not feel the war.

A careful observer will discover that the reason for the financial ease in Italy during the war lies in the fact that she is a country different from all others in economic organization, and that her leaders knew the peculiarities of her position so well that they were able to turn this war into a source of financial stability. If war be a disease, then Italy's doctors must be given great credit for having understood that their patient was a "special" case, that the usual cures would not do, but that by a novel treatment affecting the entire organism the patient might be brought to a better state of health than before the disease appeared. I acknowledge that such a statement needs corroboration. Let me now attempt to give it.

War's Effect on Wages

Every educated American knows that Italy is still a country where wealth is very unevenly divided. For centuries she has been a land of few very rich and many very poor people; the middle class dating only from the days of the unification of Italy some fifty years ago, and only now beginning to assert itself in a generous crop of professional men. In ante-bellum days the rich people spent much less than the corresponding class in other lands. They hoarded their savings, being suspicious of all industrial and speculative investments, and, though large landowners, neglected to make any improvements, preferring an immediate although insignificant yield at no expense to a costly succession of betterments with generous but distant returns. The poor people lived as they could, exporting every year to the two Americas the surplus of their population.

Now war has changed all this. War requires money; the rich had to pay. Let

it be said to their credit that they paid rather willingly, since the war against the hereditary enemy of the country has been most popular in all quarters, and has provided a badly needed link of connection between rich and poor, Venetian and Sicilian, Republican and Conservative. It may seem strange to Americans, but most old Italian families did not know in the least how much they were worth; money had been coming in, whenever needed, from a distant agent; and property accounts had been irregularly sent, and regularly consigned to the scrap basket when they did come. War has taught many a noble family just where it stood financially. It usually stood lower than it had supposed. What little ready money it had was given to the cause, and the family, stripped of its younger offspring, set itself to the hated but unavoidable task of making the property yield what it ought to yield. Incidentally, this will mean an increased need of manual labor after the war, and a consequent decrease in the stream of Italian emigration after the first outrush of the long-dammed waters; a view of the problem which I have often expressed in public in America, before invariably incredulous audiences.

But these post-bellum questions look strangely remote here, in the midst of war-ridden Europe. Little do we care what the poor people will do then. What are they doing now? Are they starving?

Do not waste your sympathy: the proverbial wolf was much nearer to the Italian door twenty years ago than now. Of course, there are a few trades which languish, and the never-failing adaptability of the Latin must occasionally be brought into play. Take the fishermen of the Adriatic, for instance. The abundance of Austrian floating mines in that sea and the recklessness of Austrian submarines, (note this, signers of The Hague convention!) not to speak of other reasons which I shall omit in order to save the censor the trouble of doing so himself, have persuaded the Italian Government of the wisdom of forbidding all fishing in the Adriatic. Naturally, some compensation is being given to the fishermen, but they were losing money; so they have taken up

other occupations. And lest you, kind-hearted reader, should sympathize too deeply, let me remind you that almost every Italian who comes to your shores in peace times and of his own accord does exactly the same thing.

Of course, America has some kind of work for nearly every one; but so has Italy now. There never was such a cry for manual labor. I understand that the dock hands in the harbor of Genoa (which impresses me now as dwarfing those of both Bordeaux and Marseilles) are paid some 25 lire a day, a sum which, considering all things, I reckon to be equivalent in local buying power to ten American dollars. Generally speaking, the cost of unskilled labor has about doubled since May, 1915. It is not a rare occurrence to come across a woman who earns six or seven times more than she did before the war. The requirements of ammunition factories are mainly, but not exclusively, responsible for this state of affairs. Whatever positions the men have left the women have taken. Contrary to what I saw in France, here all factories are open, although numbers of them manufacture articles totally different from their previous output. France is relying mainly upon imports from abroad, pouring gold into America and men into Verdun; whereas Italy, whose stores of gold and men are differently proportioned, has chosen so far to leave her economic structure unchanged. Need I explain now why the city worker of either sex is so prosperous here?

Yet I am willing to admit that city conditions do not mean so much in a country like Italy. There are no really large cities in Italy. Her capital has a population of little over half a million people, while the capital of Spain has 700,000, and that of little Belgium had 800,000. Four-fifths of Italy's population is agricultural. Let us see, therefore, how war affects the country districts.

Prosperity for Farmers

Gentlemen farmers being a negligible quantity in Italy, there remain—roughly speaking—two systems of reward for the farmer. By the first he is paid by the day for his work; by the second he is

under contract of *mezzadria*, that is one-half of the product of the soil is his exclusive property, while the other half belongs to his landlord.

Of the former peasant I need only say that, manual labor being so scarce, he has recently seen his wages (which had been as low as 75 centesimi a day—15 cents—before so many laborers began to emigrate to America) rise from one lira and a half to three lire a day, (60 cents.) This applies to some northern districts, but mainly to the southern half of Italy, and to Sicily, and may have a noticeable effect on immigration to the United States, where so many of these day laborers go.

The Central Italian peasant, on the contrary, has had since time immemorial the *mezzadria* system, under which he has become prosperous and happy. For him this war is, economically, a godsend. Please remember how the family of the Central Italian *contadino* lives—the *cappoccia* or head of the family, his children, the old people, and the women all working almost equally hard, thanks to habit, healthy life, and endurance. The man is perhaps at the front now; but his wife knows how to feed the oxen and to drive the plow. They all work a little harder than before, and they wait for the fifty centesimi a day which the man gets and which he sends home intact, since he is fed far better in the trenches than he ever was at home, and he cannot spend any money there. The wife gets seventy centesimi a day from the Government, the father another seventy, and each child an average of thirty-five. This means wealth to them. It is the first cash they ever saw, for the peasant never handled cash; and it has an enormous buying power. Until war came they used to live exclusively upon their portion of the product of the farm. Even this product has now become much more valuable.

The Central Italian peasant grows wheat and wine. The Government needs both now, in enormous quantities, for no Russian or Rumanian wheat can come through the closed Dardanelles; and Latin soldiers drink merrily. Nor is there any fear that the crop will remain unsold. The Government is pledged to

buy it all, and will pay for it generously. As a result, the price of the Tuscan fiasco of weak Chianti which is the daily beverage of the Central Italian family has gone up from a little over one lira to two and a half lire as a minimum. The *mezzadria* peasant never was so comfortable, with the result that the war relief committees formed in all villages can also afford to send, by way of Switzerland, weekly shipments of wholesome food to their villagers who were made prisoners and are now in some Austrian dungeon, where they would otherwise slowly starve to death. I have heard from several men from Trieste that even their dogs refused to eat the kind of bread which they themselves ate before fleeing to the motherland across that wicked border.

Learning Efficiency

One more word about the farmer. While money is so plentiful in the country districts that many farmers' savings banks are actually refusing deposits lest they should have to lower appreciably their rate of interest, and consequently their prestige, yet wherever extra help must be gotten the farmer's prosperity sinks appreciably, since wages are now so high. But this is very seldom the case. In the first place, the Government sends home on "harvest furloughs" and "seeding furloughs" all farmer-soldiers who are not absolutely needed. Secondly, each peasant family now helps its neighbors constantly, instead of only doing so at harvest and vintage time, as is the usual custom. There are no idle hands on any farm, from dawn till sunset.

Everybody works harder than before; this being made possible by the opportunity, enjoyed by few in the past, of purchasing food both wholesome and plentiful. There undoubtedly was considerable underfeeding in Italy before the war, even among the lower middle class; people ate as little as they dared, instead of following the good American rule of eating as much as one dares. And the food, all Government-supervised, is excellent. The "war bread"—you would call it graham bread, and probably prefer it to the other because it is more wholesome—costs only 39 to 42 centesimi per kilogram, (3 cents a pound

at the present rate of exchange.) There is no scarcity of anything except paper and sugar; everything else is plentiful, including good and tender meat, which I had surely not expected to find.

This regularity of supply means one of two things—either that Italy has taken from their usual occupations an insignificant number of men, or that those left among the many employed in a given trade are working so hard, so efficiently, and so systematically as to bridge the gaps. Since the censor will not permit me to say even approximately how many Italians have joined the colors, I must limit myself to emphatically denying the first possibility, and refer any skeptical reader to the map, which shows pretty conclusively that very many men are needed to confront the Austrians on the winding front from Mount Stelvio on the Swiss border to Monfalcone on the Adriatic; and I will add that, without any appreciable help from colonial troops, Italy keeps a strong military hold upon Central Albania, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, the Island of Rhodes, the “Dodecanese,” (or group of twelve islands in the Eastern Aegean,) Erithraea, and Italian Somaliland. One must therefore conclude that the few people left to their accustomed trades and occupations are doing wonders. A day of thirteen hours is a regular occurrence, and Italy, so often and not unjustly accused of being unsystematic, is redeeming herself now during her fourth war of independence, which is no mean chapter in the world tragedy of today.

If salaries are high, young men almost all in field gray, and women wage earners none too plentiful, how do the shops manage to get their sales people? They usually do not get them; and this is a boon for Italian manhood and womanhood. The owner of a shop, who had never stooped to work, when he saw most of his clerks abandon the shop for the barracks, pulled his hair in Salvinilike despair for a couple of days; then he set himself to work. Bookkeeping does not soil one's hands; he usually began with that. Gradually the few remaining clerks taught him many things which he ought to have known before. But more

and more classes were called to the colors, and then, horrified, he saw that the only alternative to business failure was to impose commercial activity upon his bejeweled wife, and his quiverful of young daughters, who had heretofore considered only one occupation worthy of them—the acquisition of lawful husbands. There must have been gloom at first, but now things have put on an air of happy permanency; and whenever those women consider that their only alternative would have been the hard life of a Red Cross nurse, (since no woman of the Italian middle class is left idle nowadays,) they find ample consolation. War has taught them the great American lesson so far overlooked, that work ennobles life.

On the day when peace is signed, (if such a day ever comes!) father and mother will certainly leave the shop for good; but I am not so sure about the daughters.

Why Italians Marry Late

This utilization of the young womanhood of the middle class may turn out to be temporary; but, if it becomes permanent, it will strengthen the one weak spot in the entire organization of the Italian middle class family; an organization otherwise ideal from an economic standpoint, since it provides the maximum of results with the minimum of expenditure.

To begin with, the number of members in each family is usually exactly what it ought to be. Italy stands now, in this respect, just halfway between the patriarchal system of the ancestral home housing all the married children with their own offspring, and the Anglo-Saxon system, in which each child takes his or her flight, more or less permanent, just as soon as his or her wings are strong enough. You young American, who at 20 years of age began married life on getting your first “raise,” and took your bride to a small room in a lodging house, listen to the life story of the average middle-class Italian.

He usually marries when a little above 30 years old, bringing to his ménage several thousand lire of savings with which to start life decently, and a steady position which is beginning to pay a fair sal-

ary. The bride brings her dowry, which is to be drawn upon only in case of extraordinary or unexpected expenses—a sort of accident insurance policy. An “even match” means one in which the groom’s salary stands to the bride’s dowry as lawful rate of interest stands to principal. If the man’s salary is \$700 a year, with an ultimate prospect of \$1,400, let him cast longing eyes upon a maid with a \$20,000 dot! I can visualize the shocked expression of many American men; but I have seen worse systems, and even in the United States some pessimists claim that the girl with a rich father has a better chance to find a husband than her rival with impecunious relatives.

The coming of several children in rapid succession (Italy knows of few exceptions to this rule) usually requires some inroad on the wife’s contribution to the financial partnership. But just as soon as it is at all possible, the money is put back again, the strictest economy being practiced in everything, especially if among the children there are girls who will some day need their own dowries. It is difficult to overestimate the influence of this consideration upon the minute economy practiced by the middle-class Italian family. “There may at any time come a little girl who would need the money”—this idea keeps the pursestrings drawn even in a family having only boys.

Economy in Education

In the American middle-class budget the education of the young plays no small part. The children are seldom sent to the public schools, for fear of too close a contact with boys and girls different in moral ideas or radical stock; and then college looms up in the background as a distant Eden of costly sports whither father would be glad to send his boy or girl, were he not scared by that minimum of \$1,000 a year.

In Italy every child goes to public school, the race and the mentality of the country being all one; college sports do not exist, college towns are unknown, college fees are nominal. The boys (and also, though rarely, the girls) complete their education in one of the sixteen home

colleges situated in the largest cities and supported by the Government. Then the girls, having no literary clubs to grace by their presence, no immigrants’ tenements to inspect, no college chums to whom they are allowed to pay frequent visits, suddenly disappear into the depths of their ancestral homes and set themselves to the wearisome task of waiting for possible husbands. A dull occupation, but one infinitely less expensive than any of the other beneficent or pleasurable pursuits mentioned above.

And the boy? The boy enters some kind of a Government or municipal or banking career in his home town—almost without exception. His salary is small, but he spends almost none of it, because he invariably eats and sleeps at home. He likes to live in that way; but even if he did not like it, he would not dare to do otherwise, since an unmarried man living in the same town as his parents, and in another house, on mere grounds of “independence,” as is so often done in America, would shock everybody and cause the entire family to be ostracized. Then, when years and savings have reached the right measure, he takes a wife and the round begins again.

Ideal System for War

Is this family system perfect? Far from it. But it can and does stand the hard knocks of war infinitely better than any other with which I am acquainted. In the first place, there always is cash, for the Italian says, “No cash, no family.” Then there always is a job—at least one job in every family; and though these jobs pay little, you are so riveted to them and protected by statutes and by-laws and pension laws and accident regulations that you cannot lose your job any more than your job can lose you, no matter how hard you may try. Even if soon in the game you become an invalid or an idiot or any other kind of a servant who cannot serve, your employer’s money will continue to reach you until you have both feet in the grave. And while, as I said, there is always at least one such job in every family, sometimes there are three or four, because every unmarried son above the age of twenty is a

source of revenue, after having been a source of very limited expenditure earlier in life. The blows of war can strike such a family without finding any weak spot in its economic armor.

As to the young men, the outbreak of war sent them, of course, to their regiments; but the late marrying age, joined to the fact that the call has been general only for men between 19 and 32, and that it has not included any man above 39, reduced the number of heads of middle-class families under the colors to an infinitesimal proportion. Even those few have availed themselves of the privilege which every college graduate has of becoming a territorial officer, thus in many cases continuing to attend to his ordinary occupations. Many a young lawyer or architect adds a Lieutenant's salary to his usual professional returns.

Can Hold Out Indefinitely

But how long can such rosy conditions last?

Prophecies are rather risky in this war; however, I confidently believe—the present military and psychological situation in Europe being also considered—that they can last just as long as they need to last. Italian life behind the lines is so arranged and so organized by a process of simple adaptation infinitely more efficient than any German food cards that it can stand the war strain with little effort, just as Italy's peasant soldiers can stand the fearful fighting conditions of the Alpine front with much less suffering than could any of the other European armies, with the single exception of the Russian. And if physical resistance is a result of peculiar simplicity of habits, economic resistance is a result of an organization of family and of society whose cornerstone is thrift. Both are, emphatically, the reward—and not the only reward—of a style of living into which extravagance has never had a chance to enter. For fifteen centuries robbed by, or tributary to, barbarian or baron, foreign Emperor or absentee landlord, Italians have learned to look upon any kind of waste as sinful and wicked—witness the peasant who makes the sign

of the cross upon seeing you throw away a crust of bread. Have you ever noticed how the Italian farmer in America reduces by one-half the width of the paths made in the farm by his American predecessor? Do you not know that there was a time when calves' brains and chicken giblets used to be thrown away in America, until the Italian chefs introduced them as delicacies to the American public? Here nobody throws away an old newspaper, an old bottle, an old paste-board box, an old overshoe, an old piece of string. Yes, you may laugh, but I will tell you that a poor country wins wars only by such thrifty methods; and Italy will win this war. A poor country? Well, perhaps she is; but half a dozen Italians of college age have as much of a lark walking out into the woods to talk about spiritualism and the future of Ireland as the same number of New York young people who spend fifty dollars (candy not included) upon a Coney Island evening—motor ride, shore dinner, Luna Park stupefactions, and the joyful contortions of Steeplechase. Do not misunderstand me: America's youth indulges in pleasures and diversions often less reprehensible than those dear to Italy's youth; but I am speaking of economic resistance to war, and my object is to show you why the Italian family can live happily where the English family would live unhappily and the American family would, also most unhappily, die.

An obscure soldier of Italy, forgetting for a moment that all his thoughts and ambitions must now be for the country under whose colors he is serving, fervently and lovingly prays that the dear land which saw him a peaceful college professor may—if her day ever comes—find in her financial stability, personal courage, and lofty patriotism that power of economic resistance which Italy is deriving from thrift, simplicity of life, and a family organization peculiarly suited to wartime conditions, if not actually created to meet them.

And now that I have tried to explain the present lack of economic suffering in Italy, do not ask me, please, whether Italy's heart is also unaffected by the tragedy of war.

Australia's Defeat of Conscription

By Spencer Brodney
An Australian Journalist

THE part played by Australia in the war has already been remarkable for a country with barely 5,000,000 inhabitants. Yet, not satisfied with the 320,000 men that have volunteered for active service and the assistance rendered to the mother country by the Australian Navy, a large section of the Australian people desired that every able-bodied man should be compelled to fight. But the Australian Government which has been in power since the first few weeks after the outbreak of the war, being dependent upon the votes of the Labor Party, found it impossible to enact a conscription law against the wishes of its supporters. A way out of the difficulty was found in the proposal to hold a national referendum at which every man and woman in Australia and every Australian soldier serving abroad were asked to vote "Yes" or "No" in answer to the question:

Are you in favor of the Government being given in this great emergency the same compulsory powers over citizens in regard to requiring their military service for the term of this war outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?

The referendum was held on Oct. 28, and, according to a message dated Nov. 6, resulted in a majority of 73,000 votes against conscription out of a total of 2,087,000 votes counted.

Various reasons have been given for the defeat of conscription by the Australian people. Because women have full political rights it was said that their in-

fluence affected the result. But it appears that the percentage of women who voted "No" was only a shade higher than that of the men who voted the same way. Again, voters of Irish birth or descent are credited with having been an important factor. There is no doubt that some votes were influenced by the

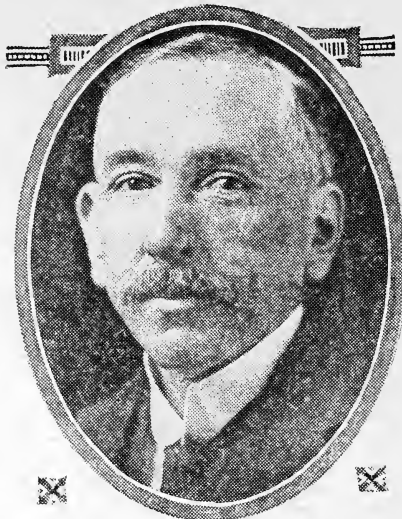
treatment of Ireland since the Dublin rising, but they contributed only to a very small extent to bring about the defeat of conscription. Perhaps slightly more importance should be attached to the farmers' votes. As in Canada, the farmers in Australia have found recruiting a serious menace to the raising and harvesting of their crops. But after an examination of all the elements in the situation there can remain no doubt that the defeat of conscription

in Australia has been chiefly the work of the organized labor movement, particularly in New South Wales and Queensland.

When Labor Unions Rule

Australia, it must be remembered, is the land where the workingman is supreme in politics. After a generation of persistent effort the Labor Party, which represents the combined political and industrial organizations of the working class, is the dominant party. At the present time it is not only in control of the Government of the Commonwealth, but also of a majority of the State Governments.

When the war began, however, a Liberal Government, representing a fusion of all anti-Labor and anti-Socialist



WILLIAM M. HUGHES
Australia's Prime Minister

forces, was temporarily in control of the Commonwealth; but with a majority of only one in the House of Representatives and a hopeless minority in the Senate, it was quite unable to carry on the business of the country. Before any one dreamed of war the Governor General had been advised to end the deadlock by dissolving both houses of Parliament and ordering a general election. The election campaign was already in full swing when war broke out in Europe. The Liberal Prime Minister, Joseph Cook, immediately placed the Australian Navy at the disposal of the British Admiralty, and steps were taken to enlist volunteers for service abroad. At the same time the Liberals, feeling certain that at the approaching election on Sept. 5, 1914, they would be swept into power on an overwhelming flood-tide of patriotism, refused to consider the political truce offered to them by the Labor Party. The election was accordingly fought with much bitterness.

Although the Labor Party contains a strong Socialist element which is opposed to militarism and denounces patriotic sentiment as a cloak of predatory business enterprise, the Labor leaders decided not to ruin their party's chances by giving their opponents an opportunity to brand them as "disloyal" or "pro-German." The election manifesto of the Labor Party was accordingly no less patriotic and militarist than that of the Liberals. It was claimed that the efficient development of the Citizen Defense Force and the Australian Navy had been the work of the previous Labor administration and that the people could surely trust a Labor Cabinet to carry out Australia's part in the war more thoroughly and honestly than the Liberals. The people adopted this view, and the result of the election was a landslide in favor of the Labor Party, which returned to office with large majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

As soon as the new Labor Cabinet assumed power in September, 1914, there began a fierce domestic controversy between the Government and the trusts, leading to the decision of the Government to hold a referendum in December, 1915,

on the question of amending the Constitution so as to give the Commonwealth extensive powers to regulate trade and industry and nationalize monopolies. At the eleventh hour the referendum was deferred because of an understanding with the States whereby the Commonwealth was to be given all the powers it was seeking to obtain by constitutional amendment. This understanding, however, was not observed, and though the Commonwealth Government has used its powers under the War Precautions act in its attempts to curb the interests that are trying to profit by war conditions, the suspicions of the great majority of the working class have not been lulled, but have instead helped to intensify the feeling against conscription.

Movement for Conscription

The cry for conscription in England was soon followed by a similar agitation in Australia. At first the Labor Cabinet, well aware of the feeling among the workers, refused to depart from the voluntary system. But gradually the anti-Labor forces brought so much pressure to bear that Andrew Fisher, who was then Prime Minister, decided on a war census to ascertain how many men there were in Australia fit for military service. This was the first step that led to the split within the Labor Party which has since become more definite. On taking command of the new Labor Government Mr. Fisher had made the historic declaration in which he pledged Australia's help "to the last man and the last shilling," and backed up by the Attorney General, William Morris Hughes, the cleverest, most energetic, and most bellicose member of the Cabinet, he now meant to make good his words.

Among the supporters of the Government there was no doubt that the war census was intended as the preliminary to conscription, despite Mr. Fisher's disclaimers, and resistance against any attempt to force Australians unwillingly to fight abroad was resolved upon. At that time I was revisiting Australia, and I was astonished by the storminess of the discussion that took place at the Prime Minister's office when a deputation representing the labor organizations called

on Mr. Fisher and, after emphatically telling him that he was the people's servant, extracted a pledge that there should be no conscription scheme unless it had first been sanctioned by the people. A few weeks later Mr. Fisher retired from politics to become High Commissioner of the Commonwealth in London. Mr. Hughes succeeded him as Prime Minister and leader of the Labor Party.

In the early part of the present year Mr. Hughes was invited by the British Government to visit England. There is no need to do more than mention the thrill that Mr. Hughes sent through England with his pugnacious oratory, his appeals for thoroughness and remorselessness in the work of obliterating Germany from the map of the world. Mr. Hughes's performance was pleasing to British Tories and imperialists, but important sections of the Labor Party in Australia were becoming intensely irritated, and while he was still in England resolutions were already being adopted strongly disapproving of his attitude and declaring against conscription. There was no doubt that Mr. Hughes was preparing to place the whole of Australia's manhood at the disposal of Great Britain. On his return to Australia the issue was at once joined. Mr. Hughes wanted to enact a conscription law at once. But his party firmly refused. At last the difficulty was settled by an agreement to refer the question to the people.

Opposed by Labor Party

In New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland, the three largest States, the official policy of the Labor Party was opposition to conscription, and a campaign was launched to urge the people to vote "No." But Mr. Hughes, W. A. Holman, the Labor Premier of New South Wales, and some other Labor Cabinet Ministers and members of the Commonwealth and State Parliaments, joined the conscriptionists, thus flouting the principles laid down by the organizations to which they owed their positions.

A split was now inevitable, and it came. Mr. Hughes, who is a representative from New South Wales, was expelled by the Political Labor League of

that State. Several other prominent labor politicians, including Mr. Holman, were also disowned. On the other hand, anti-conscriptionists resigned from Cabinets headed by conscriptionists, the most serious case of this kind being that of four of Mr. Hughes's colleagues in the Commonwealth Cabinet, including W. G. Higgs, the Treasurer, and Frank Tudor, the Minister of Trade and Customs. Nevertheless, Mr. Hughes should now find the best of all reasons for ceasing to flout the party he leads, since the result of the referendum shows that not only is the majority of his followers against him, but his policy is opposed by the majority of the people. According to *The British Australasian*, (published in London,) even the soldiers already abroad voted for the most part against compulsion being applied to their fellow-Australians.

Drafting Unmarried Men

A month before the referendum Mr. Hughes caused a great deal of resentment in Australia by using the latent power of the Government to call up every able-bodied citizen for home defense purposes. Believing it certain that the referendum would favor conscription, he decided to draft the single men between the ages of 21 and 35 years. Many refused to obey the summons, and the prosecutions threatened by Mr. Hughes seem to promise further trouble. At every point, indeed, he has been antagonizing the Australian democracy.

Now, what was Mr. Hughes's case for conscription? It was in the first place based upon the familiar arguments that Germany is a menace to democracy. Australia is the most democratic country in the world; therefore Australia has most to fear from German domination and, to carry the argument to its conclusion, Australia should strive hardest to help in crushing Germany.

The anti-conscriptionists relied on a variety of arguments, including the Socialist case against war in general, the theory that Great Britain and France are in some secret and sinister way bound to fight to aid Russia in her designs rather than to preserve democracy, and

that the war should be regarded from an exclusively Australian standpoint. This last reason springs from the idea of Australian independence. For a long time before the war very few Australians dreamed of breaking away from the British Empire, because Australia has been free to work out her own destinies and has enjoyed all the benefits of virtual independence without the responsibilities. But if everything which the Australian democracy has achieved is to be ruthlessly destroyed, then the idea of Australian independence may become a live issue. It was noticeable during the campaign that many Australians gave expression to the opinion that the time has come—and the result of the referendum is a significant hint of the new trend of feeling—when a halt must be called to the demands for sacrifices for the empire.

What Australia Has Done

Out of a population of 5,000,000 Australia has enlisted up to date 320,000 volunteers to help Great Britain. When the Australian Government called up the single men between the ages of 21 and 35 years of age the number affected was 130,000, of whom 60,000 were pronounced fit for military service—enough men to keep the Australian regiments in France up to their full strength for only three months. It was obvious, said the anti-conscriptionists, that Mr. Hughes would soon be drafting married men or men over 35 years of age and leaving Australia with perilously few men to carry on the work of producing food and raw materials, not to mention those required in the manufacturing industries.

In the last few years before the war the Australian Governments were spending large sums of money in an attempt to people a land with an area slightly larger than that of the United States and a population considerably smaller than that of New York City. The whole gain in manhood during several years of immigration effort has already been wiped out by the war.

This danger of denuding Australia of its manhood has been in the minds of all classes, but another circumstance has made a still more vivid impression on the workers. The exclusion of laborers un-

der contract is strictly insisted upon. Nevertheless, just before the referendum a shipment of Maltese laborers arrived in Australia and more were to follow. The Labor Party at once suspected that the contract immigration law was being evaded by employers, and the cry was raised that a conspiracy was on foot to draft well-paid Australian workers into the army and fill their places with cheap, non-English-speaking, voteless, and easily oppressed alien wage slaves. The real enemy of Australian democracy, the anti-conscriptionists in the Labor Party declared, was not the Kaiser, but the big business interests in Australia itself. Any one who is intimately acquainted with Australian conditions knows how such an outcry would inevitably rouse a feeling of indignation so strong as to sweep aside all patriotic appeals.

Has Helped Most of All

Yet Australia has helped the mother country far more than any of the other "colonial nations" within the British Empire. She has sent more troops than Canada, which has a larger population, and her naval assistance has been particularly valuable. It was an Australian cruiser that finally put the Emden, the German commerce raider, out of action; it was the Australian Navy that conveyed Australian and New Zealand troops across the oceans to Europe; it was chiefly Australian naval and military expeditions that dispossessed Germany of her colonies in New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific. It was Australian and New Zealand troops—the "Anzacs"—that bore the brunt of the bloody fiasco of the Dardanelles.

Australia, too, has rendered great assistance with her Government-controlled shipping, her measures for the supply of foodstuffs, wool, metals, and other raw materials, by her ability to finance herself, and in numerous other ways. At the same time the most energetic element in her population has been diminishing through voluntary enlistment. In short, Australia has shown that along with a jealous regard for her own democracy she is capable of the greatest loyalty to that country which is affectionately called the motherland.

Human Losses in the First Two Years of the War

A VOLUNTARY organization known as the War Study Society has been formed at Copenhagen for the purpose of studying the social consequences of the world war. The first product of its labors is a valuable bulletin, issued Aug. 1, 1916, computing the human losses in each belligerent country during the first two years of the conflict. The computations are made by a Board of Administration, which consists of a Chairman and two scientific collaborators elected from the membership for six months. The Secretary is Sv. Trier of Copenhagen.

To procure the necessary data of casualties was a task of no little difficulty, as in nearly all the warring countries the number of men lost is carefully guarded. England published her losses in detail up to January, 1916, but other belligerent nations declined to give such information to the world. The results of a careful inquiry, based on the best sources of information at hand, are summarized by the society as follows:

I. Direct Losses of Human Life During Two Years of War

	Dead.		Dead and Wounded.		Invalids.
Austria-					
H'n'gry	718,000	1,777,000	2,495,000	533,000	
Belgium.	50,000	110,000	160,000	33,000	
Bulgaria.	25,000	60,000	85,000	18,000	
England.	205,000	512,000	717,000	154,300	
France...	885,000	2,115,000	3,000,000	634,000	
Germany.	885,500	2,116,300	3,001,800	634,900	
Italy.....	105,000	245,000	350,000	73,500	
Russia.	1,498,000	3,820,000	5,318,000	1,146,000	
Serbia....	110,000	140,000	250,000	42,000	
Turkey...	150,000	350,000	500,000	105,000	
Total..	4,631,500	11,245,300	15,876,800	3,373,700	

II. Comparison with Earlier Wars

	Duration in days.	Number of dead.	Dead per day.	Prop't'n'l numbers.
1790-1815..	9,000	2,100,000	235	3.7
1854-1856..	730	785,000	1,075	17.0
1859.....	41	45,000	1,100	17.4
1864.....	135	3,500	26	0.4
1866.....	40	45,000	1,125	17.8
1870-1871..	210	184,000	875	13.9

	Duration in days.	Number of dead.	Dead per day.	Prop't'n'l numbers.
1899-1902..	995	9,800	10	0.2
1904-1905..	548	160,000	292	4.6
1912-1913..	238	462,000	1,950	30.9
1914-1916..	731	4,631,500	6,336	100.0

The society takes up in detail each country as follows:

Austria-Hungary

The computations are based on general casualty losses made public at the beginning of the war. From Aug. 13 to Sept. 14, 1914, lists of casualties among officers were published; also during the period from Sept. 20, 1914, to Oct. 10, 1915, since which time no more lists have been issued. The total number of lists published was 244. The results were deduced by applying the averages from known statistics in other countries; for instance, in Germany for twenty-three months of war there were 28 dead soldiers for each dead officer, 40 wounded soldiers for one wounded officer, 40 dead for 100 wounded. Applying this ratio to Austria-Hungary, the losses of the Austro-Hungarian Army during the first year of the war would be:

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Dead	14,850	416,000	43,850
Wounded	26,000	1,040,000	1,066,000
Prisoners			763,000

Regarding the second year of the war, the calculations are based on averages with the following results:

Austro-Hungarian Losses Second Year of War

(Aug. 1, 1915—Aug. 1, 1916.)

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
Dead	9,904	277,300	287,204
Wounded	17,340	693,600	710,940
Prisoners			387,000
Total	27,244	970,900	1,385,144

Austro-Hungarian Losses During Two Years of War

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
Dead	24,754	693,300	718,054
Wounded	43,340	1,733,600	1,776,940
Prisoners			1,150,000
Total	68,094	2,426,900	3,644,994

The estimates for the second year of the war do not include the missing, nor the sick, hence the figures above are considerably less than the figures heretofore given by the countries hostile to Austria-Hungary. Russian statements regarding Austria-Hungary up to the end of February, 1916, nineteen months of the war, computed 723,200 dead, 2,692,100 sick and wounded, and 809,000 prisoners, making for the two years of war 913,512 dead, 3,400,296 sick and wounded.

The society estimates that the losses of Austria-Hungary in the first two years of the war are, in round numbers: Minimum total dead, 718,000; maximum total dead, 913,512; sick and wounded, minimum, 533,000; maximum, 1,000,000.

Compared with wars waged by Austria-Hungary in the second half of the last century, the following shows the relative losses:

	Dead.	Wounded.	Total.
1859	5,400	26,000	31,400
1866	10,994	29,304	40,298
1914-1916	718,000	533,000	1,251,000

British Army Losses

Fourteen statements of losses of the British Army appeared to Jan. 27, 1916, when they ceased, and from these averages the following totals are arrived at: (Aug. 4, 1914, to Aug. 21, 1915.—Statement in House of Commons.)

	Non-com's ed	
	Officers.	and Men.
Killed and died of wounds	4,965	7,992
Wounded	9,973	241,086
Missing	1,501	53,466
Total	16,439	365,544
Grand total	381,983	

The number of prisoners from the British Army, as reported up to June 1, 1916, were as follows: In Germany, 32,000; in Turkey, 17,827; in Bulgaria, 449. Lord Newton stated in the House of Commons on May 31, 1916, that 1,318 of the 25,621 prisoners of the army then in Germany had died—a death rate of 5.14 per cent. The ravages of disease among the soldiers in the Dardanelles is evident by the official report, showing that between April 25 and Dec. 11, 1915, 96,683 were taken to the hospital, while

the dead and wounded amounted to 112,991. This large percentage of sickness was due to epidemics of typhus; there were 28,500 cases out of a total of 78,200 between April and October, 1915. The absolute losses, including the killed, missing, wounded, and sick, who will not return to the front, from the beginning of the war to Jan. 9, 1916, in the English Army is figured at 410,722, being 74 per cent. of the total losses as reported up to Jan. 9, 1916, which aggregated 549,467. Of the 410,722 total losses, 128,138 were killed or died of wounds.

British Navy Losses

The total of losses in the British Navy, as reported before the Jutland battle on May 31, 1916, was 12,160, of which 10,517 were killed or died of wounds. The losses in the Jutland battle were 6,617, which brings the total losses of the British Navy up to the middle of June, 1916, to 18,777, of whom 16,983 were killed and wounded.

From the preceding figures—the losses being based upon official reports and established averages—the total losses for the British Army and Navy in the two years are computed at 808,463, of which 34,360 were officers. The absolute losses were, in killed and permanently wounded during the two years, 359,725. This total compares with the Crimean and Boer wars, as follows:

	Total Army.	Killed and Died of Wounds.	Wounded.
Two years, present war	2,000,000	188,464	512,465
Crimean war ..	97,864	4,602	18,283
Boer war	250,000	5,774	22,829

Losses of France

Only approximate estimates of the French losses can be arrived at, as casualty lists are not published, and official statements regarding the number of killed and wounded are not given. Some reliable figures, however, are computed from statistics of certain organizations related to the army.

It is known that from Sept. 15 to Nov. 30, 1914, 490,000 wounded were treated at the different hospitals, of

which 54.5 per cent. returned to the front; only 2.48 per cent. died; 17 per cent. remained at the hospitals and are computed as permanently lost.

The French Relief Society officially stated that up to June, 1915, (ten months of the war,) the killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners of the French aggregated 1,400,000. From other information, and meagre reports, the War Study Society arrives at the following losses for the two years of the war:

French Losses in Two Years of the War

Killed	885,000
Wounded	2,115,000
Invalided	634,000

Comparison with Former Wars

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
1859	2,536	17,054	19,590
1870-1871	138,871	137,626	276,497
1914-1916	885,000	2,115,000	3,000,000

Germany's War Losses

The losses of Germany are computed from the casualty lists published by the Minister of War. Up to July 1, 1916, 1,032 such lists had been issued, containing 13,178 pages, averaging 262.3 casualties per page, but these included certain percentages of corrections and duplications, so the actual bases are figured at 225.8 per page, which would bring the total published losses from the beginning of the war to the first of July, 1916, (twenty-three months,) to 2,975,592. These lists, however, do not indicate the time at which the losses were sustained; but from the reports it is estimated that the casualty lists up to the twenty-third month of the war only covered the period to May 15, 1916. Maintaining the same average for the six weeks, the total up to the 15th of May, 1916, (twenty-one and a half months of the war,) would be 3,012,637; and, according to the above computations, of these the dead number 771,308, 26.3 per cent.; seriously wounded, 447,177, 15.2 per cent.; slightly wounded, 1,395,146, 47.4 per cent.; prisoners, 327,148, 11.1 per cent.

From all the data and averages the society estimates that the total German losses during the first two years of the war were as follows:

Dead	885,500
Slightly wounded	1,602,900
Severely wounded	513,400
Prisoners—about	400,000

As compared with the losses of the Franco-Prussian war:

Dead	280,000
Wounded	101,000

Losses of Italy

The Italian Government does not publish figures, and results can only be computed from partial reports and averages. The Austrian General Staff on Nov. 31, 1915, asserted that six months of the war had cost Italy a half million men. The German *Kölnische Zeitung*, in May, stated that the first twelve months of the war had cost Italy 3,000 dead officers. The *Army and Navy Gazette*, April 22, 1916, reported the total Italian losses at 25,000 a month. From these reports and others the Italian losses for the first fourteen months of the war are computed as follows:

Killed	165,000
Wounded	245,000
Prisoners	55,000

Losses of Russia

The losses of Russia are computed from estimates, with deductions, from fragmentary reports. No official figures are available. It is known from hospital reports that during the first six months of the war the sick and wounded amounted to 1,200,000, and unofficial figures show that during eighteen months of the war the sick and wounded reached 3,953,000, of whom 1,048,000 were sick. The Russian Government has issued 185 lists of killed, but these official lists were not always available. Based upon the most reliable data and reports, the following estimates are arrived at:

Russian Losses in First Two Years of the War

	Officers and Men.
Losses in fighting	7,235,000
Losses in sick	1,362,000

Total losses	8,597,000
Military losses	5,181,000
Killed	1,171,000
Died of wounds	244,000
Died of sickness	82,000
Wounded	3,820,000
Prisoners, estimated	2,000,000

Russian Losses in Previous Wars

	Killed and Died of Wounds.	Wounded.
Crimean war	72,000
Russo-Turkish war....	36,000	118,000
Russo-Japanese war...	34,000	141,000

Balkan States and Belgium

No official information of the losses of the Balkan States and Turkey is procurable, but based upon the available data and reports the following results are arrived at by the society:

*The War Losses of the Balkan States and Turkey
Up to Aug. 1, 1916*

	Dead.	W'nded.	Invalids, Approx.	Died from Illness.
Bulgaria ...	25,000	60,000	18,000
Serbia	60,000	140,000	42,000	50,000
Turkey	150,000	350,000	105,000
Together.	235,000	550,000	165,000

No official information of the losses of Belgium is procurable, but from reports the total losses of the Belgians in the first two years of the war are put at

247,000, of whom 47,000 are killed, 160,000 wounded, and 40,000 prisoners.

The Appalling Totals

All the above figures cover, as stated, the first two years of the war. At this writing, (Nov. 15, 1916,) three and one-half months more have elapsed, or 14½ per cent., of additional time. These three and one-half months have been the bloodiest since the outbreak of the war, particularly among the French, Germans, Austrians, Italians, Russians, and British, while a new element has entered into the contest—Rumania. It is a conservative computation to add, in order to reach a grand total of losses up to Nov. 15, 1916, 16 2-3 per cent. to the above figures; indeed, in the cases of France, England, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy, from 20 to 25 per cent. might safely be added. The adding of 16 2-3 per cent. would bring the total dead on Nov. 15, 1916, into the neighborhood of 5,600,000, and would show the wounded to be in excess of 13,000,000.

The German War Map

[Italian Cartoon]



From L'Asino, Rome

GERMAN CROWN PRINCE: "Tell papa that I have Paris under my hand whenever I want it"

The War's Origin and Lasting Peace

Address by Viscount Grey
British Minister for Foreign Affairs

[Delivered before the Foreign Press Association, London, Oct. 23, 1916]

YOUR President said I was to make a historic speech. Will he and you forgive me if I say I doubt whether any historic speech can be made while the war is actually in progress? After the war very likely, but while the war is in progress the real historic work is being done in the offices of the General Staffs of the allied countries and on the battlefield where our soldiers are fighting. Words can be but little, but the work done by the General Staffs at headquarters, and by the armies in the field, and by the navies on the sea, that is really the work that is making history.

We have had since the beginning of the war two or three notable speeches. First of all there was a great speech by M. Briand in the French Chamber. Next in time there was the interview given by Lloyd George to a press correspondent, and then in this country the speech by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons; and lately we have had the note struck just as firmly in Petrograd by an official communiqué, I think under the auspices of the Minister of the Interior. Those speeches have given to the world the note and tone and feeling of the Allies at this moment. I indorse all that they have said, but for a few moments I would like to talk not indeed about the actual conditions of peace, which can only be stated and formulated by the Allies together and not by any one of them separately, but about the general object which the Allies must secure in this war.

To do that I would ask you to recall a thing we must never forget—how the war came about. If we are to approach peace in the proper spirit it can only be by recalling and never forgetting what was the real cause of the war. Some people say we need not go back on that

old ground now. Everybody knows it. Well, you cannot go back on it too often. It affects the conditions of peace. Germany talks of peace; her statesmen talk of peace today. What sort of peace do they talk of? They say Germany must have guarantees against being attacked again. If this war had been forced on Germany that would have been a logical statement. It is precisely because it was not forced upon Germany, but forced

by Germany upon Europe, that it is the Allies who must have guarantees for future peace.

In July, 1914, no one thought of attacking Germany. It is said Russia was the first to mobilize. That, I understand, is what is alleged in Germany as the justification for the statement that the war was not an aggressive war on Germany's part, but was forced upon her. Russia never made the mobilization of which Germany complained until Germany had refused a conference, and never made it until after a report appeared in Germany that Germany had ordered mobilization, and that report was telegraphed to Petrograd. As a matter of fact it was the story of 1870 over again. The preparations for war, not merely the preparation of material, were prepara-



VISCOUNT GREY

tory steps to an advance in Berlin to a stage beyond that of any other country. Then when the chosen moment came the manoeuvre was made to procure some other country to take a defensive step, and when that defensive step was taken, then to resent it with an ultimatum which made war inevitable.

The same thing with the invasion of Belgium. Strategic railways had been made in Germany; the whole plan of campaign of the German Staff was to attack through Belgium. Now the Germans are representing that they had to attack through Belgium because other people had planned to attack through Belgium. I would like nothing better than to see the statements that the Russian mobilization was an aggressive, and not a defensive, measure and that any other power than Germany had planned to attack through Belgium investigated before any independent and impartial tribunal.

Hiding the Truth

The German organization is very successful in some things, but in nothing more than in preventing the truth reaching their people, and in succeeding in presenting to them the point of view which is not that of the truth. As for the statement that war was forced on Germany: When England proposed a conference, when Russia, France, and Italy accepted a conference, when four powers offered a conference and one power refused it, is it the powers who offered the conference which were forcing war or the power which refused it? The Emperor of Russia offered The Hague Tribunal. When one sovereign offers The Hague Tribunal and another ignores it, is it the sovereign who offers a reference to The Hague who is forcing war?

On the very eve of war France gave her pledge to respect the neutrality of Belgium if Germany would not violate it. We asked for such a pledge. Was it the power which asked for the pledge and the power which gave the pledge which were responsible for the violation of the neutrality of Belgium or the power which refused? I say, and every Belgian knows it to be true, as well as every

Frenchman and Englishman, that never at any time was there a suggestion that an English or French soldier should enter Belgium unless it were to defend Belgium from the violation of her neutrality, first undertaken by Germany. Why was it that all efforts to avoid war in July, 1914, failed? Because you cannot have peace without good-will, and because in Berlin there was the will to war and not the will to peace.

Crown Prince's Reflections

And just lately, I think to an American, the Crown Prince has deplored the loss of life which is caused by this war. Yes; it was because we knew what the sufferings of war must be, because we knew how terrible a thing war let loose in Europe would be, that we tried to avoid it in July, 1914. Then was the time to be penetrated with a sense of all that war would mean. It is precisely because we knew then what it must mean that we tried to avoid war.

It is because we have had this terrible experience now on the Continent of Europe—we and our allies—of what war does mean, that we are determined that the war shall not end till we can be sure that at any rate the generations which come after us and our nations in future shall not be subject to such a terrible trial again.

What was the plan—the German plan? I saw a statement in the press the other day that a German officer had recognized that Germany had failed this time, but in ten years she was going to succeed. The German plan was to be a short, successful war. The war was all thought out in Berlin on a plan, and there was a time table—so long to get to Paris, so long to defeat France, so long afterward to defeat Russia. And England! The plan was that England was to be kept out of the war, but if England should enter the war it was not thought that the expeditionary force which we had available would be enough to upset the enemy plan. People who are militarists, whose ideas and whose thoughts run solely on military considerations, people who are material, forget to estimate—indeed, they cannot estimate—the spirit

and the soul which exist in nations when they are attacking a foe for their lives. The plan was that Russia and France were to be defeated, and England was to be isolated and disgraced.

We must never forget, as we go through this war, that an offer was made to us to keep out of the war. We were asked by the German Government to engage to remain neutral on certain conditions. We were asked to condone the violation of the neutrality of Belgium—because that is what the offer came to—though we were obliged by treaty to uphold it. We were also asked to give Germany a free hand to take whatever she liked of French colonies. That is practically what the offer was. That is why I say that the plan was not only to isolate us, but to disgrace us. I would ask any neutral to put it to himself: What would have been the future of this country if the British Government had for a moment accepted such an offer? We might have had an army and a navy, but there would have been no morale, no spirit in the nation. We should have had the contempt of the whole world.

German Aims

Happily tactics so gross as those did not succeed, and I need not recall what the reply of the British Government was, nor what the spirit of the nation was at the opening of the war. We should not think merely of what Germany says today. It is worth while looking back at the exhibition of her Government and people when the war started. Then we saw something of their real mind, and there was a certain Professor Ostwald in Germany who unburdened himself, again I think to an American, in August, 1914. He called himself a pacifist, and this is how he described the German aims. It was a long interview, but in it occurred these two things: Germany was to dictate peace to the rest of Europe, and the principle of the absolute sovereignty of the individual nations must be given up. Do not let us forget that that was the spirit in which this war was begun. What is the spirit in which the war is being carried on by the Allies today? I take it from the words of the Prime Minister the other day:

We shall fight until we have established the supremacy of right over force, free development under equal conditions, and each in accordance with its own genius, of all the States, great and small, which build up the family of civilized mankind.

Into this struggle we have put rightly and necessarily all our resources—all our wealth, all our material, all our labor—and now when we have had time, because it needed time, to equip and train a large army, we are putting all the best life-blood of the nation, shedding it on the Continent, side by side with our allies, in emulation with them, stimulated by the courage and self-sacrifice which they are showing in defense of their own countries, shedding it because we know that their cause and ours is one. To the end we stand or fall together. The separation of one from the other means the destruction of the one separated, and not its safety. For all of us unity is essential, not merely to victory, but to our future life and success.

Germany is trying, and has been throughout the war, to separate one from the other, in order to realize her aims. Not a week passes that does not confirm our resolve to go through with our allies to the end of the war, and after the war I trust the memory of the sufferings we have undergone together, the memory of the joint courage which is carrying us through—and all that we have been through—will be a perpetual bond of alliance and sympathy between our Governments and our peoples.

Opportunity for Neutrals

Now, I should like to say one word on another subject. Looking to the future after the war, what is it that neutrals can do? The other day I wrote this to a correspondent who sounded me on the subject:

I believe the best work neutrals can do for the moment is to work up opinion for such an agreement between the nations as will prevent a war like this from happening again.

If nations had been united in such an agreement and prompt and resolute to insist in July, 1914, that the dispute must be referred to a conference, or to The Hague, and that the Belgian Treaty must be observed, there would have been no war.

I would ask neutrals to observe that belligerent countries, fighting as we are

today for our very existence—fighting, it is true, for victory with a daily increasing prospect of seeing that victory brought nearer, but still knowing that if we stop short of victory we stop short of everything for which we are fighting—cannot be expected to spend much time in developing ideas of what can be done after victory is secured. But neutrals can do it, and it is interesting to observe that not only President Wilson but also Mr. Hughes, the candidate for the Presidency of the United States, are supporting a league which has already sprung into existence supported by various distinguished people with the object not of interfering between the belligerents in this war, but of getting ready for some international association after this war is over which shall do its part in making peace secure in future.

I would like to say that, though we may have little time to give to such ideas ourselves while we are engaged in this struggle, I think that is a work in neutral countries upon which we should all look with favor and with hope.

Only bear this in mind, that if the nations of the world after this war are to do something more effective than they were ever able to do before this war, to combine themselves for the common object of preserving peace, they must be prepared not to undertake more than they are able to uphold by force, and to see when the time of crisis comes that it is upheld by force.

In other words, we would say to neutrals who are occupying themselves with this question, in a colloquial phrase, that we are in favor of it, but with the understanding that we shall ask them when the time comes for them to make any demand for such a thing, "Will you play up when the time comes?"

It is not merely the sign-manual of sovereigns or Presidents that is required, but it must also have behind it the force of national sentiment. The object of this league is, as I understand it, to insist upon treaties being kept and some other settlement than war being tried before recourse to war. In July, 1914, there was no such league in existence. Supposing a generation hence such a condi-

tion of things as in July, 1914, recurs, and there is such a league in existence. Everything will depend upon whether the national sentiment behind it is so penetrated by the lessons of this war as to feel that in the future each nation, although not immediately concerned in the dispute, is yet interested, and vitally interested, in doing something, even if it be by force, to keep the peace.

Methods of War

But there must be more than that. You must have some agreement after this war is over as to the methods under which war is to be conducted. Germany complains of our methods in this war. She complains of our blockade. From the very beginning Germany did her utmost to prevent food from reaching this country. In the early stages of the war she sank two neutral ships bringing food to this country. It does not lie with her to complain of our blockade. But what about other methods—the new methods which have been introduced—the sowing of mines indiscriminately upon the high seas, to the danger equally of neutrals and belligerents, the firing of shells into defenseless coast towns? Because you must remember that what is required, according to the German official communiqués, to convert an allied town on the coast into a fortress is not the provision of guns in it, not the presence of troops, but merely the fact that it has been fired upon by a German cruiser. Then the use of poisonous gas in war, which nobody would have believed possible if the Germans had not begun it, which nobody thought of using until the Germans began it. In the Gallipoli Peninsula, neither we nor the French used gas, because we would not be the first to introduce it anywhere. That has been brought into the war. Then there is the sinking of merchant vessels and the destruction of passengers and crews. There are also the acts committed in Belgium and other allied territory in German occupation, some of which have been the subject of investigation and report, and which to public knowledge are in breach of all the laws and conventions of war and of the most elementary dictates of humanity.

One thing more of which we hear very little, of which we do not know the full story. Since Turkey entered the war she has been the vassal of Germany. Probably neutral nations know more of the story than we do, but enough has leaked through to make it clear that there has gone on, and is still going on, in Turkey, on a scale unprecedented even in that country, and with horrors unequalled before, an attempt to exterminate the Christian population of Turkey—horrors which Germany could have prevented, and which could only have gone on with her toleration. Perhaps some day some neutral nation which knows the whole story will make it known to the world.

The Greatest Anarchist

All these things have been happening during this war. What a prospect it opens for the future! Are all the researches of science to continue to be devoted after this war to the inventing of means to destroy the human race, with no restriction whatever on their use? It is a prospect which threatens civilization and the existence of the race itself.

In letting loose these things and in introducing them into war, Germany has been the great anarchist who has let loose on the world a greater and a more terrible anarchy than any individual anarchist ever dreamed of.

Unless there is some means of restraining these things future war will, by the developments of science, be made even more terrible and horrible than this war, because Germany has thrown down all the barriers which civilization had previously built up so as to keep the horrors of war within bounds. Neutral nations have an interest in seeing that something is done to insure that there shall be rules which are kept in future wars—rules which shall be so laid down and supported that it will be clear that any nation which departs from them will be regarded by the whole world as the enemy of the human race, and have the whole world against her.

The indiscriminate use of high explosives to destroy great cities and combatants and noncombatants alike, all

those things which have been done in this war—the introduction of poisonous gas and the introduction, perhaps, of disease—it will need all the efforts, not only of belligerents but of neutrals, after this war is over, to see that the barriers necessary to secure that the inventions of science are used in the future in the air, on the land, on the water, and under the water, not for the destruction of mankind but for its welfare; to see that all nations shall recognize some responsibility to prevent outbreaks of war, and that if there be war it shall be conducted by rules at least as humane as those which our ancestors observed, and which Germany today has disregarded and thrown to the winds. That is a matter in which the whole human race is interested.

For years before this war we were living under the deepening shadow of Prussian militarism, extending itself over the whole of Germany, and then extending itself over the whole Continent. There must be no peace except a peace which is going to insure that the nations of Europe will live in the future free from that shadow, will live in the open air, and in the light of freedom. For that we are contending. We know that if mankind has any birthright, as we believe it has the birthright of peace and liberty, then our cause is just and right, because it is for that we are fighting. If we are asked how long the struggle is to continue, we reply it must continue till these things are secured, and if it be hard that the present generation in its prime should be called upon to sacrifice all that it has for the sake of the future of the nation and the generations that come after, it is our determination, which the progress of the war but deepens, in common with that of our allies, to continue the war till we have made it certain that the Allies in common shall have achieved the success which must and ought to be theirs; till they have secured the future peace of the whole Continent of Europe, and until they have made it clear that all the sacrifices we have made shall not have been made in vain.

The German Chancellor's Reply to Viscount Grey

Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's reply to the foregoing speech of Viscount Grey was delivered on Nov. 9 before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag. He declared that Germany was at all times ready to join a league of nations—"even to place herself at the head of such a league—to keep in check the disturbers of peace." He said in part:

WE never concealed our doubts as to whether peace could be guaranteed permanently by international organizations, such as arbitration courts. I shall not discuss the theoretical aspects of the problem in this place. But from the standpoint of matters of fact we now and in peace must define our position with regard to this question.

If at and after the end of the war the world will only become fully conscious of the horrifying destruction of life and property, then through the whole of humanity there will ring out a cry for peaceful arrangements and understandings which, as far as is within human power, will avoid the return of such a monstrous catastrophe. This cry will be so powerful and so justified that it must lead to some result.

Germany will honestly co-operate in examination of every endeavor to find a practical solution, and will collaborate for its possible realization. This all the more if the war, as we expect and trust, shall create political conditions that do full justice to the free development of all nations, of small as well as great nations. Then the principle of justice and free development, not only on the Continent, but also on the seas, must be made valid. This, to be sure, Lord Grey did not mention.

[The Chancellor pointed out that Lord Grey's ideas in regard to international guarantees of peace seemed to possess a peculiar character, in that they took

into consideration only British wants. He said it was known on reliable authority that in 1915 Great Britain and France promised to Russia dictatorial domination of Constantinople, the Bosphorus and the west shore of the Dardanelles, with the hinterland, and that Asia Minor should be divided among the Entente powers. These plans, he continued, probably were of interest for neutrals, who were expected to guarantee this order of things. The British Government, he asserted, has kept silent in regard to these plans, in spite of questions asked in Parliament. He added:]

British "Brute Force"

Such a policy of brute force cannot be the basis of an efficient international league for peace.

These are the plans of our enemies for annexation, to which must be added Alsace and Lorraine, while I have never designated the annexation of Belgium as our intention when I spoke about the aims of the war.

The first condition for the evaluation of international relations by way of arbitration and peaceful compromise of conflicting interests ought to be that no more aggressive coalitions be formed. Germany is at all times ready to enter a league of peace which will restrain the disturber of peace.

The history of international relations before the war stands clear before the eyes of all the world. What made France join with Russia? Alsace and Lorraine. What did Russia want? Constantinople. Why did England join them? Because Germany had become too strong for her, by peaceful toil. And what did we want? Lord Grey says that Germany with her first offer of Belgian and French integrity wanted to purchase from England permission to take of the French colonies whatever she pleased. Even to the most insane person in Germany it never occurred to assault France in or-

der to rob her of her colonies. It was not this which was Europe's doom, but the fact that the British Government favored French and Russian plans of conquest, which could not be obtained without a European war.

Origin of the War

[The Chancellor referred to the situation as it was on July 30, 1914, two days before Germany declared war on Russia. The German Ambassador at Vienna had been instructed to request Austria-Hungary most urgently to reach an understanding with Russia, making it clear that Germany did not desire to be drawn into a world war in consequence of disregard of her advice. Austria-Hungary agreed to Germany's suggestion. He continued:]

With this compare the following steps taken by Lord Grey, (British Foreign Secretary:) On July 2, 1914, the Russian Ambassador at London said that German and Austro-Hungarian circles were under the impression that England would remain quiet. Lord Grey replied: "This impression is removed by the orders which we gave to the main fleet." On July 29 he informed the French Ambassador of a confidential warning which had been given to our Ambassador in London that Germany ought to be prepared for quick decisions of England, which meant England's participation in the war. Could Lord Grey suppose that such a disclosure made to the French Ambassador would be of service to the cause of peace? Was not the French representative obliged to consider this disclosure as a promise of armed assistance in case of war? Must not France have been encouraged by this to give to Russia a promise of the unconditional fellowship in war asked for so urgently for days? And must Russia not have been strengthened to the utmost by this certainty of a British and French alliance in her intentions to wage war?

The Russian answer to the morning conversation of Lord Grey, indeed, came as quickly as was expected. On the evening of the same day, July 29, M. Sazonoff (Russian Foreign Minister) in-

structed the Russian Ambassador at Paris to express to the French Government sincere thanks for the declaration given to him by the French Ambassador that Russia could count completely upon the assistance of France.

Says Grey Ignores Facts

Thus on the night of July 30 Russia was faced by the following situation: Austria-Hungary yielded under German influence, which cleared the road toward peace. At the same time Lord Grey's disclosure to Paul Cambon (French Ambassador at London) assured Russia of the armed assistance of England and France, by which only the possibility of war was given to Russia. Russia decided upon mobilization and war. Who has been guilty of this decision, full of fate? Lord Grey did not mention all these facts, but directed the attention of his audience to unessential details.

The Hague Arbitration Tribunal offered by the Russian Emperor no doubt sounds very serious, but the offer was made when Russian troops were already sent to move against us.

As to Lord Grey's own suggestion of the conference he himself had substituted for our mediation, this has been repeatedly explained in the Reichstag. And the Belgian question—before a single German soldier had set foot on Belgian soil—Lord Grey had already told the French Ambassador, as related in his report: "If the German Navy should enter the Channel or pass the North Sea with the intention of attacking the French coast or French Navy and harass the French merchant marine, (gentlemen, "harass,") then the British Navy would act in order to protect the French Navy in such a fashion that from that moment England and Germany would be in a state of war."

Can the same man who proclaimed that the sailing of our navy would be a *casus belli*, can that very same man still asseverate sincerely that only the violation of Belgian neutrality had forced England against her will into war?

[The Chancellor then took up Lord Grey's statement that Germany had asked England to condone the violation

of Belgian neutrality. "I challenge Lord Grey," he said, "to examine the fact in his own Blue Book and in his records." In order to localize the war, the Chancellor explained that on July 29, 1914, he assured the British Ambassador at Berlin that in case of England's neutrality Germany would guarantee France's territorial integrity. On Aug. 1 Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador at London, asked Lord Grey whether England would promise to remain neutral in case Germany accepted an obligation to respect Belgian neutrality. He further offered that in case of English neutrality the integrity not only of France itself, but also of the French colonies, would be guaranteed, and said that Germany was ready to renounce an attack on France if England guaranteed French neutrality. At the last moment the Chancellor gave his promise that so long as England remained neutral the German Navy would not attack the French north coast, and, mutual treatment presupposed, would do no hostile act against French merchantmen. To all this, according to the Chancellor, Lord Grey answered that he must decline, definitely, to give any promise of neutrality and could only say that England wanted to keep her hands free. The speaker continued:]

If England had given this declaration of neutrality then she would not have been the object of the whole world's contempt, as Lord Grey thinks, but would have prevented the outbreak of war. I also ask: Who wanted war—we, who were ready to give to England all imaginable securities, not only for her immediate interests, but also for France and Belgium, or Lord Grey, who declined every one of our propositions and refused even to hint a way by which to preserve peace between our two countries?

Russian Mobilization Fateful

The action which made the war unavoidable was the Russian mobilization, ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914. Russia, England, France, the whole world, knew that this step made it impossible for us to wait any longer, and that this step was synonymous with a

declaration of war. The whole world—even England, too—now begins to comprehend the fateful importance of the Russian mobilization. Truth makes headway. An English scholar of world fame recently said: "Many people would think differently about the end of the war if they were better informed about its origin, especially about the facts of Russian mobilization." It is no wonder, therefore, if Lord Grey could not leave the Russian mobilization unmentioned.

[The Chancellor said Lord Grey admitted that the Russian preceded the German and Austro-Hungarian mobilization. But since he desired to clear the Entente of guilt, Lord Grey could not help referring to the Russian mobilization as Germany's work. Lord Grey said that Russia mobilized its army only after it received a report that Germany had ordered mobilization. Lord Grey added that Germany had played a trick in order to provoke the other country into a defensive measure to which Germany could reply with an ultimatum. It was two years and three months before this version of the cause of the war occurred to Lord Grey, said the Chancellor, and he characterized it as a version which was as incorrect as it was new. The event at which Lord Grey hinted was known. The document on which he based his argument, the Chancellor said, was a special edition of the Berlin newspaper *Lokal-Anzeiger*. The Chancellor recalled the fact that on Thursday, July 30, 1914, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* early in the afternoon issued a special edition with the untrue report that the German Emperor had ordered mobilization. The Chancellor added that every one in the Reichstag committee knew that the sale of this special edition was prohibited immediately by the police, and that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs immediately informed the Russian Ambassador by telephone that this news was untrue. He continued:]

I may state further that the Russian Ambassador, indeed, had sent a cipher telegram to St. Petersburg as soon as the special edition was issued, and that the telegram, according to the Russian

Orange Book, read: "I understand that an order for mobilization of the German Army and the German Navy has been proclaimed at this moment." After the explanation given by Secretary von Jagow over the telephone, this telegram was followed by a second telegram not in cipher: "I beg you to consider my last telegram as null and void. Explanation follows."

A few minutes later the Russian Ambassador sent a third telegram in cipher, which, according to the Russian Orange Book, stated that the Foreign Minister at that moment had telephoned that the news of the mobilization of the army and navy was untrue, and that the special edition had been confiscated. The quick action of Secretary von Jagow, which is confirmed by the official Russian Orange Book, giving Ambassador Sverbeew's telegram, set right the wrong news and in itself refutes Lord Grey's assertion that we intentionally desired to deceive Russia in order to cause her to mobilize. * * * At all events, the incorrect report had been set right before the Russian Government ordered a general mobilization.

Gentlemen, we do not fear any tribunal. I can state further that this new version has been brought forward entirely by Lord Grey. To the Russian Government itself, which ought to be the best informed about the cause of mobilization, it never occurred that it could refer to a special edition of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* as an explanation of its fateful step.

Germany Third to Mobilize

Lord Grey, I take it, will not refuse the Russian Emperor as a witness, and the Emperor at 2 P. M. on Friday, July 31, when the order for mobilization had already been issued to all Russian forces, telegraphed to the German Emperor as an answer to his last appeal for peace: "Technically impossible to stop our military preparations, made necessary by Austro-Hungarian mobilization." There was no word about the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, no word about German mobilization.

[The Chancellor then recalled that the Russian Emperor's reference to Austro-

Hungarian mobilization could be no excuse for a general Russian mobilization, since Austria-Hungary then had mobilized only eight army corps against Serbia, to which Russia on July 29 already had replied by mobilizing thirteen army corps. Only after the general Russian mobilization did Austria-Hungary, on the morning of July 31, order a general mobilization. As to Germany, after the news of the general Russian mobilization, it did not mobilize at once, but at first only proclaimed a state of threatened danger of war, which was by no means mobilization. This was communicated to the Russian Government, and it was added that mobilization must follow if Russia did not stop all war measures against Germany and Austria-Hungary within twelve hours and if it did not inform Germany in clear fashion that this had been done. Thus Russia once more received time, even when, as a result of Russia's guilt, war already seemed unavoidable. Likewise, Russia's allies and friends had the possibility of still using their influence with Russia, in the same direction as Germany with her ally, Austria-Hungary. Russia, said the Chancellor, gave no answer. England remained silent to Russia. France, through her Prime Minister, on the evening of July 31, merely declared to the German Ambassador that Russia had not mobilized, and ordered her own mobilization some hours before Germany did. The Chancellor continued:]

As to the so-called defensive character of the Russian general mobilization, I may state here, in the most explicit fashion, that at the outbreak of the war in 1914 there was still valid a general order of the Russian Government, issued in the year 1912, in which was the following paragraph verbatim: "From the highest place it is ordered that a proclamation of mobilization is at the same time a proclamation of war against Germany." Against Germany, gentlemen, against Germany!

Russia never would have decided upon this fateful step if it had not been encouraged to do so from the Thames by actions and by failures to take action.

An Italian Diplomat's Part in Events Preceding the War

A Preface by Gabriel Hanotaux

M. Hanotaux, the famous French diplomat, historian, and Academician, has written the following introduction to a collection of speeches delivered since the war by Tommaso Tittoni, the Italian Ambassador in Paris, who resigned that position about Nov. 1.

SIGNOR TITTONI, Deputy, Prefect, Senator, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador, is a man who knows politics to the fingertips. He has knowledge and tact, courage and skill; he is a humanist, an intellectual, and a practical man, an excellent representative of the present generation of Italians, who received a free and united Italy from their predecessors and who reckon on leaving a "Greater Italy" to the generations of the future. * * * At the approach of the great war we find him master of his thought and of the ability to come to a decision when the crisis was in sight. The crowd suspected nothing. They were still living their laborious and heedless lives as the lookout men watched the rising of the storm. The Italians in particular early took in sail. They knew that in case of a storm their country would be tossed about in the opposing currents.

Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, and her position was all the more perilous on that account. She was not ignorant that Prussia, so as to turn aside the rivalry of Austria on German territory, was thrusting this power toward the Balkans and the Adriatic. If such a policy prevailed, Italy would be the dupe of the bargain. She had contracted the alliance for the sake of the European

equilibrium and peace. What would she do if she were faced with deprivation of rights and war? Luckily Italian prudence had taken its precautions. The seventh article of the Triple Alliance provided for the possibility of Austrian intervention in the Balkans. That at bottom was all the treaty was made for. That article, the force and precision of which are admirable, reads:

Austria-Hungary and Italy, aiming only at the preservation of the status quo in the Orient, bind themselves to exert their influence *so as to avoid any territorial change* prejudicial to either of the contracting powers.

These powers will give one another reciprocal explanations making clear their respective intentions, in the same manner as the other powers, if in the course of certain events the

maintenance of the status quo of the Balkan territory, the coasts or the Ottoman islands in the Adriatic Sea and in the Ægean Sea becomes impossible, and if the situation is the consequence of a third power or has a cause which ought to constrain Austria or Italy to change the status quo by a temporary or permanent occupation.

This occupation can take place *only after preliminary agreements* between the two powers, on the principle of reciprocal consent in regard to all territorial advantages or any other arrangements which one of them should obtain modifying the status quo, and *so as to satisfy the just claims* of the two parties.

From the time that Austria's ambitions came into play and struck at the territorial status quo in the Balkans by falling upon Serbia without explanation



TOMMASO TITTONI
© Topical Press Agency

or preliminary arrangement with Italy this power had to take sides and sacrifice either her interests or the alliance. To break the alliance meant renouncing a system dating back many years and but recently renewed, which presented the appearance of security and prestige, serviceable in practice; which avoided a grave risk, and which, over and above the bargain and because of it, had sent Italy to sleep and left her unarmed. On the other hand, there were honor and the future, but risk. The situation was such that to take a step backward was to turn completely round. In the crisis that was to divide Europe a great power was obliged to declare itself under penalty of being excluded from the final settlement and of having enemies in both camps.

Italy had been driven into a corner a year and a half before the war, when Austria-Hungary, in connection with the Scutari incident, had threatened Montenegro. It was the Austro-Hungarian hegemony throwing its shadow on the Balkans. Great was the alarm at the Consulta. The Ambassadors were questioned. Ready as he was, Tittoni did not hesitate. To the question put to him he gave a reply which is a masterpiece of perspicacity and resolution. As between the alliance and the interests of Italy the Ambassador advised sacrificing the alliance. Just think—the other European powers were still holding back and Italy was then alone. The following is the text of this memorable dispatch, made public by the Ambassador himself in his speech at the Trocadero on June 22, 1916:

The artifices to which the Austro-Hungarian and German Ambassadors are resorting in sticking to the letter of the seventh article have not the least value. The spirit of this article is clear, and for the rest it does not matter what may be the disturbance to the Italo-Austrian equilibrium, which might impair not only the seventh article but the entire treaty of alliance. The day Austria means to disturb, no matter how and to what extent, the balance of power in the Adriatic, that day the Triple Alliance will have ceased to exist.

This was written in April, 1913. From that date the crisis begins, and Italy, following the advice of her Ambassador, really ceased to belong to the Triple

Alliance. Here were high resolves giving birth to action. Events now unfolded according to the logic of destiny. The man who had struck the decisive blow at the critical hour was not going to let himself be misled. He knew that the storm would burst in the direction of Serbia. He said so; he repeated it and kept every one on the watch. And when a tragic incident, the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, furnished Austria with the pretext she was looking for, he gave his country in a great flash of insight the supreme counsel. On July 26, 1914, he telegraphed the following brief words, laden with meaning and responsibility:

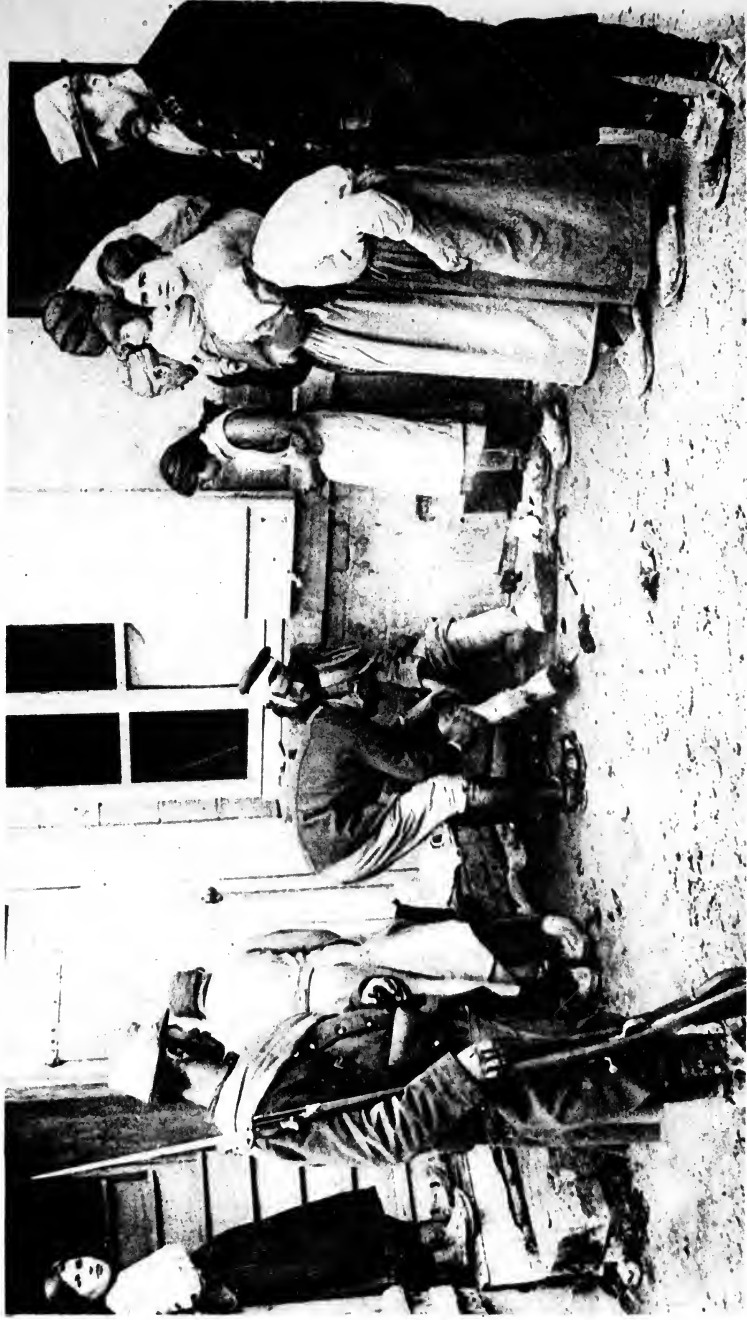
I am of opinion that from duty and loyalty we ought to declare to Berlin and Vienna that the ultimatum presented to Belgrade unknown to us and without being preceded by diplomatic negotiations constitutes on the part of Austria-Hungary a real provocation to war.

Therefore, the compact of the Triple Alliance would no longer be applicable even if Russia took part in the war, (that is to say, in case of general war.) It is necessary to make the declaration at once.

It cannot be said that this diplomat disguises himself. What a pleasure it is to see thus at work these fine minds with the gift of articulate thought! The Ambassador's words were inspired solely by the dignity and interests of Italy. They were in conformity with the ideas of the King and the Government, full of frankness and wisdom even to the members of the Triple Alliance if they had been in a condition to understand and listen to them. They bore first the seed of Italy's neutrality, then of her participation in the war, and finally of her declaration of war against Germany.

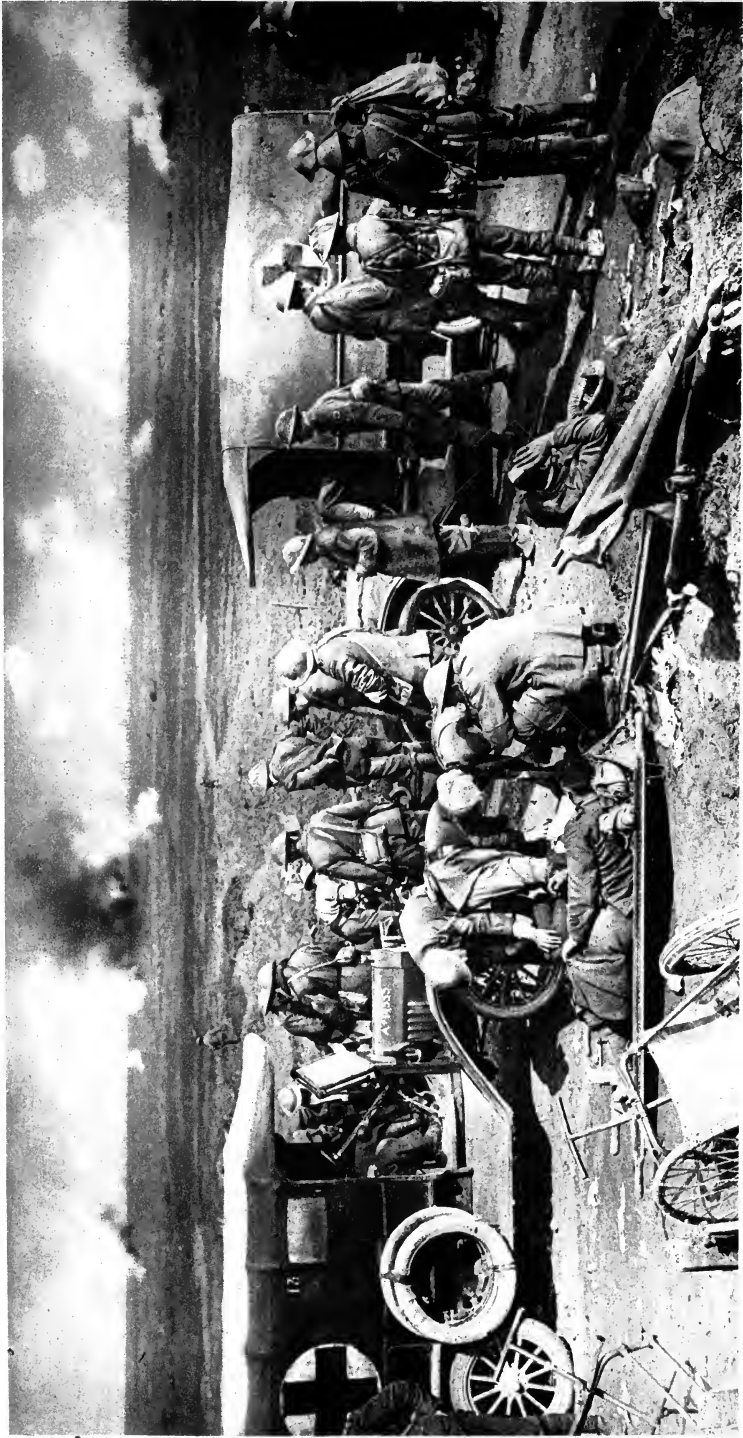
It could not escape the penetration of the Italian statesmen that Austro-Hungarian ambitions are only substitutes for German ambitions. Because Prussia wishes to stand alone in Germany she throws Austria back toward the Slav world. It is Germany that laid the trap in which Italy would have been caught if she had not known how to break through it. It is Germany that wants Trieste. Austria is only the tool. Sufficient allowance is not made for Pan-

BINDING THE ENEMY'S WOUNDS: SCENE ON A FRENCH FARM



This Eloquent Picture Almost Tells Its Own Story in the Faces and Attitudes of the People. A Wounded German Prisoner Has Been Brought in for First Aid.
(Root Newspaper Association.)

TENDING THE WOUNDED WITHIN SIGHT OF THE GUNS



An Official Crown Copyright Photograph of a British Red Cross Ambulance Corps Collecting and Caring for the Wounded Just Behind the Battle Line in France.

(Central News Photo Service.)

Germanism. German hegemony had Balkan and Mediterranean ambitions just as it had worldwide ambitions.

No longer is any compromise possible with Germany. She must submit to the general will of Europe since she has refused to be a "good European." The Bismarckian system has fallen; and now the proud militarism of Wilhelm II. must be destroyed; it must be torn up by the

roots. When the time comes I count on Tittoni being a careful gardener in the garden of victory—*maturae vinitor uvae*, (gatherer of the ripe grapes.) Thus a short, brief phase in the life of one man will have seen the gravest problems raised and solved. There is not a line in the speeches published by Signor Tittoni that does not merit thoughtful reading.

[ITALIAN SEMI-OFFICIAL STATEMENT]

The Responsibility for the War

TOMMASO TITTONI IN NUOVA ANTOLOGIA, ROME

Under the above heading Senator Tommaso Tittoni, late Italian Ambassador to France, has addressed a twenty-page letter to the Director of the Nuova Antologia of Rome. The letter is intended to supplement the speeches of the Ambassador, which are soon to be published in book form. It deals with other questions than the one taken for the heading. Thus, under the subhead of "Problems After the War" Signor Tittoni says he has not embraced the Utopian idea that perpetual peace may be obtained, but he believes the Allies should begin now with measures to ward off a return of the calamity. He urges a postponement of all economic and kindred questions, as a "mentality of war" has been created, which tends to vitiate any plans now laid for peace times. The most important part of his article is devoted to answering semi-official utterances in German and Austrian journals, and to demonstrating that diplomats in those countries were aware that a turning of the Triple Alliance to aggression would bring about its dissolution. It is this portion that is here reproduced.—TRANSLATOR.

IMMEDIATELY after I had read the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia I telegraphed to the late Marquis of San Giuliano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the ultimatum constituted a real provocation to war on the part of Austria and that we should at once declare this to Berlin and Vienna, so that they should not count on our co-operation in any case whatsoever. The publication of my telegram (reproduced by Gabriel Hanotaux in his preface) induced two Austrian papers, the *Fremdenblatt* and the *Reichspost*, to draw from it the unexpected conclusion that I was one of the men responsible for the war, because, having communicated my telegram to the French statesmen, (the papers cited have the kindness not to affirm this precisely, but say "in all probability,") I pushed them on and encouraged them to war.

Now, all this is baseless. The French statesmen had no knowledge whatever of my telegram. It was strictly secret and personal for Minister San Giuliano. If I had communicated it to the French Gov-

ernment before knowing to a certainty the decision of the Italian Government, I should have failed in my duty to the country I represented. It is easy to prove, moreover, that the communication of my telegram to the French Government may not be considered "probable," as the Austrian papers pretend, but must be absolutely excluded as impossible. * * *

My telegram was sent with an intention exactly the opposite of the one attributed to me by the Austrian journalists. Not only did I never think of exciting France to war, but I hoped confidently that the declaration I was advising the Marquis of San Giuliano to make to Berlin and Vienna at once, without losing a minute, might inspire milder counsels and have the effect of preserving peace. I saw, behind the ultimatum itself, the pretext, badly chosen and more badly shaped, for war. I hoped that our categorical refusal to participate in it, delivered in time at Berlin and Vienna, could hold back the men in power in those

capitals from the fatal slope to which they had rushed.

Declarations of Sazonoff

The Pester Lloyd, like the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, finds it awkward and difficult to meet my documented demonstration of the responsibility for the war. So what does it do? It gets rid of it en bloc by saying that my arguments are useless and superfluous after the statements of Mr. Sazonoff. But it does not seem to me that there is anything incriminating in the interview that Mr. Sazonoff gave to the Russkoe Slovo, anything that would justify the Norddeutsche in saying that "Mr. Sazonoff has swept away, with a brutal gesture, the cobweb tissue of my reasoning." Here is the passage of Sazonoff's to which the Norddeutsche refers:

Herr Bethmann Hollweg maintains that France and Russia would never have dared to accept the challenge of Germany if they had not been sure of the support of England. But the real political situation was the following, even if the Chancellor will not admit it: In reality, France and Russia, notwithstanding their profound love for peace and their sincere efforts to avoid bloodshed, had decided to break the pride of Germany at any price and to make her stop, once for all, treading on the toes of her neighbors.

Read and reread this passage as much as you will, you cannot find in it the proposal to commit aggression that the Norddeutsche denounces. Sazonoff meant and said that even without the aid of England, France and Russia were decided on a resistance of Germany's bullying and aggression. In short, he did no more than repeat the determination that surged up unanimously in Russia, when, in March, 1909, that country had to accede to Germany's intimation, and sanction at once the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, renouncing every guarantee; renouncing, also, the conference which was about to take place—for during those days I had (as Minister of Foreign Affairs) proposed it again in terms that suited Austria as well as the other powers. Russia, while yielding to German arrogance, promised herself that it was to be the last time. Sazonoff did no more than interpret that proposition, and so he said nothing that was not already known to all before the war.

If this was not known by the German and Austrian statesmen who provoked the war, let us not be surprised, for they have shown how to be ignorant of too many things already.

Austria and My Speeches

It will be noticed that of the German and Austrian papers which took up my speech at the Sorbonne, not one has tried to adduce facts and proofs to refute what was affirmed and documented by me as to the responsibility for the war. This attempt was made, after a noteworthy delay, on July 16, 1916, by the Neue Freie Presse. My severe but measured and correct language was answered by the Viennese journal with an explosion of insults, ("Lies—mendacity—cynically contrary to the truth, &c.")

In the beginning of the article in the Viennese paper we find the following passages a short distance apart: "Tittoni says that Austria was continually recurring to mobilization. This is false." And a little further on we read: "Besides, the successive mobilizations of Austria-Hungary are proof that she was taking a defensive measure, feeling herself menaced at every moment by Russo-Serbian intrigues." So the question is, Did Austria have her blessed mobilizations, or did she not? It is rather a difficult task to get a consistent statement out of the Neue Freie Presse. The truth is that Austria mobilized every time a leaf rustled and that her mobilization imperiled the peace of Europe.

Faithful to my system of proving by evidence whatever I affirm, and not offering any testimony but that of my adversaries themselves—against whom there can be no charge of partiality or other suspicious circumstances—I will recall what the Hamburger Nachrichten published on March 17, 1909: "The armament and expenses for mobilization of Austria-Hungary have reached such a height that she can scarcely make war any longer!"

San Giuliano's Statements

It is affirmed in continuation that "the Marquis of San Giuliano admitted, in the Summer of 1914, to the Ambassador of

Austria-Hungary at Rome, that the proofs contained in the memorandum of the Austro-Hungarian Government gave him much solicitude, and that the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the profound impression of the annexes to the note to Serbia, expressly recognized the defensive character of Austria-Hungary's action, and that he asked and obtained from the Marquis of San Giuliano the latter's authorization to tell Herr von Mery that he considered the refusal of the Italian Government to fulfill its duties as an ally unjustified and mistaken."

The attitude of the Marquis of San Giuliano cannot have been that which Ambassador von Mery attributes to him in the documents published in the Austrian Red Book. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador has related his conversation with our Minister of Foreign Affairs with the same inexactitude as his colleague in London, Count Mensdorf, in relating his conversation with Sir Edward Grey. The attitude of the Marquis of San Giuliano is seen in the telegram he sent to the royal (Italian) Ambassadors in foreign countries, in which he says that Ambassador Mery, on presenting him with the text of the ultimatum to Serbia, asked neither his support nor his opinion, and that he had therefore no comment to make. Outside of this, the Marquis of San Giuliano could not have placed himself in opposition to the President of the Council, Signor Salandra, who declared on the same day to the German Ambassador, Flotow, that Italy had no obligation to intervene if, on account of Austria's aggression, Germany were to get into war with Russia—a declaration which, moreover, San Giuliano himself repeated to Baron Flotow after the German intimation to St. Petersburg.

As to the distinguished Secretary General of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I have several times had the opportunity to discuss the matter with him. I shall not stop with the last part of the declarations attributed to him. That is so ridiculous and so much in contradiction of all diplomatic documents that the denial he made of it would seem superfluous. How

can any one suppose that the Marquis of San Giuliano, while strenuously maintaining toward our allies the position that we were neutral according to the letter and spirit of the alliance, should authorize the Secretary General to say precisely the reverse? Such fantastic inventions transport us from the field of reality to that of fable. As to the first part, Commendatore de Martino always said to me that he observed to Herr von Mery that it was strange that little Serbia could menace, as the ultimatum affirms, nothing less than the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; and this ironical phrase was transformed by Herr von Mery into an affirmation favorable to his contention.

Count Tisza and Metternich

In spite of the publication of the Green Book and the exhaustive speeches of Ministers Salandra and Sonnino, the *Neue Freie Presse* returns to Italy's efforts for territorial concessions. It seems to me useless to return to this point after the declarations made by Count Tisza to the Hungarian Parliament on Aug. 23, declarations as to which the Deputy, Rakowski regretted that the censor had permitted the publication. Count Tisza rejoiced over the fact that these efforts had made Italy lose time and delayed her intervention until after the victory of Gorlice, so that Austria was able to strip the Serbian frontier and gather sufficient forces to parry the attack of Italy.

The words of Count Tisza recall the tactics followed in 1813 by Metternich against Napoleon. Metternich conceived the plan of offering to France a systematization of territory which he was determined not to maintain, and which he well knew that Napoleon could not accept; and of continually varying these offers, of prolonging the discussion of them, to lose as much time as possible, so that Austria might finish arming herself. Once this was accomplished, his plan was to interrupt relations with France, and, together with Prussia, (the secret participant of Metternich's plan, and bound to it,) join with Russia in crushing France through their united strength. The instructions to the nego-

tiators ran thus: "Proceed with ability and circumspection, feign loyalty to France, keep her in full confidence, do not refuse directly any new demand she makes, but feed her with vain hopes." The success of Metternich was complete and had its epilogue at Fontainebleau. Count Tisza and Count Berchtold have been less fortunate than Metternich.

The *Neue Freie Presse* abandons the assassination at Serajevo as the reason for the ultimatum to Serbia, and accepts completely the position of Count von Jagow that this was nothing more than a pretext for provoking to war the powers of the Entente, which were making life intolerable for Austria-Hungary. I have placed on record this precious con-

fession, which, since it abandons the assassination of Serajevo as the reason for the war, belies the ultimatum. The view of von Jagow as to the systematic hostility of the Entente Powers toward Austria, then, seems to be accepted. But this thesis was refuted in my speech at the Sorbonne in so efficacious a manner that up to now no one has been able to oppose my refutation.

[From further extracts from the official article in the *Neue Freie Presse* Signor Tittoni deduces further proof of Austria's responsibility for the war, and concludes his letter with the prophecy, contained in one of his speeches, that Austria would herself be the victim of the forces she set in motion.]

Sèvres Porcelain Work in War Time

A Paris correspondent gives this interesting glimpse of the war work at Sèvres:

The arts are all now the handmaidens of war. For the first time in its history since the days of Mme. de Pompadour, when the factory was started though not in its present building, the famous porcelain works of Sèvres have undertaken war work. The Sèvres museum of porcelain is still there, and the most valuable pieces, which had been sent away to a safer place in the south at the time when invasion seemed to threaten Paris, have all been brought back. One can still admire the wonderful eighteenth-century Sèvres, the famous biscuit statuettes, so delicate that one can scarcely breathe on them—much less dust them; one can be interested and amused by the Sèvres porcelain of the Restoration and Louis Philippe; one can admire some of the modern Sèvres and deplore a good deal of it. But all the rest of the Sèvres porcelain works has put art on one side and thinks only of war.

No men of military age, of course, are left in the factory. It was stirring, and a little tragic, to watch the others—artists, designers, foremen, workmen—every one of them an artist in his way and in his sphere, but now thinking solely of what Sèvres can do to defend France. Every one of them, from original artist to skilled artisan, now thinks only of fashioning and baking huge pots in which are treated acids essential to the making of high explosives. I saw all, from the director down to the aged artist foreman, retired, but returned to the works, bent only on this war work. New huge furnaces had been built.

The old furnaces, which turned out delicate porcelain, now produce huge crucibles in which nitric acid is condensed. They are of strange shapes—some immense fat jars, with round paunches and four or five mouths, others great pipes six feet high. Sèvres has made these indirect engines of war with all its old conscientiousness and traditions of a century and a half, and the texture of the earthenware of which these giant retorts are made is beautifully pleasant to the touch. Some of the immense war jars are also agreeable to the eye, and tinted a very pleasant pink; all are finished by hand, and the skilled artisan, bereft for the duration of the war of his occupation, can at least give himself some pleasure in smoothing the surface of a monster crucible. The director has had a few small models made, which will be sought after as garden pots.

Indeed, in after years the war earthenware of Sèvres may quite likely fetch fancy prices among collectors. Sèvres has proudly stamped each piece with a newly invented war mark—the drawing of a .75 gun wreathed in laurel, and with the Sèvres trade mark. This war trade mark of Sèvres may be worth any money some years hence.

Liebknecht's Arraignment of Germany

Dr. Karl Liebkecht, the radical Socialist leader of the Reichstag, who was sentenced on June 28 to thirty months' penal servitude and dismissal from the army for high treason, submitted the following paper to the Reichstag Committee during his trial. The text recently reached the outside world through the Zurich Socialist paper, Volksrecht:

TO the Royal Council of War in Berlin: At the hearing of the inquiry into my case, I want to lay stress on the following points:

1. The German Government, as it is at present constituted, is only an instrument for the oppression and the exploitation of the working classes, both inwardly and outwardly. It serves the interests of the junkers, of capitalism, and of imperialism. It is the unscrupulous representative of the policy of conquest, and by reason of its armaments it has been the principal instrument in bringing about the present war.

The Government has prepared this war in agreement with the Austrian Government, so that it bears the chief responsibility. It brought about the war by leading into error the bulk of the nation and even the Reichstag. [Refer to the terms in which the ultimatum was addressed to Belgium and the manner in which the German White Book was drawn up, also the suppression of the Czar's telegram of July 29, 1914, &c.] It acted thus in order to maintain the masses of the people at the desired level.

The Government has carried on the war in accordance with methods which are even incompatible with everything which has been done hitherto—the violation of Belgium and Luxemburg; the use of poison gases, which were subsequently used by the other belligerents; there were Zeppelin bombs which killed both combatants and noncombatants, a submarine war on commerce, the torpedoing of the Lusitania, &c.; pillage and extortion of tribute, beginning with Belgium; the internment and imprison-

ment of the population of the eastern provinces; various devices for forcing prisoners to work against their own country, by spying for the Central Powers, thereby committing an act of high treason; contracts arranged between Zimmermann and Sir Roger Casement in December, 1915, for the formation of armed units of English prisoners of war, for the purpose of forming the Irish brigade. Besides these, other attempts must be mentioned, which were made among the foreigners in concentration camps in Germany, threatening them with internment unless they betrayed their own countries and placed themselves at Germany's disposal.

In proclaiming the state of siege the Government had recourse to political proceedings totally devoid of all scruples, and it increased its demands on the working classes further by its organization of the food question. During the war everything has been done with an eye to the wishes and demands of the agrarians and capitalists, at the expense of the masses of the people. Even today it is thought that the aims of the war must comprehend the conquest of territories, and these desires for annexation form the greatest obstacle in the way of the conclusion of peace.

The password of all true Socialists ought to be this: "Down with the Government!"

2. The present war is not a war of defense or a war waged for the liberation of oppressed peoples. From the proletariat's point of view, it merely signifies a concentration and an accumulation of political oppression and military sacrifices, increasing the misery of the working classes to the profit of the capitalist and to the profit of absolutism.

For the German working class there can be no thought of its ever coming to terms with leaders animated by such ideas, and I shall pursue the struggle against them with all my strength.

KARL LIEBKNECHT.

Germany's Promise to Poland

Proclamation by the Central Powers Promising Autonomy to Conquered Provinces

A MANIFESTO was proclaimed officially on Nov. 4 by the Central Powers at Warsaw and Lublin, in Russian Poland, promising autonomy to the conquered Polish provinces under the name of the Kingdom of Poland. The proclamation follows:

His Majesty the German Emperor and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary, inspired by firm confidence in a final victory of their arms and prompted by a desire to lead the districts conquered by their armies under heavy sacrifices from Russian domination toward a happy future, have agreed to form of these districts a national State with a hereditary monarchy and a constitutional Government. The exact frontiers of the Kingdom of Poland shall be outlined later.

The new kingdom will receive the guarantees needed for the free development of its own forces by its intimate relations with both powers. The glorious traditions of the ancient Polish armies and the memory of the brave comradeship in the great war of our days shall revive in a national army. The organization, instruction, and command of this army shall be arranged by common agreement.

The allied monarchs express the confident hope that Polish wishes for the evolution of a Polish State and for the national development of a Polish kingdom shall now be fulfilled, taking due consideration of the general political conditions prevailing in Europe and of the welfare and the safety of their own countries and nations.

The great realm which the western neighbors of the Kingdom of Poland shall have on their eastern frontier shall be a free and happy State enjoying its own national life, and they shall welcome with joy the birth and prosperous development of this State.

The manifesto was read in Warsaw at noon, Nov. 5, in the Royal Palace, by Governor General von Beseler to the assembled Polish representatives. A Berlin dispatch describes the scene in these words:

The ceremony was short and simple. Precisely at noon General von Beseler, wearing the decorations granted for the reduction of Antwerp and the Polish fortresses, mounted the dais in the gala ballroom of the old Jagellonian Castle, and in the name of Germany's sovereign read the imperial manifesto in ringing, soldierly tones. When he ceased,

the Polish Count, Hutten-Czapski, the Palace Commandant, read from a leather-bound pamphlet to the Polish notables a translation of the manifesto in their own language.

Then came cheers from the hitherto silent crowd—cheers for Poland, Emperor William, Emperor Francis Joseph, for Germany and for the Germans and for General von Beseler. President Brudzinski of the recently elected City Council, who is rector of the University of Warsaw, advanced before the dais and in the Polish tongue gave thanks for the imperial decree. He said that the determination of the Poles would be found worthy of the liberties conferred and asked that, as the first step toward the formation of the Government, a Regent be appointed for the kingdom, since the time was not ripe for the nomination of the hereditary sovereign promised in the manifesto. President Brudzinski, who was in plain civilian attire, without decorations, seemed to represent the spirit not of the ancient Poland and the Polish chivalry but of modern intellectual Poland.

General von Beseler replied that in the midst of the world war had come the moment of fulfillment of the long-cherished Polish wish for re-establishment of the Polish Kingdom.

"Doubts as to the future," he said, "can find no place in Polish hearts. It will be our task, shoulder to shoulder with the residents of Poland, to carry the war to a victorious conclusion and to heal the wounds of the war. Take places at our side in confidence which we repay by the magnanimous decision of the Austro-German monarchs, who place their seals on the plans for the unity of Poland. We hope that soon a Polish army will be fighting on our side in token of the sentiment for development of the new kingdom. May all good fortune attend the Kingdom of Poland."

In the assemblage were the members of the new City Council, delegates from the university, the Faculties of the academies of science and arts, members of the Roman Catholic clergy, headed by the Archbishop in the brilliant robe of a Cardinal, which he was entitled to wear as primate of the Polish Church; the bearded Chief Rabbi and Jewish subordinates; leading representatives of the old Polish aristocracy, headed by Prince Lubomirsky and Prince Radziwill; a student deputation with banners, forming a guard of honor around the dais, and a little group of veterans of the insurrection of 1863. Mingled with the Austrian and German officers was a detachment of officers of the Polish Legion in gray field uniforms.



MAP OF RUSSIAN POLAND, WHICH HAS BEEN PROMISED AUTONOMY BY BOTH RUSSIA AND GERMANY; ALSO MAP OF GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN PORTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL POLAND

The ceremony at Lublin took place in the palace of the Governor General, in the presence of the clergy, deputies from Polish associations, and prominent civilians. The Governor General, when he concluded the reading, declared: "The allied monarchs thus most solemnly guarantee the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland. This fact cannot be any more overturned."

He concluded with a cheer for Poland in the Polish language. At the same time the Polish flag was hoisted and the Austro-Hungarian troops rendered honors to it while the band played the national

anthem amid the shouts of an immense crowd before the palace. Two aeroplanes dropped a large number of Polish banners, and the Polish flag was hoisted beside the Austro-Hungarian colors on all public buildings.

Austria-Hungary has indorsed the German promise to Poland in a letter sent by Emperor Francis Joseph to the Austrian Premier, Ernst von Koerber, the text of which is as follows:

In accordance with my agreement with his Majesty the German Emperor, a national State with a hereditary monarchy and a constitutional Government will be formed of the Polish districts conquered by our brave

armies from Russian domination. On this occasion are remembered with deep emotion the many evidences of devotion and faith during my reign on the part of the land of Galicia and likewise of the great and heavy sacrifices which this land, while exposed to violent hostile attack, had to make for the victorious defense of the eastern frontiers of my realm, sacrifices which give Galicia everlasting title to my warmest paternal care.

It is therefore my will, at the moment when the new State comes into existence, to grant in connection with this evolution the right to the land of Galicia to settle public affairs autonomously so far as is consistent with the fact that Galicia forms part of our Commonwealth and so far as is consistent with the welfare of that land; and thus to offer to the population of Galicia a guarantee of national and economic development.

In notifying you of my purpose in this connection I request you to elaborate projects suitable for its legal realization and to place them before me.

A German statesman is quoted by THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent at Berlin as stating that, while the autonomous State will not be set up until peace is restored, the promise is to be regarded as "a solemn and irrevocable guarantee." He stated that the question as to who will be King will also be settled after the war. He added these significant words: "The organization of a national Polish army will also be deferred until peace is restored; but this does not preclude the possibility that volunteer Polish armies will be seen fighting in the present war in defense of the promised autonomous Polish State."

This hint was followed three days later—on Nov. 10—by another proclamation, signed by Governor General von Beseler and General Kuk, and published in Warsaw and Lublin, in these terms:

The rulers of the allied powers of Austria-Hungary and Germany have given notification of their resolution to form of the Polish territory delivered from Russian tyranny the new autonomous Kingdom of Poland. Your most ardent desire, entertained in vain for more than a century, is thus fulfilled.

The importance and danger of this war-time and regard for our armies standing before the enemy oblige us for the present to keep the administration of your new State still in our hands. Readily, however, we will give, with your aid, to the new Poland by

degrees those public institutions which guarantee her consolidation, development, and safety. Of these the Polish Army is the most important.

The struggle with Russia is not yet terminated. You desire to join in it. Therefore, step to our side as volunteers in order to help complete our victories over your oppressor. Bravely and with high distinction your brothers of the Polish Legion fought on our side. Rival that in the new bodies of troops, which, together with the legions, shall form the Polish Army that will consolidate your new State and guarantee its interior and exterior security.

You shall protect your country under your own colors and flags, cherished by you above all. We know your courage and your ardent patriotism and call you to arms at our side. Rise, valiant men, and follow the example set by the brave Polish Legion, and in common work with the German and Austro-Hungarian armies and lay the foundation for a Polish Army, reviving the glorious traditions of your war history by the faith and bravery of your warriors.

The Polish manifesto of the Central Powers is regarded with suspicion and dissatisfaction by the majority of Poles in the United States, and is generally looked upon by neutrals as a diplomatic move to secure further recruits. N. L. Piotrowski, whose article on "Poles Under German Rule" appears in the following pages, apparently utters the thought of the majority of Poles when he says that Germany and Austria hope to raise 500,000 more troops by this move. "What we want," he says, "is a united Poland—Russian, German, and Austrian." Other distinguished Poles express the same conviction. Maximilian Harden, the noted German editor of *Die Zukunft*, in his issue of Nov. 11, 1916, discredits the proclamation and says that it is valueless because the Chancellor has not signed it officially—that it is not a legal obligation upon the German Federated Governments.

In this connection it should be recorded that on Oct. 17 President Wilson announced that the efforts to relieve the distress in Poland by sending supplies from this country had failed through the inability of the warring powers to agree upon any plan that would prove acceptable.

Poles Under German Rule

By N. L. Piotrowski

An American citizen born in Poland and former City Attorney of Chicago

Mr. Piotrowski spent seven months in Europe last year studying wartime conditions in all three sections of Poland.

GERMAN POLAND consists of three provinces—the Grand Duchy of Posen, which is known as the cradle of Poland, having a population of 2,150,000, and East and West Prussia, having about 4,000,000 people. These three provinces were annexed to the Kingdom of Prussia when Poland was dismembered by Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Silesia, which was lost to Poland in the fourteenth century, has also a large Polish population. The Poles in the Polish provinces number about 4,000,000.

The hostility between the Germans and the Poles does not merely date from the partition of Poland. The struggle between those two races has been in operation since the dawn of history and is due to the lust of conquest on the part of the Teutons. Since the remotest times the Germans were the greatest peril to the national existence of the Poles. Drang nach Osten! has been Germany's political dogma for centuries. The crime of partitioning Poland was first conceived by Frederick the Great, and the shameless perfidy of his nephew and successor, Frederick William, in his relation to Poland, has no parallel in history. German statesmen and German professors openly avow that the most important task of the German Government is either to Germanize or to exterminate the Poles in the Polish provinces. From Germany's point of view there is no compromise possible between that nation and the Poles.

Former Chancellor Prince von Bülow, in his book, "Imperial Germany," says:

"No concern for the Polish people must hinder us from doing all we can to maintain and strengthen the German nationality in the former Polish provinces. It is the duty and the right of the Government to see that the Germans do not

get driven out of the east of Germany by the Poles. The object is to protect, maintain, and strengthen the German nationality among the Poles. Consequently it is a fight for German nationality. In the struggle between nationalities one nation is the hammer and the other the anvil, one is the victor and the other the vanquished."

In other words, the aim of the German Government is the stamping out of the Polish Nation, and that is what the Poles understand—that between them and the Germans there is a struggle of life and death.

After the consolidation of the German Empire in 1871, although the Poles fought with the greatest bravery and loyalty in the three wars against Denmark, Austria, and France, the Government under the influence of Bismarck began active persecution of the Poles. A policy of severity was adopted and a series of oppressive measures were commenced for their denationalization.

By an arbitrary edict some 40,000 Russian and Austrian Poles who had settled in Prussian Poland were expelled for no other reason than that they were Poles and that Bismarck wanted to get rid of them. No charge of conspiracy or disloyalty was preferred against them. Many of them served in the Prussian Army. One and all were compelled to give up their occupations and to leave their homes with their families. The expulsion was carried on with great severity and without the slightest compassion. But the expulsion of 40,000 Poles did not affect the Polish problem, and today there are more Poles in Germany than before the expulsion.

The Government next tried to Germanize the Polish provinces by colonizing the estates of Polish landowners with German peasants. This scheme failed, partly because many German colonists, having intermarried with the Poles, became

Polonized, and partly because Polish landowners refused to sell their land for such purpose. Many Polish peasants took advantage of the colonization scheme and bought land in small holdings. To prevent the Polish peasants from buying this land a law was enacted prohibiting the erection of any new houses or farm buildings without the consent of the Colonization Commission. To a Pole such permission is never granted. Naturally the Poles regard this law as rank injustice. The Constitution says that all citizens are equal before the law, yet the Poles are treated by the Government as stepchildren are treated by a very bad stepmother.

The hardship of this law may be illustrated by the following incident, which actually occurred: A Pole, having bought a piece of land, wished to build a house on it. The necessary permission having been refused, he managed to erect some sort of a house. Then an officer came with a wrecking crew to demolish it. Exasperated beyond control, the Pole shot the officer, and then, realizing what he had done, he shot himself. Is there any one who would not sympathize with a poor and uneducated peasant who has been forbidden by the Government to build a house on his own land, while his German neighbor on the next parcel is not only allowed to do so, but actually gets the Government to help him?

Owing to this rank injustice and to the agitation among the Poles against this colonization scheme, the commission found it difficult to buy land. In 1907 Chancellor von Bülow had a new law enacted, known as the Polish Expropriation or Dispossession act, to expropriate the Polish landowners in favor of Germans by compulsory purchase of such land as may be desired at prices fixed by the authorities. The land is sold only to Protestant Germans, and cannot be sold back to a Pole. The object in allowing only Protestant and not Catholic Germans to buy the land is to prevent marriages between Germans and Poles, the latter being Catholics. Whenever a German Catholic married a Polish woman, he and his children became Polonized.

Think of the position in which the

Poles are placed. The Government takes the money which the Poles have paid in taxes and uses it for the forcible expulsion of their own countrymen from the land that was theirs for centuries past and colonizes it with strange people of a different religion. It is impossible to realize the hardship that is caused by the operation of this law and the racial and religious antagonism that it creates to the detriment of both Poles and Germans.

But the German Government was not satisfied with these measures. A law was passed which aimed at the extirpation of the Polish language. Polish is strictly excluded from the schools, and only Germans are employed as teachers in the Polish provinces, while Polish teachers are sent to the west of Germany. Little children of six, understanding only Polish, are suddenly plunged into a German school, where they are compelled even to say their prayers in that language. This caused a strike among the children, who refused to say the prayer in German. Many of them were flogged and the parents were fined and imprisoned. Polish schoolmasters are even prohibited to use the Polish language at home in their family circles.

The Polish language is not permitted to be used in courts of law or in public meetings. The Polish names of towns and villages, many of which have historical associations dear to the Polish heart, were changed for German names. The authorities were able to insist even on the Germanizing of Polish family names. No positions in the Government are given to the Poles except to renegades. A Pole has not even a chance to be appointed a chimney sweep.

The attitude of the German Government has been to encourage racial and religious prejudices and to create an economic and social warfare between the Poles and the Germans in the Polish provinces. It has done everything it possibly could to stamp out the Polish nationality. It has forbidden everything that is Polish—Polish language, Polish songs, Polish costumes. It would even forbid to think in Polish if that were

possible. Because of this relentless persecution Germany has never been able to win the confidence and loyalty of the Polish people.

The German Government exercised also its baneful influence over the Russian Government in its relation toward the Poles under Russia's rule. Since the partition of Poland Russia and Prussia were bound by a solidarity of partnership in that great historical crime. It is evident that, in spite of antagonism between those two nations in other matters, in the Polish question the two Governments always agreed, and the German influence over Russia's Polish policy was always very strong.

It is a well-known fact that the Poles in Russia would have been granted autonomy after the war with Japan if the Government had not been prevented from carrying out its purpose through influences that came from Berlin. The German Government did not want to see the Poles in Russia treated better than were the Poles in Germany. It was plainly intimated that any concession granted to the Poles by the Russian Government would be regarded by the Berlin Government as a *casus belli*. There is no disposition to adopt a milder course even at the present time.

While in Europe last year I met, in Vienna, in Cracow, and in Switzerland, many Poles from Prussian Poland as well as from Russian Poland, which is now under German military occupation, and from them I obtained the most authentic information regarding the conditions that exist there and the attitude of the Poles toward the German Government. Their sentiment was voiced by a prominent Pole, whose name I cannot reveal, in the following statement:

"The Poles, as subjects of Germany, have fully performed the obligations imposed upon them by the Government. No ground was given the German military authorities for bloody revenge. With despair in their hearts, but without revolt, more than 600,000 Poles went into the German ranks, together with an equal number of their brothers in the Austrian ranks, against their own countrymen, who are equally compelled to

fight on the Russian side—to shed fraternal blood, not for their own cause but for that of their oppressors.

"This is the greatest sacrifice that a subject people could possibly make and a conquering nation could impose. It is a heartrending tragedy.

"Nevertheless, the sacrifice was made, but there it ended. All the efforts of the German Government to obtain from either the Polish Parliamentary group in Berlin or from the Polish members of the Prussian Diet an expression of loyalty availed nothing.

"On the contrary, the Polish members of the Prussian Diet at the time of the passage of the annual budget entered a solemn protest against the oppressive anti-Polish laws. The Poles in the German Reichstag took the same stand. This attitude of the representative Poles in Berlin expressed the sentiment of the bulk of the Polish people under German rule, from the Baltic to Upper Silesia. Those who have proclaimed their loyalty to the Government can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

"The Polish press in those provinces points to the fact that, although there are 600,000 Poles fighting in the German ranks, the Government not only has failed to repeal any of the oppressive anti-Polish laws, but has not even shown any mitigation in the execution of those laws. In view of that, the Poles in Prussian Poland have assumed a dignified attitude of watchful waiting.

"They are taking no part in the celebrations of German victories, for they well remember that the victories in '70 and '71, in the Franco-Prussian war, brought them only misfortune.

"The Poles in that part of Poland have passed through a hard school of political oppression, but in that school they became hardened and more persevering, and today they form the most energetic part of the nation. Nothing was able to subdue the Polish element in Prussian Poland.

"In spite of the fact that the Government has during the last thirty years spent more than 2,000,000,000 marks to oust the Poles from their native soil; in spite of the fact that the school, the

military, and the civil authorities, and even the clergy, are working day after day, month after month, and year after year to Germanize them, especially the young generation—to drown them in German 'Kultur'—the Poles are growing stronger in the development of their national character and their national aspiration, conscious of their indestructibility as a nation and of their national political future.

"During these tragic days the Poles in Posen are devoting their entire time to relieving the sufferings of their more unfortunate brothers and sisters in Russian and Austrian Poland, waiting and hoping with faith in eternal justice that at the end of this war, over the western lands of Poland, the cradle of the ancient kingdom, will rise the sun of freedom."

A Pole from Russian Poland, discussing the conditions in that country, told me the following:

"The situation of the Poles under German occupation is most desperate, particularly from an economic point of view. The cities of Poland, especially Warsaw and Lodz, the first having a population of 900,000, the second of 500,000, enjoyed before the war great commercial and industrial prosperity. Poland supplied Russia with all kinds of manufactured goods.

"Now the factories are all closed and several million men and women have been for months out of employment. The Germans tell the Poles that there is no need of their factories being opened, as the factories in Germany can supply them with everything. This means ruin to the whole manufacturing industry in Poland, total bankruptcy to thousands who were wealthy before the war and starvation to millions of working people.

"The German authorities want the Polish workmen to go to Germany and seek employment there. But the Poles don't want to leave their homes and their country and go to a strange land, among strange people whose language they do not speak."

From an American correspondent who was in Poland and whom I met in Vienna I have learned that the German Govern-

ment is intentionally bringing about famine to compel the Polish people to emigrate to Germany. They have closed the factories in Lodz, Warsaw, and other industrial cities of Poland, and are interfering with the charities.

According to *Dziennik Poznanski*, a Polish paper published in Posen, (German Poland,) the petition of the Warsaw business men for opening the factories was met with a refusal on the part of the German Governor, von Beseler, who declared that anybody could find employment in Germany.

Under the authority of the German Government the Import Company, Limited, was organized to "import foodstuffs out of Poland into Germany." By an edict the grain and potatoes in Russian Poland had to be turned over to the Import Company. The company buys these cheap from the peasants and sells the flour at extortionate prices to the people in Poland.

In the City Council of Lodz Mr. Winnicki, a Councilor, asked the question: Why the German Import Company, which has the monopoly of buying all the grain in Russian Poland, pays for 100 pounds of rye 7½ rubles, but sells for 23 rubles flour which contains hardly 40 per cent. of rye? In answer to Mr. Winnicki's question Burgomaster Schoppen admitted that an injustice is being done to the people of Lodz, but he could do nothing in the matter, since the prices at which the Import Company bought grain, as well as the prices charged for flour, were fixed by Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The German Import Company has also a monopoly of fuel, tobacco, and cigarettes.

The Berlin Potato Company took over the potatoes requisitioned in Poland and distributed them for the extraction of alcohol for the distilleries of Germany. This alcohol was then reimported into Poland for consumption, while the Polish distilleries were kept in idleness, though they are well equipped to do the work. The forests are being systematically cut down. A special company has been organized for the exploitation of lumber. The Germans have seized the foodstuffs in Poland, withheld their coal, destroyed their industries, and now they are bent

on acquiring their most inalienable asset—their labor.

Life in Poland is being made impossible. Everything is done to make Poland a country without a future and to deepen the atmosphere of despair. The Polish workman who is not in the trenches sees all turning to ruin around him, and fear of the starvation of his wife and children is ever present.

One can hardly realize the far-reaching scheme of the German Government—the destruction of the whole industry of Poland, the financial ruin of the Polish capitalists, and the depopulation of the country. After the war the rich Polish soil is to be bought up by the Germans at their own price and colonized with German settlers. The German press openly advocates the enactment of a law which would permit Germans alone to reap the profits from the sale of land in Poland.

A certain German publicist published a book in which he advocates the scheme that when the new boundary between Germany and Russia is established, the treaty shall provide that Germany is to have the right to colonize a strip of land about ten miles in width, extending the whole length of the boundary line, with German colonists, for whose benefit the native population, the Poles, shall be compelled to evacuate the territory; in lieu of which Russia should agree to give them land in Siberia. A beautiful scheme, worthy of German culture!

It is conceded that the authorities in

Berlin are inclined, at the present time at least, to treat the Poles with some consideration and to give them a certain measure of self-government. In Warsaw the Citizens' Committee, which, under the Presidency of Prince Lubomirski, took charge of affairs when the Russian authorities withdrew, is still running the city. The Germans brag that they permitted a Polish university in Warsaw to be opened. For the last forty years, however, the Polish language has been prohibited to be taught in that part of Poland which is under German rule, and is still prohibited. Should Germany obtain permanent possession of Russian Poland, the Polish university in due course of time would become a thing of the past. There is no difference of opinion among the Poles on that question.

The Poles can hope for nothing from Germany. Only those who are completely blind will trust her. Germany will in these days consent to the opening of a Polish university, or to the appointment of a Polish Archbishop, but if she wins she will resume the Germanization of the Polish provinces with redoubled vigor.

[Since this article was written the cables have announced the collapse of the Polish Legions fighting under Hindenburg. A dispatch from Berne, Switzerland, is responsible for the following details: "After long efforts and coercive pressure, Germany and Austria-Hungary succeeded in enrolling 18,000 Poles. They were divided into six brigades. Four brigades mutinied at the beginning of October, and they were disarmed and imprisoned in the Brest-Litovsk barracks. The remnants of the legion were sent to the interior of Austria, the troops being considered unreliable."—Editor.]



Forcing Belgians to Work in Germany

Governor General von Bissing's Explanation and
Cardinal Mercier's Reply

A CONTROVERSY which bids fair to become as acutely acrimonious as that regarding the original invasion of Belgium has arisen from the action of the German Governor General of Belgium in forcibly deporting many thousands of men to Germany, and there compelling them to work in various industrial establishments.

The first official charges on the subject were issued on Nov. 9 at Havre by Baron Beyens, Belgian Foreign Minister, as follows:

"The German Government is rounding up in large numbers in the towns and villages of occupied Belgium, such as Alost, Ghent, Bruges, Courtrai, and Mons—to name only the first to be victims of the measure—all men fit to bear arms, rich and poor, irrespective of class, whether employed or unemployed. Hunchbacks, cripples, and one-armed men alone are excepted. These men are torn in thousands from their families; 15,000 from Flanders alone are sent God knows where. Whole trainloads are seen going east and south.

"The German authorities seek to justify these deportations by pretending that it is the duty of the occupying power to make, in accordance with The Hague Convention, the necessary regulations to establish public order and public life. They affirm that the unemployed must not fall a charge upon public charities, and that work whereon they are employed has nothing to do with the war. Those who are really responsible for the stagnation and decay of Belgian industry are, according to the Germans, workmen who prefer to live on charity rather than on the proceeds of their labor, and England, who prohibited the importation of raw materials into Belgium.

"Is it necessary to answer that there would be no lack of work in Belgium if the Germans had not made a clean

sweep of raw materials, copper and oil, in the factories, as they will perhaps make a clean sweep tomorrow of all leather belting, which must now be declared in detail; if they had not requisitioned in masses machinery, parts of machinery, and machine tools? If, finally, they had not placed prohibitive duties on metal goods exported to Holland in order to keep them out of the market—the only one remaining open as a competitor for German industry? Is it necessary to add that industries cited by the Germans as having no connection with the war, such as quarries and limekilns, furnish the German Army with materials for concrete wherewith to fortify and consolidate trenches?

"If they desired to use the arms of our workmen to repair and maintain roads, would it be necessary to deport them like cattle instead of employing them in the neighborhood of their homes and families? The truth is that Germany, by these corralings of Belgians, intends to liberate an equal number of German workmen to fill the gaps in her armies."

Many Thousands Exiled

Following this declaration, news came from Amsterdam that 30,000 men had been exiled from Antwerp up to Nov. 10, and that the deportations had provoked a riot at Brussels, in the course of which thirty Germans were killed and wounded, with numerous Belgian casualties. Later reports confirm the news of these deportations, over 5,000 having been sent from Ghent to Germany up to Oct. 26, 5,000 from Salzaete, 5,000 from Oudenard. Similar reports are received respecting other towns throughout Belgium. It is charged that it is the intention of the Germans to deport 400,000 within the next few weeks.

General von Bissing, the Governor General, attempts to explain and justify his action in the following statement:

"By cutting off raw materials, England is trying to get Belgian industries into her own hands. England is deliberately striving to get Belgium in her power economically also for use against Germany in the war after this. Belgian business men have told me they feared that in the economic struggle after the war Belgium would have to compete not only against Germany, but also against England, and that Belgian industries must keep in training for competition especially with England.

"The evacuation of Belgian laborers to Germany is not a hardship for either the land or the population. It is a necessity called forth by the war, and at bottom a blessing both for the workers and the nation. To make clear the reasons for my evacuation measure one must go back to Dec. 1, 1914, when I assumed office. At that time I at once recognized the dangers of unemployment in Belgium and began to attack the problem. Through England's ruthless cutting off of Germany, Belgium, too, was involved, and Belgian national economy, which is dependent on the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactures, was robbed by the British blockade of its vital condition necessary to life. The result was greatly to increase unemployment, and consequently also the public support of the unemployed, the long duration of the war leading to the misuse and exploitation of public charities and to unstable social conditions. Nothing so demoralizes a man as long idleness, and nothing tends more to weaken a nation than if a large part of it is compelled for years to do nothing.

"I accordingly directed the Belgian communities to give employment to as many as possible on emergency public works—buildings, roads, sewers, &c. This, however, in time resulted in saddling a heavy uneconomic burden of debt on the communities for non-productive public works, the total debts of the Belgian communities having been increased by 364,700,000 francs, mostly unproductive. I had to put on the brakes and limit this emergency work for the unemployed, ordering that in each case

it be ascertained whether it was a necessary or a useless occupation. Thereby the ranks of the unemployed were again increased.

"I also did everything possible to revive Belgian industries, but because the raw material failed it was impossible to bring the Belgian factories to their height of production. England refused to let raw materials in or attached such conditions as to make compliance with them absolutely uneconomic and unacceptable.

"Again and again we tried to get raw materials, even going to the length of sending people to England to see if something could not be done—some arrangement made to save industrial Belgium from economic stagnation and the illness eating into the fabric of the nation. We pledged ourselves not to use the resultant manufactured products, but to export them for 75 per cent. of their value. But England was ruthless and turned a deaf ear to all pleadings on behalf of Belgium."

Lays Blame on England

General von Bissing then discusses the first efforts he made to reduce the idleness; 16,000 were working in wagon factories, but this output he acknowledges was used in part by the German Army. He says 30,000 voluntarily went to Germany to work. He charges that the families of these volunteers were blacklisted by the Allies, and that this checked the voluntary flow. He denies emphatically that any Belgian laborers were compelled to work in war industries. He explains that the process of "evacuation"—he refuses to call it "deportation"—is being made as gentle as possible; the families remaining behind are cared for by German social welfare workers. He says the men receive \$1.90 a day in Germany as against an average of \$1 in Belgium, with better food conditions. In his districts, he says, there are 1,000,000 persons out of a population of 5,500,000 dependent on charity through refusal to work.

Regarding the reasons for evacuating Belgian workers to Germany rather than compelling them to work in Belgium,

General von Bissing explains in conclusion:

"The Belgian industries are entirely dependent on the overseas importation of raw materials, which are now cut off by the British blockade. In addition, England permits exportations from Belgium only to a very small extent and under impossible conditions. The industrial plants are therefore condemned to idleness. On the other hand, the occupied territory has a close economic community with Germany, Germany being the only great nation with which Belgium is able to maintain commercial intercourse. Germany has promulgated no prohibition of payment against Belgium, as is customary against enemy nations, and German money continues to flow into Belgium. Since there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed in Belgium, while there is ample work in Germany, the employment of Belgian idle labor in Germany becomes an economic and social duty.

"Objection has been made to me that by the bringing of numerous workers to Germany the family life of the Belgian laborers is destroyed, to which I could only answer that it is the present conditions that constitute the greatest menace to family life, to which idleness is the worst foe. One who works abroad for his family, as in peace times countless Belgian workers did in France, and hundreds of thousands of Italians in North and South America, contributes more to the happiness of his family than the idler who stays at home. Moreover, the laborers who voluntarily go to Germany continue regular communication with their families and receive vacations to return home at regular intervals—every three months, if they like. They can even take their families along to Germany.

"Tens of thousands of Belgian workers have already voluntarily gone to Germany, where, placed on the same footing as German workers, they earn wages they never received before, and where, instead of living on charity, they are able to prosper again. These wages prove not only a benefit to the individual worker and his family, but also to the Belgian national economy, for they greatly increase the

flow of money from Germany to Belgium. The workers who have grown weary of long enforced idleness have joyfully embraced the opportunity of again employing their productive forces. The number of these productive workers would have been much greater if all sorts of influence had not been at work in Germany. In their own interest we must compel those who hesitate and waver, and when this is necessary it is done in the most humane manner thinkable. If in isolated cases hardships cannot be avoided, those who suffer should thank only those who kept them from work."

Cardinal Mercier Replies

Cardinal Mercier, Primate of Belgium, in behalf of the Belgian Bishops, issued a proclamation of protest on Nov. 7 addressed to the neutral nations and appealing for their aid in opposing the proceeding. His protest is in these terms:

"The military authorities are daily deporting thousands of inoffensive citizens in order to set them to forced labor.

"As early as Oct. 19 we sent a protest to the Governor General, a copy of which was also sent to the representatives in Brussels of the Holy See, Spain, the United States, and the Netherlands. The Governor General, in reply, refused to take any steps.

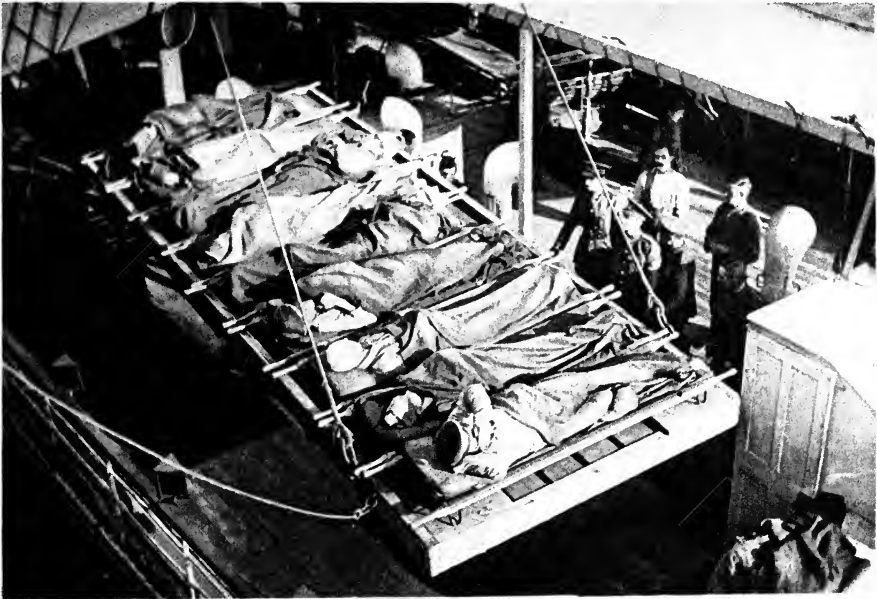
"At that time the ordinances only threatened unemployed men. Today all able-bodied men are carried off pell-mell, penned up in trucks, and deported to unknown destinations, like slave gangs.

"The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague reports have reached us that arrests have been made successively at Tournai, Ghent, and Alost, but we were unaware of the circumstances.

"Between Oct. 24 and the beginning of November the enemy operated in the regions of Mons, Queivrain, St. Ghislain, and Jemappes, from 800 to 1,200 men being rounded up daily. Tomorrow and the following days he intends to fall on the Nivelles Arrondissement.

"A poster orders all males to present themselves at Nivelles on Nov. 8, provided with identification and registration cards. They are permitted to bring

CARRYING THE WOUNDED TO ENGLAND



Thousands of the Seriously Injured Are Lowered Thus From Channel Vessels at Home Ports.



Wounded "Tommies" on Stretchers Waiting to be Placed on Board the English Hospital Train.

(Photos Underwood & Underwood.)

RAILWAY AMBULANCES--INTERIOR VIEWS



Wounded British Soldiers, With Nurse and Physician, On
British Red Cross Express Train.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)



One of the German Hospital Cars, Long Trains of Which
Filled With Sufferers, Run on Both Fronts.

(Photo © Brown & Dawson.)

only a small handbag. Clergymen, doctors, barristers, and schoolmasters are exempt. Burgomasters are held responsible for the execution of the order. There is an interval of twenty-four hours between the posting of the order and deportation.

"Under the pretext of the necessity to carry out public works on Belgian soil, the occupying power had tried to obtain from the communes lists of unemployed workmen, which the majority of the communes proudly refused to give.

"Three decrees of the Governor General paved the way for the blow which was struck us today. The first, issued Aug. 15, 1915, ordered forced labor for the unemployed under pain of imprisonment and a fine, but it stated that it was only a question of work in Belgium. The second, issued May 2, gives the German authorities the right to provide work for the unemployed, any unauthorized person giving work being liable to three years' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 marks. The third decree, issued May 13, authorized the Governors and military commanders to issue orders for the unemployed to be forcibly taken to places for work.

"It was already a matter of forced labor for Belgium. Today it is no longer a question of forced labor in Belgium, but in Germany for the Germans' benefit.

"At first the Germans tried to give their measures an air of plausibility by alleging that the unemployed people in Belgium were dangerous to public order and a burden to official charity. I replied to Governor von Bissing that he himself knew well that public order was in no way endangered and that the unemployed made no demands on official charity.

"In his answer von Bissing abandoned his previous argument and alleged that, first, the mere fact of widespread unemployment tends to burden finances, and, second, prolongation of unemployment will result in the workers losing their technical skill.

"To this I replied: 'There are other ways of protecting Belgian finances. For

example, spare us the war levies which have reached a total of a milliard of francs, and continue at the rate of 40,000,000 francs monthly; also spare us requisitions in kind, which have already totaled several milliards.

"There are other ways of maintaining the professional skill of workmen. Belgian industry could have been allowed to keep its machines, accessories, raw material, and manufactured products, which have been transferred to Germany.'

"The whole truth is that each deported workman means another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made a soldier.

"The situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be summed up as follows: Four hundred thousand workmen are reduced to unemployment through no fault of their own, and largely inconvenience the German occupation. Sons, husbands, fathers, respectful of public order, bow to their unhappy lot. With their most pressing needs provided for, they await with dignity the end of their period of trial.

"Now, suddenly, parties of soldiers begin to enter by force these peaceful homes, tearing youth from parent, husband from wife, father from children. They bar with the bayonet the door through which wives and mothers wish to pass to say farewell to those departing. They herd their captives in groups of tens and twenties and push them into cars. As soon as the train is filled the officer in charge brusquely waves the signal for departure. Thus thousands of Belgians are being reduced to slavery.

"The Germans are not only enrolling the unemployed, but they are also recruiting a great number of men who have never been out of work."

The United States Remonstrates

Secretary of State Lansing has directed the American Embassy at Berlin to take up personally with the German Chancellor the matter of the Belgian deportations in an effort to persuade him that they should be stopped. The Embassy is directed to point out that if the deportations are continued they will

leave a most unfavorable impression on neutral public opinion, especially in the United States. This action is informal, not official. A similar course was pursued with reference to the exiling of women from Lille, and it is asserted that in consequence of this informal remonstrance the German authorities have promised that the women will be returned to France. The deportation of Belgians is regarded as a violation of the spirit of that agreement. It is under-

stood that the Pope and the Government of Spain will either protest officially or informally remonstrate.

The question bids fair to become one of the most critical of the war, and, if the remonstrances are unheeded, may arouse several neutral nations from their attitude of passivity regarding the struggle; or, on the other hand, it may result in an international conference, when it will be easy to pass from that question to a discussion of peace proposals.

Slavery in Northern France

[A French War Cartoon]



—Forain in *Paris Figaro*

“Whoever shall try to escape en route will be pitilessly punished.”—General von Graevenitz

[A GERMAN COUNTERCHARGE]

Treatment of German Soldiers by the French

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, as an impartial annalist, publishes from time to time the official charges and countercharges regarding atrocities committed by the various armies. The October issue contained the official report of the almost unbelievable butcheries committed by Turks with German sanction in Armenia, and by Austro-Hungarian troops in Serbia. The report printed below is prepared by a German official from German official documents, and the deductions and comments are those of the German official. The editor of this magazine does not vouch for the accuracy of the charges, nor does he indorse the deductions.—Editor.

THE semi-official North German Gazette of Aug. 31, 1916, contains a report of several columns telling of the inhumanity and brutality with which the French are treating German soldiers who have the misfortune to fall into their hands. The article, obviously emanating from official quarters, starts out by saying that the material which has been gathered by the German authorities treating of infractions of the laws of war and violations of the dictates of humanity is enormous, and the fiendishness on the part of the French which it reveals is almost beyond belief. Thousands of affidavits have been drawn up during the course of the last two years, from which it is alleged that it seems as if assassination of prisoners, systematic murder of unarmed men, bestial mutilation of wounded, infamous insults offered to captives, shameless acts of robbery, &c., were the order of the day.

Germany's reluctance to publish these facts, so the report says, has only been overcome by the fact that the French have shown no hesitation in publishing a mass of charges against the German Army with the purpose of creating a sentiment of revulsion and loathing against the very name of Germany among the credulous public in neutral countries. But Germany considers that now the time has come to show to the world how ill-deserved is the name of champion of humanity to which France is laying claim in every one of her accusations against Germany, while her own sons are committing the vilest atrocities.

A number of cases are then cited in the form customary with the German Army of sworn affidavits duly attested by court officers, whose names are given, while for reasons which may be understood the full names of the informants are withheld.

Private Fritz H. tells of a raid that was undertaken by some eighty men of his troop on a French position; how the party was surrounded by the French and wiped out, with the exception of himself and three other infantrymen. H. had been wounded in the knee and was helpless, and the four men were finally made prisoners. A young French Lieutenant came up, looked at F.'s wound and passed him by. When he came to two of his comrades he shot them, one after the other, placing the muzzle of his revolver on the left side of their breasts. F. stood only two or three yards away while this murder was perpetrated.

Paul G. of the Second Infantry Reserve, by vocation a building engineer, was wounded by a keyholer during an attack between Les Eparges and Présouvaux. While lying prostrate he observed how Moroccans, Zouaves, and Turcos killed off all those of the wounded German soldiers lying around him who were still giving signs of life. They went from one to the other, and the witness describes how his comrades cried out in agony while they were being mercilessly slaughtered and how then it became still. The chief purpose of these French soldiers seemed to him to be spoliation of the corpses.

On Sept. 25, 1915, the French stormed

a trench defended by a company in which Adolf R. was a private. When resistance became useless, the survivors gave up their arms. They had formed a column and were ready to be led away when the French soldiers, upon order of a superior, fired into them. The defenseless men scattered and R., wounded in the leg, fell into a shell crater, from which he observed how the French finished their work with rifle butts and kicks. R. thinks he is the only survivor of that group of some forty captives.

A similar case is related by the eighteen-year-old volunteer, Paul V. Surrounded by the French, his trench had to surrender. When some of the enemy's soldiers were about to shoot and throw hand grenades at the defenseless Germans, they were stopped by what seemed to be a French officer. But another officer, apparently of higher rank, approached, drove the prisoners into a cluster by pointing his pistol at them, and gave orders for his men to fire into them. Most of the twenty men fell dead, while the witness escaped by throwing himself to the ground and feigning death. Another witness, Martin G., acting officer, testifies to the truth of this story, adding that the noncommissioned officer who had intended to treat the captive Germans as the laws of war and humanity demand, was severely rebuked by the second officer, evidently for making the men prisoners instead of killing them.

This refusal of pardon seems to have been systematic and recurs in several of the affidavits, for instance, that of Noncommissioned Officer Oswin L. The circumstances are similar to the preceding case. The Germans were caught in a trench in Champagne. The Sergeant in command put his weapons down, lifted his hands, and asked for pardon, with the result that a Frenchman hurled a grenade at him, wounding him on the head, whereafter he killed him by shooting his revolver off into his mouth. Another heavily wounded German was killed by the French, who fired repeated rifle shots at him. Stretcher bearer Otto B. upholds this account, adding that the Sergeant's request for pardon was replied to by the French calling "nix par-

don!" A third witness observed these events from a distance through his field-glasses.

A particularly revolting case happened on Oct. 6, 1915, near Chapelle Sainte Pudentielle, on the Somme Py-Souain Road. A German artillery position was surprised by Turcos in the morning mist. Having no time to reverse the cannon and being without other arms, the officer in command, First Lieut. W., surrendered with his men. They were surrounded by the Turcos, half of whom leveled their guns at them while the rest went through the pockets and belongings of their captives without any interference from the white officer in their command. Part of the Germans were then lined up opposite the Turcos and shot, all of them—three officers and fourteen men—from a distance of ten yards. Those who were not dead at the first volley were subsequently killed.

Lieutenant Dr. Rudolf I., who miraculously lives to tell the tale, reports how the victims, partly dead, partly still alive, were repeatedly gone over for valuables by several troops of Turcos, the last of whom expressed their disappointment at finding "seulement des journaux ("only newspapers") in his coat. The most horrible moment came when he had to witness how one of his men, praying in vain for his life, had his eyes gouged out by the black fiends.

This horrible scene is further described in protocols drawn up by the regiment after the ground had been recovered. All valuables were gone, ring fingers cut off, eyes pierced, and other mutilations committed, to judge from their nature, not in order to kill the enemies, but only from instincts of brute bestiality.

Not only were these events observed from a distance by other German army men, but they are also admitted by Tris Welmeden, Second Moroccan Regiment, Second Company, who was made prisoner when the position was recaptured. He was identified as one of the murderers by a survivor, and deposed: "I admit having taken part in the shooting of the German artillerists. Though we saw that the Germans had surrendered, I had to fire, because I received orders

to that effect from my Captain, whose name was Chepeleau."

The last case quoted brings into strong relief the crime committed by France in employing on European battlefields black hordes whose actions are not governed by soldierly reason, but solely by a lust of plunder and savage cruelty. What is, however, more despicable is the fact that white officers of the French Army not only tolerate but order such acts as those described and that, as hundreds of affidavits show, these acts are by no means confined to the colored auxiliaries of the French, but that such barbarities seem to be equally common among the white

soldiers of the republic. Many of the horrors committed reveal such a depravity as to make them unfit for general publication, though they have been brought to the official knowledge of the neutral Governments, in whose archives they will probably repose until the tables are cleared for a general sifting and probing of charges and countercharges.

Germany feels confident that from such a tribunal she will emerge unsullied and that her enemies will have to answer for many a black deed which could not have happened with the order and discipline governing the German Army.

The Evacuations of Lille

Official German Reply to French Charges

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published a pamphlet, entitled "The Germans at Lille and in the North of France," which embodies the charges raised against Germany of forced deportation of French citizens from the occupied territory and of alleged attending inhumanities. In refutation of these charges the German Government has published in the German press, notably in the semi-official North German Gazette, the following memorandum:

DURING the last ten days of the month of April, 1916, the Supreme Command of the German Army removed to the country some 20,000 inhabitants of the northern French towns of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing. There can be no doubt that the French Government became cognizant of the matter in the shortest time and that the Supreme Army Command soon after these measures were taken got into touch with the representatives of neutral Governments. Moreover, the Gazette des Ardennes undertook from early June to transmit communications from the persons removed to their relatives. In spite of all this, the French Government took no stand whatever in this matter until the end of July, that is to say, three months later, when it made the measures

in question the starting point of a systematic campaign of slander, which was expanded all over the world.

The reception which these calumnies have recently met abroad, particularly in neutral countries, requires that a detailed presentation of the matter be given to the public.

I.

The underlying facts and the course of events are as follows:

In the populous towns of the northern French industrial districts of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing in spite of the praiseworthy care of the Spanish-American Relief Committee the feeding of the inhabitants met with continually increasing difficulties. On account of the scarcity arising from the illegal British blockade, foodstuffs from Germany could be placed at the disposal of the inhabitants of the occupied parts of France only in an insufficient degree. Moreover, the repeated British threats to tighten the blockade made it impossible at the beginning of the year to judge whether and how long England would allow American supplies to enter. In order to safeguard the feeding of the town population in the north of France it thus became necessary for the Supreme Army Command to take drastic measures. In view of the circum-

stance that large portions of the town population were out of work on account of the British blockade, while, on the other hand, owing to their sparse population, the rural districts were suffering from a scarcity of labor, the indicated step to be taken was to transplant a part of the town population into the country.

The town population was asked to take part voluntarily, and in return for pay, in the tilling of the ground and the reaping of the harvest, but without success. The only way that was left open was to compel those to work who were capable of doing so. The town commanders of the three north French towns announced the impending evacuation by means of a proclamation, which was also communicated and explained to the Mayors' offices. In this proclamation the reasons for the measure were stated and it was pointed out that the people were to be removed into the interior of the occupied provinces, far away from the front, where they were to be employed in farmwork, but not in work of a military character, against pay and with their sustenance guaranteed. Each person was permitted to take sixty-six pounds of baggage, and they were advised to get their baggage ready without delay.

The selection of those to be removed had to begin at once, since the failure to obtain volunteers had caused an irretrievable loss of time. The evacuation was a military measure, an action relative to the war, which could not be postponed, because labor was urgently needed to insure the harvest and because the exceptionally favorable April weather required an early Spring cultivation. These were the facts that determined the time chosen for the selection of those to be evacuated. This selection did not begin at 3 o'clock in the morning, as the enemy and neutral press have asserted, but at 5 o'clock, after the population had been given warning in the proclamation not to leave their houses before 6 o'clock. The people were gathered in groups at various places, where, to begin with, food was given them from a large number of field kitchens. Officers had been detailed for making the selection. They inspected the people, examined claims

for exemption, and, with as much regard as possible for their personal and family circumstances, segregated and dismissed to their homes those that they found unavailable for such reasons or otherwise unfit. Delegates of the Red Cross were present at the selection as representatives of the community. As a matter of principle, the removal of young girls was confined to such as were accustomed to stand on their own feet and earn their living by their own work. The necessity to care for the old people was taken into consideration as far as circumstances permitted. In agreement with and on the responsibility of the Mayors' offices families, women, and children were quartered with the rural population. Unmarried men were made to live together in labor colonies.

Although a large proportion of those originally summoned had been dismissed at the time of making up the convoys, after the people had arrived at their new homes another examination was made for the purpose of discovering any unintentional hardships that might have resulted from the initial selection or that might have arisen later from a change of circumstances. On account of this second examination 1,993 people of those removed were sent back.

As regards the purpose of the measure, that is to say, a great utilization of the soil and an increase of the harvest, the removal of the people has proved a success. The majority of them, to conclude from their own statements, are by no means dissatisfied with their position; their reception by the rural population was throughout a friendly one, their food is good and their pay sufficient. Complaints concerning a lack of facilities in communicating with their families have been met by introducing letter forms, by means of which they can exchange news with the people at home. A great number of those removed have declared their readiness to continue their stay even after the present harvest has been gathered and the soil prepared for the new crops.

II.

From the point of view of international law, the measures taken by the military

administration in the occupied territory appear to be justified by Article 43 of the Regulations Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land agreed upon by the powers at The Hague Convention. This article says:

The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all the measures in his power to restore, and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country.

It cannot be disputed that to insure the feeding of the population is part of the maintenance of public order and safety. Under the prevailing conditions food for the population could only be secured from the agricultural production of the occupied territory itself. In view of the danger threatening this production, and particularly of the lack of hands required for the farmwork, all means had to be used to prevent distress. The article quoted states that the measures to be taken in such a case are to be decided in accordance with the laws in force in the country. If these make no provision, the occupant is under compulsion and fully justified by the concluding words of the article to supply the lack of legal provision by measures of his own. In the present case the impending danger of distress could not be removed in any other way than by compelling a portion of the population to take part in the farmwork in their own interest. The foregoing presentation of the matter shows that it was a case of emergency and that the measures taken by the military authorities were both needed and effective in attaining their end.

III.

The fact that the French Government came forward with its complaints against the measures of the German military administration only after three months had elapsed proves clearly that it was

not concerned with reducing the alleged suffering of the Northern French population, but that it aimed at arousing sentiments adverse to Germany among its own and neutral peoples. For this purpose it withheld its complaint until the time when it thought some strong stimulant necessary. That time had come at the end of July. The relatively small successes of the Summer offensive, undertaken with a gigantic apparatus and announced with so much noise; the prospect of the third Winter campaign and the impending opening of the French Chamber; finally, the desire to mobilize more neutral countries against the Central Powers, all these evidently were the reasons which then induced our enemies to take their indignation out of cold storage and warm it up to the boiling point. This purpose could never have been effected by a truthful presentation of the actual occurrences. The enemy's propaganda, therefore, had to fall back on the reprehensible, though to them very familiar, means of adding to the facts such sensational inventions as would produce the desired effect. This purpose is served by the assertion that the people were not removed to other places in France, but to Germany, that they were forced to do work in the trenches or munition factories. The climax is reached by Professor Bossi in Genoa, who informed the editors of the *Popolo d'Italia* in a letter of Aug. 26 that the women of Lille had been taken to the country to be used by the German soldiers for immoral purposes.

All these assertions can only be characterized as shameless lies, spread with the intention of dragging the German name and the reputation of the German Army into the mire, of rousing the waning war sentiment in the countries of the Entente, and of inciting the neutral world against us.



The Facts Regarding Louvain

Henri Davignon, Secretary of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, in this brief letter to The London Times, summarizes the evidence in the case.

IN the interest of truth, permit me to put before you some of the facts relative to the destruction of the town of Louvain, which have been established by Belgian and neutral witnesses, and even by the Germans themselves, in a manner which would prove satisfactory to any court of inquiry: (1) On the evening of Aug. 25, 1914, several parts of the town were set on fire at a given signal. (2) The German soldiers carrying out this work were provided with special apparatus and were commanded by their officers. (3) The Church of St. Pierre was set on fire by the roof, which is much higher than those surrounding it, and in the interior by means of piles of chairs. (4) The "Halles" and the library of the university took fire and burned without any attempt being made to save them. No books could have been saved. (5) The Town Hall was spared because the German military authorities lodged there. (6) The fire in the town destroyed 1,120 houses. It lasted three days, during which time the German authorities forbade any attempts to extinguish it. A number of the inhabitants were shot in the square in front of the station; many of them fled by the Tirlemont, Malines, and Brussels roads; a large number have been taken to Germany in cattle trucks, where they were disgracefully treated. After the fire the pillage of the remaining houses was begun, with the consent and encouragement of the German officers.

The proofs of the above facts will be found in the third Gray Book, recently published by the Belgian Government, of which an English edition is in preparation—"Reponse au Livre Blanc Allemand," (Berger-Levrault, editeur, Paris.) Other evidences collected by the Belgian Commission of Inquiry are published in extenso, notably those given by MM. Leon Dupriez, A. Van Eecke, G. Verriest, Bruylants, and Mgr. Deploige, professors of the University of Louvain. In this same document appears also the pastoral

letter of H. E. Cardinal Mercier, in which the Primate of Belgium asserts on his honor the extent and nature of the damage done, and the collective letter from the Belgian to the German Bishops in which these assertions are repeated. Evidence given by persons belonging to neutral countries confirms all these declarations, notably that by the Dutch Professor Grondijs, the Viennese priest Van den Bergh, and the South American priest Gamarra. Finally, diaries taken from German soldiers, especially from Gaston Klein, (Eleventh Company of Landsturm,) and from a cyclist who began his service at Burg on Aug. 15, 1914, contain very precise information with regard to the burning, the looting, and the destruction of Louvain.

I possess a series of photographs taken at Louvain showing without any doubt the extent of the disaster. As for the cause of it we have the ingenious declaration of the German writer Walter Bloem in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of Feb. 10, 1915. He writes as follows: "And it is beyond doubt that the destruction by fire of Battice, Herve, Louvain, and Dinant has acted as a warning signal."

I do not know what "consideration for the feelings of our Belgian friends" prompts Miss Hobhouse to give the personal impressions she received in her brief visit to Louvain, under the auspices of the German authority. We have found echoes of these impressions in other descriptions given in America and in Sweden after some rapid excursion managed by the occupying power. We know well how this power endeavors to impress upon its guests the idea that Belgium has suffered much less than is believed. The Germans would make out that the crime of Louvain was an unfortunate catastrophe, and in diminishing the extent of it would try to make us forget where the responsibility lies. If anything could remind us of their own responsibility, it would be this Shakespearean attempt to wash out "this damned spot."

Text of British Reply to American Protest Against Trade Blacklist

Great Britain sent a reply on Oct. 10 to the American note of July 28, in which our Government protested against the British trade blacklist. It defends the blacklist as an entirely legal regulation applied solely to the acts of British subjects. It is signed by Earl Grey of Fallodon, the British Foreign Minister, and includes among its grounds of justification the fact that the war is far from ended—that there is “still a long and bitter struggle ahead.” The text of the American note in question appeared in the September CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The full text of the British note is given below, with Ambassador Page’s forwarding note.

Ambassador W. H. Page to the Secretary of State.

American Embassy, London,
Oct. 12, 1916.

SIR: With reference to the department’s telegram, No. 3,578, of July 26, 1916, 10 P. M., and to my telegram, No. 5,003, of the 11th inst., I have the honor to inclose herewith a printed copy of a note I have received from the Foreign Office concerning the Trading with the Enemy act. I have, &c.,

WALTER HINES PAGE.

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Ambassador W. H. Page.

Foreign Office, Oct. 10, 1916.

Your Excellency: His Majesty’s Government have had under consideration the note which your Excellency was good enough to communicate to me on the 28th July last, with respect to the addition of certain firms in the United States of America to the statutory list compiled and issued in accordance with “the Trading with the Enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915.”

2. You will recall that shortly after this act became law I had the honor, in my note of the 16th February last, in reply to your note of the 26th January, to explain the object of the act. It is a piece of purely municipal legislation, and provides that his Majesty may by proclamation prohibit persons in the United Kingdom from trading with any persons in foreign countries who might be specified in such proclamations or in any subsequent orders. It also imposes appropriate penalties upon persons in the United Kingdom who violate the provisions of this statute.

3. That is all. His Majesty’s Government neither purport nor claim to impose any disabilities or penalties upon neutral individuals or upon neutral commerce. The measure is simply one which enjoins those who owe allegiance to Great Britain to cease having trade relations with persons who are found to be assisting or rendering service to the enemy.

Surprised at Our Stand

4. I can scarcely believe that the United States Government intend to challenge the right of Great Britain as a sovereign State to pass legislation prohibiting all those who owe her allegiance from trading with any specified persons when such prohibition is

found necessary in the public interest. The right to do so is so obvious that I feel sure that the protest which your Excellency handed to me has been founded on a misconception of the scope and intent of the measures which have been taken.

5. This view is strengthened by some of the remarks which are made in the note. It is, for instance, stated that these measures are “inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all nations not involved in war.” The note then proceeds to point out that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with any of the nations now at war. His Majesty’s Government readily admit that the citizens of every neutral nation are free to trade with belligerent countries. The United States Government will no doubt equally readily admit that they do so, subject to the right of the other belligerent to put an end to that trade by every means within his power which is recognized by international law, by such measures, for instance, as the seizure of neutral goods as contraband, or for breach of blockade, &c. The legislation, however, to which exception is taken does not belong to that class of measures. It is purely municipal. It is an exercise of the sovereign right of an independent State over its own citizens and nothing more. This fact has not, I feel sure, been fully realized by the Government of the United States of America, for the note maintains that the Government cannot consent to see these remedies and penalties altered and extended at will in derogation of the right of its citizens; and says that “conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated, except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere.”

No Property Interference

6. As I have said above, the legislation merely prohibits persons in the United Kingdom from trading with certain specified individuals who, by reason of their nationality or their association, are found to support the cause of the enemy, and trading with whom will therefore strengthen that cause.

So far as that legislation is concerned, no rights or property of these specified individuals are interfered with; neither they nor their property are condemned or confiscated; they are as free as they were before to carry on their business. The only disability they suffer is that British subjects are prohibited from giving to them the support and assistance of British credit and British property.

7. The steps which his Majesty's Government are taking under the above-mentioned act are not confined to the United States of America; the policy is being pursued in all neutral countries. Nay, more. With the full consent of the Allied Governments, firms, even in Allied countries, are being placed on the statutory list if they are firms with whom it is necessary to prevent British subjects from trading. These considerations may, perhaps, serve to convince the Government of the United States that the measures now being taken are not directed against neutral trade in general. Still less are they directed against American trade in particular; they are part of the general belligerent operations designed to weaken the enemy's resources.

8. I do not read your note of the 25th July as maintaining that his Majesty's Government are obliged by any rule of international law to give to those who are actively assisting the cause of their enemies, whether they be established in neutral or in enemy territory, the facilities which flow from participation in British commerce. Any such proposition would be so manifestly untenable that there is no reason to refute it. The feelings which, I venture to think, have prompted the note under reply must have been that the measures which we have been obliged to take will be expanded to an extent which will result in their interfering with genuine neutral commerce; perhaps, also, that they are not exclusively designed for belligerent purposes, but are rather an attempt to forward our own trade interests at the expense of neutral commerce, under the cloak of belligerency; and, lastly, that they are, from a military point of view, unnecessary.

May Extend the List

9. Upon these points I am able to give to the Government and people of the United States the fullest assurances. Upon the first point, it is true, as your note says, that the name of a firm may be added to the statutory list of persons with whom British persons may not trade whenever, on account of the enemy association of such firm, it seems expedient to do so. But the Government of the United States can feel confident that this system of prohibitions will not be carried further than is absolutely necessary. It has been forced upon us by the circumstances of the present war. To extend it beyond what is required in order to secure its immediate purpose—the weakening of the resources of our opponents—or to allow it to interfere

with what is really the genuine neutral trade of a country with which we desire to have the closest commercial intercourse, would be contrary to British interests.

The advantage derived from a commercial transaction between a British subject and a foreigner is mutual, and for his Majesty's Government to forbid a British subject to trade with the citizen of any foreign country necessarily entails some diminution of commercial opportunity for that British subject, and therefore some loss both to him and to his country.

Legitimate Trade Untouched

Consequently the United States Government, even if they are willing to ignore the whole tradition and tendency of British policy toward the commerce of other nations, might be confident that self-interest alone would render his Majesty's Government anxious not to place upon the statutory list the name of any firm which carries on a genuine, bona fide neutral trade. If they did so, Great Britain herself would be the loser.

10. As to the second point, there seem to be individuals in the United States and elsewhere whom it is almost impossible to convince that the measures we take are measures against our enemies and not intended merely to foster our own trade at the expense of that of neutral countries. I can only reiterate what has been repeatedly explained before, that his Majesty's Government have no such unworthy object in view. We have, in fact, in all the steps we have taken to prevent British subjects from trading with these specified firms, been most careful to cause the least possible dislocation of neutral trade, as much in our interests as in those of the neutral.

11. I turn now to the question whether the circumstances of the present war are such as to justify resort on the part of his Majesty's Government to this novel expedient.

12. As the United States Government are well aware, the Anglo-American practice has in times past been to treat domicile as the test of enemy character, in contradistinction to the Continental practice, which has always regarded nationality as the test. The Anglo-American rule crystallized at the time when means of transport and communication were less developed than now, and when in consequence the actions of a person established in a distant country could have but little influence upon a struggle.

13. Today the position is very different. The activities of enemy subjects are ubiquitous, and under modern conditions it is easy for them, wherever resident, to remit money to any place where it may be required for the use of their own Government, or to act in other ways calculated to assist its purposes and to damage the interests of the powers with whom it is at war. No elaborate exposition of the situation is required to show that full use has been and is being made of these opportunities.

14. The experience of the war has proved abundantly, as the United States Government will readily admit, that many Germans in neutral countries have done all in their power to help the cause of their own country, and to injure that of the Allies; in fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that German houses abroad have in a large number of cases been used as an integral part of an organization, deliberately conceived and planned as an engine for the furtherance of German political and military ambitions.

It is common knowledge that German business establishments in foreign countries have been not merely centres of German trade, but active agents for the dissemination of German political and social influence, and for the purpose of espionage. In some cases they have even been used as bases of supply for German cruisers, and in other cases as organizers and paymasters of miscreants employed to destroy by foul means factories engaged in making, or ships engaged in carrying, supplies required by the Allies.

Such operations have been carried out in the territory even of the United States itself, and I am bound to observe, what I do not think will be denied, that no adequate action has yet been taken by the Government of the United States to suppress breaches of neutrality of this particularly criminal kind, which I know that they are the first to discountenance and deplore.

15. In the face of enemy activities of this nature it was essential for his Majesty's Government to take steps that should at least deprive interests so strongly hostile of the facilities and advantages of unrestricted trading with British subjects. The public opinion of this country would not have tolerated the prolongation of the war by the continued liberty of British subjects to trade with and so to enrich the firms in foreign countries whose wealth and influence were alike at the service of the enemy.

16. Let me repeat that his Majesty's Government make no such claim to dictate to citizens of the United States, nor to those of any other neutral country, as to the persons with whom they are or are not to trade. They do, however, maintain the right, which in the present crisis is also their duty toward the people of this country and to their allies, to withhold British facilities from those who conduct their trade for the benefit of our enemies. If the value to these firms of British facilities is such as to lead them to prefer to give up their trade with our enemies rather than to run the risk of being deprived of such facilities, his Majesty's Government cannot admit that their acceptance of guarantees to that effect is either arbitrary or incompatible with international law or comity.

17. There is another matter with which I should like to deal.

18. The idea would seem to be prevalent in some quarters that the military position is now such that it is unnecessary for his Ma-

jesty's Government to take any steps which might prejudice, even to a slight extent, the commerce of neutral countries; that the end of the war is in sight, and that nothing which happens in distant neutral countries can affect the ultimate result.

End of War Not in Sight

19. If that were really the position, it is possible that the measures taken by his Majesty's Government might be described as uncalled for, but it is not. We may well wish that it were so. Even though the military situation of the Allies has greatly improved, there is still a long and bitter struggle in front of them, and one which in justice to the principles for which they are fighting imposes upon them the duty of employing every opportunity and every measure which they can legitimately use to overcome their opponents.

20. One observation which is very commonly heard is that certain belligerent acts, even though lawful, are too petty to have any influence upon a struggle of such magnitude. It is, I know, difficult for those who have no immediate contact with war to realize with what painful anxiety men and women in this country must regard even the smallest acts which tend to increase, if only by a hair's breadth, the danger in which their relatives and friends daily stand, or to prolong, if only by a minute, the period during which they are to be exposed to such perils.

21. Whatever inconvenience may be caused to neutral nations by the exercise of belligerent rights, it is not to be compared for an instant to the suffering and loss occasioned to mankind by the prolongation of the war, even for a week.

Barring Use of Ships

22. One other matter should be mentioned, namely, the exclusion from ships using British coal of goods belonging to firms on the statutory list. This is enforced by rendering it a condition of the supply of bunker coal. What legal objection can be taken to this course? It is British coal; why should it be used to transport the goods of those who are actively assisting our enemies? Nor is this the only point. It must be remembered that the German Government by their submarine warfare have sought to diminish the world's tonnage; they have sunk illegally and without warning hundreds of peaceful merchant ships, belonging not only to allied countries but to neutrals as well. Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish, Greek ships have all been sunk. Between June 1 and Sept. 30, 1916, 262 vessels have been sunk by enemy submarines; 73 of these were British, 123 allied, and 66 neutral. These totals included ten British vessels which were sunk without warning and involved the loss of eighty-one lives; two allied, one of which involved the loss of two lives, no information being available as to the other, and three neutral, involving a loss of one life. Even so, the list is incom-

plete. Probably other vessels were sunk without warning and more lives than those enumerated were lost. It may be added that where those on board did escape it was, as a rule, only by taking to open boats.

23. One of the first enterprises to feel the loss of tonnage has been the Commission of Relief in Belgium. Relief ships have themselves been repeatedly sunk, and in spite of all the efforts of his Majesty's Government, in spite of the special facilities given for the supply of coal to ships engaged in the commission's service, that body is constantly unable to import into Belgium the foodstuffs absolutely necessary to preserve the life of the population. Can it then be wondered that the British Government are anxious to limit the supply of British coal in such a way as to reserve it as far as possible to ships genuinely employed in allied or neutral trade?

Recalls Civil War

24. There is, indeed, one preoccupation in regard to this use of coaling advantages by his Majesty's Government which is, no doubt, present in the minds of neutrals, and which I recognize. I refer to the apprehension that the potential control over means of transportation thus possessed by one nation might be used for the disruption of the trade of the world in the selfish interests of that nation.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, take this opportunity to declare that they are not unmindful of the obligations of those who possess sea power, nor of that traditional policy pursued by the British Empire by which such power has been regarded as a trust and has been exercised in the interests

of freedom. They require no representations to recall such considerations to mind, but they cannot admit that, in the circumstances of the times, their present use of their coal resources, a use which only differs in extent from that exercised by the United States in the civil war in the case of vessels proceeding to such ports as Nassau, is obnoxious to their duties or their voluntary professions.

25. In conclusion, I cannot refrain from calling to mind the instructions issued by Lord Russell on July 5, 1862, to the merchants of Liverpool in regard to trade with the Bahamas. His Lordship there advised British subjects that their "true remedy" would be to "refrain from this species of trade" on the ground that "it exposes innocent commerce to vexatious detention and search by American cruisers."

26. His Majesty's Government do not ask the Government of the United States to take any such action as this, but they cannot believe that the United States Government will question their right to lay upon British merchants, in the interests of the safety of the British Empire, for which they are responsible, the same prohibitions as Lord Russell issued fifty years ago out of consideration for the interests and feelings of a foreign nation. Suspicious and insinuations which would construe so simple an action as an opening for secret and unavowed designs on neutral rights should have no place in the relations between two friendly countries.

27. I trust that the explanations contained in this note will destroy such suspicions and correct the erroneous views which prevail in the United States on the subject.

I have, &c., GREY OF FALLODON.

German Dread of English Victory

The semi-official Cologne Gazette quotes with approval the following from an anonymous handsheet issued in Germany:

The majority of our people still have no conception of the consequences which would follow if we were defeated, and defeated by such an enemy as England. It is a dangerous mistake to regard as vain boasting the speeches of English Ministers and Deputies, who, after our overthrow, desire to destroy German "militarism," to blow up Krupp's works, and to banish the Kaiser to St. Helena. "Sink, burn, and destroy" was always England's motto.

For God's sake let us not deceive ourselves about England's determination so to force Germany to her knees that she must accept England's conditions without resistance, and be wiped out forever as a competitor in the world's markets. All classes of the people are united in this resolve, from the First Sea Lord to the humblest dock laborer at Newcastle-on-Tyne. It cannot be too firmly insisted that such a victory for England would mean an irreparable catastrophe for the German Empire. Not only would the German Empire be dissolved, but our people itself would be most seriously threatened with extinction, especially in view of the Russian torrent pouring in from the east. Such an English victory would not only mean the bankruptcy of our industry and our oversea trade, but it would be the ruin of our whole middle class. It would be felt especially by our trading middle class, because such an English victory would totally exclude the possibility of our enemies being made to pay our war costs, and for generations to come our own war burdens would grow enormously. Among our workmen there would be misery which would throw them back eighty years—back to the times when English machine-made yarns drove out German hand-made yarns, and starvation fever carried away thousands, especially in Silesia and Saxony.

Sweden's Fight for Neutrality

WHILE Norway is working out her critical issue with Germany regarding the rights of submarines, Sweden is still in the midst of a hot diplomatic controversy on certain aspects of the Entente blockade. Her proximity to Russia and Germany places her in a far from comfortable position, while the dislocation of sea-borne trade and maritime communications caused by the British blockade of Germany has drawn her into sharp controversy with Great Britain in particular. Sweden has throughout asserted the independence of a sovereign State, refusing to bow to any of the belligerents.

The British Government, determined to prevent Sweden and the other neutral countries of Northern Europe from becoming channels of trade between Germany and the outside world, has seized neutral ships and detained their cargoes in British ports on the suspicion that Swedish importers have been trying to obtain goods, not for Swedish consumption, but on behalf of Germany. The standpoint of the Swedish Government is that Great Britain in trying to cut off supplies from Germany has been inflicting unnecessary hardship on the Swedish people, in spite of the fact that Sweden has taken stringent measures to maintain the strictest neutrality and to prevent the shipment of contraband articles to Germany.

The commodities which have been chiefly affected by British action are coal, copper, brass, tin, and other metals, lubricating oils, automobiles and automobile tires, cotton, corn, wheat, and other grains, fats for margarine, lard, bacon and pork, coffee and cocoa.

The Swedish Government has had its hands full in seeing that its regulations and prohibition orders are not evaded. Among the ingenious plans it has been able to discover in time to circumvent them was one to supply Germany with copper. Large orders were placed in Sweden for copper medals bearing Hindenburg's likeness, for alleged dis-

tribution to the soldiers in the German trenches. Another large order was for solid copper headstones for German graves. The Swedish Government awoke to the fact that the medals and "grave-stones" might find their way into the melting pot, and the orders were not allowed to be filled. It is in the light of such evasions, or attempts at evasion, that the British Government feels justified in permitting only small direct shipments of copper to Swedish manufacturers, and none at all to dealers.

A special phase of the controversy between the Swedish and British Governments concerns the intercepting of parcel mails. At some points the dispute has been particularly acrimonious. At the end of 1915 the British authorities took possession of the parcel mails on board the *Hellig Olav*, and after examination declared that one-third of the parcels contained absolute contraband. A hundred bags of rubber consigned to a Swedish firm were placed before the British prize court on the ground that the rubber was believed to be destined for Germany. Sweden, by way of protest, decided to detain British mails in transit to Russia, whereupon the British Government strongly hinted that it would put an embargo on all Swedish mails. Count Wrangel, the Swedish Minister in London, replying to Sir Edward Grey on Jan. 21, 1916, said that his Government had no reason to suspect that the rubber seized by the British authorities was destined for Germany, and that there could be no enemy destination, since the export of rubber from Sweden was prohibited.

In regard to the Swedish steamer *Stockholm*, outward bound from Gothenburg to New York, from which the British authorities had taken fifty-eight bags of parcel mail from Malmö to Chicago, the Swedish Government refused to recognize any right of interference derived from the British Order in Council of March 11, 1915, as Sweden did not admit the validity of that order. Sweden

was now holding back a large quantity of British parcel mail which should have been sent across to Russia.

For the sake of friendly relations Sir Edward Grey offered to submit to arbitration after the war any prize court decisions with which Sweden was not satisfied. This was followed by a demand for the release of the British mails detained in Sweden, as "it keeps alight a smoldering fire of irritation which may at any moment cause serious difficulties." On June 19, 1916, Sir Edward Grey again demanded the release of the embargoed parcel mails and their dispatch to Russia, and intimated that the British Government would claim damages for the loss caused by their detention during so many months.

Sweden replied that she was prepared to accept the British arbitration proposals, despite their inadequacy, and release the detained parcels, but she reserved to herself the decision as to forwarding further mails to Russia. Sir Edward Grey protested that the refusal to continue the transmission of parcel mails between the United Kingdom and Russia was a violation of the Anglo-Swedish postal agreement. On Aug. 2, 1916, the British Foreign Secretary wrote again pointing out that the arbitration offer held good only so long as Sweden observed the postal agreement in respect to the carriage of mails between the United Kingdom and Russia. At this point the correspondence, issued by the British Foreign Office on Aug. 24, closed, leaving it in doubt as to how the Swedish Government intended to act in regard to the future transmission of British mails to Russia.

German and Russian naval operations in the Baltic have imposed a heavy strain on Sweden. The small but efficient Swedish Navy has been kept busy night and day protecting the territorial waters from infringement. Despite this vigilance, many ships have been sunk or captured by German and Russian submarines and destroyers, and but for the promptitude of the Swedish patrols many more attacks would have been made. If the map is studied it will be seen that it is no small task to police a coastline stretching

from the head of the Gulf of Bothnia to the Cattegat. Nevertheless, the Swedish Navy has done an enormous amount of work in escorting British, Russian, and German merchant ships hugging the coast within the neutral shelter of the three-mile limit.

More than once Swedish warships have prepared for action against belligerent destroyers and submarines which have been waiting to pounce upon a prize in the territorial waters. A British steamer, which was making its way out of the Baltic, was met by a German destroyer. Knowing that he was within the three-mile limit, the British Captain took no notice until the destroyer began to steer between him and the shore so as to force the steamer outside the three-mile limit. The manoeuvre was succeeding when a Swedish torpedo boat, commanded by Prince William, second son of the King of Sweden, came on the scene and saved the British ship. Another British steamer, the *Adam*, was captured by a German destroyer and would not have been released but for Sweden's protest. Similarly, two German steamers, captured by Russian submarines, had to be released on Sweden's declaring that the captures had been made within the three-mile limit. As an additional safeguard against "poaching" the Swedish Navy has laid mines.

Recent Swedish decrees affecting navigation in territorial waters, and particularly in the Baltic, have led to fresh controversy with Great Britain as well as the other Entente Powers. On Aug. 30, 1916, the British Minister at Stockholm protested against the Swedish decree which distinguishes between submarines armed for warfare and so-called commercial submarines, the latter of which were to be able to navigate with impunity beneath Swedish territorial waters, and also against another decree which reserved exclusively for Swedish merchant vessels the route across the mine fields laid in the Kogrund Passage, thereby closing the only route by which non-Swedish merchant ships could pass between the sound and the Baltic, while leaving open in Swedish territorial waters between the Kalmar-Lulea Straits a

route accessible only to Swedish or German ships. The British note concluded:

Sweden has completed the barrier which the Germans had placed between the Allies in the Baltic. To guard against the eventuality of a violation of Swedish waters by Russia, the Royal Government is increasing the surveillance of its coasts, and threatens the immediate use of force. On the other hand, in order to prevent analogous action on the part of Germany, the Royal Government removes all objection to the incursions of the German naval forces into its territorial waters by purely and simply suppressing the commercial traffic which Germany was interested in disturbing.

Thus, there is in the attitude adopted by the Royal Government toward the one and the other of the two belligerent camps a notable difference, and one which seems but little compatible with the demands of a loyal and an impartial neutrality.

The Government of his Britannic Majesty records the fact with keen regret.

The Swedish Government, in its reply, dated Sept. 9, stated that it

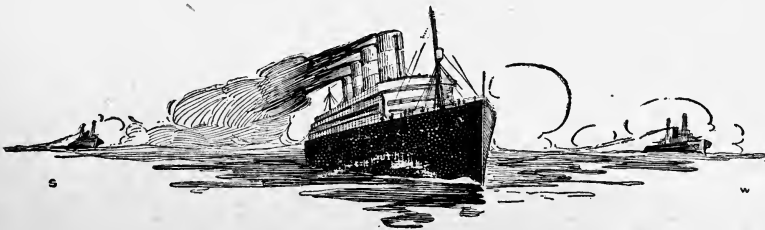
cannot enter into a discussion on the sincerity and impartiality of its neutrality, which have been abundantly demonstrated throughout the whole duration of the present war. It would, however, observe that an allegation of this character is not well founded, when it is only based on isolated and imperfectly investigated facts. * * * All submarines are treated as war submarines, unless their employment for commercial purposes is clearly established by evident facts. The observations which have been made can only spring from the fact that the contents of these provisions is not known to you.

When the Swedish Government assures, as it has often done, and still does, for the benefit of the navigation of the allied countries in all Swedish waters, and to the merchant ships of all nationalities, that protection which is their due in Swedish waters by preventing any violation there of the sovereignty of Sweden, it is only safeguarding its neutrality in the war which is considered best adapted to that end.

Further restrictions on the trade of

the neutral countries of Northern Europe, which also affect the United States, were contained in a new British order issued early in September, under which the acceptance by Holland of further consignments of American goods and letters of assurance that American shipments would reach Scandinavia are refused. Lord Robert Cecil, the British Minister of War Trade, however, explained on Sept. 15 that the new restrictions applied only to certain prohibited articles and not to trade in general. The object of the British orders is to prevent the entry of foodstuffs and other commodities into Holland and the Scandinavian countries in quantities exceeding the needs of normal consumption, the theory being that the excess ultimately finds its way into Germany.

Sweden's attitude was defined by her Premier, Mr. Hammarksjold, in an interview on Oct. 4. He declared that whenever Sweden had taken any step displeasing to one or other of the belligerents it had been dictated solely by consideration of her own necessities and not by partisan reasons. The blacklist was objectionable because it deprived Swedish citizens of their rights. He was glad, he added, that the United States had taken steps in the matter. "America is in the fortunate position," Premier Hammarksjold concluded, "that she is far removed from the strife." This observation is frequently made in Sweden, where the maintenance of a neutral attitude is more difficult than it appears on this side of the Atlantic. Sweden is in the midst of the war without being a belligerent, and her neutrality is both expensive and an ever-present problem.



The Partition of Kamerun

GUSTAVE BABIN IN L'ILLUSTRATION, PARIS

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Journal Officiel has just published a decree according to the terms of which M. Lucien Fourneau, Colonial Governor of the Third Class, Lieutenant Governor of the Middle Congo, is "appointed to the functions of Commissioner of the French Republic in the territories of the former Kamerun," to take the place of General Aymerich, recalled to France at his own request. All colonials have ratified this choice, which is consecrated both by the administrative qualities of M. Lucien Fourneau and the part which he has taken in person in the conquest of the former German colony. For without doubt the very active rôle played in the operations which culminated in the territories formerly ceded to Germany by the Lieutenant Governor of the Middle Congo has not been forgotten, nor the conditions under which, wounded on board the Luxembourg in the course of an offensive reconnoissance, he won the War Cross.

Six months have passed since the conquest of Cameroon was completed, [the spelling of Cameroon changes here with the change of ownership,] and a Franco-British agreement concluded in London left us the provisional administration of the greater part of the country. We can today give a general view of the value and the organization of our new colony; we shall find in it only causes for self-congratulation and, at the moment when our enemies invite us, with their habitual arrogance, to "look at the war map," we can allow our eyes to wander over the 231,600 square miles of African territory which has been added to the domain of France.

Unlike the Germans, we do not know how to make the best of our advantages. If the fortunes of war had happened to give them Morocco or our French West Africa, we should have seen their press deafen the world with the noise of their success. They would have declared that

that prize alone was worth all that we could hold, and, for them, the "war map" would only have been valid in the Mediterranean basin, or on the west coast of Africa. But we, with our sincerity and our habitual skepticism, have not sought to extract any advertising from our brilliant success. It is not the less true that, for the initiated, the conquest of Cameroon will remain one of the triumphs of military history, for no country could offer more extensive resources to the defensive, or oppose more obstacles to the assailant: the climate, vast spaces, the population, who, logically, should have been against us. And we know besides what means of defense our enemy had heaped up in addition to all this.

The area of the French Cameroon is greater than that of France, and this immense territory, contrary to what one finds in the majority of African colonies, includes no uninhabited zone. From Lake Chad to the sea, a distance of 2,000 kilometers, (1,242 miles,) dense and prosperous populations are met with, and this fact may be noted—a criterion by which Africans judge the general healthiness of a country—that horses and cattle, animals very sensitive to tropical climates, can go without trouble from the great lake (Chad) to the Atlantic; from Fort Lamy, for example, to Duala.

Without doubt there is not in the whole of West Africa a "geographical unit" which approaches this magnificent Cameroon region in value. Wedged between our French equatorial Africa, which is still in the early stages of its development, and British Nigeria, whose remarkable prosperity is well known, Cameroon has over its neighbors the inestimable advantage of being a region of high plateaus, where the advantages of altitude correct the possible disadvantages of latitude.

Conquered by English and French troops whose effectives were sensibly

equal, the Cameroons should fairly have been divided into equal parts between our two countries. Knowing the importance of the commercial interests which our allies possessed there and the desire which animated them to acquire the key of the country's commerce, the Port of Duala, we might have apprehended a partition which would have deprived us of the most interesting part of the country—that of the high plateaus. This was the haunting fear of those who had helped to conquer this magnificent empire for France.

So we cannot describe the joy of our contingents when, at the beginning of March, the main outlines of the delimitation map were made known to them. They were profoundly grateful, on the one hand, to those who in the negotiations following the contest had been able to make the French view triumph, and, on the other, to their British comrades, who, with a largeness of view which has not been sufficiently appreciated, admitted and accepted the principle that in this rich conquest so fine a share should be given to us. But, to tell the truth, the general public has up to the present known nothing, or almost nothing, of these arrangements.

This last consideration induces us to indicate in passing how strong was the brotherhood of arms which united the leaders and soldiers of the Allies in the course of that rude campaign. After a few weeks of reserve, which would be amply explained if explanation were necessary—apart from former prejudices—the fact that the new comrades, brought together for this great adventure, were not acquainted with each other, and that the one side needed the time to feel how much tender camaraderie was hidden under the apparent lordliness of the other side, and for the latter to discover how much affectionate esteem was hidden under the ironical mockery of their companions in arms; after this, a perfect understanding was reached, and the relations between the English and the French became charming.

General View of Cameroon

Cameroon has roughly the form of an

isosceles triangle whose apex is marked by Lake Chad. Its geometrical centre is somewhere near Kounde, on the south-eastern limit of the high plateaus. What characterizes this colony is the massive basaltic formation, sprinkled with spaces of granite, which occupies its central region. The equatorial forest begins far to the south, beyond Yaounde, and it is a real obstacle only in the part of French equatorial Africa which, by the treaty of Nov. 4, 1911, we ceded to Germany.

The regions situated to the north of this plateau, that is, to the north of the Benué, include an enormous, massive formation of sandstone, the Mandara, which will remain famous for the siege of nineteen months which the third German company endured on Mount Mora under the command of Captain von Raben. It is a region of deeply indented mountains, in which erosion has created natural fortresses, of which Mount Mora is only one example. To the east of this sandstone formation one enters the low plain of the Logone.

The regions situated to the east and south of the central plateau, that is, all that is watered by affluents of the Congo, share in the general characteristics of our equatorial Africa—great quantities of vegetation, plenty of water, too much mud, the equatorial swamps called *poto-poto*, and, finally, a population of savage forest tribes.

The Cameroon coast is rather inhospitable. Excepting Duala, a magnificent harbor in a well-sheltered gulf, there are only open roads, swept by the surf. This is the consideration that made us so afraid of losing Duala.

The populations of the Cameroons are, like the soil on which they live, various. Following a law which is always verified in black Africa, regions of mountains or forests have savage and timid inhabitants which are called by the Mussulmans "*Kirdis*" or "*Habes*," that is, fetichists. In the plains or steppes, on the contrary, the Mussulman invaders have freely established themselves, and in a short time have succeeded in imposing their authority and their demands on the *Kirdis*.

In the whole Cameroon region these

two elements are juxtaposed. To the north of the Benué, the Kirdis occupy the mountains of Mandara and the rocky islands of the Province of Diamare; the invaders are represented by the Bornuans and the Peulhs, (or Fellatas.) The Cameroons, in its northern half, is a veritable Peulh colony, and is greatly benefited by the presence of these admirable shepherds, who outstrip the Arabs in their passion for raising flocks. The Bornuan, like the Haussa, is a small trader, the born enemy of European commerce, which he everywhere supplants by methods analogous to those which have made the reputation of the Greek and Syrian peddlers.

In the southern half of the Cameroons, the Haussa reigns uncontested over the backward aborigines, half-cannibals, in whom, by machine-gun fire, the Germans have inculcated certain elements of Kultur, making them sly and thievish, like the doctor who cured the passion for opium by the morphine habit, and the latter by alcohol.

What these populations have had in common during the twenty months of the Franco-British campaign, what has welded them together, is a profound hatred for the German and an ardent sympathy for the Allies. From the day our troops crossed the enemy's frontier they found only friends among the blacks. In spite of the ridiculous German proclamations, published in all the languages of the country, in which "Willoun" the Kaiser was represented as a descendant of Mohammed, and the Nassara (Nazarenes, French, and English) were said to be animated by a fanatical religious proselytism, the natives were for us.

The Germans, with their habitual psychology, (so inferior to their metallurgy!) had inundated the country with printed tracts, which the illiterate Kirdis used to light their pipes. Certain of these proclamations will find their place in the anthologies: that, for example, in which Captain von Hagen, commanding the district of Ebolowa, signs himself "Von Hagen, the Wild Beast of Ebolowa." Who will ever know the number of poor negroes—in the depths of their hearts a thousand times more neu-

tral than the most neutral of the Greeks!—who paid with their lives for the defeat of the Germans; how many villages destroyed, how many plantations razed, how many men, women, and children massacred? The whole Bakoko region, to the east of Duala, is nothing but a vast cemetery. In the north of the Cameroons Mandara corpses swung from the branches of every tree.

Why this rigor? It only resulted in throwing the natives into our arms. They knew us already, especially those near the boundaries of our equatorial Africa. They know that we treat those under our administration with kindness, a fatherly familiarity, which more than once surprised even our allies. How many times our English friends remained silent with wonder before the long palavers which our old sharpshooters delight in and in which they recount to their leaders the sorrows of their hearts or their exploits.

In Northern Cameroon the French troops without doubt profited by the reputation and prestige acquired over all the black tribes of Central Africa by General Largeau, one of our Verdun heroes. His spirit of justice, his benevolence, which led him to open his door to the lowliest under our administration, were known everywhere. Our military exploits at Wadai and Borku had equally worked for us. What an enthusiastic reception, therefore, was given us at Mora, at Garua, at N'Gaundere, at Tibati, everywhere!

From the height of his peak at Mora, Captain von Raben could see with his field glass the evolutions, at the foot of his lair, of the thousands of horsemen who came to welcome us. Our old Senegalese had never seen anything like it, and they were ill at ease in presence of the splendid diffas which were offered to them.

When Colonel Brisset, returning to France, left Garua on June 2, 1916, the splendor of the farewells which the population paid to him passed all possible anticipations. Great Sultans had marched whole weeks in order to come to salute him. The celebrated Rey Buba, the greatest black king of the Cameroons, whom



KAMERUN, FIRST OF THE CONQUERED GERMAN POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA TO BE PARTITIONED BY THE ENTENTE ALLIES.

the Germans dreaded, and who was one of our chief collaborators, brought no less than 5,000 men, splendid horses, bands of archers clothed in panther-skins, lancers, men at arms wearing mediaeval coats of mail, coming one knows not whence and transmitted from father to son; beside him, the powerful Lamido of N'Gaundere, which his guards clad in coats of mail, was only a shade less splendid than his neighbor; the Lamidos of Marua, Garua, Binder, Madagali, the Sultan of Mandara, and many others likewise clustered round the French officers, swearing allegiance to them and multi-

plying cries of joy that they were rid of the Germans.

Each large town in Northern Cameroon and Central Cameroon had sent its representatives. It is enough to enumerate the leading towns to show what great possibilities this country has in the immediate future: Marua, 25,000 inhabitants; N'Gaundere, 20,000; Tibati, 15,000; Banyo, 10,000, and so on.

All these reassuring manifestations carry with them their imperative consequence; we could not, without treason to these dusky friends of ours, give the Cameroons back to the Germans at any

future day. If we gave them back we should condemn to death all those who had helped us to conquer them, who were our collaborators, sometimes our allies; German reprisals would be terrible. And let it not be said that we could protect them against this evil by written promises. No! In spite of their oaths, our enemies would take their revenge, and our honor would be irrevocably stained. Not only the populations of the Cameroons, who, trusting in us, came to help us to win, but those of our former possessions would reproach us for abandoning them shamefully.

Provisional Organization

The present organization of the French Cameroons is altogether provisional, and has evidently followed the outlines drawn by our predecessors. Great difficulties have been experienced in getting things started, because the enemy had destroyed or carried away his archives, and it was necessary to carry on the military and civil activities at the same time.

General Aymerich—who has just been replaced by M. Lucien Fourneau—had been named Government Commissioner, and had taken hold of all the services which were made over to him by the English. In order to progress as fast as possible the military occupation was intrusted to units taken from the expeditionary corps of French West Africa and different troops of French equatorial Africa. It may be affirmed that the occupation is strong enough to meet all possible eventualities. General Ay-

merich has created a certain number of administrative circumscriptions, some of which include two of the former German circumscriptions; a police force has been installed, all (and this detail alone will show how completely the population has come over to our side) made up of sharpshooters drawn from among the natives of the country, many of whom are former German sharpshooters who had fought against us.

The railroads are working perfectly under our section of field railroads; commerce has begun again, with a scope explained by the suppression of commerce during the two years of fighting. French merchants who understand the needs of the country have established themselves in the regions near the coasts. The great commercial company of our French equatorial Africa, the Sangha-Ubangi Forest Company, has already undertaken important developments. The safety of the trade routes is perfect. The English, when leaving, sold all their automobiles, which were bought by our traders, and now furrow the roads of lower Cameroon, carrying palm oil, cocoa, rubber; elsewhere, the Haussas and Bornuans are once more carrying on their donkeys stuffs, salt, kola, natron. From the north to the south descend unwearyingly herds of oxen to feed the blacks of the forest, and the country has resumed its former active life, with this single difference that, to a hard, jarring Prussian administration has succeeded ours, benevolent, paternal, French.

How the British "Tommy" Got His Name

A writer in the Bulletin des Armées de la République, the official weekly of the French Army, offers this explanation:

The English soldier is universally called "Tommy." Why? Because at Waterloo, a little more than a century ago, a British infantryman named Thomas Atkins, having particularly distinguished himself, was brought before the Duke of Wellington to receive special felicitations. His exploits were popularized by engravings and newspaper stories in England, where soon the name of Tommy Atkins was applied as a tribute of honor to all his comrades. Then by abbreviation the "Atkins" was dropped and the more familiar "Tommy" remained. That is how it happens that today the British soldiers are known to the masses as "Tommies."



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris

ON RECONQUERED SOIL

“I knew I should never see them again”

Where Heroes Sleep in France

[A correspondent in *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh]

IN all the range of that great dusty camp among the sand dunes there is no fairer spot. Something grips your throat when first you see it, and you walk toward the graves with head uncovered, but through the mist in your eyes the sunshine and the flowers smile welcome to you, and speak of life, not death. It lies toward the south and west, a triangle with its point upon the high road from which the slow processions come; upon your left side as you enter a ridge of pine trees rustles homely greeting, and upon your right rise sloping banks of sand. In front lie the flats toward the river side, and a little further on you catch the sparkle of the sea and the white breaking of the waves upon the bar. Just over there you know lies Havre, beyond the sparkle and the blue. The pine trees and the sand dunes guard the graves on either side, but the base of the triangle is ever widening as the graves increase from week to week, and where there were a hundred a year ago, there are fifteen times that number today.

Here lie hundreds of our soldiers—in

each grave two, carefully numbered and registered—who have died of wounds in hospital or have succumbed to illness in the training camps. Each mound is beautifully tended, and many are covered with masses of crimson or yellow flowers, planted by loving hands—one thinks of gardens, not of graves. Here also asleep lie many German dead—prisoners whose wounds were beyond the doctors' skill and nurses' care. Each has had a soldier's funeral, save that on the coffin lay a fair white shroud, and not their country's flag.

The eastern side of the triangle is reserved for officers, each in his own narrow cell, in two long curving rows between the sheltering, rustling pines and the footpath you walk along. Nearly three months ago a beloved physician of a Scottish city was laid to his honored rest there. Round the foot of the grave were gathered many brother officers who knew his worth and work; at the head of it stood the wife, laying her love to sleep. Behind the fence on the pine-clad slope a little group of nurses stood,

mourning that their best care had not sufficed to save their friend. Overhead the larks sang shrilly sweet, and yonder the blue sea sparkled and the yellow sands were gleaming in the sun, while just a few hundred yards away men, hot and dusty, but untiring and determined, were drilling on the dusty flats, and behind us the machine guns rattled incessantly at practice.

But already the double row of crosses beneath the pines has stretched further down the slope, and we read the names upon them as we pass. The next is that of a German officer, Lieutenant Krebs, of the One Hundred and Ninth Reserve Regiment of Infantry; no doubt in Prussia some are mourning him, and in the peace that comes perhaps a loving hand will lay flowers there some day, too. And next again is the pathetic record, "An unknown officer." One of our own?—

how tragic that no word was found to give his name and home. God rest him, whoever he may have been; he died in the righteous cause.

There they rise, these crosses, telling of Scots and English, Welsh and Irish, Canadian and Anzac—men who have played their part in Armageddon, and are now at rest. But a little further on there is a woman's name. She, too, has died on service, leaving the great city by the Clyde to serve in the Scottish Churches' huts, and falling by a strange, mysterious illness at the post of duty. Six weeks only of her faithful service was she allowed to give, but enough to show her devotion to the lads she loved to serve.

To her also was given in death the honor of the flag, and she lies looking toward the west and home across the sunlit, sparkling sea.

"But We Shall Live Forever"

A Soldier Boy's Last Letter

This poignant letter was written by a London youth of twenty years, Lieutenant Eric L. Townsend, who was killed in France on Sept. 15 while leading the first wave against the German position. Along with his will was found this manly attempt to comfort his father and mother.

Sept. 8, 1916.

DEAREST Mother and Father:

You are reading this letter because I have gone under.

Of course I know you will be terribly cut up, and that it will be a long time before you get over it, but get over it you must. You must be imbued with the spirit of the navy and the army to "carry on." You will still have dear little Donald, who is safe, at any rate for some while. If he should ever have to go on active service I somehow feel that his invariable good luck will bring him through.

You must console yourselves with the thought that I am happy, whereas if I had lived—who knows?

Remember the saying attributed to Solon, "Call no man happy till he is dead." Thanks to your self-sacrificing love and devotion I have had a happy time all my life. Death will have de-

livered me from experiencing unhappiness.

It has always seemed to me a very pitiful thing what little difference the disappearance of a man makes to any institution, even though he may have played a very important rôle. A moment's regret, a moment's pause for re-adjustment, and another man steps forward to carry on, and the machine clanks onward with scarce a check. The death of a leader of the nation is less even than a seven days' wonder. To a very small number is given to live in history; their number is scarcely one in ten millions. To the rest it is only granted to live in their united achievements.

But for this war I and all the others would have passed into oblivion like the countless myriads before us. We should have gone about our trifling business, eating, drinking, sleeping, hoping, marrying, giving in marriage, and finally dying

with no more achieved than when we were born, with the world no different for our lives. Even the cattle in the field fare no worse than this. They, too, eat, drink, sleep, bring forth young, and die, leaving the world no different from what they found it.

But we shall live forever in the results of our efforts.

We shall live as those who by their sacrifice won the great war. Our spirits and our memories shall endure in the proud position Britain shall hold in the future. The measure of life is not its span but the use made of it. I did not make much use of my life before the war, but I think I have done so now.

One sometimes hears people say, when a young man is killed, "Poor fellow, cut off so early, without ever having had a chance of knowing and enjoying life!" But for myself, thanks to all that both of you have done, I have crowded into twenty years enough pleasures, sensations, and experiences for an ordinary lifetime. Never brilliant, sometimes almost a failure in anything I undertook, my sympathies and my interests somehow or other—why, I cannot tell—were

so wide that there was scarcely an amusement, an occupation, a feeling which I could not appreciate. And, as I have said, of most of these I had tasted.

I don't suppose I ever met anybody who was not my superior in knowledge or achievement in one particular subject; but there his knowledge and his interest ended, whereas, my interests comprised nearly the whole field of human affairs and activities. And that is why it is no hardship for me to leave the world so young.

Well, I have talked a lot of rot which must have given you great pain to read and which will not bring you much comfort. I had intended to try and say words of comfort, but that scarcely being possible, it has drifted into a sort of confession of faith.

To me has been given the easier task; to you is given the more difficult—that of living in sorrow. Be of good courage that at the end you may give a good account.

Kiss Donald for me.

Adieu, best of parents. Your loving son,
ERIC.

"Bantams and Bleuets"

VASSILI NEMIROVITCH-DANCHENKO IN RUSSKOE SLOVO, MOSCOW

ON my way to Verdun I passed through the English positions. We came upon a group of English soldiers. Hitherto, I had never seen their like—short, stocky, like Japanese dwarf trees, with an expression of indescribable swagger on their sun-tanned faces; an expression which says, "You try laughing at me, and I'll show you!"

"Who are they?" I asked my companion.

"Bantams!"

I could make neither head nor tail of that. Explanations: In English, a "bantam" is a diminutive breed of barnyard fowl, and the trim little roosters of that breed are desperate fighters, daringly attacking, and generally vanquishing, far bigger birds. They make up for their lack of height by such daring, such rush

and dash, that the bullies and braggarts of the barnyard fly before them. In the English Army the men are very jealous of the general appearance of the front. Most of the tall men will refuse to fall into ranks beside these Bantams. The real Tommy must be at least five feet five inches. So the insulted Bantams have formed their own companies. And whoever has seen them march, unwearied, eager, swiftly climbing hills, thanks to their vigorous lungs, will not think of smiling at the Bantams. They are even more daring than the Guardsmen and the Highlanders; they show splendidly on the march, and charge in battle with such ferocity that the Pomeranian and Brandenburg "giants" break their necks to get out of the way of these gnomes, who, in the thick of the combat, are yelling

their "Tipperary" at the top of their lungs. * * *

A cordial welcome from General N.: "The Russians are at home here. Do and see whatever you wish!" No concealment—the fullest readiness to show everything, from the bivouacs in the rear to the fighting line.

From one of the dugouts come sounds of conversation, songs, and laughter. The men, among whom are not a few artists, have covered the chalk walls with caricatures and drawings. Here, in *dolce far niente*, the soldiers rest, ready, at the sound of the bugle, to rush to the advanced positions.

Our guide indicated one of the men: "This is my best soldier! It has never happened to him to draw back, or to fulfill carelessly even the most difficult details. When hunters are needed, he is the first. He has brought back wounded officers from incredible furnaces, exposing himself to the Boche grenades!" And, within forty-eight hours, this *poilu* was killed instantly on duty.

The whole French Army is held together by the bond between the citizen-soldier and the citizen-officer. Its discipline is—implicit obedience in battle,

and free-will and critical understanding in the entr'actes. The *Vieux Grognards* ("old grumblers," old guardsmen) of Napoleon I. are still alive in their ranks. In their familiarity is much heartfelt love and deep respect. These same "grumblers" will die without a murmur for their officers—not under compulsion, but through clear moral conviction. * * *

An amusing thing happened at Verdun. The men are forbidden to fish in the Meuse. But Frenchmen love to fish. They thought out a wonderful plan; they mounted a long, round log on two wheels, put it on a raft with a torch beside it, and set it floating down the river. The Boche gunners spotted the "gun," and began sprinkling it with shells. The shells killed quantities of fish, which the "Bleuets" ("blue cornflowers") gathered up and—grilled! * * *

In one of the caverns, the men, many of whom are sculptors, have carved wonderful bas-reliefs in the chalk. Of the Crown Prince, there are many microcephalous images. There is a fine portrait of the Generalissimo, with the inscription: "Papa Joffre, Father of Victory!"

My Inspiring Experience at the Front

By Sarah Bernhardt

The Famous French Actress

MY first performance for the fighting men of France was perhaps the most stirring event of my eventful life. Nothing that I expected, nothing that I heard about them, nothing that occurred, resembled anything that I had been led to expect. They were not dulled by their wounds, they were not sad, or grim, or dramatic in any way. They were bearded children.

"What wonderful spiritual progress the experiences of these men have created for them!" was what I thought as I saw over 3,000 of them massed in front of me in the inclosure called a theatre just behind the lines at the front.

They were too absorbed in the ideals

of the poetry I had brought them to think of their own distress. They had the gift to lose themselves in the romance of the play. That was the most wonderful part of the whole thing to me. How these men, covered with mud from head to foot, their blood-soaked bandages tied carelessly by themselves across their faces, their heads, with their unshaven, unkempt appearance, their trench clothes still on their tired backs, could rise above all this to the sublime heights of some poet's fancy—that was the wonderful feature of the whole experience.

I take no credit to myself for their appreciation of these things, because there have been others who have enter-

tained them at these theatres at the front, and they have observed the same remarkable psychology. Their enthusiasm, their guileless delight at any bit of fun, and the ease with which they laugh—these, too, are among the startling incidents of the war.

Imagine for a moment what these men had been through. Imagine how we, in our habitual civilization, mourn the death of a relative or a friend in silent grief, and then consider how many there are to mourn among comrades and friends for these men that are killed by the thousands daily!

I said to myself when I saw this warm sympathy in the hearts of these men whose business of the day is killing: "Death has been conquered; life is at last understood in all its aspiring purposes."

As I watched them, laughing heartily, like children, gayly, uproariously, so that their bandages must have slipped, it was I who felt the emotional strain of the moments most. If you could have seen those men as I did, you would never listen to the maudlin sentiments one reads about the horrors of war. Of course, war is horrible to those who dwell upon the sorrowful side of it all, as I have done, as many others in the world have done, who have not been actually in the midst of it. But these men who had been in the thick of it had actually been inspired by its terrific experiences. They were restored from the thin-blooded habits of intellectuality in France to the full-blooded simplicity of real things to think about, of real things to do, of real sentiments to live for. They had no time to argue fine points among themselves about the primal motives of life. They had been restored to their own souls by the fires of war.

There was nothing dramatic or even emotional about their manner, or about their attitude toward the play. So far were they from being emotional that the slightest slip toward theatricalism by the artist was noticed and pronounced false. Fresh from the greatest melodrama of the world, they were quick to sense any insincerity of art. Their applause was the only trace of emotion in the whole affair, and that was the emotion of grati-

tude. What I expected to be one of the saddest experiences of my life turned out to be the gayest, the happiest, the most inspiring. No audience in Paris ever flattered me so much, because no audience ever felt so truly, so sincerely, the art of my life and its meaning to the human soul.

They did not suffer in the tragedy of the play; they rose to it. They did not cry with watery tears that streamed down their faces; the tears just filled their eyes so that they could see better the great destiny of their own lives.

There was no scenery to distract the senses; there were no illusions of the theatre to glisten in the lights, no wings to keep the imagination from its full scope. And I think those men fresh from the real horrors of tragedy would have laughed at the mere attempt to give them scenery as an added attraction. They huddled together, close together, so that they could be as near to the actors as possible, fearing that they would lose a word, an inflection. Their eagerness to enjoy every mood of the artist in the interpretation of the poem was not a personal tribute; it was a tribute to their experiences in the long, silent hours in the trenches, when their souls struggled to understand the problem of life and death. In these performances they are helped to this understanding because the performances reawaken in them the pleasure of feeling—a luxury, I can assure you, to these men who are denied the realities of artistic pleasure so long.

I learned much more than I could teach them from my trip to the front. Although fear of death has long ago left me, because when one is of a certain age death is of no consequence, I learned from those men with blood showing from their wounds, on their faces, that a new epoch in the "histoire humaine" of the world had been reached. We have arrived at the epoch in the history of the world when fear of death is no more. The courage of thousands upon thousands involved in this war has spread the moral influence of this defiance of death in the trenches. It is felt everywhere. It was an influence that seized

me there among those men of France, whom I saw so wonderfully spiritualized by their release from fear, and it has impressed me ever since wherever I am.

Oh, it was a happy experience, to have seen the fresh blood on the faces of those men, who were so gay, so eager to live, so indifferent to the fear of death.

Diary of a French War Prisoner in Germany

This touching human document fell into the hands of the Paris correspondent of the *Retch*, Petrograd, V. Ropshin, who presented it to the readers of his journal with the simple headline, "Read and Judge."

OCT. 15, [1915.]—Leave all hope behind, you who enter here. * * *

Imagine an enormous square 400 yards long and 250 wide, fenced with barbed wire. Divide this square into eight equal parts and place in every one of these several hundred people, all dressed in uniforms. Build forty-eight wooden barracks and unite them by passages. Place sentinels forty feet from each other, and cultivate police dogs. In each of the four corners of the square place a machine gun. Behind the fence, outside, erect the kitchen, hospital, bath, Kommandatur. This is our camp, a clearing house for prisoners. Not a flower, not a tree, not even grass. Monotonous semi-liquid Autumn mud. Surrounding us a plateau. On the horizon the tile roofs of the houses of Merezburg.

It is damp, cold, and I am hungry. Today we were supplied with the following things: A plate, spoon, piece of rag, and a quilt. Today also we were counted into the inclosures. The Sub-Lieutenants were losing their thread in the middle of the count, and, consequently, we stood for several hours in the mud.

Oct. 20.—On Sundays the Merezburg burghers come to look at our camp. They come "gemütlich," with their wives and children. Why not? Blue berettas of the Alpine Rifles, crimson pantaloons of the Royal Grenadiers, blue jackets of the hussars, white burnouses of the Arabs, and plaid "skirts" of the Scotch. * * * What a sight for the militant Fritz! We are guarded by old men from the Landsturm. They good-naturedly talk to us like this: "We have a howitzer of 60 centimeters. We placed it in Calais and from there bombarded London. * * * As to you Frenchmen, you, like the Aus-

trians after Sadowa, will conclude peace with Germany, for Paris—kaput!" * * *

"Paris—kaput! Paris—kaput!" This is the only refrain you hear after each talk. We drag ourselves to the inclosure. A small rain is drizzling. The burghers have opened their umbrellas and do not leave the fence. They examine the medals on the breasts of the Arabs. The medals are various—Morocco, Madagascar, Lagoma, Tonking. * * * The Boy Scouts march along the highway with music and banners. They stop and also regard us with curiosity. The sentinels explain to them that we are live proof of the prowess of the German soldiers.

Oct. 22.—The barracks are built of wood and divided into several rooms. In each room there are two stoves. There is electricity and water. But the doors will not shut and the windows crack. The wind blows in through all holes. A retired Colonel is in command of the camp. Retired Captains are in charge of the regiments, and retired Lieutenants of the battalions. A battalion (1,200 prisoners) is divided into three companies, each company consisting of squads of twenty men each. The squads are guarded in turn. In the morning, at 7 o'clock, a German Sub-Lieutenant rushes into the barrack and shouts at the top of his voice: "Kaffee hole! Aus! Aus! Weck! Los! Los!" We rise and begin the day. At 9 o'clock bread. At 11 and 5 soup, i. e., warm water in which pieces of fat and macaroni float. In the intervals we are occupied by exercises, writing of letters, and following the announcements of the French General Staff in the German papers. In addition to this we play bridge. At night we dine at a restaurant—in our dreams!

Nov. 1.—Today Russian prisoners were brought in. They had not eaten for four days. They have no epaulets, no buttons, no caps. Many of them have no shoes and no coats. They stand around us and silently watch us eat. They ask for nothing. When we give them bread they bow and say "Spasibo." I cannot forget one of them, to whom the Germans have left nothing but a shirt and a pair of trousers. Through the holes his naked body can be seen. His feet are wrapped in rags. Trying to warm himself, he pressed his hands to his breast and jumped in front of our window. The day was gray. Clouds were creeping in the skies. In an hour I again looked out of the window. The same Russian, in his only shirt, was still jumping in the next inclosure. He was shaking like a November leaf.

In the evening the Russians chanted their prayers. When they finished their songs, the Arabs in the next barrack began to sing.

Nov. 14.—Today one Russian prisoner, dying from hunger, devoured more than forty herring thrown out in the refuse. Toward evening he died. The guards explained to us: "It is all England's fault. England blockades us. What do you expect—that we should feed you while we ourselves are soon to have nothing to eat?" Indeed, I read today in the *Anzeiger*: "Save your bread! In wartime a good German will not permit himself to eat cake! Whoever spares bread is doing a service to the Fatherland!" Following this there was a meditation on Joffre. "Joffre does not understand modern warfare. He is prolonging the war, trying to defeat Germany by starvation. Lord Kitchener supports him. Such tactics are barbarous, because not only the German Army will suffer through them, but the peaceful German population. The French boast of their civilization, but they war like savages." I was satisfied with this article. I made a canvass of our inclosure. From 350 votes cast, 190 think that we will return to France by Easter, 109 think about June 1, and 51, the pessimists, postpone our return till Sept. 1 next. I also am of the opinion that the war will end about

the beginning of next Summer; that is, Germany will sue for peace about that time.

Dec. 10.—A search. We are undressed to the skin and a German Sub-Lieutenant is searching our things. He searches thoroughly, fulfilling his "sacred duty." He takes away from us paper, books, knives, tobacco, and a multitude of little things. The Commander looks confused. He stands aside, taking no part in the procedure. He received an order from Berlin. We are forbidden to enter other inclosures. At our doors sentinels are placed. If we try to talk to the workmen repairing our barracks we are bound to the post. The post is a common punishment. We are not allowed in the city. We are living not in a camp, but in a jail. The mail arrived, parcels and letters. From the tin boxes of the conserves nothing but the keys remain. I show them to the Commander. He vaguely spreads his hands: "What can I do? It's war!" Besides the keys I received a roll of wool and several oranges.

Dec. 25.—We celebrated Christmas in the camp. On the table we spread a cover, we cut flowers from paper, and we bought in the store biscuit and ham. At midnight, when in France the bells rang, we sang the "Marseillaise," and then the Allies' hymns. The guards made it appear that they did not hear.

Jan. 27.—Kaisergeburtstag—the Kaiser's birthday! Is this not the reason why our money was taken away from us? Now we have a right to keep with us a sum not exceeding 10 francs. In Merezburg, on account of the celebration, the military orchestra played "Deutschland über Alles" and "Ich Bin Ein Prusse." The guards communicate to us news that does not appear in the newspapers. "England has been surrounded by 2,000 submarines; 400 Zepelins recently attacked London. Verdun—kaput! Paris—kaput! There is a rumor: President Poincaré wrote a letter to Wilhelm praying for peace. Half a million Russians captured." We answer: "So, so! Kolossal!" But Mohammed-ben-Halil, a twenty-year-old Algiers sharpshooter, cannot control him-

self and shouts in broken French: "Toi—kaput! Brot—kaput! Germany—kaput!" Poor Mohammed! He is always in a state of hunger.

Feb. 1.—We scarcely see the English at all, but the Arabs and Russians are our neighbors. The Arabs sit immovable on the floor all day long. They seldom converse among themselves. Still more rarely do they speak to us, and never ask any questions of the Germans. One day a Turkish Colonel came from Berlin. The Arabs were mustered out in their inclosure and told of the holy war. When the speaker finished, one hodgah said: "Monsieur speaks well in Egyptian, but not all of us understand that language. We beg Monsieur to speak in French." The same day the Colonel departed.

The Russians are a sociable and smart lot. Many of them have already learned the necessary French words, and they rather freely express themselves in German. They are ready for everything. You wish to boil some potatoes? A Russian will do it. You wish to fry a hering? A Russian will fry it for you. The Russian will make you a mandolin from tin boxes. He will carve a most exquisite plaything from a piece of wood, and from a horseshoe he will forge a cross. The Russian is more

hungry than the Frenchman or Englishman. He receives no parcels. He has no money at all. And how submissively, how patiently, he bears his burden. Every day he prays to God. "What do you pray about every day?" I asked one Russian. "I pray to God to forgive my sins." The Russians are children. And how little do we know these children!

Feb. 10.—The bread ration has been reduced to 300 grams per man, while according to the Geneva Convention we should get not less than half a kilo a day, this not counting meat, sugar, coffee, and vegetables. We are promised in compensation for it two extra soups a week, the privilege of smoking from 10 to 11 in the morning and from 3 to 4 in the afternoon. Our menu now consists of tapioca dissolved in water, salted codfish, and sausages of fish. We get almost no meat at all.

It is snowing. The quarters are enveloped in white, and because of it our life has become still more monotonous. Merezburg cannot be seen now. It is drowned in the snowflakes. Tomorrow will be Sunday. For the hundredth time the burghers will come to examine us as if we were beasts. When, finally, shall we return home? Or, really, is it—"Leave all hope behind, you who enter here"?

An Interned Belgian's Story

A Letter by René Bourgeois

A Foot Chasseur Interned in Holland

More than 12,000 Belgian soldiers who fought the Germans and later escaped into Holland are interned in the Dutch prison camp at Zeist, where they must remain until peace is declared. The letter here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was written to an American friend by one of these unfortunate—or fortunate—young Belgians. Among their diversions is the publication of a six-page daily newspaper, each letter of which is drawn with a pen, the pages then being printed from photo-process plates.

IN accordance with your request I am going to relate the events which preceded our internment. You doubtless know that the European armies—except that of England—are not composed of volunteer soldiers as in America, but of young men called to the colors in their twentieth year. I was therefore called upon to serve in the Belgian Army

in 1910 and assigned to a regiment of Foot Chasseurs quartered at Mons in the Department of Hainault. I remained there eighteen months, after which I spent two and a half years in civil life, when I was summoned out by the mobilization of Aug. 1, 1914.

Nobody in Belgium believed that there would be war, for we had already been

through similar crises in 1906 and in 1911, and everybody hoped that the diplomats would be able to smooth matters over. So you can imagine our surprise when Germany rejected all arrangements and declared war on all her neighbors. The great European drama had commenced!

Being at Mons, we were immediately ordered to the vicinity of Namur, and thence to Brabant, to protect the regiments which were retiring from Liège. We had some skirmishes with advance guards of the Uhlands and with the soldiers of von Kluck, who had commenced to besiege Namur. From Brabant we had to retire to the fortified outskirts

on this field of battle. On Sept. 8 we made a second sortie with a view to preventing the Germans from sending reinforcements to the Marne, where the French were engaged in giving them a thorough beating. The battle lasted until Sept. 12, and the losses were terrible on both sides. I saw two of my most intimate friends fall and believed that they were dead, but learned later that they were only wounded and had been picked up by the German ambulances. They were cared for in Brussels and are now, both of them, in a prison camp at Soldau, in Hanover, Germany.

On Sept. 24 we were sent to Termonde to prevent the Germans from crossing

N°42 6 PAGES

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DIMANCHE



LE COURRIER

: JOURNAL DES INTERNÉS :

ADMINISTRATION
CAMP DE ZEIST

RÉDACTION

L.J. DELREZ. DEROUX. QUINTENS. VERBIST. WEVE

CE QUE NE VIT PAS LE VOYAGEUR

Dans mes promenades à travers les rues de cette charmante petite ville d'Amersfoort, je fis la rencontre un jour d'un voyageur. Je serais bien embarrassé de dire pour-

au camp de Zeist. En fait, vos promenades des Antioques et vaguement sentimentales parmi la bruyère en fleur et les sapins odorants vous ont certes, je le conçois, conduit en vue du camp de Zeist.

Et bien, malheur le voyageur, quelle a dû être votre impression lorsque vous vous

Certes notre de Zeist n'est guetter les jours nos pensées s'quent encore Mais, ce sont blessent au no

DAILY NEWSPAPER, ALL HAND-LETTERED, ISSUED BY BELGIAN PRISONERS IN HOLLAND

of Antwerp, where we were set to work to put the fortifications in a state of defense.

Meanwhile we made occasional incursions into the German lines, they being then at Malines. On Aug. 23 we fought the first great battle in open country. My regiment recaptured the village of Epeghem, but could not advance any further because the Germans had entrenched themselves and we could not dislodge them. The battle lasted until Aug. 25, when we withdrew into our fortifications. On the 29th the Germans came to attack us, but as we were expecting them they were well received. Three thousand of their number left their bones

the Escaut. We threw them back with heavy losses. We then learned that the Boches were attacking the fortifications of Antwerp. It would take too long to relate now all that happened during the defense of Antwerp. I will only state that it was terrible. We were placed between the forts of Wavre-Sainte-Catherine and Wharem. The Germans, who had unrivaled artillery, sprinkled us with shells of all calibres, and as our armament was not to be compared with theirs we were compelled to evacuate the first lines of defense and the forts, which no longer existed.

The greater part of the Belgian army then withdrew from Antwerp and cer-

tain divisions were placed to cover their retreat. I was among the latter contingent, and on Oct. 9 we were still on the right bank of the Escaut. All the bridges and pontoons had been destroyed and no further resistance was possible. If we had remained we should have fallen into the hands of the Germans, who already occupied Antwerp; our officers decided to march to the north and try to reach the Dutch frontier. We experienced great difficulties, for many of the roads were occupied by the enemy. Finally, after toiling all night in a forced march, we reached neutral territory, where our arms were taken from us and we were interned behind barbed wires.

When shall we see the end of this long exile? Will it be this year? Most probably not, for I think that the war will still last for a long time. The military situation is improving each day to our advantage. For some time we have had a new ally, and before long I believe that other neutral countries will range themselves on our side. Let us hope and expect it. My brother is still in the Belgian army on the Yser, and is in good health. He has lots of pluck. I hope that in a short time the German lines will be broken by the allied forces.

As I told you in my last letter, I had to appear before the Dutch Counsel of War for attempted escape, and was sentenced to two months of military prison; but, as I had already served three months of preventive imprisonment in a special barracks, I was liberated soon after my trial and was returned to my old barracks, where I found all my friends. Here it is always about the same thing day after day. The time drags heavily through these long hours of captivity. I spend my time studying the English language, or we talk of the war or read the daily communiqués, &c.

By this mail I am sending you two copies of The Courier of the Camp, a little paper printed by ourselves and giving an accurate account of our life and occupations during these long hours of exile and captivity. Also a copy of The Gazette of the Ardennes, a paper printed in French by the Germans and distributed throughout the territory they have

"swallowed up." If we were to believe them, it is we who commenced the war, we who committed the massacres in France and in Belgium! Let us have patience! The hour of chastisement is about to strike for these barbarians.

The following extract from an article in Le Courrier entitled "What the Traveler Did Not See" gives an added glimpse of the daily life of these prisoners and of the spirit in which they are facing their ordeal. It is a reply to a tourist who had expressed pity for the prisoners:

"O traveler," I would have said, "we understand the thoughts which a view of the Camp of Zeist inspires in your soul. Your generous heart gave vent to words of pity. You were moved at the sight of our wretchedness; you are entitled to our gratitude. Nevertheless, we have no use for your compassion. 'No, thank you,' as Cyrano would have said. You thought you saw, and yet you saw nothing. Certainly our forced encampment at Zeist is not brought about with a view to make us regret the happy days of the past. True, our hearts are homesick; they repeatedly and ever think of our dear homes. But those are sentiments which do not weaken our will-power nor our courage. We are unhappy, of course, as any man is whom destiny separates from his loved ones, but this sentiment is exclusively personal to each interned man. This state of the soul, inherent to human nature, permits other sentiments to exist in the mass of those you saw behind the double rows of barbed wire, oh, sympathetic stranger. These sentiments are courage, duty, example, and hope.

"It is courage which enables these men to support the grief of being separated from their wives and children, and which enables them to resist the knowledge of their uselessness. It is duty which makes them support this situation with stoicism and with an admirable resignation. It is example which they vaguely feel they ought to show to others, to those who are suffering in their occupied fatherland. Lastly, it is hope—hope which you did not see, oh, traveler,

in their veiled look of melancholy, to use your expression. It is this hope which enables them to overlook their petty miseries of internment, and which keeps their hearts warm.

"They look back on the gloom of the dark days which have gone by, and they salute the radiant dawn which illumines the horizon. They have the presentiment that soon the victory of right over force will restore their country to them.

They know that the future is opening out full of promise for a Belgium which will rise from its ashes more beautiful than ever. No, traveler, if those you beheld were unhappy—oh, the moral sufferings of these two years!—today the sky has brightened, and timid hope has become strengthened by certainty. Look! the clouds have passed away! The gaze of the interned is directed toward the azure sky!"

A Sample of the German Imperialistic Spirit

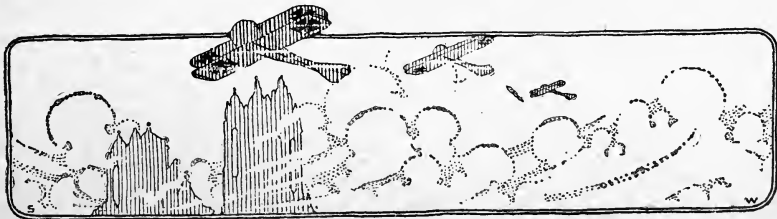
[Translated from *La Nacion*, Buenos Aires, Sept. 6, 1916]

Baron von Stengel, Professor at Munich, who was one of the German delegates at The Hague Conference, accepting an invitation from the Anti-War League of Holland to give his opinion on the subject of a future peace conference, has replied as follows:

It would be completely superfluous, because it is beyond all doubt that the final and decisive victory must rest and will rest with Germany. Then we shall be in a position to restrain all the enemies of peace, and to win and maintain permanent peace; the only peace that will be assured, alike for ourselves and for all civilized humanity. The war has demonstrated, throughout its course, that we, the Germans, have been chosen by Providence, from among all earth's peoples, to put ourselves at the head of all the civilized nations and guide them to a sure peace under our protection. For this we possess not only the necessary power and force, but also, in the highest degree, the intellectual gifts requisite, and we are the flower of the entire creation's Kultur. Consequently, it has been reserved for us to do what no nation hitherto has been able to do—to give all the world peace.

From this it follows that it is useless to engage in any labors on behalf of peace, because we, the Germans, with our domination over our turbulent neighbors, shall assume also the duty of policing peace. We shall be in a position to destroy in the germ all hostility to peace.

Subjection to our guardianship, which is in every sense superior to any other, is the surest and the only road to prosperity for every nation, and especially for the neutrals. The best thing they can do is to unite voluntarily with us and rest on us. In these times, so difficult for those who are isolated, it is proper and prudent for them to unite themselves with one powerful head. To make one's self worthy of a powerful hereditary seigneur is to sow seed for the future. No people is richer in sentiment and in ideals than are we, the Germans. Therefore, under our protection, all international law is perfectly superfluous; for, by our own natural instinct, we give each his own.



Typical German War Surgery

By Dr. H. M. Richter

Professor in Northwestern University Medical School, Chicago

[An interview for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

I RETURNED just a few weeks ago from some six months in a military hospital in Central Germany. I was in one of the ten units sent out up to that time by the American Physicians' Expedition Committee, a purely voluntary organization, by the way. Each of the first three units took along surgical instruments and supplies. Now the units take with them funds for the purchase of these things in Germany and Austria, for the very good reason that England has prevented their being carried into these countries.

These American surgical units work in the German and Austrian military hospitals, which are of three sorts. The field hospitals at the front take the worst cases. The *etapen* (from the French word for halting place) hospitals receive those who can be moved in automobile ambulances out of range, say, six, eight, or twenty miles back. The reserve hospitals (Americans are apt to speak of base hospitals in this sense) are distributed through the country from fifty to two hundred miles from both the east and west fronts, and are on railroad lines. Each group of buildings can care for from 1,000 to 10,000 patients. Before a transport train arrives in a hospital town the men have been classified and tagged according to the seriousness of the injury of each, and they are distributed by their tags.

In the days that follow, transfers based on further examination may occur. But, within two hours from the time of unloading, every patient is in bed, and a board on his bed bears his record, I mean his name, his position in the army, and the character of his injury. The *wärter* (attendants or orderlies) in these hospitals are soldiers detailed for this duty. Moving vans have been converted into transport wagons, and one of them can carry twelve patients on stretchers

and six standing or sitting. On arrival the surgeons and nurses remove bandages, note the condition of wounds, put on new bandages or order operation, and within twelve to twenty-four hours every man has been attended to.

How did we treat infected wounds? Well, at the beginning of the war it was hoped that first-aid dressing would prevent infections with the consequent pus and gangrene. But it was found that practically all wounds were infected. More than 90 per cent. of them are wounds from shell fragments. The explosive shell means irregular fragments penetrating the tissues, carrying clothing into them, and so rending and tearing them that the tissues themselves are killed. Wounds from rifle bullets heal kindly, but only a few of these are seen. There were a larger proportion of these from the Somme than from Verdun, but even there they were few in number. Sabre wounds are rare. In hand-to-hand fighting hand-grenades are generally used. The Cossacks use lances and sabres.

The type of wound is new, and a better technic has been evolved, but nothing revolutionary. The hyposulphites used in our own civil war have been used again to some extent, but none of the antiseptics have proved of extraordinary value. The characteristic treatment of infected wounds—you know I just now said that practically all of them were infected—is about this: Opening the wounds widely, leaving them open to the air, letting the surface dry up, no dressings to interfere with the escape of secretions, use of continuous hot water baths for great lacerated wounds. Men with these big wounds live in the bathtub two or three weeks, eat their meals there, sleep there on an air pillow. To remove infectious materials from the deep parts of wounds, rubber tubes are sutured in

CAPTAIN BOELKE



Germany's Most Famous War Aviator, Who Shot Down
Forty Allied Aeroplanes Before He met His Own Death
in an Air Battle.

(© Central News Photo Service.)

BELGIUM'S CHIEF DEFENDER



General de Witte, Commander of the Belgian Army in the Field. Has Held Back the Germans in Flanders for Twenty Months.

(© International Film Service.)

place and a continuous stream of sterilized water is passed through the tubes and wound. Various solutions, such as sodium hyposulphite, were tried, but for the wide-open wound plain sterile water gave better results than more complicated processes. Many hundreds of cases of compound and complicated fractures that passed through the hospital were treated in this manner. If the patient had to be kept in bed instead of in the bathtub, then the wound was irrigated from above and the water drained off through a trough of rubber.

There was not one case of non-union among these soldiers in our hospital. In civil life infected fractures commonly give a material percentage of cases where bony union fails. Yet with all the care that is taken, in infections of the large joints of the body, particularly of the hip, knee, and shoulder joints, many extremities are sacrificed because the infection of these large spaces cannot be controlled. But you must remember that these joints are specially susceptible of infection.

I have frequently been asked about the mortality from injuries, but there is really no way of estimating this mortality. In the first place, the patients in the field hospital (lazaret) are too badly wounded to be carried further away, and the mortality is high. Then in the etapen hospitals the mortality is high, too, for these take care of the wounds of the brain and abdomen. Those considered in danger of dying are kept in one of these two places. On the other hand, the patients in the third, or reserve, class of hospital show by the records a comparatively low mortality. In more than six months that I observed the reserve hospital where I was stationed the mortality was less than 1 per cent. In our civil war the mortality of compound fractures above or below the knee was 25 per cent.

Now as to feeding—in Germany the

Government regulates the amount of food to the individual. In Summer the man at the front gets 170 grams of meat daily, and the patient in the hospital who is allowed a full meat diet by his doctor gets 140 grams of it each day. The men in the hospitals get any food that is ordered for them, alcohol-free beer is provided, and also alcohol beer if ordered.

We Americans are aware of certain forms of German preparedness, but I found some surprises. Before the first patient reaches the hospital each man's complete hospital equipment is placed at his bed. There is extreme specialization in the different buildings with reference to the class of cases admitted; for instance, a whole building may receive only gross mechanical injuries of the nerves, (such as severed nerves that must be sewed,) or still another hysteria only. These hysteria cases are mainly men who were in trenches when a shell exploded, and may have seen the whole group around them killed, or were themselves blown to some distance by the force of the explosion.

Besides all this there are the schools, of which you know something, for teaching the injured to take up their previous trades or new ones. This may be done for patients paralyzed in their extremities. If possible a man is re-educated to his old trade. A tailor is taught to sew with two or three fingers, or a machinist uses an artificial device instead of a lost hand. Of the teachers in these schools, a few who superintend are not soldiers nor patients, but the direct overseer is usually some wounded soldier capable of teaching, as, for example, a tailor turned soldier who had had his leg hurt. But it takes a teacher and a tailor to teach a maimed man tailoring. In one school I saw the teaching of tailoring, cabinetmaking, printing, engraving, bookbinding, basketry, as well as of foundry work and of the machinist's trade.



The War Doctor's Perilous Task

LORD NORTHCLIFFE IN THE LONDON TIMES

WE are so accustomed to consider doctors as part of our daily lives, or as workers in speckless and palatial hospitals, that we have hardly yet visualized the man who shares the hell of the front trench with the fighters, armed only with two panniers of urgent drugs, instruments, and field dressings, his acetylene lamp and electric torch. Most of us think of his war work as being accomplished at one of the great healing places at the base.

If there be degrees of chivalry, the highest award should be accorded to the medical profession, which at once forsook its lucrative practices in London, or Melbourne, or Montreal, in a great rally of self-sacrifice. The figures of the casualties among them bring home to those who have only the big hospital idea of the war doctor sad facts that should lead to due understanding of this not sufficiently known veritable body of Knights Templar in the great crusade. For the last three months, in the Royal Army Medical Corps alone, I account them according to the figures published in *The Times* from day to day:

Officers killed	53
Officers wounded	208
Officers missing	4

Noncommissioned officers and men
(Royal Army Medical Corps only):

Killed	260
Wounded	1,212
Missing	3

I propose to set down the order in which our medical service arranges its chain of responsibility, premising my account by the statement that the medical army of today exceeds numerically the whole British military force overseas before the outbreak of war.

It is a little difficult and complex to explain. I find that there is some confusion in the public mind as to the regimental work, that of the Royal Army Medical Corps, and their handmaidens the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John. But there is no confusion

or overlapping in the zone of hostilities. In the preparations for the great battle of the Somme Sir Douglas Haig, thorough in this as in every other detail, himself co-operated with the medical services in arranging his regimental aid posts, his casualty clearing stations, and the rest of them as systematically as his batteries, his ammunition "dumps," and his reserves.

Regimental Aid Post

First in the order of danger is the regimental aid post, where the regimental doctor, with his stretcher bearers, awaits, alongside the men who are to clamber "over the top," the bloody fruits of battle. In the early days of the war, before we had discovered the secret or had the means to blast our road into Germany by ceaseless shells, the regimental aid post was, as a rule, in some deserted farmhouse as near to the front trench as possible. Today, as we advance, our guns leave nothing standing, so that what was once perhaps a chateau is now only a stretch of rubble. There is therefore but little available cover for the doctors or the others before "consolidation."

The intensity of the French and German artillery at Verdun in March seemed to me then the limit of human capacity to produce noise and destruction. But the Somme bombardment actually furrows or flattens all before it. Verdun itself could not exist a week if exposed to the present French and British cannonade. Its intensity of sound is so great that at times the very earth shakes beneath one's feet.

The doctor has today probably only the shelter of one of our own trenches or any little part that may remain of a captured German trench. There is no other covering for him and his brave stretcher bearers, who are at once his nurses and his orderlies. Happily not so many of these are fired upon by the enemy as heretofore; for, as the Prussians have realized that our artillery is the most deadly thing in the history of war, they have

become a good deal more reasonable and human. Now that their own wounded greatly outnumber ours on almost every occasion, their doctors and stretcher bearers often advance with a sheet or towel held high on a rifle as a flag of truce in order that they may collect their wounded and we ours. In the early days of the war similar suggestions on our part were haughtily and contemptuously refused. And so the advanced medical forces on both sides are at last sparing the wounded a good deal of the drawn-out horrors of No Man's Land.

Swift Work of Surgeons

The fine young men with the English, Scotch, Irish, Canadian, and Australian accents who stand unarmed in these regimental aid posts work with an intensity and celerity which eclipse even that of the surgeons in London's operating theatres.

The stretcher bearers stagger in with their load. There is a lightning diagnosis, an antiseptic application, bandaging, a hastily written label tied to the man's breast, and the wounded one is borne off and away in the open to the next stage, the advanced dressing station, which is as often as not also pushed right up into the fire zone. The regimental stretcher bearers therefore begin again another dangerous pilgrimage rearward.

As there is much ignorance in the public mind on the subject of casualties, it should be well realized that by far the greater proportion of our wounded are slightly hit, and are "walking cases," so little hurt that in innumerable instances where the stretcher bearers themselves have fallen they have been carried by the slightly wounded soldiers.

I know no more moving experience than an afternoon in an advanced dressing station. Let me describe that of West Péronne. Its location is changed now, so I am giving the enemy no information. We reached it on a heavy and sultry Sunday afternoon by hiding ourselves behind anything possible. Dust and smoke gave the atmosphere of a coming thunderstorm; the thudding of the guns on both sides was incessant. Now and then was heard the brisk note of a

machine gun, which sounds for all the world like a boy rasping a stick along palings or the rattle which policemen carried in Mid-Victorian days.

There was no sign of anything in the nature of a hospital, a tent, or of anything above ground. I was getting somewhat weary of being told to lie down flat every few seconds to avoid bursting shells, when I saw a couple of stretcher bearers coming through the haze as from nowhere and then disappear under ground. "It is underneath there," I was told by my guide, whose daily duty it was to inspect these medical outposts.

As quickly as possible we got down into a trench and followed the stretcher bearers. There in darkness, lit by a few candles, we gradually made out a very grim scene. Talking was difficult, for one of our batteries had just come into action a few yards away.

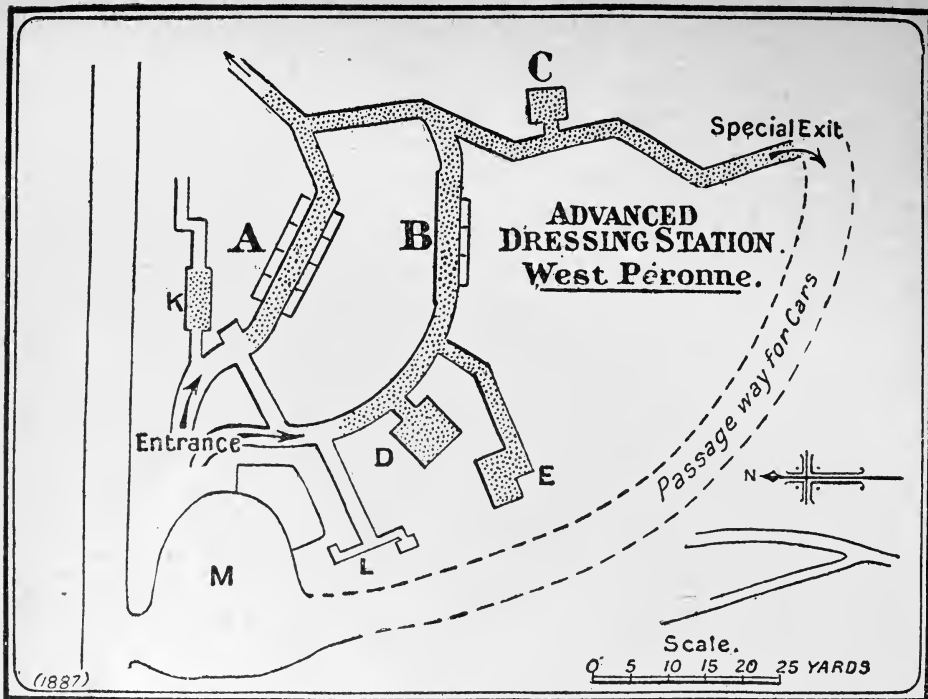
Owing to the heavy enemy shell fire what I soon found to be an underground maze—a plan of which I print herewith—had become completely blocked with wounded men lying in the dark on their stretchers, the passageways dug out of the clayish earth being just the width of a stretcher handle and no more. We trod gently from stretcher handle to stretcher handle over the silent men, some of them asleep with the blessed morphia in their brains, others cheerily smiling, others staring as wounded men do. All who could move a hand had a cigarette—now admitted to be the first need of all but the very dangerously wounded.

Shells Falling Overhead

Passing on, and using our electric torch as little as possible, so as not to disturb the sleepers, we came to the main dressing room. Remember it was all under ground, all dark, and that the oncoming wail of approaching shells, with immediate subsequent explosions, was continuous.

In this main dressing room the doctors, all young men, some of them subalterns of the Royal Army Medical Corps, were washing and bandaging with the care and speed that can be seen in the Somme film. I counted twenty-four patients in that small chamber. We crept onward and came to another room where there

Underground Trench Hospital on Firing Line



(A) Main dressing room, 18 yards long, 4 bays on each side for 3 stretchers each; (B) second dressing room, 20 yards long, 3 bays on south side for 3 stretchers each, both about 5 feet under ground; (C) new dugout for 4 special cases; (D) and (E) (office and mess room) covered against shrapnel only; (K) kitchen; (L) lavatory; (M) turning place and standing ground for cars.

were nine cases, and again to a smaller one where lay the more dangerously wounded.

These dressing rooms were protected by some four or five feet of earth above them. There was a small officers' mess and a medical storeroom, which were merely shielded by corrugated iron from shrapnel splinters, a kitchen, an office, and that was about all. An operation for tracheotomy was taking place in one of the dressing rooms.

In my many experiences abroad I have never seen a more touching sight than this little underground gathering of some seventy men, devoted doctors and assistants, waiting amid the incessant shelling until the overcrowded maze could be evacuated. Let those who take their ease on a Sunday afternoon, or any other afternoon, realize that this same scene never ceases. Let those who consider

they are amply doing their "bit" by keeping things going at home be grateful that their "bit" is not as these young men's.

One or two of the patients were shell-shock victims, and it was piteous to note their tremor at the approaching shell wails and subsequent thuds just outside our little catacomb.

The plan above gives a suggestion of the ingenuity with which the Royal Army Medical Corps officers have converted a bit of an old German trenchwork to the purposes of an underground hospital and home for the doctors and their assistants.

The shelling increased in intensity. It became obvious that we had to remain concealed till the storm had stopped. In the interval we discussed things about wounded men. We learned that quite a considerable proportion of them had dressed their own wounds with the little

first field dressing that is sewn into the tunic of every soldier. Others had got along well enough with the medical help of regimental stretcher bearers. The rest had been tended at the regimental aid posts to which I referred.

With the Walking Wounded

Presently the Germans diverted the attention of their gunners to another point of the line, and we were able to emerge into daylight once more and join a small company of lightly wounded and stretcher bearers on their way to a walking wounded collecting station. I name all these distinct stages in the progress of the wounded man in order to show how carefully the system has been thought out and organized. It is a tribute to the foresight of our medical authorities that all this vast scheme had been arranged before the war.

On our way rearward to the walking wounded collecting station we were passed by some horse ambulances which, summoned by telephone, were proceeding to the underground hospital we had just left. On our way we escaped the only enemy aeroplane attack that came to my notice during this visit to the front. An officer and a few men were wounded. It speaks eloquently for the celerity with which our casualties are cleared when I tell you that on that same evening, many miles away in the rear, I saw this particular wounded officer sitting in bed nonchalantly enjoying his dinner. By the next day, I was told, he would probably be in England.

The walking wounded collecting station consisted of marquees in which a considerable number of Tommies of all dialects were partaking of a hearty meal. As each arrived his name and regimental number were entered, with particulars of his case. Where necessary his dressings were rearranged, and in every case a cigarette was offered. Prodigious quantities of tea, cocoa, soup, bread, butter, and jam were disappearing. Despite the bandaged heads and arms of some and the limping of others, they were a merry, if tired, party. Eagerly and in vigorous and unprintable Anglo-Saxon one of them said: "I want to have another smack at the — Alle-

mans." In a tent was a wounded officer, famous in the world of big game, (scarred as the result of a miraculous escape from an African elephant,) who, though covered with blood, had only one anxiety, and that was to have his wound dressed, get a bath, and return to his men in time for the next "stunt"—to use an abominable Americanism which has grown weedlike into our war language. Two days before, this walking wounded collecting station had been shelled by the enemy. By a strange stroke of fortune the only victims were a large number of German prisoners.

Casualty Clearing Houses

We shared the soldiers' meals, listened to their stories—each one of them a full adventure, in peace time—and continued baseward, accompanied by motor ambulances in which sitting cases were carried, to a great corps collecting station, a veritable Clapham Junction of the evacuating system.

To prevent mistakes, each man's label is checked at every point he arrives at with as much care as a registered letter on its way through the post. There is no red tape, and nothing is left to chance. There is no lost time. It is never forgotten that pain is ever present and that saving time may mean saving life. But even though we have not yet come to that link in the chain—the hospital which is kept neat and burnished by the hand of woman—all is well arranged and spotlessly clean. Many dressings were being re-examined and many wounds again attended to.

Here I saw the field operating theatre nearest to the battle. It was in a spotless tent with a table, a powerful acetylene lamp, chloroform, and instruments—all ready. Operations in the field are a rare exception in the British Army. The matter of their necessity has been discussed and rediscussed. There are arguments for and against. But Sir Arthur Sloggett, General Macpherson, and the famous surgeons we have at the front, with Sir Alfred Keogh at home, may be relied upon to know their business to the tips of their fingers.

Resuming our journey with the ambulances, we came, after an hour's halting

journey through the dust and the A. S. C. convoys, to a casualty clearing station—the first hospital of a kind visualized by the general public.

One of these clearing stations was a large old water mill, which had been transformed into a most beautiful hospital. I reached it in time to witness the arrival of the ambulances. Out of them came all manner of wounded, British and German. Friend and foe were treated alike. They were just wounded men—that was all. Such as could walk by themselves, or with the help of orderlies, came out dazed into the sunlight from the ambulances. The Germans, who had for days been trenchbound by our barrage, were, as a rule, horribly dirty and impossible to approach for physical reasons. Later, at another hospital, I saw gently born V. A. D. nurses washing great unbathed wounded Prussians and Bavarians.

Here, in this mill casualty clearing station, the broken soldiers came for the first time under the influence and gentle touch and consoling smile of women nurses. Many of the men had been in and about the firing line for weeks, several of the Germans for longer than that. I talked with some of the enemy who had arrived a day or two before in what must have seemed a fairy palace. Some spoke of the care, kindness, good food, flowers, and music (the gramophone never stops) which were provided. As a rule they are grateful—at any rate at first. Some are very grateful. One officer used the word “lovingly,” (lieb-voll,) and “lovingly” it must seem, for nothing is more marked in inspecting German hospitals, even such an establishment as the Rudolf Virchow Hospital in Berlin, than to notice the roughness of the surgery, the callousness shown in making remarks before patients, and the inferiority of the undertrained nurses.

Nurses Toil Night and Day

It is impossible to convey in words the amazing, tireless activity of the nurses and doctors. I did not know that human beings could work so many hours without sleep at the most anxious kind of

work the world provides. No wonder that the women sometimes break down and require hostels and rest homes. Yet during a number of war visits I have met with not one complaint from any member of any medical staff in the field or elsewhere. There is, on the other hand, the same continuous enthusiasm throughout the medical service as one sees in the great boot factory at Calais, or the vast motor repair shop in Paris, or our transport from Havre to the front. The stimulus of war seems to double the energy of every human being as soon as he lands in France.

At this great casualty clearing station by the railway the hospital trains were collecting. When we had been shown through the cool tents and had talked with men we happened to know, we went on to the newly made railway platform where the stretchers were being assembled. It was a scene almost of gayety.

I do not know whether any one has written an account of these trains, the doctors and nurses who live in them year in and year out, traveling thousands of miles in the course of a twelvemonth, but some one should do so. My own information is as yet so scanty as to be little worth reading. Of the wonderful hospital barges, too, which, whenever possible, are used on the wide French rivers and canals to carry cases that cannot stand any shaking, not enough has been said.

Miles of Hospital Huts

On a later day I saw the arrival of one such train at one of those hospitals which look out on the sea and are situated on the Northern French coast, which long before the war was recognized as a great healing place. The medical journals tell their readers in their own language of these wonderful hospitals—converted casinos and hotels and miles of perfectly equipped huts. Our hospitals in France are a world of their own. I do not know how many women and men they employ, but I should say more than 100,000. In the Etaples district alone there are 35,000 beds. Canada, Australia, New Zealand,

Newfoundland, India, and the whole of the empire have given with both hands.

Those of the wounded who can be made well quickly enough—and they are, of course, the immense majority—go back to their war duties at the front, some eagerly, all without murmuring. As they lie there in these wonderful huts, in which every provision for speedy convalescence, for happiness, and reasonable amusement are afforded, tended as they are by the best surgeons and physicians of the English-speaking world, and by ladies simply and gently born, they all tell you the same story—they would like to get a glimpse of “Blighty” (Britain) before going back again to fight.

I went on board one of the white hospital ships, marked against submarines on each side with a huge red cross, to see them going home. Arriving on the quay in the British Red Cross and St. John ambulances, and gently carried, with the peculiar, slightly swaying walk of the trained stretcher bearer, they pass on to the ship and descend in lifts to the

particular deck on which is their cot or bed. There can be nothing of the kind in the world better than these speedy, perfectly lit and ventilated vessels.

As I watched the swift ship and saw her speeding away to England at well over twenty knots, I wondered if people and politicians at home are beginning to understand that the bravery and camaraderie of the officers and men in the field have broken down all class feeling; that our millions of men abroad are changed communities of whose thoughts and aims we know but little.

Just as Grant's soldiers, the Grand Army of the Republic, dominated the elections in the United States for a quarter of a century, so will the men I have seen in the trenches and the ambulances come home and demand by their votes the reward of a very changed England—an England they will fashion and share; an England that is likely to be as much a surprise to the present owners of capital and leaders of labor as it may be to the owners of the land.

German Trench Villages Forty Feet Under Ground

Since the Anglo-French drive on the Somme has burst through the entire system of original German trench fortifications there has been revealed the most elaborate method of housing active troops ever evolved in the history of warfare. Twenty, thirty, even forty feet below the surface of the ground the allied soldiers have found these villages, lighted with electricity, and with spacious quarters for officers and men. The appended article and sketches are by British engineering officers at the Picardy front.

ALONG many miles of the western front, as it was till the end of June, you can now do what seems to trench dwellers almost the utmost reach of impossibility. You can stand at your ease in the middle of No Man's Land and look at a German front trench on your right and a French or British front trench on your left. As soon as you do so you feel that the outward face of each wears a quite different expression.

It is not merely an accident that the Allies' wire is only cut across by neat lanes or gangways at convenient intervals, while the German wire lies in a trampled mess on the ground. The difference goes much further. For one thing, the Allies support their barbed wire mainly with wooden stakes; the Ger-

mans do it with iron. For another, the Allies' parapet owes much more of its strength to visible sandbags. The Germans build with sandbags, too, but not so much nor so openly. Their parapet makes more show of rough clay or chalk, even where a light layer of this covers two or more feet of reinforced concrete placed like a shrapnel helmet on the head of a dugout or a gun emplacement.

If you now leave your first standpoint and explore the two trenches in turn, and also the support and communication trenches behind each of them, you find that the difference goes, in more than one sense, deeper still. The allied trench looks in every way like the work of men who hoped and meant to move on before long; the German trench looks

German Trench Village Deep Under Ground

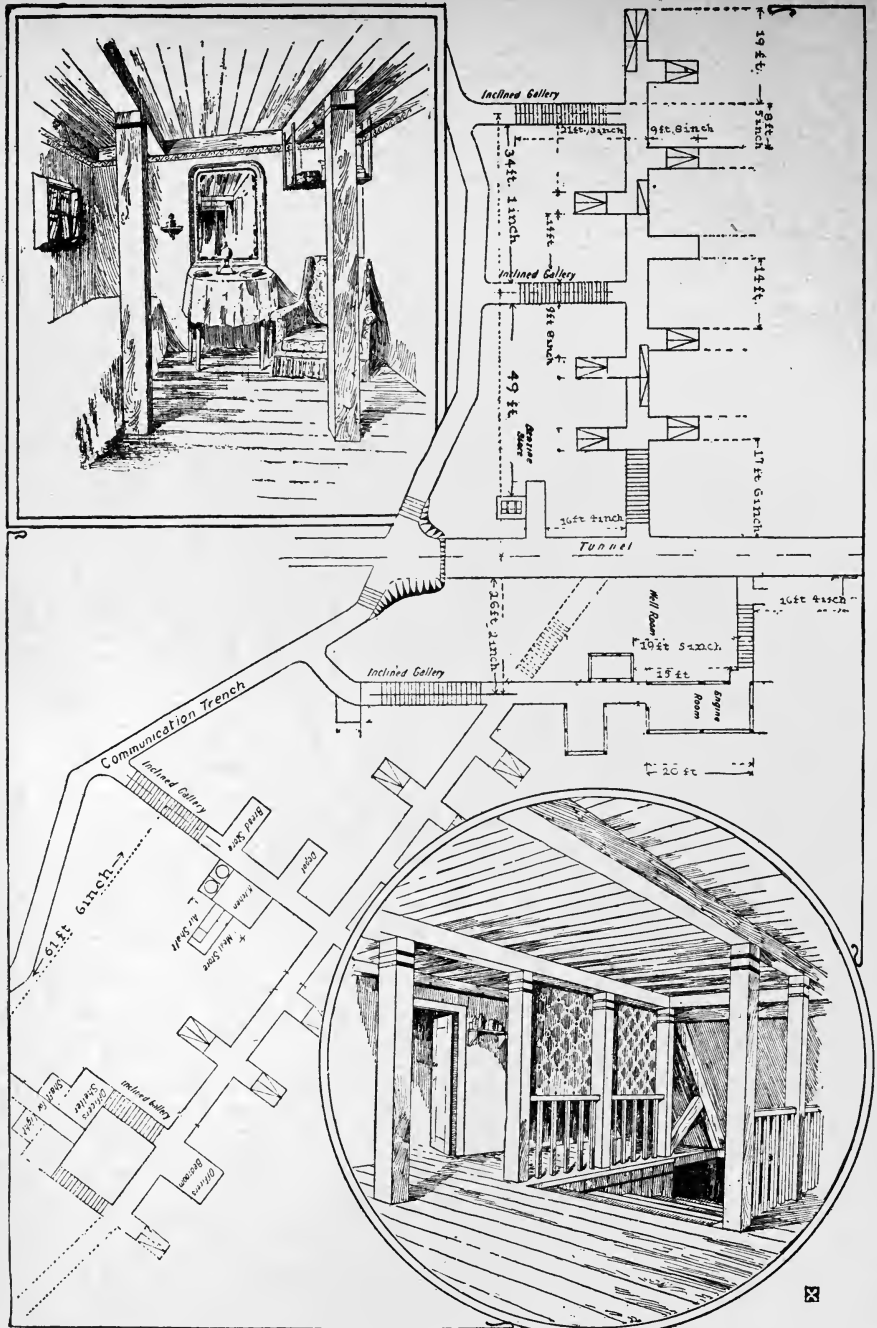


DIAGRAM OF SUBTERRANEAN VILLAGE CAPTURED ON THE SOMME FRONT. UPPER CORNER: AN OFFICER'S ROOM. LOWER CORNER: HOSPITAL 30 OR 40 FEET UNDER GROUND

like the work of men who hoped, or feared, that they would be in it for years. Our trench housing has been much more of a makeshift, a sort of camping out, with some ingenious provisions for shelter and comfort, but not more than the least that would serve. Most of our dugouts are just roughly delved holes in the earth with only enough props and rafters to hold the roofs up; their floors are bare ground, with a little straw on it; their doors, if they have any, are a few odd pieces of plank with a couple of other pieces nailed across; often the floor is on the trench level, to save burrowing. Lighting is done with candles, mostly bought at the canteen, and if any one owns an armchair or a two-foot-high mirror it is the jest of the platoon.

The whole German idea of trench life is different. The German front in the west is like one huge straggling village, built of wood, and strung out along a road 300 miles long. Of course, the houses are all under ground. Still, they are houses, of one or two floors, built to certain official designs, drawn out in section and plan. The main entrance from the trench level is, sometimes at any rate, through a steel door of a pattern apparently standardized, so that hundreds may come from the factory on one order and missing parts be easily replaced. The profusely timbered doorway is made to their measure. Outside this front door you may find a perforated sheet of metal, to serve as a doormat or scraper.

Inside, a flight of from twelve to thirty-six stairs leads down at an easy angle. The treads of the stairs and the descending roof of the staircase are formed of mining frames of stout timber, with double top sills; the walls are of thick planks notched at the top and bottom to fit the frames, and strengthened with iron tie-rods running from top to bottom of the stairs and with thick wooden struts at right angles to these. At the foot of the stairs a tunneled corridor runs straight forward, perhaps up to fifty yards, and out of this open rooms and minor passages on each side. In many dugouts a second staircase or two staircases lead to a lower floor, which

may be thirty or forty feet below the trench level.

All these staircases, passages, and rooms are, in the best specimens, completely lined with wood and as fully strengthened with it as the entrance staircase already described. In one typical dugout each section of a platoon had its allotted places for messing and sleeping, its own place for parade in a passage, and its own emergency exit to the trench. In another, used as a dressing station, there are beds for thirty-two patients and a fair-sized operating room. A third, near Mametz, was designed to house a whole company of 300 men, with the needful kitchens, provision, and munition store rooms, a well, a forge riveted with sheets of cast iron, an engine room and a motor room.

Many of the captured dugouts were thus lighted by electricity. In the officers' quarters there have been found full-length mirrors, comfortable bedsteads, cushioned armchairs, and some pictures. One room is lined with glazed "sanitary" wallpaper, and the present English occupant is convinced by circumstantial evidence that his predecessor lived there with his wife and child. Clearly there was no expectation of an early removal.

Nobody who reads this should leap to the conclusion that, simply because German trench work is more elaborate than ours, it is a better means to its end—the winning of the war. No doubt the size and the overhead strength of German dugouts keep down casualties under bombardment and sometimes enable the Germans to bring up unsuspected forces to harass our troops in the rear with machine gun and rifle fire when a charge has carried our men past an uncleared dugout of the kind. On the other hand, if our advance is made good, every German left in such a dugout will be either a dead man or a prisoner.

No doubt, again, the German dugouts give more protection from very bad weather than ours. But they also remove men more from the open air, and there is nothing to show that the half-buried German army gains more by relative immunity from rheumatism and bronchitis than it loses in the way of general health.

A Spaniard's Life in German Prisons

The first half of this narrative of the prison experiences of Valentin Torras y Closa, which appeared in the November issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, related how he, a native of Spain, was made prisoner by the Germans in Northern France; how they confiscated his property and identification papers, carried him to Germany, and treated him as a Portuguese. After his escape he told his story to the Madrid correspondent of The London Telegraph, who wrote it in English for that newspaper. The concluding installments, somewhat condensed, are here reproduced.

ON Dec. 18, 1914, the Commandant received an order to send 1,000 peasants who were in the camp to Chemnitz. In Zossen civilian and military prisoners had been living together. The civilians were Belgians and French from the north and the east. A list was drawn up in which my name was included. With tears in my eyes I bade farewell to my two good friends who had assisted me so greatly in my captivity, and joined a group of those who were leaving, assembled in one corner of the camp. We were marched to the station, and on the following day we took train for Chemnitz.

Our destination was an enormous artillery barracks that was just approaching completion. We had previously been divided into companies. We were received—certainly not with any kindness, but this detail did not surprise me—by an old German Captain, who told us that we had to give up immediately any weapons that we might be carrying in our pockets. Weapons, indeed! * * *

On Jan. 6 or 7—I do not remember the exact date—I was summoned and taken to an office. A German officer with the French name of d'Avignon received me. He was sitting at a table. He was very well known to the prisoners who spent any time at Chemnitz. In precise words he inquired who I was, to what country I belonged, my name, the name of my parents, my age, and so forth. Suddenly he became angry, and I suspected that his anger was feigned. No doubt he wanted to frighten me. But my sufferings at Zossen had cured me of fear.

"You are a Portuguese fraud!" he shouted, in a voice of thunder. "Your name is not what you say!"

"I, a Portuguese!" I exclaimed, in astonishment. He was in the stronger position, but I was still hopeful. "You are mistaken," I insisted. "I am a Spaniard, a Catalan, a native of Manresa. Allow me to write to the Spanish Embassy in Berlin. The whole matter will be cleared up. Permit me also to write to my relatives, who must be very much alarmed."

A Vicious Attack

But d'Avignon had a plan. Without paying any attention to my requests he drew from a case a document in German, partly printed and partly written by hand. It was complete except for my signature; even the date had been filled in.

"Sign this," he ordered.

"I do not sign what I do not understand."

"I will translate it to you." And in bad French, stopping many times to search for a word, he read the papers to me. The upshot of it all was that I was not Valentin Torras, Spaniard, born at Manresa, but the Portuguese subject named Tonio Antuan, to whom I have previously referred. I became extremely alarmed. If they manufactured a civil status for me at their pleasure I should be irremediably lost. I decided to die rather than sign that tissue of falsehoods, which would certainly be my ruin.

"I am not Tonio Antuan, but Valentin Torras," I said firmly. "I am not a Portuguese, but a Spaniard."

"You are a Portuguese, and you are going to sign this at once!" he shouted, and taking up a fountain pen he held it out to me, rising from his chair. I jumped backward, and stood with my back to the wall, looking around in search

of a weapon of some kind. The officer watched me, and called for a soldier, who ran up with fixed bayonet. Quite calmly he stepped toward me, the pen in one hand and a revolver in the other.

"Sign this, or I will have you shot," he cried. The veins stood out on his neck, and his face was red.

"Kill me if you like," I replied.

"No; sign," he responded.

It was one of the most anxious moments of my life; I would have given anything to be out of that office. D'Avignon threw the pen upon the table, and said a word in German to the soldier. I do not know what he said, but the soldier turned round like an automaton and thrust at my throat with his bayonet. I moved slightly; the weapon struck me in the neck, and a torrent of blood flowed from the wound. I moved away from the wall, shouting. I do not know what I said, and, in any case, they could not understand me, because I was cursing them in Catalan.

In Prison Again

D'Avignon went away without saying anything. The soldier seized me roughly by the shoulders and dragged me to a cell where there was a pile of straw. With a violent shove he threw me on the straw and shut the door, leaving me alone in darkness. The blood continued to flow over my chest and shoulders, and I thought that every moment would be my last. Soon I felt a violent pricking sensation in the wound, my eyes became clouded, and I lost consciousness. How long I remained in this condition I do not know. Gradually I returned to my senses. The first thing that I was conscious of was the pain of the wound. I touched it, and found that the blood had ceased to flow. I tried to move my head, but found it very painful, and the whole of my neck was very much swollen. I had a burning thirst. I tried to speak, but only inarticulate sounds came from my throat. After one or two unsuccessful efforts, I managed to rise to my feet. I approached the door and listened. The slow steps of a sentry resounded on the floor of what was apparently a wide passage. I banged at the door, but no-

body came. Then I threw myself once more upon the straw, which was red with my blood, and gave way to despair. "They want me to bleed to death, and die here like a dog," I said to myself. "My end is only a question of hours."

Night came and I no longer heard the steps of the sentry. I fell asleep, but my rest was disturbed by horrible dreams, until I was aroused by my intense thirst. I was not hungry, but had a consuming desire to drink something cold. My tongue stuck to my palate. During my captivity in Germany I have endured the two torments of thirst and hunger, and I am convinced that thirst is the more insupportable, especially if one is wounded, as I was then.

Dragging myself along the ground, for I was unable to walk, I reached the door, which I struck with hands and feet. After some time a bolt was drawn and a soldier entered. He gave me a look of surprise, said something which I did not understand, and went out, again carefully bolting the door. Once more the door opened and the soldier laid on the straw a plate containing some sort of cold soup and a piece of black bread. "Water, water, water!" I implored, speaking in German, as I knew the word. He went out and came back shortly afterward with a small jug half full of water. I seized it and drank greedily. The water was turbid, but to me it seemed pure, fresh, crystalline. It certainly put new life into me. I regained my strength and stood up. My swollen neck and the wound caused me much pain, but I thought to myself that since they had given me water, bread, and soup, they did not want me to die just yet. I devoured the bread and the soup.

I spent four days in that cell. Each morning a soldier entered with my allowance of food, and after he had left the door was not opened again until the following morning. As my neck became more and more painful I feared that gangrene would set in, and I thought of making as much noise as was possible, and even of attacking the soldier, so that I could get out of that place. In the afternoon of the fourth day a noncommissioned officer entered the cell, ordered

me to follow him, and took me to a room in which some of my former companions were. I begged to be allowed to enter the infirmary, but either because he did not understand French or because he was acting on instructions, the man only said "Nein, nein," and marched away without turning his head. My companions surrounded me and asked what had happened during my absence. I told them my adventures, and they congratulated me on having escaped with my life. A Frenchman who understood something of medicine, although he was not a doctor, said he would do what he could for me. He went to the infirmary and asked for dressings and tincture of iodine. He dressed my wound every morning, and gradually the swelling subsided. The wound closed, and today the only trace of it is an ineffaceable scar.

Life in Chemnitz

I will now say something about our life in the prisoners' camp at Chemnitz. The barracks had some immense rooms. There were vast galleries divided into compartments by partitions of wood and brick. Each compartment, which was originally intended to accommodate four horses, was occupied by sixteen men. When we arrived there were already about 4,000 prisoners, all Frenchmen, who slept upon straw that was ground almost to dust and full of parasites. That straw was a first-class source of infection, but we could not get it changed. To all our appeals the old Captain answered that the straw was too good for a pack of immoral Frenchmen such as we were. In the opinion of that officer all Frenchmen were "apaches." He did not only say so, but I believe he was absolutely convinced of it. In the course of time about 1,000 Russians arrived. They came from the Carpathians, and some of them who were able to speak a few words of French told us that during the journey, which lasted fifteen days, they had been given food no more than three times.

Our food consisted of 300 grams of bread that was mostly bran, coffee sweetened with sugar or honey, and a plate of some indefinable kind of stew,

the very recollection of which turns my stomach even now. It was a mixture of rice, half-rotten potatoes, pieces of carrot, and fish. But the strangest thing was that inside the pieces of carrot we found lumps of sugar, figs, and grapes. I have no idea how the stew was made; I only know that it smelled very badly and was altogether horrible. Those of us who had money could buy food in the canteen, where jam could be procured. In the morning we were given coffee and bread; at midday some of the stew which I have attempted to describe; and at night another cup of coffee, sweetened with honey.

The poor Russians, none of whom had any money, were always hungry. Sometimes when the helping of stew was smaller than usual each prisoner was given a herring. Nearly all the Frenchmen threw away the heads of the fish, and we noticed that they were picked up and eaten by the Russians. Not a few of the Frenchmen who procured food from the canteen also demanded their rations, which they gave secretly to the Russians. It was not possible to do this openly. A contractor had undertaken to feed us at so much per head, and he always endeavored to serve out the smallest possible number of rations.

Epidemic of Typhus

As at Zossen, there was a scarcity of water at Chemnitz. Cleanliness therefore was out of the question. Our hands and faces were always dirty, and we were covered with vermin. Thinking as little as possible of my sufferings, I gave all my attention to trying to find some means of getting back to Spain. It seemed to be an extremely difficult matter, especially after the episode of the bayonet wound. But I did not lose hope.

In February a terrible epidemic broke out. In a short time 700 Russians and 300 Frenchmen (these figures are approximate) died of it, and there were heartbreaking scenes in the rooms. The sufferers died with terrible rapidity. The seizure began with shivering, which was followed by a very high fever. The faces of the men were covered with dark blotches, and they died without any one

being able to help them. Every morning dozens of corpses were taken off the straw. Whenever an unfortunate man began shivering, he summoned a friend in whom he had confidence, and intrusted him with the carrying out of his last wishes. But, as not infrequently this friend also perished, some of those who were stricken took the precaution of summoning two or three friends at the same time, so it is probable that the families of those who have died will eventually know what happened.

The Germans laid the blame for the epidemic upon the Russians. They said that we were dying of typhus, and that the disease had been brought into the camp by the Russian prisoners. This is possible, but I believe that more men would have been able to recover if they had not been weakened by hunger.

Persecution of Russians

The German doctors intrusted with the medical service in our camp adopted an extraordinary system of diagnosis in dealing with the Russians. Every morning a noncommissioned officer went through the rooms in which the unfortunate Russians were herded, and said that those who felt unwell should go to another large room with doors opening on an enormous courtyard. Here, between 7 and 8 o'clock, the invalid Russian prisoners had to undress, and when completely naked, in spite of the terrible cold, they were compelled to go out into the courtyard. The noncommissioned officer, without getting too close to the prisoners, made them fall into a line, and thus they stood waiting for twenty or thirty minutes. Then from a door at the other end of the courtyard a German military doctor appeared, sat on a chair, and took out a fieldglass. With the aid of the glass, at a distance of about fifteen yards, he examined the naked Russians. He asked no questions, and, in fact, very few of the Russians would have understood him. After a very brief examination he sent them to the infirmary. Naturally, those who did not die from typhus died, as a result of that examination, from pneumonia or bronchitis.

At the beginning of May the doctors declared that the epidemic was over. We were removed from the barracks and placed in some large huts. The rooms were disinfected and the straw was burned, some not very comfortable mattresses replacing it. At the same time they took away all our clothes and burned them. We were fumigated and given some clothes that had been sent by the Swiss Red Cross.

In May all the prisoners, civilian as well as military, were told that they could write to their families through the Swiss Red Cross. I wrote several letters, but they were not allowed to pass. I protested, and asked the reason of this exceptional treatment, which was very prejudicial to me, and was bluntly told that, being a Portuguese, I could not write to any other Government but that of Lisbon.

Question of Identity

In September arrangements were made for drawing up a list giving the personal particulars of each prisoner at Chemnitz. I do not know if the same thing was done in the other camps. The list was alphabetical, and gave the name, age, nationality, and personal description. When they came to the letter "T," and I found that I was not called, I complained that I had been overlooked. I was told that I was the Portuguese, Tonio Antuan. I replied that my name was Valentin Torras. A Sergeant brought the document which I had refused to sign. It contained a description of the Portuguese. The Sergeant read the description in German, and translated it into French.

"Now, you can see," I exclaimed, "that the description does not belong to me." He looked at me and then at the paper. Shrugging his shoulders, he said, "You are right; this is not a description of you. But my superiors affirm that it is, and I must be silent and obey. Therefore, I put you on the list as Tonio Antuan, a Portuguese subject, taken prisoner at Valenciennes."

"But this is absurd," I cried, exasperated.

"Perfectly absurd," the Sergeant

agreed; "but I must not judge of the conduct of those above me. When they state that you are a Portuguese, they know why they do so."

Gross-Poritsch Prison

On Oct. 14 1,000 civilians, I being among them, were selected to be sent to Gross-Poritsch, near the Austrian frontier. I have no idea why this was done. Some of those who were chosen inquired the reason at the Commandant's office, but were told to mind their own business and obey orders. I was not sorry to leave Chemnitz; I had had so many disagreeable experiences that I was not afraid of being made more unhappy at any other place in Germany. The journey, which naturally was done in cattle trucks, lasted from 5 o'clock in the morning until 6 in the evening. As is usual in such cases we were not given a drop of water throughout the day. Nobody protested, because it would have been useless.

Night was falling when we entered the new camp. It consisted of rows of wooden huts, erected on an arid plain about a mile from the town of Gross-Poritsch. It was surrounded by high fences of barbed wire and guarded by old soldiers, all of them gray haired, and the majority wearing spectacles. In the camp there were about 3,500 French and Belgians, many Russian officers and soldiers, a few civilians from Russian Poland, and, if I remember rightly, two English civilians. Each hut accommodated 250 men, who had scarcely room to breathe. The camp would have been fairly healthy if there had been a greater number of huts.

The feeding arrangements were simply infernal. We were given potatoes boiled in water, salt, and fat, and small pieces of "K. K." bread. It was impossible to get any other food from the canteen, where only tobacco, paper, and lemonade were sold. We were told that the food had been steadily getting worse. I fought on the one hand with my hunger, which commanded me to eat the nauseous food, and on the other with my palate, which rebelled against it; sometimes the stomach won and sometimes the palate. For-

tunately, after a short time I became friendly with some Frenchmen who regularly received parcels of bread, jam, and chocolate from their families, and who fed upon these things exclusively. These charitable men came to my assistance nearly every day. It is certain that I owe my life to their help.

Barbaric Punishments

It was in Gross-Poritsch that I began the efforts to regain my liberty. They were long, complicated, and dramatic. For the present I will confine myself to a description of what I experienced and saw at Gross-Poritsch. What I remember better than anything else is the punishments that were inflicted. Each camp had its peculiar forms of chastisement, according to the genius or character of the commander. I will describe some of them.

In the first place, there was the punishment of the knapsack, which was carried out in the following manner: A knapsack was filled with sand or bricks and then tied to the back of the prisoner who was to undergo the punishment. He then had to throw himself on the ground backward and rise again with a jump. A noncommissioned officer armed with a stick or whip struck him whenever the double movement was not carried out with the desired rapidity. After a few minutes of this the unhappy man felt as if his back was broken; perspiration poured from him, and he could only breathe with difficulty. If he stopped for a moment the implacable stick came down on him. And this torture lasted until it pleased the noncommissioned officer to put an end to it. Of course, everything in Germany is done by word of command, and it was usual to say to the noncommissioned officer: "This man has to be punished. Make him lie down and rise again with the knapsack fifty times." The person in charge of the punishment scrupulously counted every movement, not omitting one. In justice to him it may be stated that he never increased the number. He was a slave to the word of command, and obeyed like a machine.

On one occasion a French Sergeant had to undergo the punishment of the knap-

sack. He was a man of very strong character and obstinate, who always protested whenever he thought that he was being made the victim of an exceptional injustice. He spoke German, and disputed with the guards in that language, and the guards had a special grudge against him. He was sentenced to fall and rise 250 times with the knapsack full of bricks on his back. The punishment was witnessed by many of the prisoners, I being among them. We murmured and asked for clemency for the unfortunate man, but the latter and his executioner were separated from us by a wall of soldiers armed with rifles.

The Sergeant rebelled against the punishment, and blows were showered upon him. One noncommissioned officer became tired and handed his whip to another. The second man succeeded in making the Sergeant carry out the movement 214 times, and then he also was tired out, so handed the whip to a third. But the latter was unable to begin his duties because the Sergeant was done for. Blood was pouring from his mouth. He lay on the ground with his arms extended, an inert mass. He was taken to the infirmary, which he soon left for the cemetery. And yet he had been a strong, healthy man, who might have lived for a century.

Atrocious Torture

Another of the punishments consisted in tying a prisoner's wrists and attaching him to an iron bar, having previously stood him on two or three bricks. When he was fixed to the bar the bricks were knocked away and the poor man had to support himself as best he could on tip-toe. So he remained for anything up to three or four hours. When he was released he was half dead, and his wrists were cut and bleeding.

The punishment of the cage, as its name indicates, consisted in inclosing a prisoner in a circle formed of six posts united together by barbed wire. The cage was left out in the open, guarded by a sentry, and there the prisoner remained from three to six days without being able to move, because the cage was very small and the points of the barbed

wire were carefully turned inside. The prisoner was fed there, but had no protection from the sun, rain, or snow. He was unable to sleep because, if he was overcome by fatigue and fell to one side or the other, he was aroused by the points of the wire penetrating his flesh.

The most frequent punishment was what I may call that of the post. In this case a post was planted firmly in the ground, and the prisoner who had incurred the penalty was tied to it by cords around his neck, breast, abdomen, and feet. His arms were tied to his body. The cords were drawn so tightly that they cut into the flesh, and thus the man remained motionless for twelve and even twenty-four hours.

The German soldiers who acted as our guards were quite unmoved by these punishments, and all the more so because they had themselves to endure them. It was only the punishment of the knapsack which had been specially invented for our benefit; the others were part of the *répertoire* of the noncommissioned officers. I have seen many of the men who guarded us punished with the cage or the post for some act of carelessness. They suffered in silence; their obedience was extraordinary. I remember that one day a man over forty years of age, fat and ruddy, with a large nose and gold-rimmed spectacles, who was said by the other Germans to be very rich, was put in the cage. I do not know for what reason. When he was taken out after six hours he went away to eat his rations as if nothing had happened. I was watching him, and did not see the least display of anger or even a glance of hatred at the noncommissioned officer who had humiliated him in this manner.

The civilians were punished by being attached to the post very frequently, but were rarely put in the cage, and never tortured by the knapsack. It must not be supposed that these punishments were inflicted upon the prisoners, civilian or military, for serious offenses. In the ordinary way one was punished for raising his voice when an officer was within hearing, for smoking inside the huts, approaching too near to the barbed

wire, or not saluting with sufficient alacrity.

The Russians and the English had the worst time in the prisoners' camp. The former received no money and no parcels of food, and as for the English, they were the objects of a terrible hatred. The famous "Gott strafe England!" constantly resounded in our huts in a most disastrous manner for the subjects of King George. The German soldiers regarded the French with a certain sympathy, the Belgians with indifference, the Russians with repugnance, and the English with abhorrence.

At Chemnitz groups were formed of twenty-five Russians, who were harnessed together by ropes and made to plow the fields. This humiliating labor was not imposed upon the French, English, or Belgians. The camp authorities would not have dared to compel the English to drag a plow, because they said they would rather allow themselves to be killed. But the poor Russians obeyed like sheep.

Secret Correspondence

One day a prisoner in Gross-Poritsch received a letter from his wife. The letter came by a special channel, which I cannot describe, but of which I afterward availed myself in order that it might be known in Spain what was happening to a Catalan subject of Don Alfonso XIII. In the prisoners' camps in Germany one has to be very ingenious if one wants to communicate with the outside world. Ordinary letters are allowed with certain restrictions, but at the beginning of the war even these did not reach their destination. The French prisoner to whom I have referred believed that the letter came from Roubaix, where he had lived before the war. Imagine his surprise and anxiety when he saw that the letter was dated from Cologne. His wife informed him that she had been forcibly removed from Roubaix, together with several other women, to work in Germany; she refused, and was then sent to a civil prison. The poor Frenchman was desperate; he wanted to dash his head against a wall, and we had the greatest difficulty in calming him.

Fight for Freedom

I will now describe as succinctly as possible the efforts which I made to secure my liberty. This portion of my experiences, I think, is very interesting, as it throws much light on various aspects of the real condition of the prisoners of war in the German camps.

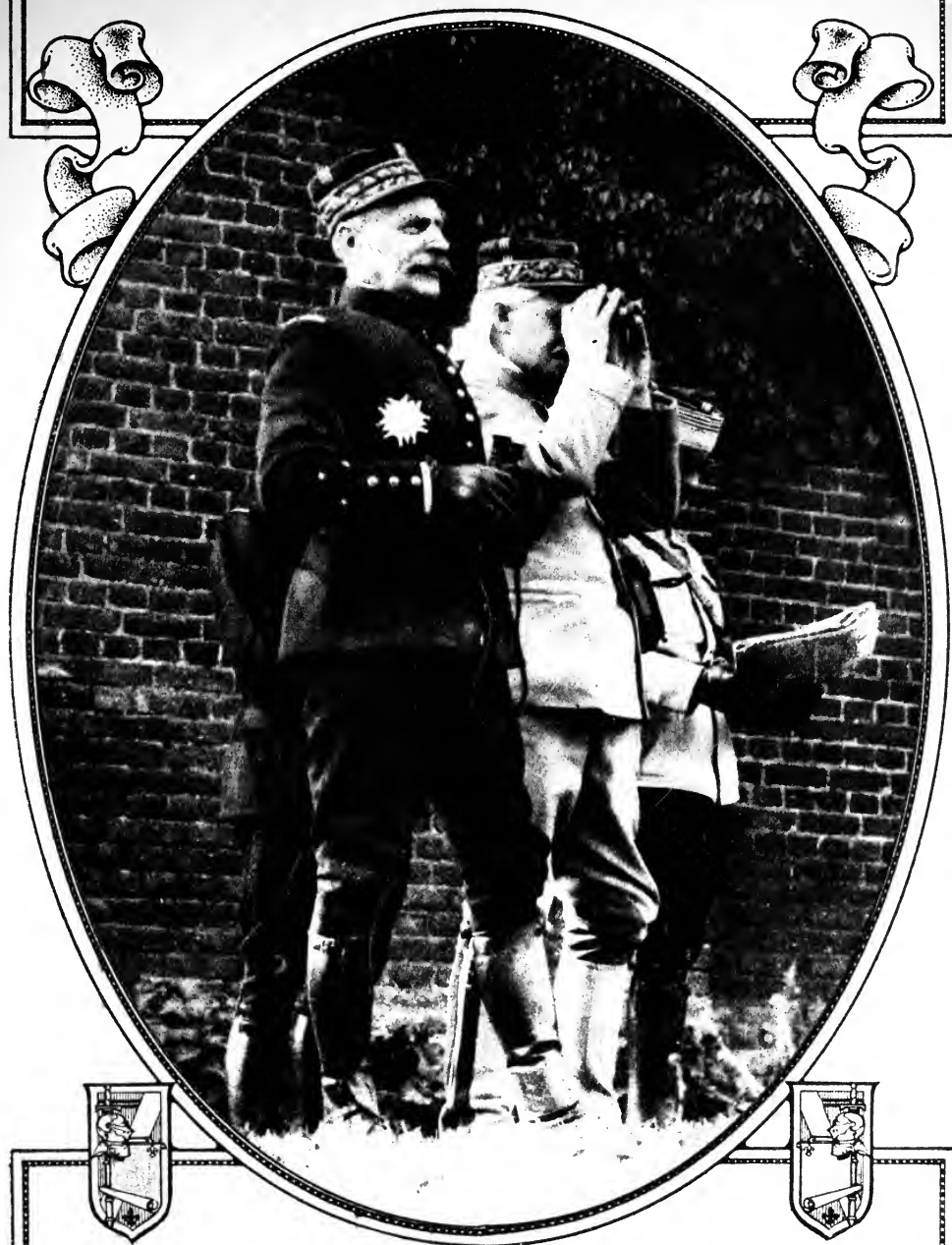
On Dec. 22, 1915, I wrote to Paris to the Marqués de Villa-Urrutia, who, as I believed, was still the Spanish Ambassador in the capital of the French Republic. These letters, as well as some others, were sent by a special channel, which for various reasons I cannot reveal, principally because it is frequently used by the prisoners in Gross-Poritsch when they do not wish their letters to be read by the German censorship. Moreover, if I were to tell all I know in this respect it is probable that some persons would be punished. The letter was received by the new Ambassador, the Marqués de Valtierra, who immediately sent it on to the Spanish Government. I suppose that the latter sent a complaint to Berlin, and I also suppose that the Germans replied that I was a Portuguese, and that I was lying when I claimed to have been born in Spain.

One day, when reading a copy of *Le Matin*—we had many French papers in the camp, paying a very high price for them—I saw that Señor Leon y Castillo had been appointed Spanish Ambassador in Paris. I accordingly wrote to him, relating all that had happened to me, and asking him to interest himself on my behalf. Moreover, I sent another letter to the Franco-Belgian Red Cross at Geneva. In reply the latter advised me to address myself to Señor Polo de Bernabé, the representative of Spain in Berlin. I answered, saying that I was not allowed to communicate with my Ambassador and begging the Red Cross to report my misfortunes to the Spanish Minister in Berne. This the Red Cross did, and the Spanish Minister in Berne wrote to Señor Polo.

In Touch with Diplomacy

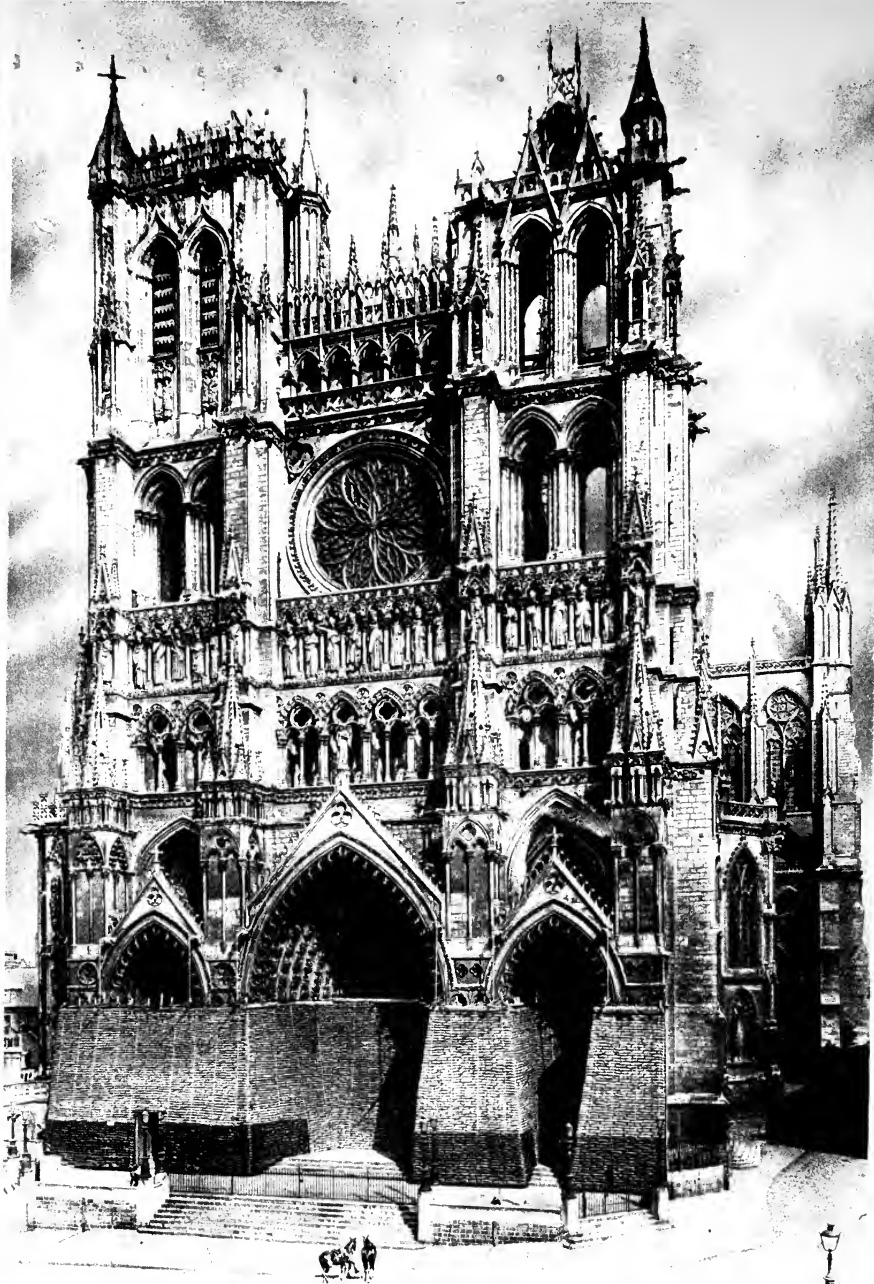
All these efforts occupied more than three months. In the end, on March 25, I received an official letter from Señor

GENERALS FOCH AND FAYOLLE



General Ferdinand Foch (at Left) and General Marie Emile Fayolle, Who Collaborate on the Somme, the Latter Consolidating What the Former Wins.

AMIENS CATHEDRAL IN ARMOR



An Armor of Sandbags Protects the Historic Portals and
All the Carved Interior Walls of Amiens Cathedral,
Near the French Front.

(Photo by Paul Thompson.)

Polo de Bernabé. It stated that the Ambassador had my affair in hand, and inclosed the sum of 10 marks. I was requested to send two receipts for the money, which I did immediately, through the ordinary channel. Naturally, I desired to use all possible means for securing my liberation, so I wrote also to M. Bernard of the Catholic Committee for Prisoners of War in Geneva. He replied, saying that he had written to the Superior of the Sisters of Charity in Barcelona, (I had told him in my letter that my father was employed in the prison of that town,) asking them to advise the poor old man that I was alive. On Feb. 4 my father went to Manresa and secured a copy of my certificate of baptism. This document was legalized and countersigned on Feb. 28 by the German Consul in Barcelona. I received it in April, and then decided to make a supreme effort.

Armed with the official letter from the Spanish Embassy in Berlin and the certificate of baptism, I went to the Kommandantur and asked for an interview with the chief of the camp. He received me with a very bad grace. I told him that the Ambassador's letter and the baptismal certificate proved that I was a Spaniard, and I begged him to set me at liberty as quickly as possible. He examined the certificate, and then said, "It is false."

"If it is false," I exclaimed, "why is it countersigned by the German Consul in Barcelona?"

He was nonplused, for the argument was a strong one. Not knowing what to reply, he decided in favor of having me thrust unceremoniously out of his office. * * *

One day, much to my surprise, I received a letter from Algeria. A Señorita Lopes wrote to me in French from Philippeville, inquiring who I was, as she had seen my name and address in one of the bulletins of the Red Cross. I answered her through the normal post, and shortly afterward she sent me two parcels of provisions.

On July 16, employing the secret channel, which was only available from time

to time, I wrote once more to Señor Polo de Bernabé. He received the letter, and decided to send Señor Ferraches, the doctor of the embassy, to Gross-Poritsch. This was my salvation. Señor Ferraches arrived in the camp on June 20. I knew of it, and determined to use the opportunity, even if it should cost me my life. As soon as I saw the doctor I left the circle of prisoners and approached him rapidly.

"Pardon me," I began, "but I am—"

I was unable to continue. The German Commandant, who accompanied Señor Ferraches, pulled the latter violently by the arm. Then he threw himself on me, and with a brutal shove caused me to fall into the none too affectionate arms of a Captain who was hurrying up on seeing my daring. This Captain caught me roughly, looked me threateningly in the eyes, and said, "follow me!"

"No, no," I shouted. "I am a Spaniard. I must be released."

The Captain summoned a couple of soldiers, who seized me by the arms. I was desperate; I turned my face toward Señor Ferraches, who, with a look of surprise, was watching us a few steps away, and shouted in Spanish as loudly as I could: "See, Señor, how a Spaniard of Catalonia is treated by the Germans in the camp of Gross-Poritsch!"

The doctor made a sign showing that he had understood, and said in a low voice, "follow him."

I obeyed then, and they took me off to the Kommandantur. I had a violent altercation in French with the Captain. I asked to be allowed to speak with the Spanish delegate, but the Captain refused, repeating the eternal refrain, "You are a Portuguese; you are a Portuguese." * * *

In the evening an interpreter took me to the Commandant's office. Señor Ferraches, seeing me enter with the interpreter, asked to be permitted to speak to me alone, and his request was granted, although very reluctantly. He submitted me to a regular examination in Castilian. I was suspicious. He seemed to be a Spaniard.

But suppose he was not? He perceived my doubts, and said, "Explain yourself clearly. What do you fear?"

With Catalan frankness I answered resolutely, "I fear that you may be a German who speaks Spanish. I cannot trust these people."

Without being offended by my brusque remark, he replied, good-naturedly:

"You are a Catalan. I am a Valencian, but know your language. Let us talk in Catalan."

Hearing him express himself correctly in Catalan, all my doubts vanished, and I gave him a detailed account of my long trials. It happened that Señor Ferraches knew the town of Jubia, three kilometers from El Ferrol, where I had lived for seven years, my father having been employed there. I gave him details of the place, and of the important people there; this confirmed him in the opinion that I had been the victim of an outrage.

Freedom in Sight

"I am completely convinced," he said, "that you are Valentin Torras, native of Manresa, and not Tonio Antuan, a Portuguese subject. I had instructions to speak with you at all costs. I wanted to do so this morning, but, seeing the anger of the chief of the camp, and being opposed to all violence, I decided to wait until he was pacified. So I have waited seven hours. Be calm; you will soon regain your liberty."

I had in my possession two receipts from the camp authorities, one for a notebook in which I had copied the letters I had written during my captivity and the other for the certificate of baptism sent by my father. They had asked me for these things, but I would not give them up without a receipt. I gave Señor Ferraches both receipts, asking him to deposit them at the embassy, because I feared they might be taken from me when I was released. Señor Ferraches took the receipts, gave me a note for 20 marks, said a very friendly farewell, and went. I am grateful to him for his goodness. He showed great energy and diplomacy, and would not allow himself to be deceived or intimidated.

[Here follow details of an official attempt to make the prisoner sign a paper

admitting that his imprisonment was due to his own fault, and renouncing all claims of indemnity.]

But my liberation was at hand. Two days later, on June 30, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I was taken to the Kommandantur, and told to prepare to quit the camp on the following day at 5:30 in the morning, as orders had been given for my release. My papers were handed to me. Imagine my emotion! I was to leave the camp. I was to leave Germany. Soon I should be in Switzerland, and then in Spain! I ran off like a madman and entered my quarters shouting and gesticulating. My companions, alarmed, surrounded me. They believed I had lost my reason.

At 6:30 I went in search of one of the camp barbers. I was seated on a stool enduring the necessary torture to which the barber submitted me when the Captain of my company, to whom I was indebted for so many hard supplementary tortments, approached, and inquired: "So you are going tomorrow?"

"Yes," I replied, surprised that he did not address me as usual in the second person singular.

He smiled, and his face assumed an expression of innocent cordiality, which left me stupefied. "Adieu, Torras," he said. "Pleasant journey. I hope you will not carry away any gloomy recollections of us, and that when in Spain you will not speak badly of the Germans or of your treatment in the camp of Gross-Poritsch."

I did not reply. Such cynicism astounded me.

I bade farewell to my friends. Some of them intrusted me with commissions for their families, which I promised scrupulously to fulfill. They looked at me with eyes of envy. I was going, but they remained, subject to an iron discipline, with the prospect of further hardships, lashes, blows, kicks, curses, and the various camp punishments.

[The rest of the narrative relates the details of the prisoner's return to Spain. He was escorted under guard through Dresden, Munich, and Lindau, where he crossed Lake Constance into Switzerland and became again a free man.]

Italy, Prussia, and Austria, 1866-1916

ALFREDO COMANDINI IN ILLUSTRAZIONE ITALIANA

Why did Italy wait until Aug. 28, 1916, to declare war against Germany, though she had been fighting Germany's ally for fifteen months? One answer to this question is given in the appended article, translated from the Italian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THERE could have been no finer commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Custoza (June 24, 1866) by the Italians than that which they are now making—fighting again with armed might against the same enemy. Only those who saw and lived through those days can realize the impatience, the inquietude, the anxieties that filled Italian hearts, that, to the glorious annexations of 1859 and 1860, (beginning the formation of the Kingdom of Italy, which was proclaimed at Turin on March 14, 1861,) Venice and Rome might also be added.

The question of Rome had been frankly laid before the Italian Parliament by Cavour in 1861—Rome must become the capital of the new Kingdom of Italy—but the decisive moment for the "Roman question" was fated to be postponed to a later date.

More urgent, and sooner to be solved, was the question of Venice; and as, because of the youth of the new kingdom, her army and her spirit were not sufficient for the difficult enterprise, the great Count Cavour, in the last months of his brilliant life, turned his thoughts toward the natural ally of the new Italy—Prussia.

In fact, when, in January, 1861, he who afterward became Emperor William I. of Germany ascended the kingly throne of Prussia, Cavour persuaded King Victor Emmanuel II. to send to Berlin General Alfonso Lamarmora on a special mission to the new King of Prussia, "in testimony of respect for him and of sympathy for the noble Germanic Nation," and the great Italian Minister gave precise instructions to General Lamarmora to "form closer relations between the Cabinets of Turin and Berlin, and to prepare the ground for a future alliance between Italy and Prussia against Austria."

In February of the same year, 1861,

Giuseppe Mazzini, in "a letter to a German," said to the German people: "Let us complete our unity and found yours. To be a nation we need Rome and Venice; help us, by a unanimous expression of opinion, to liberate Rome; separate yourselves from Austria in the inevitable contest between her and us for Venice. You need, in order to conquer your unity, to free yourselves from the dualism represented by the monarchies of Austria and Prussia, and to base yourselves on the people, the sole unitary and truly German element. We shall help you to free yourselves from Austria. We have a common enemy. Let us fight him together!"

In that same February, 1861, (on Feb. 5,) George von Wincke proposed to the Prussian Chamber, which, in spite of the opposition of the Prussian Government, approved it by 159 votes to 146, that "we should not regard it as being the interest of Prussia or of the Germans to oppose the progress of the consolidation of Italy."

These were the germs of the Italo-Prussian alliance which, after many vicissitudes, came to maturity through the evident identity of interests between the two countries. Thus, when, in December, 1862, Otto von Bismarck, who for three months had been President of the Prussian Ministry, caused the question to be put to the new Italian Government (the new Farini-Pasolini Ministry) "what would be the position of Italy in a war between Prussia and Austria?" he naturally received the reply that "it could not be doubted that Italy would be found on the side of the enemies of Austria."

It is impossible, within the limits of this brief commemorative article, to tell the whole story of the intricate diplomatic relations throughout five years, which may be summed up thus:

1. Italy's effort to gain, in any way, whether solely by diplomatic action or also by force of arms, possession of Venice.

2. The assiduous efforts of the French Emperor, Napoleon III., to gain Venice for Italy, while avoiding war, if possible, but by creating discord between Prussia and Austria.

3. Bismarck's effort to arouse in Austria the fear of Italy in order to gain possession for Prussia of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and other concessions from Austria.

4. Austria's efforts to bring about an understanding with Italy and to prevent Italy from coming to an understanding with Prussia.

Schleswig and Holstein had been taken from Denmark by the combined military action of Prussia and Austria in 1864, and, by treaty, were then occupied by mixed Prussian and Austrian garrisons, from which cause arose ceaseless strife between the two joint rulers, this friction having increased to such a degree that in June, 1865, war had already been considered by the Prussian Government, and Count Usedom, the Prussian Minister to the Italian Government, asked the Italian Prime Minister and General Lamarmora, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whether "if hostilities broke out between Prussia and Austria Italy would seize the occasion to take the field for the liberation of Venice."

Lamarmora had come into power in 1864, and had found negotiations with Prussia already begun for a commercial treaty, which was concluded in March, 1865, and included all the States of the Germanic Confederation, including Saxony and Bavaria, which, up to that time, had not recognized the new Kingdom of Italy. This commercial treaty marked a long step toward the Italo-Prussian understanding; in view of which Prime Minister Lamarmora, in reply to the question of Count Usedom, whether Italy would take up arms against Austria if Prussia went to war with Austria, felt much perplexity in answering, (in part sincerely, in part by calculation,) "in spite of the inner satisfaction which he would feel at an event so favorable to the destinies of Italy."

In reality, Lamarmora distrusted Bismarck, who, in his instinctive trickery, was brutally sincere. Lamarmora was afraid of displeasing Napoleon III., not understanding that Italy's ally of 1859, (France in the campaign of Magenta and Solferino,) identifying himself with the interests of France, was not then greatly preoccupied over the eventual rupture between the Teutonic monarchies. Napoleon was possessed by the idea that Venice might be restored to Italy without a war.

Lamarmora continued to hold the same view, but in March, 1866, he sent to Berlin, at Bismarck's request, General Govone, as assistant to the Italian Minister Plenipotentiary Barral, to treat definitely with Prussia for a convention, if not for a treaty.

Lamarmora was a simple soul, an intellectual mediocrity of limited culture, of loyal heart, very honest, instinctively recoiling from the subtle arts and inevitable trickery of diplomacy—in which Cavour had been so great a master, and Bismarck not much behind him—whence it is easy to understand how he shrank from everything that might look like deceit, and was always afraid of trickery.

Barral, the Italian Minister at Berlin, was not strong enough to hold his own against Bismarck, or to make his own authority prevail with Lamarmora. Lamarmora had two clear-sighted, accomplished, and conscientious informants—General Joseph Govone at Berlin and Constantine Nigra at Paris; they at last succeeded in overcoming the hesitations of the honest soldier, who had no large vision of genius, and only somewhat late realized that it was the indubitable wish of Napoleon III. that an accord might be brought about between Italy and Prussia, an accord for which Bismarck was working determinedly, so much so that he had already used to King William of Prussia—who was opposed to an alliance between Prussia and Italy—the characteristic phrase, repeated later to Nigra: "If Italy had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent her!"

There are voluminous records of these slow, laborious, and uncertain negotiations, in which the Trentino "from the

crest of the Alps" was first included, on the insistence of Barral, Lamarmora, General Govone, and his assistant, Colonel Driquet, among the territories which Italy was to get from Austria; and was later excluded, when Count Barral accepted the Prussian claim that the Trentino, because it formed a part of the Germanic Confederation, could not be ceded to Italy at that time; but what could not be done before the war might be done during, or after, the war, especially after an appeal to the population of the Trentino.

Finally, according to God's will, an "offensive and defensive treaty of alliance" was signed in Berlin on April 8, 1866, in accordance with which Italy, following the initiative of Prussia, should declare war on Austria as soon as she was notified by Prussia; the war to be carried on with all her forces; and that Prussia and Italy should make no peace or armistice except by mutual consent, which should only be given after Austria had agreed to cede "The kingdom of Lombardy-Venezia" (thus officially styled by Austria, even after 1859) to Italy; and to Prussia, territories equivalent in population (two and one-half millions) to the said realm. The treaty was to lapse in three months (that is, on July 8) from the date of signature, if, during that period Prussia had not declared war on Austria. The treaty remained secret; it was definitively ratified by the two sovereigns on April 20, and on April 21 Bis-

marck presented to the German Diet the explosive proposal for "the federal reform of the Teutonic Parliament," from which he promised himself the war with Austria, which neither his sovereign, King William, nor the upper classes nor the German masses desired; while in Italy Lamarmora, for many and not vain reasons, would have preferred to obtain Venice without a war.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Bismarck's proposal was for a new German Confederation, from which Austria should be excluded. The Diet rejected the proposal, and prepared to make war against Prussia, as the wanton disturber of national peace. On June 14, 1866, war between Austria and Prussia began. As a result of the decisive battle of Sadowa in Bohemia (also called Koeniggratz) on July 4, Austria was defeated, and Prussia annexed Hesse, Hanover, Nassau, the former free city of Frankfort, besides the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, with the magnificent harbor of Kiel. These annexations increased the area and population of Prussia one-half; before the war she had a population of 20,000,000; after it her population was 30,000,000.

Thus, largely through the help of Italy, modern Prussia came into being; Italy, on her part, had won the battle of Custoza on June 24; as a result, through her alliance with Prussia, she regained the province of Venetia, with its capital, Venice, but not the ardently desired Trentino.

Signor Comandini does not say so explicitly, but he allows it to be inferred that, because of the service rendered by Prussia to Victor Emmanuel II. in 1866, Victor Emmanuel III., in 1916, though at war with Austria, refrained as long as possible from declaring war against Germany.

Austrian Red Book on Rumania's Entrance Into the War

THE Foreign Ministry of Austria-Hungary issued a Red Book on Oct. 11 dealing with the diplomatic relations between that monarchy and Rumania from the beginning of the war to Aug. 27, when Rumania threw in her lot with the Entente. The book contains 111 documents, mostly reports of Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Bucharest, to Baron Burian, the Foreign Minister of the Dual Monarchy, and

all of a nature intended to clear these officials from the charge of being responsible for the country's being taken by surprise. The responsibility for this is thrown upon the military authorities of Austria-Hungary. The Red Book also charges Rumanian high officials with frequent and deliberate lying.

It begins with a document which reveals that Count Berchtold on July 22, 1914, instructed the Austro-Hungarian

Minister at Bucharest to inform the King of Rumania (King Carol) and the Premier that he intended to send a note to Serbia. This seems to have been done. Four days later another telegram was sent to Count Czernin, in which Count Berchtold, then Foreign Minister of the monarchy, instructed him to make it clear to the King and Government of Rumania that in the case of Serbia he expected strict neutrality from Rumania, and, should Russia prove hostile, a loyal co-operation on the part of that country. Two days later Count Czernin telegraphed to Count Berchtold, saying that the King of Rumania declared that in the conflict with Serbia the monarchy could rely on the strict neutrality of Rumania, but that in case Russia should intervene Rumania could not take an active part on the side of the monarchy. At the same time the King declared "that no power on earth could persuade him to attack the monarchy or join the monarchy's enemies."

Count Czernin quoted Prince Ferdinand (the present King) as saying in the Fall of 1914 that he would regard himself as a "miserable wretch" if he entertained any intentions of aggression toward Austria-Hungary. The passing of King Carol, however, changed the situation. On Oct. 6 Count Czernin reported: "I have again spoken with King Carol. He was weeping, and said that he has only one wish: to die and put an end to everything." He died on Oct. 10, 1914, and by Dec. 2 the Austrian Minister was writing to his superior: "All the signs point to the fact that during the Spring of next year Rumania will intervene on the side of the Entente." M. Bratiano, the Rumanian Premier, gave signs of leaning in that direction, and King Ferdinand made evasive answers to queries on the subject.

Rumanian Mobilization

About the beginning of June strong Rumanian forces were sent to guard the Austro-Hungarian border. On Sept. 24 Count Czernin warned M. Bratiano that if the Rumanian mobilization continued his Government would demand an explanation. A day later he received in-

structions from Baron Burian as follows: "I instruct your Excellency to remind M. Bratiano that the object which Rumania would achieve by joining the Central Empires would be to build a mighty wall against Russian ambitions in Central Europe and the Balkans; that Bulgaria is about to free herself from that danger, and that the time has come for Rumania also to do her utmost in the direction suggested by her history, her interests, and her own common sense."

This did not seem to have any effect on M. Bratiano, for on Nov. 3, 1915, Count Czernin received further instructions from Vienna, in which it was said: "The Imperial and Royal Government has received reliable information to the effect that large Russian forces have been concentrated on the Rumanian frontier. M. Bratiano should be asked what he proposes to do if permission should be asked for the passage of Russian troops through Rumanian territory." It was suggested, however, that the question should be put in a friendly manner. M. Bratiano assured Vienna that he would not allow such a thing, and the King gave the same assurance.

On May 12, 1916, after months of correspondence on the same lines, M. Bratiano is alleged to have said that "in his opinion peace would shortly come on basis of status quo, and that Rumania would then be fortunate in not having intervened. The utter annihilation of any of the belligerent groups could only be effected at a distant date, and Rumania could not endure a long war." "Nevertheless, M. Bratiano made me understand," continued Count Czernin's report, "that he believed the annihilation of the forces of the Dual Monarchy was very probable, while that of the Russian forces was impossible, and that in consequence the permanent possession of Transylvania was possible, but that of Bessarabia was impossible."

King Ferdinand spoke to Count Czernin on May 26 in terms of admiration with regard to the Austro-Hungarian offensive against Italy, but declared that co-operation with the monarchy was unimag- inable. Two weeks later the Minister reported that news of the suc-

cesses of the Russians had created great excitement in Rumania. On July 19 the dispatches of Count Czernin already struck a note of despair. "Whatever we could do," he writes, "to bring about a postponement of Rumanian intervention has been done. The work of diplomacy might help to delay the rupture for hours, but it cannot altogether prevent it. The factors in this case are the guns. These have the last word, and the situation will develop according to their success or failure." No doubt by this he meant to impress upon Vienna that unless the Austro-Hungarian armies could hold the Russians everything was lost. A week later, after another interview with King Ferdinand, he telegraphed: "I am quite convinced that Rumania is negotiating with the Entente, and any further Russian victories may create a very dangerous situation here."

Terms Offered by Allies

On July 28 he wrote to say he was in possession of terms on which Rumania was to join the Allies. These were:

1. A general offensive by the Entente.
2. A further advance of the Russians in the Carpathians.
3. An allied force for defense against Bulgaria.
4. The cession to Rumania of Transylvania, the Banat, and Bukowina.
5. Rumania only to declare war against the monarchy.
6. Artillery and munitions to be supplied to the Rumanian forces.

Count Czernin added in this dispatch that he was also aware that Rumania would join the Entente during the latter half of August. "M. Bratiano made no secret of his opinion that the war was nearing its end and that the man power of the Central Empires was exhausted, while that of the Entente Powers, especially Russia, was inexhaustible."

On July 28 he told Baron Burian that it would do no harm to caution the King of Rumania of the "bad moral effect of a breach of the kind contemplated." He received instructions to this effect, but the King declared to him that the conditions were quite different from what they were early in the war, and that the promises or statements made by his

uncle (King Carol) could not bind him. He saw M. Bratiano also, who said: "He wants to be in it when the war is at an end, as the defeat of the monarchy is absolutely certain."

On Aug. 8 Count Czernin wrote: "Bratiano in the course of a long conversation told me that we might achieve a prolongation of Rumanian neutrality by the cession of Bukowina. This I refused to discuss, as I knew the views of Baron Burian on the subject, and I also knew that, even if we made such a promise when, as he thinks, we are on the road to defeat, Rumania would attack us nevertheless." A few days later Count Czernin telegraphed that great numbers of troops were being called up and equipped by night, and quoted the King as having declared that he would probably get over the crisis.

On Aug. 12 Baron Burian wrote to Bucharest instructing Count Czernin to inform the King, "with all necessary precautions," that M. Bratiano was still negotiating with the Entente behind the King's back, and informing him when it was too late of his activities. This again produced no effect, for on Aug. 22 Count Czernin again reported that, while the Hungarian frontier was swarming with men, the Russian frontier was quite undefended, and he made "friendly allusions" to this subject to the Premier.

The last time Count Czernin saw the King was a day before the declaration of war, on Aug. 26, when he told the King that "the warlike preparations demand on our part definite steps, and unless we get satisfactory assurances energetic steps will be taken. The King answered, in his usual feeble manner, that he believed his army could not oppose the Russians if they chose to enter Rumania." M. Bratiano on the same day said that the Crown Council next day would have to decide, and added that he feared an attack on the part of the Bulgarians.

The last document in the book is the declaration of war.

The Hungarian papers, commenting on the Red Book, say it seems clear that Baron Burian was informed even of the date of intervention, and yet no precautions were taken to defend the frontiers.

The Invasion of Turkey

By James B. Macdonald

The author of this article is a traveled Briton who has formerly resided in the East.

THE Turkish Empire at the period of its greatest expansion was the main thoroughfare from the West to the East, and today it is one of the alternate routes capable of great development by means of railways. In former days, Constantinople was the most important strategic site in the world, and, as the Ottoman power weakened, nations fought and schemed for its acquisition. It was the gateway to the East when Napoleon desired it, and Russia first sought it, and when Britain opposed both. The cutting of the Suez Canal and its passing with Egypt into the de facto possession of the world's strongest naval power moved the strategic values in favor of the British Empire.

Britain and Russia in modern times were and are the two greatest Asiatic powers, rivals during the period of their growing expansion, and at all times intolerant of any other European power coming within the sphere of their influence in the East. Into this scenario steps the present German Emperor upon his advent to the throne, intent, like another young Emperor in the year 1807, upon stepping over the British in India to a larger "place in the sun."

The Czar Alexander met Napoleon at Tilsit in June, 1807, and, full of youthful enthusiasm and inexperience, thought he could give ear to proposals for a joint conquest of India and subjection of the British and yet be able to subordinate the mature mind of the world's greatest adventurer to his will. Thus arose differences between Britain and Russia, which, fanned into bitterness by the Crimean war—an extension of the same quarrel—took 100 years to mollify; yet that estrangement of the past is as nothing compared to the resentment felt today by the British against the Kaiser and his people, and it is partly due to the same cause.

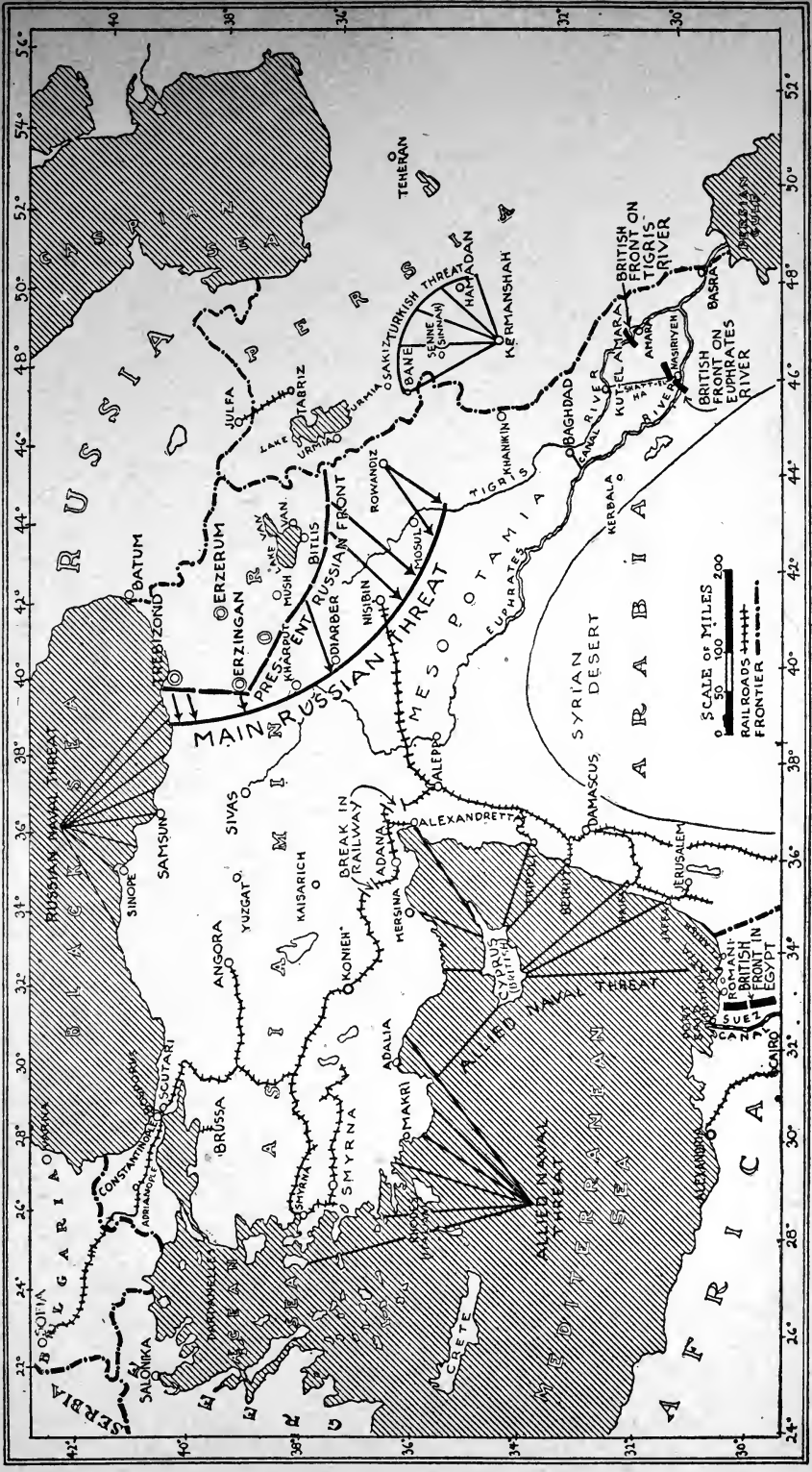
During a previous world war, Britain gained her great Indian empire, but lost at the same time her young New England colonies. India has been the foundation of British wealth, and still is the keystone of the British Empire; but if the British people have gained much from India it has not been without great sacrifices, and India has gained still more in security, prosperity, and civilization. The administration of India is the glory of the British, and they have given of their best in making it what it is today.

He then who strikes at India and Britain's sea supremacy strikes at what is fundamental in Britain's worldwide power, because with India and Egypt in other hands, and the nation's sea power minimized, Australia and New Zealand could neither maintain their connection with Great Britain nor yet remain independent.

Germany in Eastern Politics

The present Kaiser, throwing aside the policies and traditions of Bismarck, tried his 'prentice hand at Asiatic politics with ulterior ends. His first diplomatic move was to impress upon Russia that in China lay her natural field of expansion, that Germany was her friend, and Britain her foe. In this way he sought to divert the attention of political Russia from European politics, and more particularly from those of the Near East, to which he himself intended to devote primary consideration.

The war with Japan brought disillusionment to Russia, and henceforth the contest of wits in the Balkans became more acute because all parties were now wide awake to what the issues were. In the meantime, the Prussian General, Baron von der Goltz, was sent to Turkey to reorganize its army, and ever since the German people have been educated to the belief that their destinies lay in the East, and that what used to be called



TURKEY'S FIGHT FOR LIFE: ALL THE FRONTS—FROM THE BALKANS TO EGYPT AND PERSIA—WHERE TURKISH ARMIES ARE OPPOSING ENTENTE FORCES

the "Near Eastern question" must be settled in favor of Germany by war or otherwise.

To further this great scheme of "Eastward Ho!" from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf, an elaborate system of canals has been developed throughout Germany, until today vessels of 1,000 tons can steam through these inland waters to the Black Sea, since the Rivers Rhine, Elbe, and Danube are now linked up. It was principally by means of this route that war matériel was exported from Germany to Bulgaria and Turkey, and return cargoes obtained of grain and fodder from Bulgaria, and copper, cotton, wool, and tobacco from Turkey; but this has now been stopped by the entry of Rumania into the war and the consequent closing of the Danube.

German Railway Projects

The fulcrum, however, which moved Germany into the East was the acquisition of State-pushed railway monopolies, the ousting of the earlier British and French individual financiers, and the appropriation of their schemes. The first railway built in Asiatic Turkey was the short line from the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople, to Nicomedia, on the Sea of Marmora. This and the Smyrna-Aïdan line were financed by British capital, while French financiers built the Syrian railways.

The Bagdad railway was conceived by Sir William Andrew, a distinguished Anglo-Indian railway official, surveyed by Sir John MacNeill and General Chesney in 1857, and favorably reported on by a select committee of the House of Commons in 1872; but no support was forthcoming from the British Government.

In 1889 the Kaiser astonished Europe by his visit to the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and his visit was pregnant with railway schemes. Shortly afterward it was announced that a German company had taken over the Nicomedia railway and obtained concessions to prolong it eastward to Angora and southward to Konia. These projects completely blocked any prolongation of the Smyrna-Aïdan line.

Subsequent developments were the so-

called pilgrim railway to Medina, in Arabia, and the Bagdad railway, both of which were constructed primarily with a view to military considerations. The pilgrim railway was carried along the fringe of the desert to the east of the Syrian hills, and so was less exposed to an invasion from the sea, but at the same time further away from the populated areas of Syria and Palestine. The railway to Bagdad, instead of running direct to that town down the Euphrates Valley, as commercial interests would dictate, was projected across a barren country to Mosul, whence it could be carried alongside the Tigris River to the head of the Persian Gulf and into Northern Persia also, if political developments permitted these extensions.

The Teutons hoped by means of these railways to divert much of the traffic which passes through the Suez Canal and to lessen the political importance of the latter, but as they are yet unfinished one cannot say to what extent this would have been the case. It is, however, clear that they were conceived more as a menace to British power in the East than as a vehicle of commerce.

Britain was quick to see the danger to her empire and to the civilization she had built up in the East; and Russia, also, perceived the possibilities of the case, which endangered the richest portion of her empire and its most vulnerable part. Moreover, the success of German aims meant the absolute defeat of Russia's traditional ambition to occupy Constantinople—a situation which would make an appeal to arms inevitable.

Politics of the Near East

For the last fifteen years diplomacy has been handling these combustibles, which at any moment might ignite. Unless Germany, either directly or through the instrumentality of Austria, could control the Balkan States, there was no immediate danger, and the struggle centred on this issue.

Following the disclosure of Russia's temporary weakness through the war with Japan, Austria took advantage of the situation to annex Bosnia and Herze-

govina in breach of the treaty of Berlin, and so drove in the first wedge.

Russia waited her opportunity, and in due course brought about the first Balkan war to thwart Austria's aims. The Teutonic powers responded with the second Balkan war, which, however, went contrary to their hopes; but German domination of Turkey stabilized the situation, or at least gave time to ameliorate it.

In 1914 the moment seemed propitious, and, notwithstanding Italy's warning, Germany urged Austria on to embark in the present war—nominally to prejudge and avenge the assassination of the heir to the throne, but actually to drive a further wedge through Serbia and open the way to the East.

Austria's objective throughout was Saloniki, while Germany was bent on obtaining through communication with Turkey. It was easy to start such a war, but another matter to confine it within Balkan limits, as statesmen had foreseen all along, because the balance of power in Europe cannot be arbitrarily altered without a great upheaval.

The issue now lies with the god of war, but should the Teutonic powers lose the hazard, as seems probable, then Turkey—the latent cause of all the trouble—will be carved up according to the wishes of Britain and Russia, while Germany will have no further interest in Asia or Africa. Turkey for her part will fight to the death rather than give up Constantinople and the Dardanelles, but this has been decreed by the Allies, whose dissensions alone in the past have maintained her so long in Europe. Britain had given her guarantee to Turkey since 1879 that she would maintain her in possession of Asia Minor against all enemies, but never contemplated that a Turkish Government would by an underhand agreement place their country and its resources at the disposal of Germany or any other third party. Confronted with a common danger in the East, Britain and Russia cannot let go until they have carried the war to a successful issue and vindicated the prestige upon which their Asiatic empires have been built up.

The East does not regard these matters

from the same viewpoint as the Western World, and no European power having dominion in Asia can overlook this.

What India Really Thinks

Britain even more than Russia dominates the East by her prestige, because she has in normal times only 80,000 white troops to represent her immense power, while that of Russia is more manifest. Prestige in this case simply means the belief of the people of India and their neighbors that Britain is invincible—that it is folly to oppose her will. So far as their experience goes, Britain has never been beaten in warfare, even although she has frequently met with reverses during the opening stages.

What is the real opinion of the people of India about this war?

1. They see that Germany for the last decade has been preparing to challenge the great British Raj, (power,) and that Turkey has fortuitously become her tool.

2. The doctrine that what Germany wants in the East, Germany must have is rejected by India, who advances in her own right a more substantial claim to "a place in the sun" for her overcrowded 320,000,000 people than the illusory pretensions of Germany.

3. Mesopotamia is the counterpart of India climatically, ethnically, and in the character of the country. It can therefore never be a white man's country, but is well adapted for Asiatic settlement.

4. Anglo-Indian interests in the Persian Gulf and lower Mesopotamia were predominant up to the outbreak of war, and historically are antecedent to the advent of either Turk or Teuton in these parts.

5. If it is a question, as it is, of finding a successor to the Turk in Mesopotamia, who has never been in beneficial occupation, that successor must be India, not Germany.

6. India has both the means and the power to make good her contentions in this respect by force of arms, and the people are unanimous that nothing be left undone to this end.

As regards the issue of the war, the fact that Britain and her great rival of the past, Russia, are fighting on the same side has more significance to the

native mind than anything else. In their opinion these are the two strongest fighting powers in the world, and the fate of Germany and Turkey is written on the wall. Mohammedan India has been told by its spiritual head that "such mighty sovereigns as the King-Emperor and the Czar can never be defeated," and all India believes this.

There are phases of the relationship between a European State and its great Eastern dependency which one cannot touch upon in war time. It will suffice to say that British rule in India depends upon her prestige being vindicated, and India demands that Germany be driven out of the East.

When Germany deliberately challenged the might of Britain and Russia in Asia, she presumably counted the cost—one side or the other has to submit to political eclipse. There is no middle course. Had the war been a purely European one, as so many on this side considered it, it might have been capable of adjustment, but it is a different story when Europe is fighting today because the Kaiser desired to become an Eastern potentate and his people have joined in his folly.

Turkey's Technical Base

Turkey depends for her matériel upon the workshops of Germany, and should her means of transportation through the Balkans be severed then nothing remains to her but unconditional surrender. The entry of Rumania into the war has closed the Danube route, which is no longer available to either Bulgaria or Turkey. This leaves only the single railway through Belgrade, Sophia, and Adrianople. Is it equal to meeting the requirements of both countries—even if it can be successfully guarded against the allied attacks on either side? We doubt it. Once existing stores are used up, the position of Bulgaria and Turkey will become acute.

The least of Turkey's transportation troubles is in bringing the war material to Constantinople. The real difficulty begins when it is ferried across the Bosphorus. Rail facilities are available only part of the way to the different

fronts in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and the Egyptian Desert; and prior to the war there was practically no motor transport in the country. To land war stores, therefore, at Sivas, Kharput, Nisibin, Mosul, Bagdad, and Beersheba must be a colossal undertaking.

Control of the Black Sea

Turkey is unable to use the Black Sea because of the vigilance of the superior naval forces of Russia. In 1914 she had two superdreadnought battleships building in private yards in Great Britain, and on their completion was contemplating war with Greece. These were the Sultan Osman I. and the Reshadieh, of which the former mounted fourteen 12-inch guns and the latter ten 13.5-inch guns. On the eve of hostilities these ships were commandeered by the British Navy, and are now in commission as the Agincourt and the Erin.

It is a well understood principle that private yards in Great Britain are only permitted to build warships for foreign Governments on the understanding that in case of need the Government may take them over at contract price.

This left Turkey with a hopelessly inadequate navy, until the German battle cruiser Goeben and the light cruiser Breslau escaped into the Dardanelles in August, 1914. The former on her trial trip did over 28 knots an hour, and the latter apparently could keep up with her at full speed while both were escaping. It was these vessels, flying the Sultan's flag, which brought on hostilities between Russia and Turkey by shelling the harbor of Odessa before a declaration of war.

Russia had nothing in the Black Sea to match the Goeben for armament or speed until in 1915 she launched three battleships, each of which carries heavier guns than the Goeben, but is slower in speed. These were the Ekaterina II., built by an Anglo-Italian syndicate, and the Imperatritza Maria and the Imperator Alexander III., both built under the supervision of the Clyde shipbuilding firm of John Brown & Co. Each carried twelve 12-inch guns, and twenty 5.1-inch guns, with a displacement of 22,500 tons, and a speed of 21 knots. These ves-

sels had to be built in the Crimea, because, under the treaty of Berlin, Russia was not permitted to send war vessels through the Dardanelles, and for the same reason their coal capacity was less than is usual to their class.

After a game of tortoise and hare, the Russian fleet at length brought the Goeben and Breslau to action and damaged them so severely that they are now practically useless, as there are no dry docks or repairing facilities at Constantinople where they could be patched up.

By gaining command of the Black Sea, the Euxine fleet made possible the brilliant success of the Grand Duke's armies in Armenia, and restricted the Turks to the long and difficult communication by land.

The Russian Campaign

The seesaw of the last two months' operations in Armenia and Kurdistan has left this front much as it was six months ago, with the exception that the Russians have occupied Erzingan and established road communication from there to Trebizond on the coast. These two points represent the most westerly advance, and leave the armies of the Czar in a favorable position to continue toward Sivas and Samsun when the southern sector is brought more into line.

From Erzingan the front runs to Oghnat, and thence south of the road running through Mush, Bitlis, and Van to the Persian border at or near Dier. The Russian left wing is across the Turkish border in the neighborhood of Rivanduz, and their line of advance is along the caravan route from Tabriz to Mosul. In this sector a battle was fought which resulted in the defeat of the Fourth Turkish Division and the capture of two of their regiments.

The Turks have repeatedly tried to break through the Russian lines at Mush and Bitlis, and on each occasion have been thrown back. A recent venture occurred about a fortnight after the capture of Erzingan. It was planned by Major Gen. Gressman, a young German officer, who conceived the ambitious project of driving a wedge through the Russian centre to a point east of Erzerum, com-

pling the evacuation of that fortress and Erzingan, and the withdrawal of the Russian left wing. The Czar's troops had to yield Mush and Bitlis at the first onslaught, but came back, and the positions remain "as you were."

The Turks fully recognize that if their opponents reach Harput, Diarbekir, the railroad at Nisibin, and the City of Mosul, it will most seriously compromise their military situation. Here in Kurdistan, between Oghnat and Rivanduz, we may look for the next hard-hitting offensive when the Grand Duke Nicholas passes the word to General Yudénitch.

The Allies are in complete possession of Persia, save only that portion of the caravan route from Khanikin to Hamadan and the northern road from Kermanshah to Sakiz. The Turkish incursion into Persia was primarily intended to prevent a junction between the British in Mesopotamia and the Russians in Persia. The latter were advancing on Bagdad, not in sufficient numbers to take it by themselves, but rather with the object of co-operating with their allies, when they were held up by the Ottoman frontier force midway between Khanikin and Kirind, and driven back on Kermanshah and later beyond Hamadan. They had reached the most difficult part of their journey, and, as it will have to be fought over again, we may quote a description of the road given by W. B. Harris, who traveled it some years ago:

Sunrise found us at Mian-Lek, at an altitude of over 4,000 feet above the sea, showing that we had already during the night descended some 1,200 to 1,300 feet from Kirind. * * * So we did not rest at Mian-Lek, but continued our road among sparsely grown woods until, reaching the head of the pass—the Gate of Zagros—we commenced the long descent. The road winds down first along the head of the valley and then on its northern face, turning and twisting so as to render as easy as possible for traffic the descent of 1,000 feet. For the greater part of the way the road is roughly paved, a memorial of the vast work of early days, when the very path existing today formed the great highway from Media into Babylonia. How many great armies and great Kings of the olden times have passed up and down it would be impossible to enumerate.

When the Summer heat made fighting impossible on the Babylonian plain, the

Turks availed themselves of the occasion to organize a drive of their own amid these hills with the troops set free from the siege of Kut-el-Amara and Kurdish auxiliaries from the neighborhood. Moving on a wide front through the Kurd country, as well as along the caravan route described above, they forced the Russians out of Kermanshah and pressed them back to Hamadan, and sixty miles beyond it toward Kasbin. At the same time they cleared the northern road from Kermanshah to Tabriz as far as Sakiz, which is about half way.

Although this region is not of military importance to Russia at the moment, still the Turks have gained a large measure of success here, which was designed to distract the Grand Duke's attention from their main attack at Mush and Bitlis. The Grand Duke, however, dispatched a force from Tabriz early in September that drove in the Ottoman left wing and sent it flying through Bana back into the Kurd hills, while the Turkish right sympathetically retired on Hamadan. Should this pressure be continued, the Turks must withdraw the way they came or be cut off when the Cossacks reach Kermanshah.

Turkish Military Problems

The great obstacle to the rapid conquest of Asiatic Turkey is the enormous territory to be covered, with the paucity of communications. The Ottoman high command in entering upon the war gambled upon the chance that no enemy could progress rapidly in the invasion of their country, and that, given time, their ally, Germany, would win the battles of Europe and come to their assistance. With this hope deferred, the military problem before them is a difficult one, because the Russian capture of Erzerum, Trebizond, and Erzincan turned the defenses of the Taurus Mountains and left the way clear to the invader for a march through the interior of Anatolia to Scutari on the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople.

The Anglo-Indian invasion of Lower Mesopotamia was no less disquieting to Turkey than to her Teutonic partner, whose schemes it jeopardized and sought

to nullify, because both were well aware of the immense resources of India and that the surrender of General Townshend, with 3,000 British and 6,000 native Indian troops, was a very small incident in the military outlook and would not by any means end the adventure. The revolt of the Arabs in Arabia, which achieved success through the friendly aid of the British, relieved the vast Mohammedan world in India, Africa, and Central Asia from any religious or political allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey and stultified the declaration of a holy war. It also resulted in a tremendous loss of prestige to Turkey in the neighboring countries.

Attack on Suez Canal

The second attempt by the Turks, on Aug. 4, to attack the Suez Canal was a greater failure than its predecessor, on Feb. 3, 1915. The desert to the east of Suez is probably the hottest place on earth, and in July and August the heat is unbearable, yet Turk and Briton advanced to meet each other and a battle ensued at Romani, some twenty-three miles east of the canal.

In that open terrain, rifle and machine gun fire was even more effective than shell fire, although monitors were playing on the enemy from the Bay of Tineh.

The Turkish force, 14,000 strong, under General von Kressenstein, attacked on a seven or eight mile front, but were routed by British territorials and Australian cavalry with the loss of 3,920 prisoners, 1,251 killed, and about 4,000 wounded.

Their army on each occasion consisted of a division, which would appear to be the maximum force that they can provide with water during the passage of the desert, and to attempt to carry the defenses of the Suez Canal with such meagre numbers is ludicrous in the extreme. We are inclined to accept the official explanation from Stamboul that it was merely a reconnoissance in force. The probabilities are that the Turks were more afraid of their own country being invaded from across the desert than hopeful of seizing the Suez Canal. If such were the case, the obvious course was to push a reconnoissance in force, with a

view to ascertain what strength the enemy disposed, and if he really intended an invasion of Palestine by land, to disconcert his plans.

British cavalry and camelry later reconnoitred as far as Bir-el-nazar, sixty-five miles east of the canal, and on Sept. 6 drove in the Turkish outposts in that locality. Another force on Oct. 15 cleared the Turks out of the Moghara hills, which lie midway across the desert by the central route. British warships command every seaport on the coast—Mersina, Alexandretta, Beirut, Haifa, and Jaffa—and they possess the Island of Cyprus, a few hours distant from the mainland, as an admirable base. One of their seaplane squadrons bombarded Homs, forty-five miles inland, which was intended to interfere with the forwarding of supplies to the Turkish armies in the south. It is obvious, therefore, that the British threat of an invasion of the Levant is a very real danger, since it is well known that they have considerable forces available in Egypt, and for that reason the Turks dare not weaken their army in Syria or in the Adana vilayet.

But this does not end the worries of the Turkish leaders. They suspect that the Allies have designs on the important seaport of Smyrna. With that as a base, the Allies would menace the main railway line which serves all the Ottoman armies in Asiatic Turkey. An indirect attack on Smyrna is quite feasible, although the probabilities are that this may be deferred to a later stage of the campaign. The allied fleets command the coast from Smyrna to Adalia, and can effect a landing in this region whenever they wish. The French demonstrated this by seizing the Island of Castellorizo and landing a force on the mainland at Makri.

The Italians possess the Island of Rhodes, lying off the mainland, and retain a large force there; the French hold large colonial reserves in Algiers; the British likewise in Egypt, and even the

allied base at Saloniki can yield its quota when Winter closes down operations in the Balkans.

All these matters are pertinent to the disposition of the Ottoman forces and militate against the effectiveness of any blow they may attempt in Armenia or Mesopotamia.

Successive onslaughts to gain the initiative against the Russian left flank have ended in failure, and the net result now is that the Ottoman forces everywhere are on the defensive.

British in Mesopotamia

With the advent of the cold weather the British are able to renew their campaign in Mesopotamia. To this end they made great preparations when the tremendous heat of the Babylonian plain made military operations there quite out of the question.

The Superintendent of Rangoon Harbor was put in charge of the erection of suitable landing facilities at the sea base, and dredging operations were undertaken at the bar of the river, so that the largest laden transports may now ascend to Basra. A railway has been constructed from the coast to the Tigris front, and a great flotilla of shallow-draft river steamers and craft of all kinds has been specially built in Great Britain, with a view to the coming riverine warfare.

Being no longer tied down by the urgent necessity of relieving General Townshend, an enlargement of the theatre of operations may develop, and this may take the form of a second expedition ascending the Euphrates River, with Bagdad also as its objective. Between Nasiriyeh, where this flotilla would start, and Kut-el-Amara is an old irrigation canal called the Shatt-el-Hai. It would be dangerous for any army to ascend the Euphrates without providing against the possibility of a second descent by the Turks upon Nasiriyeh by this route.

Coming events in this theatre promise to be of a particularly interesting nature.

Turkish Foreign Minister's Defense of Armenian Massacres

The Turkish Foreign Minister, Halil Bey, in an interview with The Associated Press representative at Vienna, Oct. 25, attempted to throw the blame of his Government's massacres of Armenian men, women, and children upon the Armenians themselves, on the ground that they had risen in revolt when the Russians invaded the country. He said:

THE Young Turks have always looked upon the Armenians as a valuable asset to the Turkish Empire. The fact is, we needed them. The country's commerce was largely in their hands, and as farmers the Armenians have a great value. We did not look upon them as valuable chattels, however. We were willing to give them an equal share in the Government, which we did, as is shown by the fact that before the outbreak of the war we had a large number of Armenians in the Chamber of Deputies and also several Senators and a Minister. Nearly all the Vice Ministers were Armenians, because we recognized the ability of the Armenians and were ready to give them their political rights in the tenancy of a proportionate number of public offices.

After the revolution all went well for a time, and the Young Turks hoped they had finally found a solution to the problem which had vexed the old régime in Turkey for many years and had retarded the progress of the country. The Balkan war, however, caused the Armenians to again take up their separatistic ideals. Committees formed an organization with the intention of securing for the Armenians an autonomous government.

I think I would be the last man to deny a people self-government, but the case of the Armenians is one where this must be done. The Armenians, spread throughout Asia Minor and Southern Russia, are merely a majority in the districts usually designated as Armenian. Armenian autonomy, therefore, would lead to the loss of the independence of

the other Ottoman races. Under these conditions even the Young Turks were opposed to the Armenian plan, but in justice they wanted to give the Armenians a fuller share in the Government, which was done, and even our worst traducers cannot deny that.

When the war broke out we knew exactly what the Armenians were doing. More bombs, rifles, ammunition, and money had been brought into the country, and their organization was made even more perfect. I was then President of the Chamber of Deputies and was very fond of the Armenian members, as I had always been a friend of that race. So I called the Armenian representatives together and asked what they intended doing. At the end of the conversation I told them I could sympathize with their ideals and had always done so as long as they were not entirely separatistic.

"Gentlemen," I said, "I fully understand your position and hope that you understand ours. We have engaged in a war in which we may go down. That will be your opportunity to make arrangements with the Entente, but bear in mind that the Ottoman Government will apply the most severe measures if you act against the Turks before you know we are conquered. Make your plans so that you can meet the Entente Powers with clean hands, which you can do by supporting us so far and no further than the law demands. I think the Entente statesmen will see the correctness of such conduct and will recognize your claim to autonomy. You can then take up the work where we left off and in which I wish you every success, but bear in mind that we are not gone yet, and that the slightest false move on your part will bring trouble to all Armenians. Sit quiet and let us try this issue. When you are sure we have lost, go over to the Entente and get from them all you can."

[Enver Pasha, the leader of the Young Turks, Halil Bey said, called in the Ar-

menian patriarch one day and told him the same thing, but despite this, he said, the Armenians rose when the Russians invaded Asia Minor, and the Turkish Government took the measures which had been outlined to the Armenian leaders beforehand. The Turkish Foreign Minister said that the Armenian organization made it impossible to confine the steps taken against the Armenians to a single locality in rebellion, because the organization was so perfect that only a sweeping measure at the first hint of an uprising could meet the situation. Halil Bey continued:]

I will say that the loss to the Ottoman Empire through the deportation of the Armenians has been immense. The Armenian is able and industrious, and, therefore, valuable in the economic scheme, but what could be done? We were at war and obliged, therefore, to employ every means to make secure our own position, which was betrayed so

basely through our confidence. * * * We stand or fall with the Central Powers, and at present there is nothing to indicate that any of our troops will fail—not so long as we have Germany to head the combination.

The Germans cannot be beaten in this war, because with the spirit to win they combine an unusually high ability as organizers. Germany's will to win and her organization are for Turkey every guarantee for success and victory. A people of 70,000,000 imbued with such a spirit is unconquerable. * * *

We in Turkey are one with the Central Governments in the determination, to defend our national integrity. Though we have been shorn in recent years of much of our territory, there remains enough of the empire in point of extent and wealth of soil to build up a prosperous State, in which opportunity will come to all. That is the program of our Party of Union and Progress.

Siege and Surrender of Kut-el-Amara

Official Report of General Sir Percy Lake

THE British War Office published on Oct. 12 the following dispatch from General Sir Percy Lake describing officially for the first time the operations in Mesopotamia from Jan. 19 to April 30, 1916, during which he, as successor of General Nixon, attempted in vain to relieve General Townshend's besieged force at Kut-el-Amara. In connection with General Nixon's report, summarized in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, the present dispatch completes the story of the ill-fated Anglo-Indian expeditions to seize Bagdad.

General Lake's report covers three phases, all failures: (1) The fight to force the Hannah defile, Lieut. Gen. Aylmer commanding. (2) The attempt to flank the Turkish right at Dujailah redoubt, also led by General Aylmer. (3) March 11 to April 30 the capture of the Hannah and Felahieh positions, and the failure to force the Sanna-i-Yat

position, resulting in the fall of Kut; commander, Lieut. Gen. Sir G. F. Gorringe.

Operations at Hannah

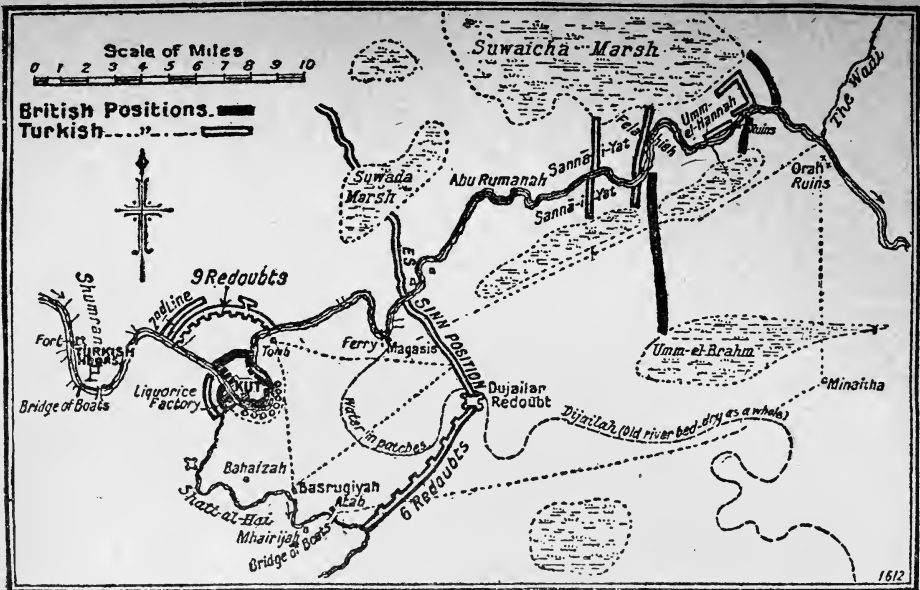
After describing the comparative smallness of this relief force and the difficulties of terrain, General Lake thus tells the story of the first phase, Jan. 19-23:

After the battle of Wadi River General Aylmer's leading troops had followed the retreating Turks to the Umm-el-Hannah position, and intrenched themselves at the mouth of the defile, so as to shut the enemy in and limit his power of taking the offensive.

The weather at this period was extraordinarily unfavorable. Heavy rains caused the river to come down in flood and overflow its banks, and converted the ground on either bank into a veritable bog.

Our bridge across the Wadi was washed away several times, while the boisterous winds greatly interfered with the construction of a bridge across the Tigris, here some 400 yards in width.

It was essential to establish artillery on the right bank of the Tigris so as to support,



SCENE OF UNSUCCESSFUL BRITISH ATTEMPTS TO RELIEVE KUT-EL-AMARA

by enfilading fire, the attack of our infantry against the Hannah position.

Guns and troops were ferried across with difficulty, owing to the high wind and heavy squalls of rain, but by the 19th all troops allotted to the right bank had crossed over and were established in the positions from which they were required to co-operate with the main force on the left bank.

Meanwhile, the leading infantry brigades on the left bank had pushed nearer the enemy. Jan. 20 was devoted to a systematic bombardment of his position, and during the night the infantry pushed forward their advanced line to within 200 yards of the enemy's trenches.

The First Repulse

On the morning of the 21st, under cover of an intensive artillery bombardment, our infantry moved to the attack.

On our right the troops got to within 100 yards of the enemy's line, but were unable to advance further. Our left column, consisting of the Black Watch, Sixth Jats, and Forty-first Dogras, penetrated the front line with a rush, capturing trenches, which they held for about an hour and a half. Supports were sent forward, but, losing direction and coming under heavy fire, failed to reach them. Thus, left unsupported, our previously successful troops, when Turkish counterattacks developed, were overwhelmed by numbers and forced to retire.

Heavy rain now began to fall and continued throughout the day. Telephone communication broke down, and communication by orderly became slow and uncertain.

After further artillery bombardment the attack was renewed at 1 P. M., but by this time

the heavy rain had converted the ground into a sea of mud, rendering rapid movement impossible. The enemy's fire was heavy and effective, inflicting severe losses, and though every effort was made, the assault failed.

Our troops maintained their position until dark and then slowly withdrew to the main trenches which had been previously occupied, some 1,300 yards from those of the enemy.

As far as possible all the wounded were brought in during the withdrawal, but their sufferings and hardships were acute under the existing climatic conditions, when vehicles and stretcher bearers could scarcely move in the deep mud.

To renew the attack on the 22d was not practicable. The losses on the 21st had been heavy, the ground was still a quagmire and the troops exhausted. A six hours' armistice was arranged in order to bury the dead and remove the wounded to shelter.

I cannot sufficiently express my admiration for the courage and dogged determination of the force engaged. For days they bivouacked in driving rain on soaked and sodden ground. Three times they were called upon to advance over a perfectly flat country, deep in mud, and absolutely devoid of cover, against well-constructed and well-planned trenches, manned by a brave and stubborn enemy approximately their equal in numbers. They showed a spirit of endurance and self-sacrifice of which their country may well be proud.

Attempt on Right Bank

A period of reorganization followed the repulse at Hannah. It was decided

next to attack the Turkish position on the other bank of the Tigris, at Dujailah redoubt, so as to get through and relieve Kut before the arrival of the flood season in March. This phase of the operations extended from Jan. 4 to March 10. General Lake says:

On the afternoon of March 7 General Aylmer assembled his subordinate commanders and gave his final instructions, laying particular stress on the fact that the operation was designed to effect a surprise; and that, to prevent the enemy forestalling us, it was essential that the first phase of the operation—i. e., the capture of the Dujailah redoubt—should be pushed through with the utmost vigor.

His dispositions were briefly as follows: The greater part of a division under General Younghusband, assisted by naval gunboats, contained the enemy on the left bank. The remaining troops were formed into two columns, under General Kemball and General Keary, respectively, a reserve of infantry, and the cavalry brigade being held at the corps commander's own disposal. Kemball's column, covered on the outer flank by the cavalry brigade, was to make a turning movement to attack the Dujailah redoubt from the south, supported by the remainder of the force operating from a position to the east of the redoubt.

The night march by this large force, which led across the enemy's front to a position on his right flank, was a difficult operation, entailing movement over unknown ground and requiring most careful arrangements to attain success. Thanks to excellent staff work and good march discipline, the troops reached their allotted positions apparently undiscovered by the enemy, but while Keary's column was in position at daybreak ready to support Kemball's attack, the latter's command did not reach the point selected for its deployment, in the Dujailah depression, until more than an hour later. This delay was highly prejudicial to the success of the operation.

In spite of their late arrival the presence of so large a force seems to have been quite unexpected by the Turks, as Dujailah redoubt was apparently lightly held when our columns reached their allotted positions. Prompt and energetic action would probably have forestalled the enemy's reinforcements. But time was lost by waiting for the guns to register and to carry out reconnaissances, and when, nearly three hours later, Kemball's troops advanced to the attack, they were strongly opposed by the enemy from trenches cleverly concealed in the brushwood, and were unable to make further ground for some time, though assisted by Keary's attack upon the redoubt from the east.

The southern attack was now reinforced, and by 1 P. M. had pushed forward to within 500 yards of the redoubt, but concealed trenches again stopped further progress, and

the Turks made several counterattacks with reinforcements which had by now arrived from the direction of Magasis.

It was about this time that the corps commander received from his engineer officers the unwelcome news that the water supply contained in rainwater pools in the Dujailah depression, upon which he had reckoned, was insufficient, and could not be increased by digging. It was clear therefore that unless the Dujailah redoubt could be carried that day the scarcity of water would of itself compel our troops to fall back.

Turks Again Victorious

Preparations were accordingly made for a further assault on the redoubt, and at 5:15 P. M. attacks were launched from the south and east under cover of a heavy bombardment. The Ninth and Twenty-eighth Infantry Brigades got within 200 yards of the southern face, where they were held up by heavy fire, although reinforced. Meanwhile the Eighth Infantry Brigade, supported by the Thirty-seventh, had assaulted from the east; the two leading battalions of the former, the Manchesters and Fifty-ninth Rifles, and some of the Thirty-seventh Infantry Brigade, succeeded in gaining a foothold in the redoubt. But here they were heavily counterattacked by large enemy reinforcements, and, being subjected to an extremely rapid and accurate shrapnel fire from concealed guns in the vicinity of Sinn Aftar, they were forced to fall back to the position from which they started.

The troops, who had been under arms for some thirty hours, including a long night march, were now much exhausted, and General Aylmer considered that a renewal of the assault during the night March 8-9 could not be made with any prospect of success. Next morning the enemy's position was found to be unchanged, and General Aylmer, finding himself faced with the deficiency of water already referred to, decided upon the immediate withdrawal of his force to Wadi, which was reached the same night.

The evacuation of our wounded had preceded our retirement. The first parties of wounded reached Wadi at 4 P. M. on March 9, and the last wounded man was attended to in hospital at that place at 2 A. M., March 10. The corps commander speaks in high terms of the gallantry and devotion displayed by officers and subordinates of the Medical Service and Army Bearer Corps during the fighting. They collected and attended to the wounded under heavy fire in a manner which called forth the admiration of the whole force.

Fighting Against Floods

The next month was a period of desperate struggle against the Tigris floods, which at times threatened to cover the whole region, and which necessitated enduring the enemy's fire in a sea of mud.

By April 4 the ground had sufficiently dried to carry through a new and successful attack upon Hannah, which was executed by General Maude and the Thirteenth Division. The enemy's position was a maze of deep trenches occupying a frontage of 1,300 yards between the Tigris and the Suwaicha Marsh, and extending 2,600 yards from front to rear. About the same time the Abu Roman mounds on the right bank were taken.

On the night of April 8-9 an assault was attempted upon the Turkish position at Sanna-i-Yat; but the enemy discovered and repulsed it with heavy artillery fire. The British dug themselves in at a distance of 300 to 500 yards from the Turkish line. It was then decided to make another attempt to force the Turkish right at the Sinn Aftar redoubt. On the morning of April 17 the Beit Aiessa position was attacked. The General continues:

Under cover of an intense bombardment the Seventh and Ninth Infantry Brigades advanced at 6:45 A. M., and actually reached the Turkish trenches before our artillery fire lifted. When the bombardment ceased they leaped into the trenches, bayoneted numbers of the enemy, and the Beit Aiessa position was soon in our hands. The enemy left 200 to 300 dead in the trenches, and 180 prisoners were captured.

These operations, culminating in the capture of Beit Aiessa, reflect great credit on Major General Keary and the troops under his command. Steady and consistent progress was made day after day in spite of most difficult conditions and often with a shortage of rations, which the transport was heavily strained to bring forward.

At 5 P. M. the enemy's artillery commenced to bombard Beit Aiessa and to establish a barrage in rear of the Third Division, sweeping the passage through the swamps along which its communications lay. An hour later a very strong counterattack came from the southwest. In spite of heavy shelling from our guns the attack was pressed home against the Ninth Infantry Brigade, from which a double company had been pushed forward to guard two captured guns which could not be brought in during daylight. In retiring the double company masked our fire; the Ninth Infantry Brigade was pressed and gave ground, exposing the left of the Seventh Infantry Brigade, which was also forced back. Our troops rallied on the Eighth Infantry Brigade, which was holding its ground firmly on the left of the line, and on a portion of the Seventh Infantry Brigade.

Reinforcements from the Thirteenth Division were already moving forward, but owing

to the darkness and boggy ground they were delayed, and some hours elapsed before they arrived.

The attack, which commenced at 6 P. M., was followed by a series of heavy attacks throughout the night, the Eighth Infantry Brigade on the left repelling as many as six such attacks. But our line held firm, and the enemy retreated at dawn, having suffered losses estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 men.

Although the enemy had suffered heavy losses and had failed to obtain any success after their initial rush, they had checked our advance and regained that portion of Beit Aiessa nearest the river which included the bunds controlling the inundations. Its recapture was essential.

During the succeeding days some progress in this direction was made by trench fighting, and by consolidating positions pushed out toward Sinn Aftar. The boggy nature of the ground made movement difficult, and many of the troops were worn out with fatigue. * * *

Sanna-i-Yat Proves Impregnable

Throughout the 20th and 21st the Sanna-i-Yat position was bombarded. Arrangements were made for the assault to take place next morning, on a front which eventually had to be reduced to that of one brigade, the extreme width of passable ground being only 300 yards. After preliminary bombardment the Seventh Division advanced, the Nineteenth Infantry Brigade leading. Besides our artillery on both banks, massed machine guns on the right bank covered our advance. The leading troops carried the enemy's first and second lines in their immediate front, several of the trenches being flooded, but only a few men were able to reach the third line.

Large Turkish reinforcements now came up. They delivered a strong counterattack, which was repulsed. A second counterattack, however, succeeded in forcing our troops back, as many men were unable to use their rifles, which had become choked with mud in crossing the flooded trenches, and so were unable to reply to the enemy's fire. By 8:40 A. M. our men were back in their own trenches.

By mutual consent parties went out, under the Red Cross and Red Crescent flags, to collect their respective wounded. The Turkish casualties appear to have been heavy as they were evacuating wounded until night-fall. Our casualties amounted to about 1,300.

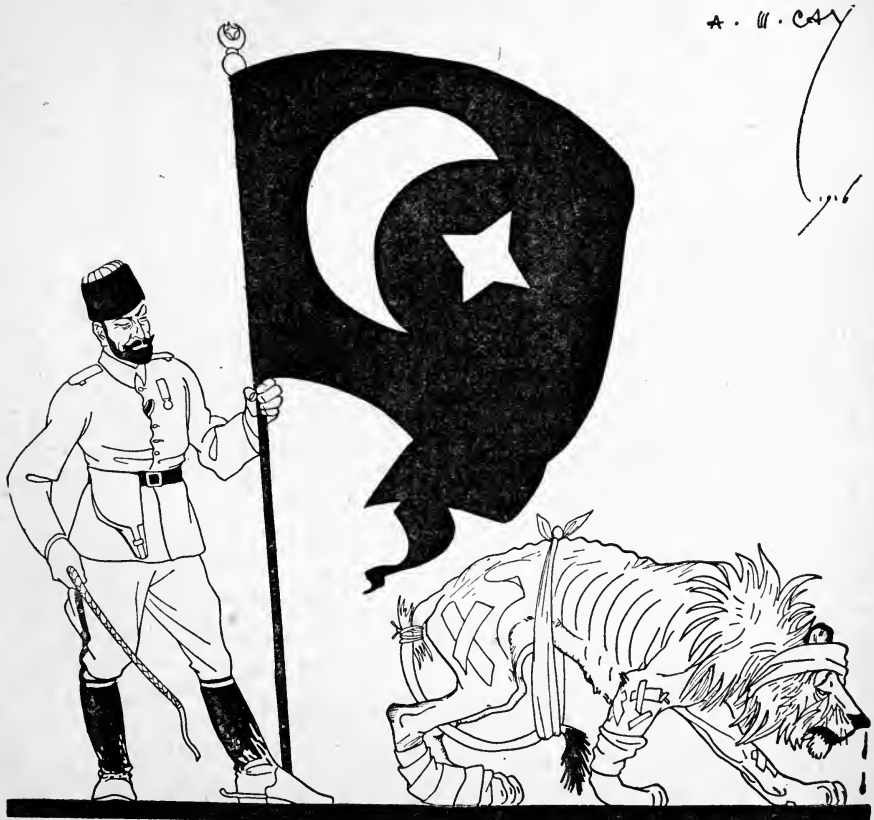
Persistent and repeated attempts on both banks had thus failed, and it was known that at the outside not more than six days' supplies remained to the Kut garrison. General Gorrings's troops were nearly worn out. The same troops had advanced time and again to assault positions strong by art and held by a determined enemy. For eighteen consecutive days they had done all that men could do to overcome, not only the enemy, but also exceptional climatic and physical obstacles—and this on a scale of rations

which was far from being sufficient, in view of the exertions they had undergone, but which the shortage of river transport had made it impossible to augment. The need for rest was imperative.

General Lake's report closes with the narrative of a final attempt to get food to General Townshend's starving men in Kut-el-Amara. The fastest river steamer on the Tigris, the Julnar, was sent to try to break through the blockade on the night of April 24, but a burst of heavy Turkish firing told the story of the

gallant failure. Eight tons of supplies were dropped into the besieged city by aeroplanes, but the situation could not be materially altered by that method, and on April 29 General Townshend surrendered to the Turkish commander, Major General Khalil Pasha. "I need not enlarge upon the bitter disappointment felt by all ranks on the Tigris line," adds General Lake, "at the failure of their attempt to relieve their comrades in Kut."

A German Cartoon on the British Loss of Kut-el-Amara



—© Continental Times, Berlin.

The "Sick Man of Europe" as lion tamer.

Activities of the Japanese Navy

[An official statement prepared for *The London Times* by the Japanese Admiralty]

AT the outbreak of the terrible hostilities between the great powers of Europe the action of Germany had compelled our ally, Great Britain, to declare war against that country. Even at Kiao-Chau (Tsing-tao) Germany's leased colony in China, all possible warlike preparations had arduously been made by the Germans. The incessant movements of her warships in all parts of the Eastern Seas had become a menace to the international trade of Japan and other friendly powers. Free and frank consultation took place between Japan and Great Britain, with the result that the two powers agreed to take such measures as were essential to the protection of their joint interests, in accordance with the provisions of their alliance.

First, the Japanese Government approached the German Government with moderate advice. On the refusal of the latter Japan found herself unavoidably involved in the present war under the terms of her treaty of alliance with Great Britain. The sole ground of Japan's participation in this terrific war being that already mentioned, the plan of operations of the Japanese Navy was arrived at in consultation with the chief of the British Navy. Consequently, the general movements of our fleet were, and still are, whenever necessary, carried out in conjunction with the British Navy.

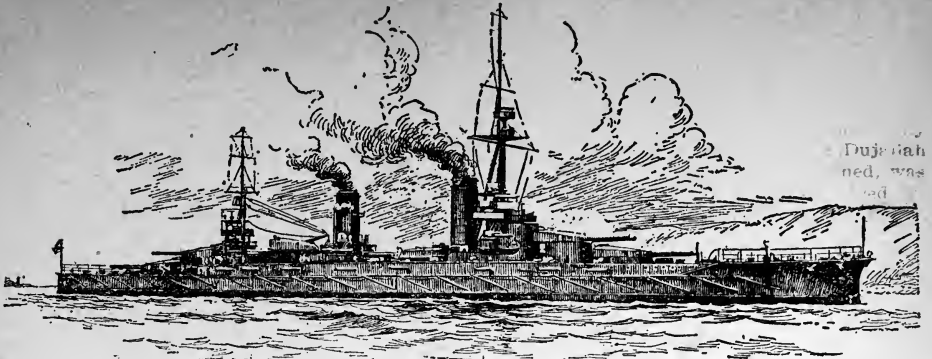
I.—Battle at Kiao-Chau

Directly after the declaration of war by Japan the main force of the First Japanese Fleet was dispatched to the region extending from the Yellow Sea to the northern part of the Eastern Sea for the purpose of searching for and warding off any attack by the hostile squadron. Meanwhile, the Second Japanese Fleet hastened simultaneously to the open sea outside Tsing-tao and began the attack on that German stronghold. The British

battleship *Triumph* and the destroyer *Usk* were both placed under the command of the Second Japanese Fleet, and thus took part in the operation.

At this time the main body of the enemy's Eastern Fleet was playing hide-and-seek among the South Sea Islands, while the rest of their vessels sought safety under the guns of the Tsing-tao fortress—not daring to steam out of port. In presence of this situation the Japanese Navy steadily and watchfully awaited the further development of the chances of war. At the end of August, 1914, the first transport of the Japanese besieging army started for Tsing-tao, the First Japanese Fleet securely conveying it in conjunction with a portion of the Second Fleet, which took upon itself the duty of safeguarding navigation in the direction of the Yellow Sea. Either directly or indirectly the navy assisted the army transports to reach their destination without any hitch. Subsequently a part of the Second Fleet assisted the landing of the besieging army at a certain point in the vicinity of Tsing-tao.

Meanwhile the Second Japanese Fleet, accompanied by another force, and strengthened by torpedo and destroyer flotillas, as well as a specially commissioned flotilla, were all concentrated in the direction of Kiao-Chau, and kept the strictest watch over the enemy by day and night. Having forced the main body of the German fleet deep within the port, a force was dispatched to sea, notwithstanding the greatest risk of terrific storms, to clear the way for the transport of the second part of the besieging army by clearing the seas of mines, &c. Furthermore, the Japanese aeronautical squadron was sent up repeatedly and hovered above the danger zone of the hostile fortifications. The *Takachibo*, the specially commissioned boat, had succeeded in cutting the enemy's maritime



JAPANESE BATTLESHIP FUSOH, 30,600 TONS, 40,000 HORSE POWER, LAUNCHED IN 1914

cables which connected them with the outside world.

In the middle of September, 1914, when the second transportation of the Japanese troops took place, the first fleet had again resumed the task of convoying it. The main force of the second fleet had, from Sept. 28 onward, together with its mine-sweeping work, co-operated with the besieging army in the repeated bombardments of the German forts. At the same time it assisted in rendering the blockade more and more effective. The naval heavy guns section, which had already joined the besieging army in the neighborhood of Tsing-tao, had successfully commenced the bombardment of the hostile squadron, bottled up inside the port since Oct. 14—a bombardment which seriously handicapped the preconceived plans of the German warships. Subsequently it gave substantial help, in co-operation with the army, in the tremendous attacks against the very strong German positions.

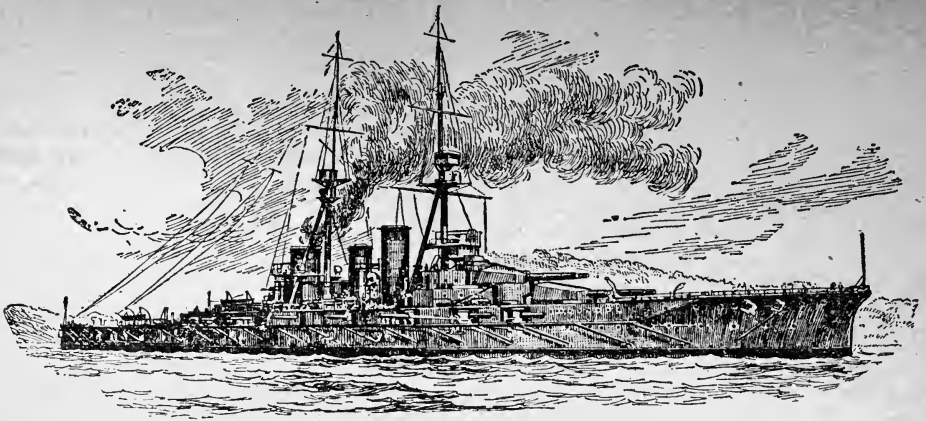
On the completion of the preparations about the end of October, 1914, for the attack on the Tsing-tao fortresses the Second Japanese Fleet began a severe cannonade from the 29th against the German forts and camps and joined in the general assault of the besieging army which commenced on Oct. 31. Upon the surrender of the enemy on Nov. 7, 1914, *en bloc*, the blockade was raised by a proclamation of Nov. 10, thereby bringing to a conclusion the Japanese operations in this direction. In these operations the Japanese Navy lost

the following vessels: The cruiser Takachibo, Sirataye, a destroyer, torpedo boat No. 33, the specially commissioned steamers the Chohmon-Maru III. and VI., as well as the Kohyoh-Maru. The following enemy warships were either sunk or severely damaged: The cruiser Kaiserin Elisabeth, five gunboats, and two destroyers.

II.—Eastern and China Seas

Directly after the outbreak of the war the Third Japanese Squadron was intrusted with the protection of seaborne commerce in the region extending from the southern part of the Eastern Sea to the China Sea. As the war developed it extended its vigil as far as the east of the Philippine Islands, and at the same time it undertook the maintenance of communications between the different operating squadrons. But, as the enemy warships were completely driven from the Eastern Seas by the beginning of November, 1914, the Third Japanese Squadron was after that date given the task of keeping watch over the German vessels.

Meanwhile during February, 1915, a serious disturbance had taken place among the Indian troops in Singapore. At the request of the Commander in Chief of the British Eastern Fleet, the Commander of the Third Japanese Squadron landed marine troops at Singapore and thus rendered special help in suppressing the disturbances. Part of this squadron is now performing other duties. Its sphere of action has since



JAPANESE BATTLE CRUISER HIYEI, 27,500 TONS, 64,000 HORSE POWER, LAUNCHED IN 1911

been extended in the direction of the Indian Ocean.

III.—*The Indian Ocean*

A division of the Japanese squadron dispatched to the South Seas, led by Captain Kwanji Kato, commander of the *Ibuki*, had proceeded to Singapore on Aug. 26, 1914, and joined the British Eastern Squadron. At that time the allied squadrons assumed a waiting attitude while exercising a strict watch over the adjacent seas. On Sept. 10, 1914, one of the enemy warships, the *Emden*, appeared in the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Seas. The Japanese division, largely increased in numbers, exerted the best of its power to hunt down such enemy warships, while another part of the Japanese fleet convoyed the transports carrying the Australian and New Zealand contingents. The enemy warships continued their activities, thereby rendering navigation in the Indian Ocean dangerous. The result was that on Oct. 15, 1914, another Japanese division was dispatched to co-operate with the British squadron. On Nov. 9 the *Emden* attacked the Cocos Island, when she was destroyed by the *Sydney*, thus putting an end to the operations in those waters. Subsequently the *Ibuki* had, either independently or in conjunction with the British warships, convoyed the great fleet of transports from the British oversea dominions, and thus carried the footprints of Japan as far as Aden. At present the sphere of

action undertaken by the Japanese Navy is extended over the length and breadth of the Indian Ocean.

IV.—*The Pacific*

At the beginning of the war a division of the German fleet was operating off the North American coast and in the vicinity of Hawaii. There was much uncertainty as to the whereabouts of the main body of the German fleet previously cruising around the South Sea Islands, together with those German and Austrian warships which escaped from their eastern basis in Tsing-tao before the Japanese declaration of war. Consequently, the moment war was declared by the Mikado the Japanese Navy dispatched a fighting division of its First Fleet to the Pacific, with a view to safeguarding the international trade routes as well as searching for these German and Austrian vessels. Soon afterward another body of the First Japanese Fleet was dispatched to the South Seas. Its object was to protect the Australian trade routes and to search for German vessels. The two naval divisions were able in co-operation to do splendid work.

The enemy, however, tried strenuously to evade our ships, so that the Japanese vessels occupied all his important strategic positions scattered throughout the South Seas and thereby deprived him of all his naval bases. At the same time, all the natives of the possessions thus occupied were treated with the greatest con-

sideration by the Japanese Navy, being allowed to continue their daily life perfectly unmolested and undisturbed. The measures thus taken have not only consolidated and confirmed the safety of those places, but have also contributed very considerably toward the progress, and success of our subsequent operations. Meanwhile these Japanese squadrons in the South Seas exercised enormous pressure, either directly or from afar, upon the remnant of the enemy warships scattered all over the high seas, as well as upon the main body of the German fleet cruising off the Chilean coasts.

V.—West Coast of America

Before this the Japanese Government had been compelled, in consequence of the disturbances in Mexico, to send out at the end of the year 1913 a man-of-war, the *Izumo*, (commanded by Captain Keijiroh Moriyama,) in order to protect their own people in that country. Then followed the great European war in 1914. Thereupon the Japanese Navy commissioned the *Izumo* to insure the safety of the trade routes along the western coasts of America. Simultaneously two other warships were dispatched from Japan to join Captain Moriyama's vessel for the purpose of engaging in the warlike operations against any hostile vessels in those waters. This has come to be known as "The division dispatched to America" which consisted of the *Izumo*, *Hizen*, and *Asama*. Subsequently Captain Moriyama was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral and was made the Commander in Chief of this division. The British warship the *Newcastle*, and the *Rainbow* of the Canadian Navy, were also attached to the command of Rear Admiral Moriyama in those waters.

Events developed very favorably for the Japanese Navy, and on Oct. 15, 1914, one of the German warships, the *Gaibel*, while entering Honolulu Harbor, Hawaii, escorting some transport steamers, was discovered by a portion of the Japanese division which was cruising in that vicinity. Thereupon the Japanese vessels put on speed to get outside the harbor and kept a close watch on the

German ships in order to prevent their escape. On Nov. 7, 1914, these enemy vessels were at length interned by the American authorities in Hawaii. Later, the main body of the German fleet appeared off the coast of Chile, and it became fairly plain that nearly all of the enemy vessels, which had thus far been scattered on all seas, had succeeded in reuniting. This reunion of the hostile ships constituted an entirely new phase of the operations of the Japanese Navy in the Pacific.

At this time the British Australian squadron happened to be cruising along the western coast of America. The Moriyama squadron acted in concert with this British force, both bringing pressure to bear upon the German fleet by cruising down to the south. In taking this course they supplemented the vigorous action of another British squadron from a different direction. The joint plan of operations was continued for some time, until at length, on Dec. 9, 1914, a severe defeat was inflicted upon the German fleet by the British squadron off the Falkland Islands, when the great majority of the enemy ships were destroyed.

Apart from the Japanese division already mentioned dispatched to the American coast, the Japanese Navy sent a further division to those waters with a view to dealing with the remnant of the German warships as well as to protecting the trade of Japan and other friendly countries. On March 10, 1915, however, one of the hostile warships, the *Prince Eitel Friedrich*, escaped into a United States port and was there disarmed. Four days later another enemy warship, the *Dresden*, was also successfully destroyed off Juan Fernandez by some British men-of-war. Thus the operations in these waters were brought to a satisfactory close.

VI.—Naval Construction

We now propose to furnish an outline of the developments of the Japanese Imperial Navy during the past six years. Parliament has approved of the expenditure on naval reinforcements of \$113,965,527 for the period between April 1, 1911, and March 31, 1919, in addition to \$82,975,529, the balance left on March 31, 1911. Since 1910 four battleships, four

battle cruisers, three second-class cruisers, two second-class coast defense boats, and two second-class gunboats have been added to the navy, while two battleships, each of 30,800 tons, are under construction. In the same period two battleships, three second-class cruisers, one third-class cruiser, two first-class coast defense boats, three third-class coast defense boats, one second-class gunboat, and four dispatch boats were struck off the register. Thus, deducting the sixteen warships withdrawn from service, the Japanese Navy has, during the period in question, added one ship to its force, including the two under construction. In addition fifteen destroyers have already been launched and nine are under construction, including four of 1,227 tons displacement, one of 955 tons displacement, and four of 835 tons. But twelve old ones have been struck off the register, and thus the net increase during the last six years has

been twelve. The number at present is sixty, with a total displacement of 27,666 tons. In the same period forty-two torpedo boats were withdrawn from service, and no new ones have thus far been built to replace them, the number at present existing being twenty-seven, with a total displacement of 3,317 tons. Some submarines have also been constructed, the total now being seventeen.

The following figures give the personnel of the Japanese Navy on Jan. 1, 1916: Commissioned officers of all ranks and cadets, 7,236; noncommissioned officers and men, 82,172. Total, 89,408. There were also 1,069 civil officials in the navy on April 1, 1916.

The expenditure on the Japanese Navy for 1916, according to the budget estimate, is \$50,968,597, of which \$23,178,338 is for ordinary expenditure and \$27,790,258 for special expenditure. The cost of the navy represents 16.99 per cent. of the total national expenditure.

Lord Rosebery on "Immediate Peace"

Lord Rosebery, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, said in a speech delivered at Edinburgh on Nov. 1:

In some irresponsible quarters I hear some babble of immediate peace, a sort of "as you were" peace, which would enable the Prussians to remain much as they are, ready and prepared with the experience they had gained and with resources not much impaired, to begin again at the earliest opportunity their fiendish antagonism against civilians.

Is it really supposed that we have shed our dearest blood by hundreds of thousands, that we have been paying over £5,000,000 a day and shall continue to do so as long as it is necessary, in order to leave Prussia the devilish power she has been in the past?

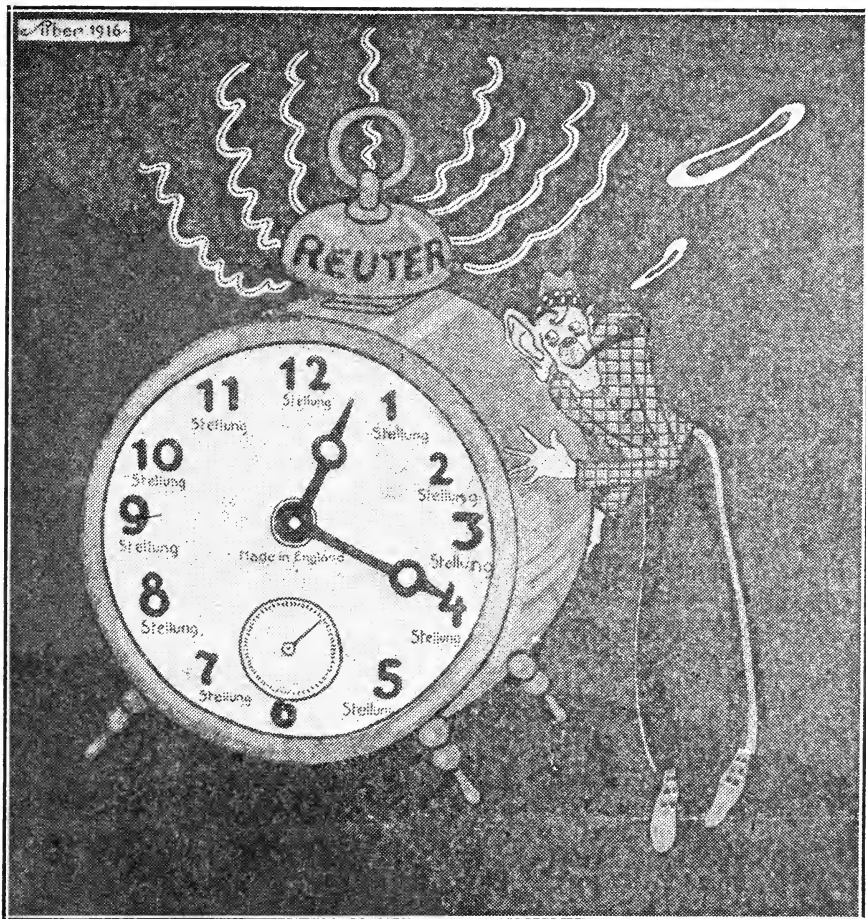
Why, I venture to say this (I cannot, of course, speak on behalf of the dominions): If there were a Minister (and thank God there is not) so cowardly, shortsighted, and imbecile as to conclude a peace of that kind, I am afraid our dominions and our Britons beyond the seas would say that "a country so governed is not a country to adhere to; we had better find some better statesmen of our own."

Look at Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, five small kingdoms, every one of them outraged by the German power. We are fighting for them, for Norway, greatly outraged at this moment by the massacre of her merchant seamen on high seas. We are fighting for Sweden, who at any moment may find herself in the same position. We are fighting for every neutral nation. We are fighting for one that is not weak, the United States, for if we were vanquished, which Heaven forbid, the United States would be the next to suffer from the aggressive and unscrupulous power of Prussia.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

The English Offensive Clock

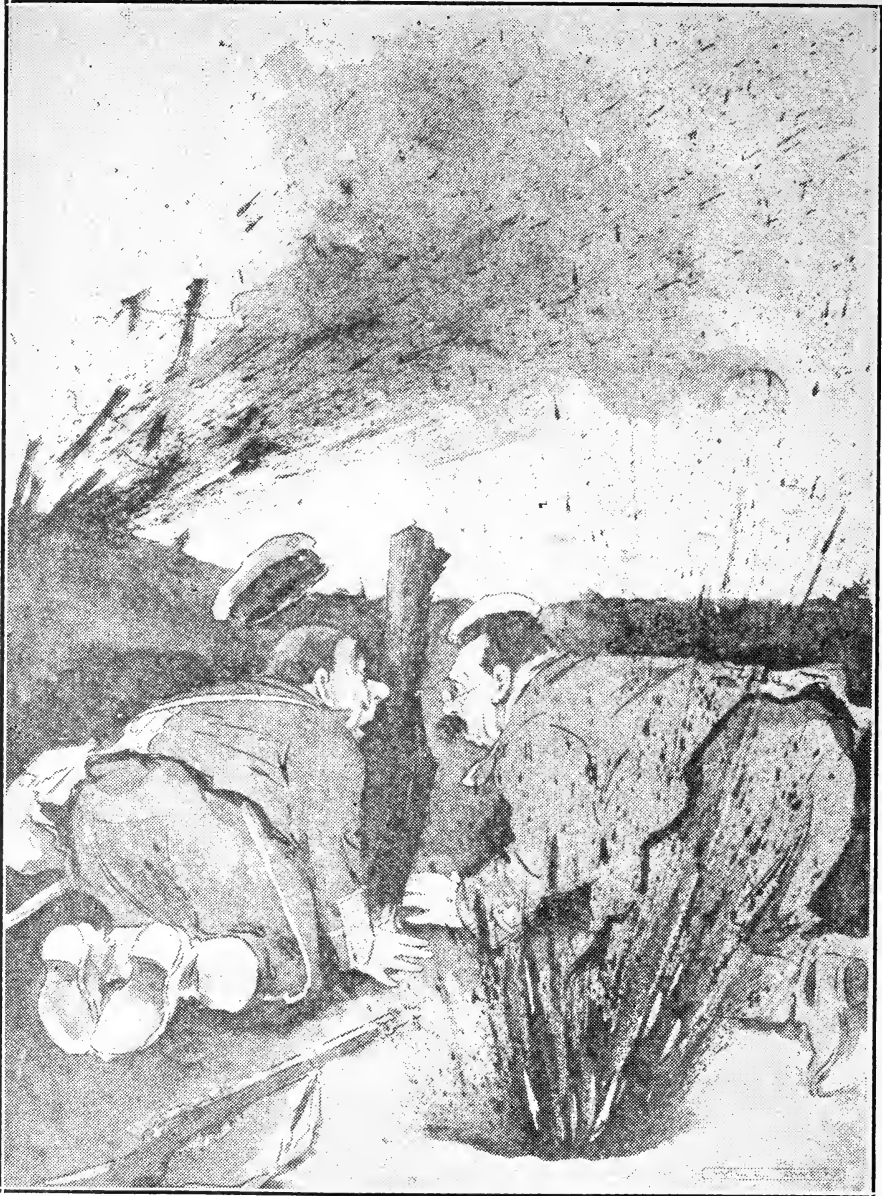


—© Der Brummer, Berlin.

It runs five minutes, then stops again; but the alarm goes off all the louder then, and can be heard all the way to America.

[English Cartoon]

A "Tense" Situation

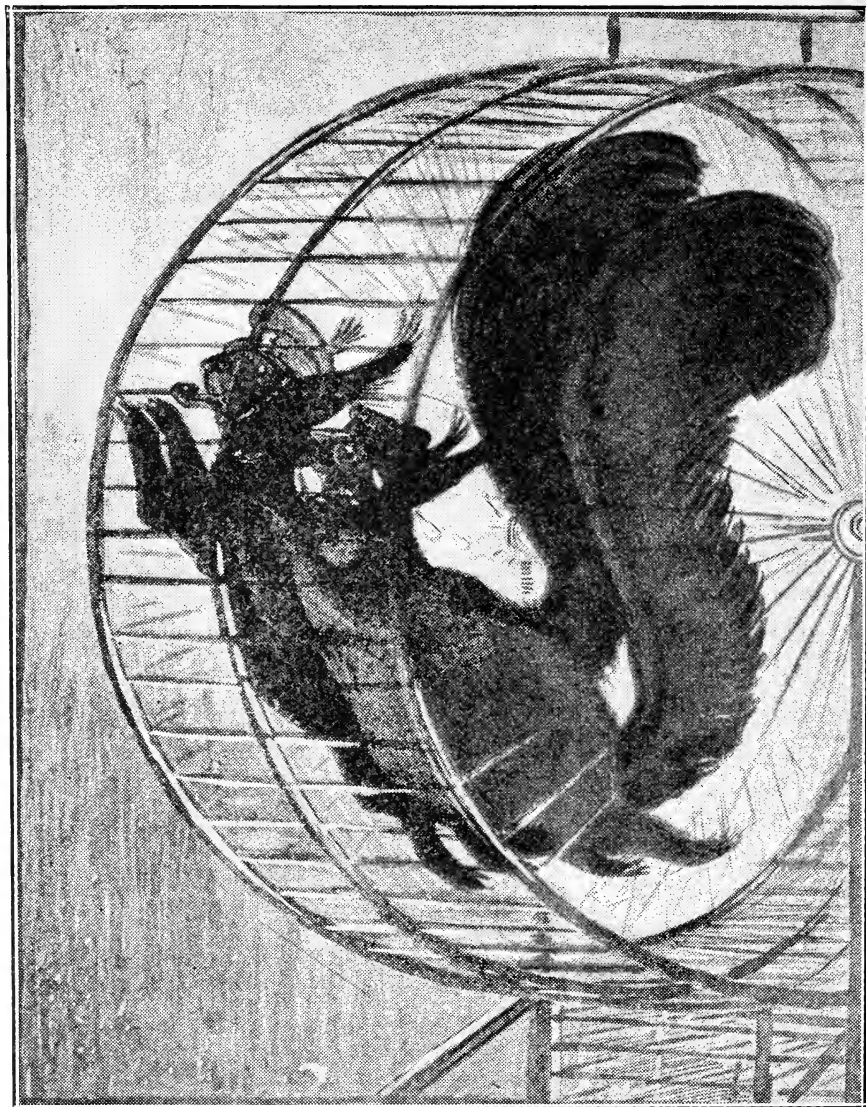


—From *The Sketch*, London.

FRITZ: "Vos ve vinning, Heinrich?"
HEINRICH: "Ya! I tink ve vos!"

[German Cartoon]

Progress of the Allied Offensive



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

“What do you think, brother; shall we soon be at the Rhine?”

[Russian Cartoon]

Diplomatically Stated

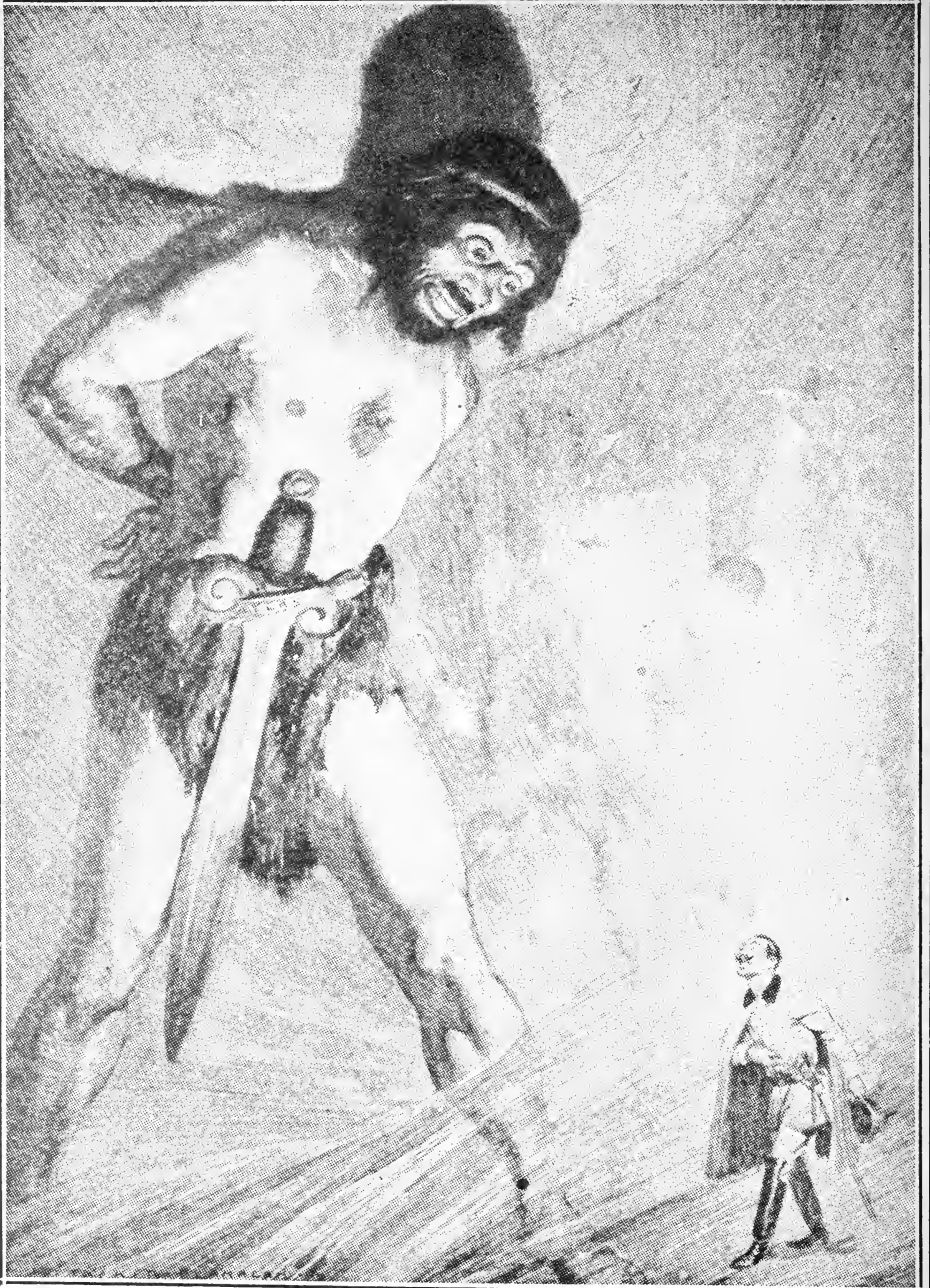


—Victoroff in Boudilnik, Moscow.

DIPLOMAT (to Kaiser): "You well deserve your rest, Sire, after your Verdun victories."

[Australian Cartoon]

The Egomaniac Aspires

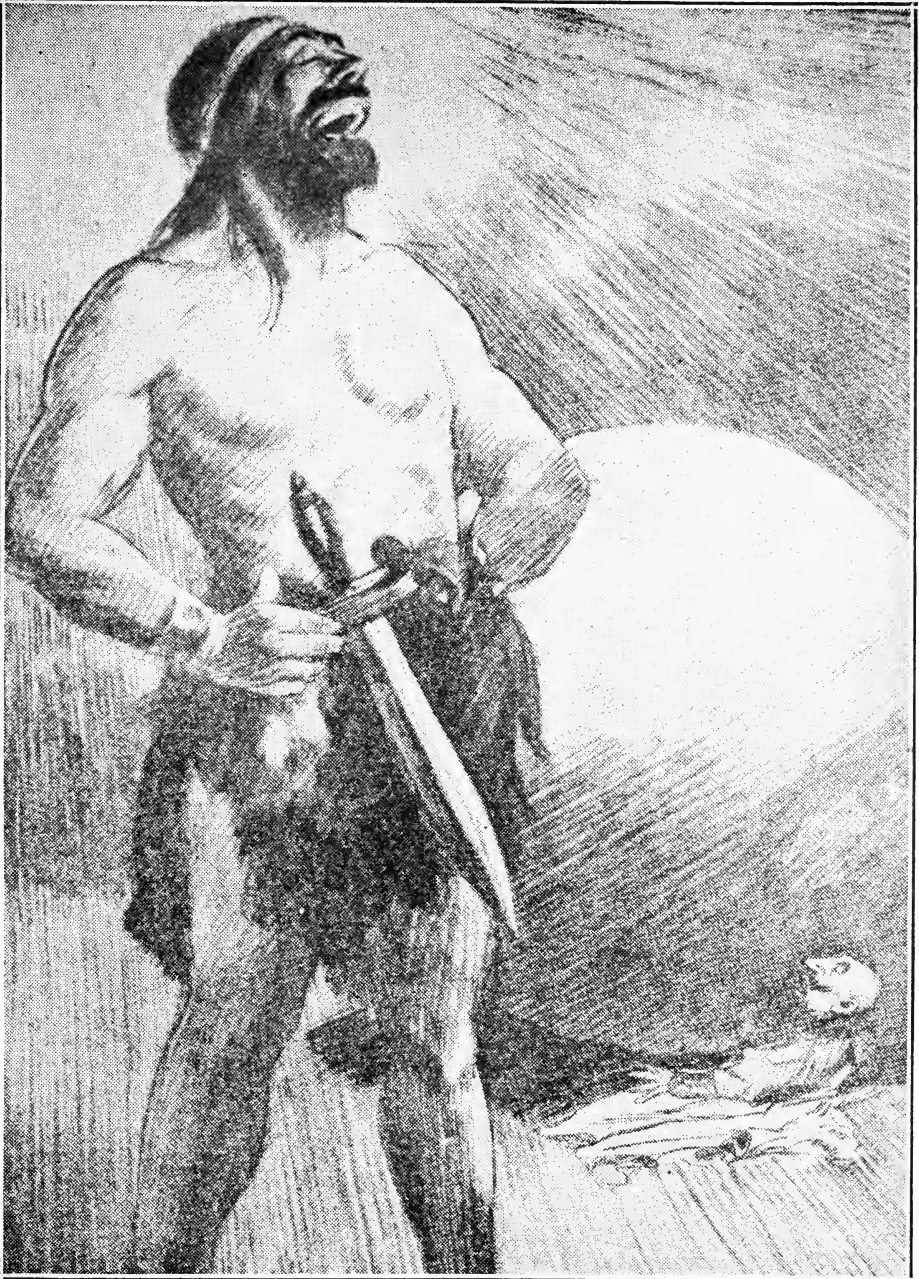


—Flanagan in *The Sydney Bulletin*.

WILLIAM HOHENZOLLERN: "My dear Atlas, I shall now endeavor to relieve you."

[Australian Cartoon]

The Egomaniac Perspires



—Minns in *The Sydney Bulletin*.

ATLAS: "There you are, my lad; you WOULD have it."

[German Cartoon]

The Laurel Crop

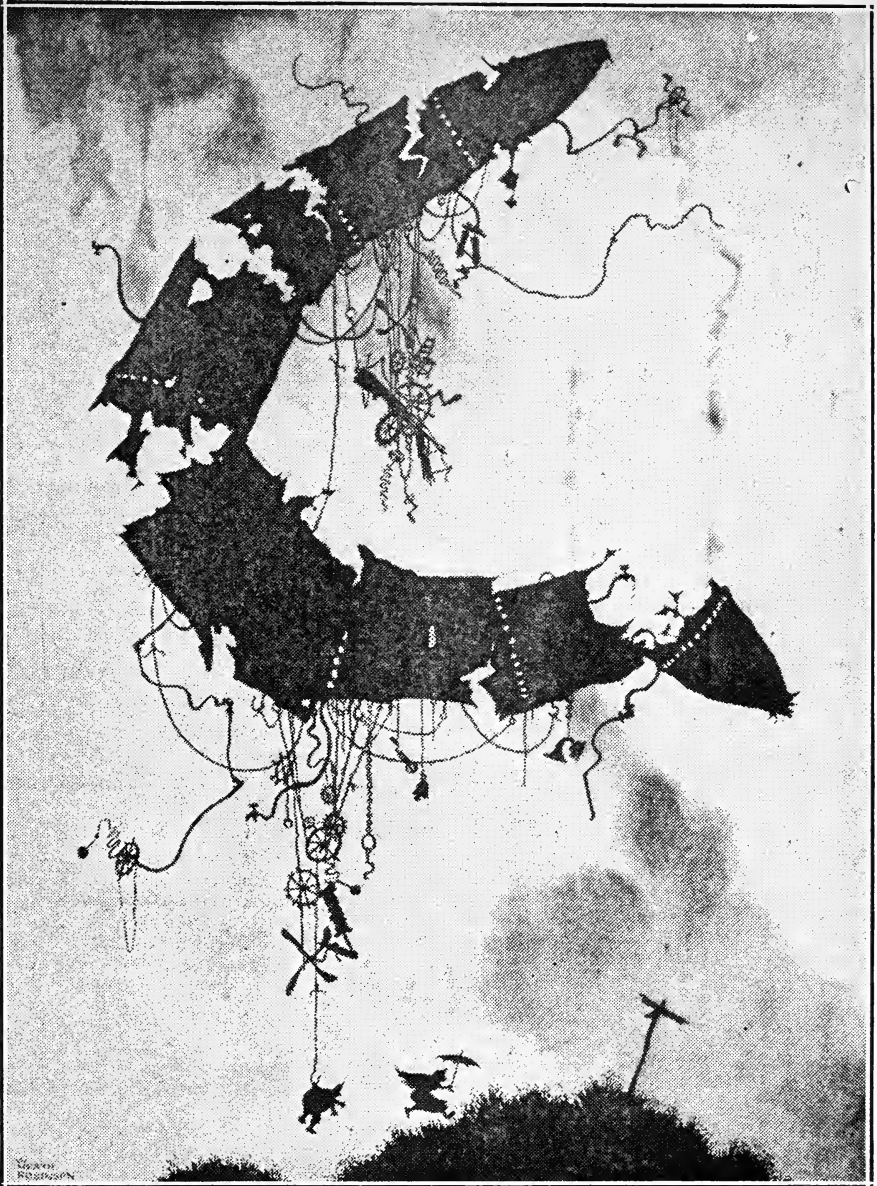


—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

The German soldier's homecoming.

[English Cartoon]

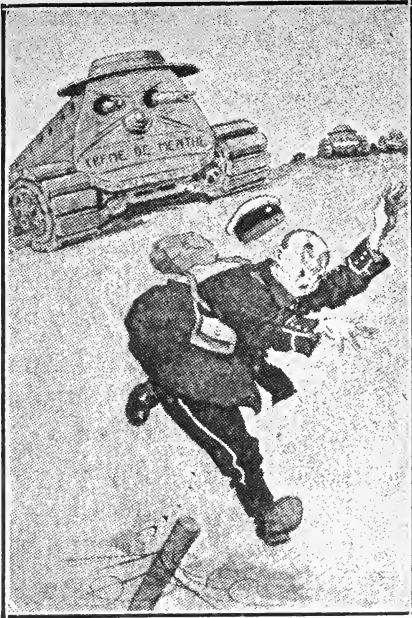
The Sup(p)er-Zeppelin



—From *The Sketch*, London.

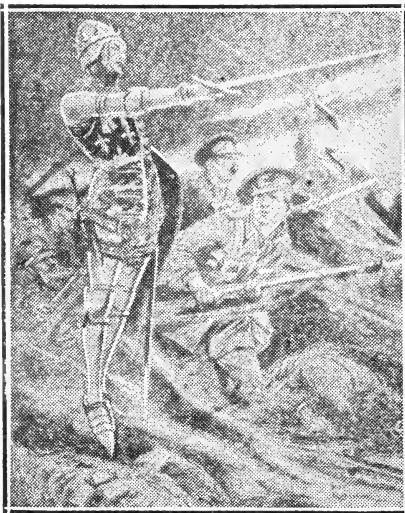
MRS. PARKINS (returning from birthday party): “Great Pemberton! No more lobster suppers for me!”

[English Cartoon]
Liqueur, Sir?



—From *The Sketch*, London.
FRITZ: "No Tanks!"

[English Cartoon]
The Black Prince of Picardy



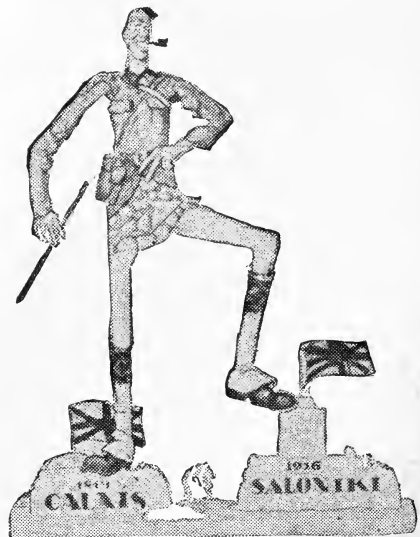
—T. H. Robinson in *Today*, London.
British manhood once more maintains the traditions of valor on the battlefields of the Black Prince.

[Dutch Cartoon]
The Modern Aladdin



—From *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*.
The Central Powers have let loose the spirit of war, but how can they get it back into the bottle?

[German Cartoon]
Two British Victories



—© Wieland, Munich.
"If we cannot conquer our enemies, at least we can win from our friends."

[Italian Cartoon]

The New Slave Dealers



In lands occupied by the enemy.—From *Il 420*, Florence.

[French Cartoon]

After the War Loan



GERMAN PEASANT: "The Kaiser hath given; the Kaiser hath taken away;
blessed be the name of the Kaiser."
—© *Le Rire*, Paris.
[Germany's war funds are raised almost entirely from the German people themselves]

[German Cartoon]

Our World-Master Hindenburg

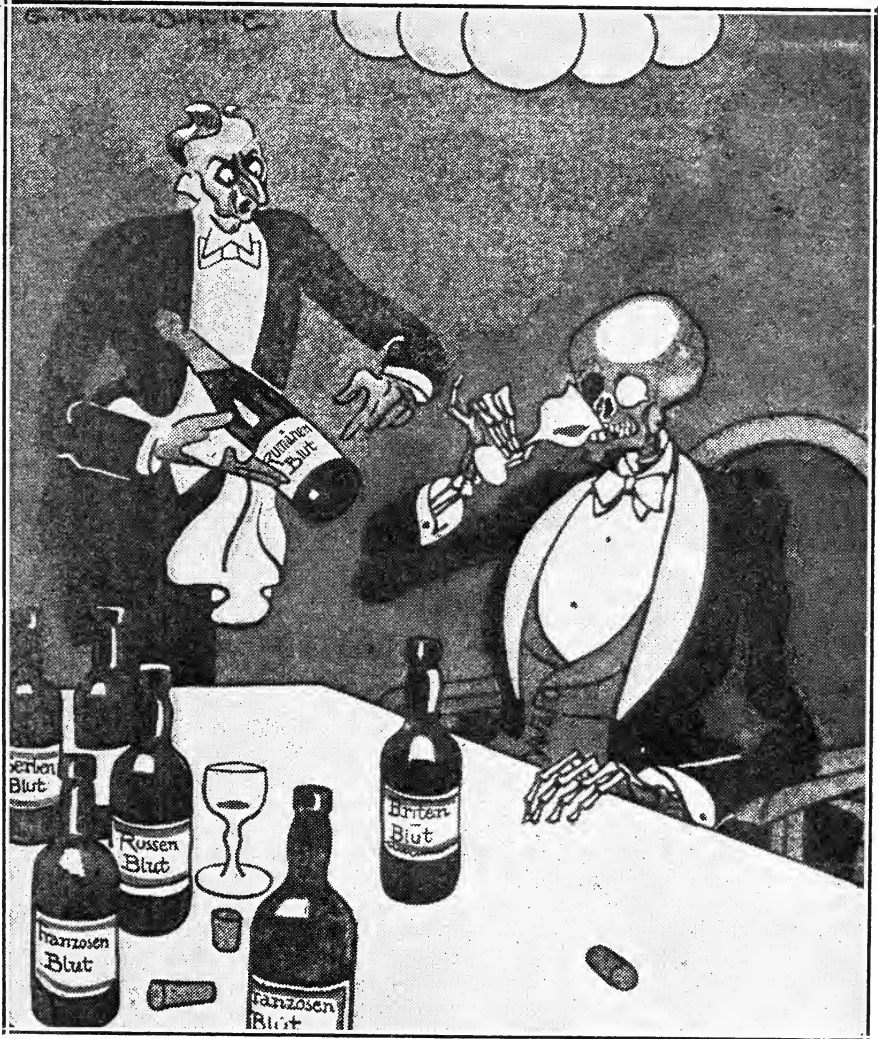


—© *Lustige Blätter, Berlin.*

“So many against one! And he will checkmate them all.”

[German Cartoon]

Rumania Must Bleed



—© Der Brummer, Berlin.

GREY (British Minister) TO DEATH: "Excuse me, Sir, but for fear you may not have enough, I have brought you this choice Rumanian vintage."

The Lion That Grew

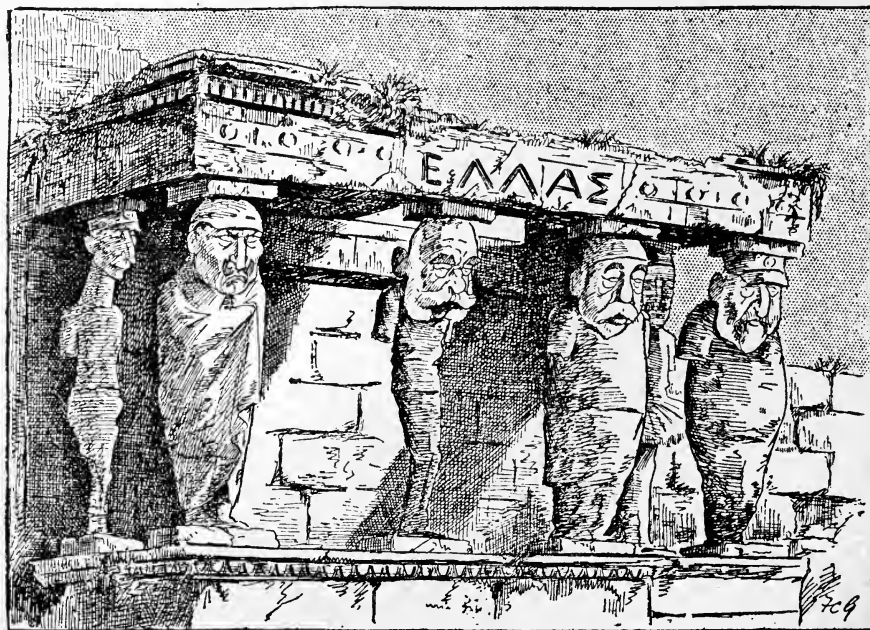


—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

1914.
THE KAISER: "A contemptible little creature, my dear Bethmann Hollweg, not worth bothering about!"

1916.
BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "What a dreadful menace to Europe!"

Hellas—Alas!



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

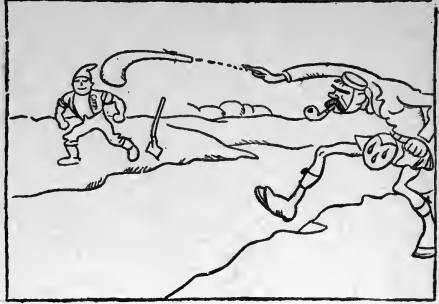
The Greek Government and its pillars.

[German Cartoons]

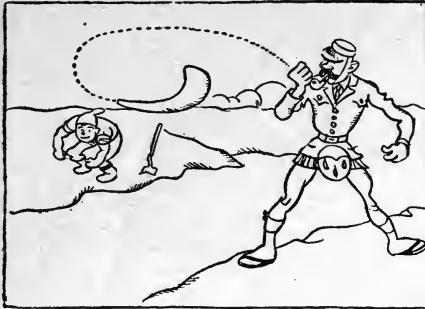
The Boomerang



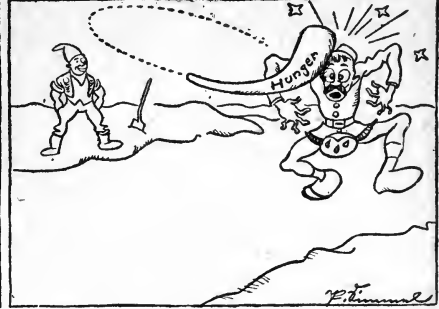
— "One —



— two —



— almost hit! —



— "Damnation!" —
— © Der Brummer, Berlin.

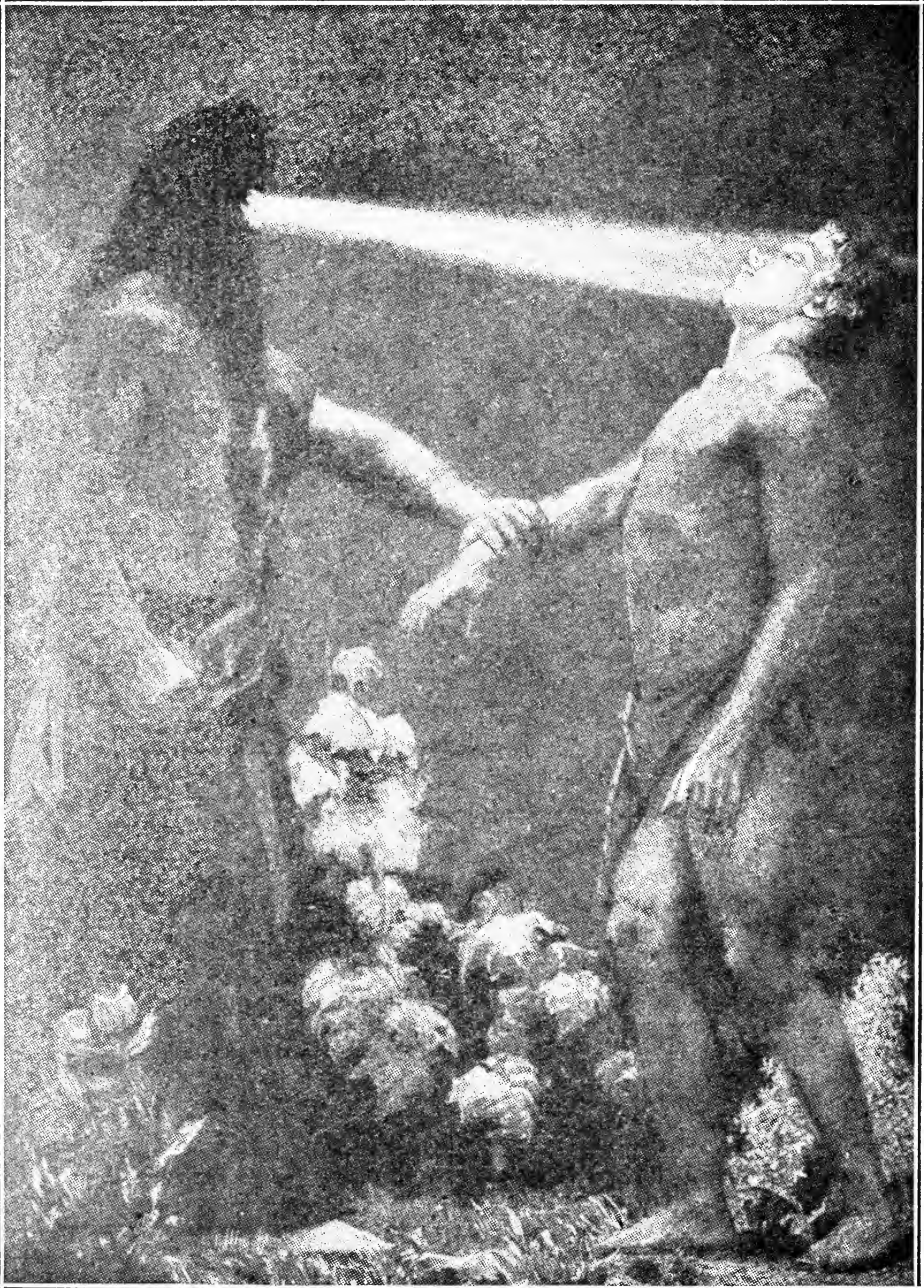
The Merchant Submarine



— © Continental Times, Berlin.
Mercury grows fins and breaks Britannia's paper "blockade."

[German Cartoon]

Hypnotism



—*Sascha Schneider in Cartoons Magazine.*

How the War God Lures the German Youth.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace Prospects



—Louis Raemaekers, Dutch Cartoonist.

Germania shows signs of weariness.

[French Cartoon]
The British Drive



—Leandre in *Les Annales*, Paris.
A French artist's tribute to Great Britain's work on the French front.

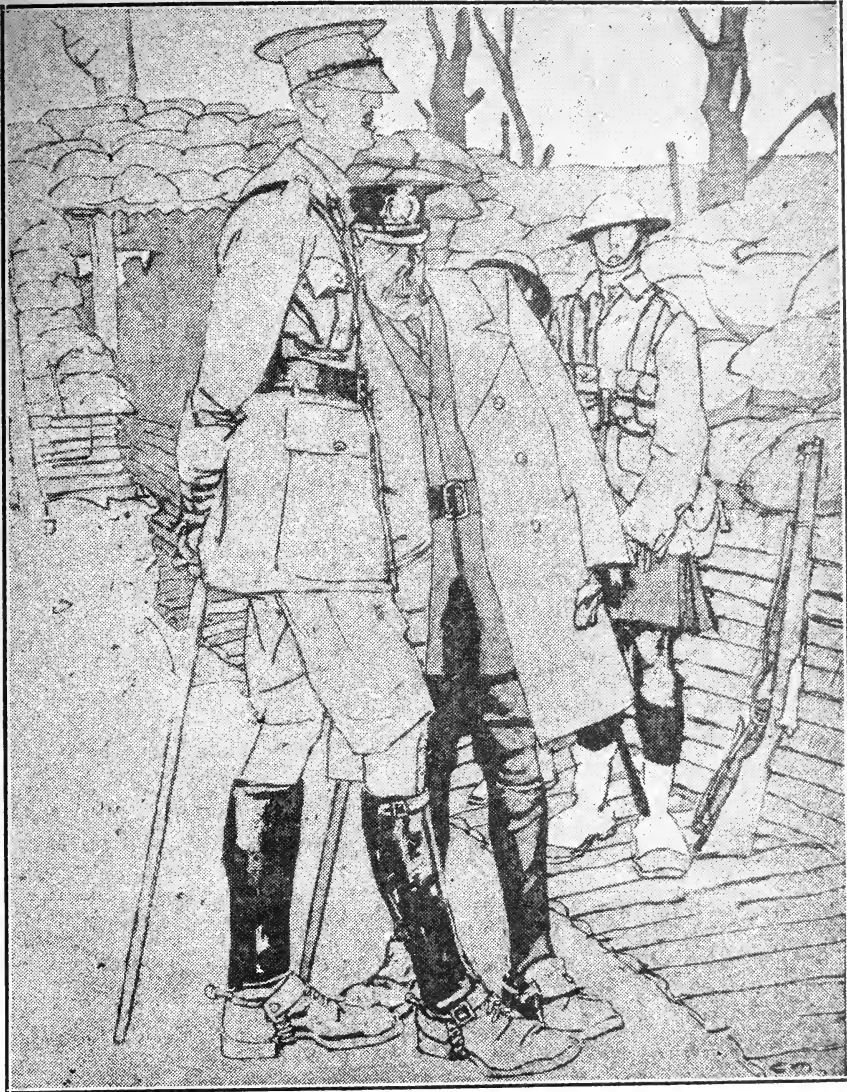
[French Cartoon]
Discouraging



"It's no fun being an Austrian General; if one is not made prisoner by the Russians or Italians, one is kicked by that Boche of a Hindenburg!"

[German Cartoon]

After the Great New Drive



—⊙ *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

“Yet another kilometer won! Perhaps our great-grandchildren may live to see the Germans thrown out!”

[Australian Cartoon]

The Modern Polyphemus



—Jack Flanagan in *Cartoons Magazine*.

Chief of the Cyclops as the Modern War God—He Eats 'Em Alive!

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From October 12, Up to and Including
November 12, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Oct. 15—Russians storm Teuton trenches on the Vladimir-Volynski front in Volhynia; Rumanians fall back in the Kaliman mountain district of Transylvania.
- Oct. 18—Rumanians drive Teutons back in the Predeal region, south of Kronstadt; frontal drive brings Russians to within three miles of Halicz.
- Oct. 20—Teutons are driven back to the frontier in Transylvania, but capture important Russian positions on the west bank of the Narayuvka River.
- Oct. 22—Russians defeated in Galicia south-east of Lemberg and driven across the Narayuvka River.
- Oct. 23—Rumanians on Transylvanian front repulse invaders and recapture Mount Presacai.
- Oct. 24—Germans take Predeal in Transylvania; Rumanians drive Teutons back in the Oituz sector.
- Oct. 25—Teutons capture Vulkan Pass.
- Oct. 26—Rumanians capture Mount Kerekharan, south of Bicaz; all Austro-German invaders driven from the province of Moldavia.
- Oct. 27—Germans in Transylvania reach Campulung, twenty miles within the Rumanian border.
- Oct. 29—Rumanians defeat Bavarian Alpine corps south of Vulkan Pass; Russians check Teuton invasion from Red Tower Pass.
- Nov. 3—Rumanians drive Teuton forces across the Hungarian border at Table Butzi and attack in the Buzeu Valley, occupying Mount Sirlul and Taturumio.
- Nov. 4—Rumanians recapture Rosca, east of Predeal; Teutons retire rapidly in the Juil Valley; heavy fighting on the Alt.
- Nov. 9—Teutons capture Surdolu in Rumania, sixteen miles from the Hungarian border.
- Nov. 10—Rumanians driven back in the region west of the Buzeu Valley; Russians on the Stokhod forced back on two-and-a-half-mile front near Baranovich.
- Nov. 12—Rumanians assume the offensive in Transylvania; Russians penetrate the province to a distance of more than fifty miles below the Bukovina border.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Oct. 12—British on the Somme front advance between Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs.
- Oct. 14—French troops take Genermont, near Ablaincourt.
- Oct. 18—French force Germans out of Sully-

- Saillisel, take dominating hills, and capture first German line west of Péronne.
- Oct. 21—British on the Somme advance on a three-mile front from Schwaben to Le Sars.
- Oct. 24—French break Verdun line on four-mile front and advance two miles, capturing the fort and village of Douaumont, La Caillette Wood, and advancing to the western outskirts of the village of Vaux.
- Oct. 30—French take trenches northwest of Sully, but cede ground south of the Somme between Biache and La Maisonnette region.
- Nov. 2—Germans evacuate Fort Vaux; French advance northeast of Morval.
- Nov. 3—French reoccupy Fort Vaux and reach the outskirts of the village.
- Nov. 4—French capture western part of the village of Vaux.
- Nov. 5—French capture greater part of Saillisel and the northern part of St. Pierre Wood; British secure dominating position near Waslencourt.
- Nov. 7—French take German positions on front of two and a half miles south of the Somme, capturing the villages of Ablaincourt and Pressoire.
- Nov. 12—French retake all of Saillisel.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Oct. 12—Serbs gain a foothold in the village of Brod, southeast of Monastir.
- Oct. 16—Russians report Teutons in Dobrudja driven back to Dobric.
- Oct. 18—Turks arrive on the Struma front.
- Oct. 19—Serbs capture Brod.
- Oct. 20—Serbs rout the Bulgars at the plateau and village of Velyeselo and turn the flank of the Kenali line; Italians, moving east from Avlona, occupy a village in Southern Albania.
- Oct. 21—Bulgar-Turco-German army in Dobrudja under General Mackensen captures the town of Tuzla on the Black Sea coast.
- Oct. 22—Rumanians retreat in Dobrudja as Mackensen's army occupies Teprai Sari and Cobadin.
- Oct. 23—Mackensen captures Constanza and cuts the railroad to Cernavoda.
- Oct. 24—Mackensen's forces capture Rashova on the Danube and the town of Medjidie on the Constanza railroad.
- Oct. 25—Rumanian-Russian forces evacuate Cernavoda; Italian forces in Albania link up with the Entente forces on the Macedonian front.

- Oct. 26—Rumanian-Russian forces blow up bridge over the Danube at Cernavoda to halt pursuit.
- Oct. 27—Rumanian-Russian army in Dobrudja falls back to prepared line from Hirsova to Casapkeui.
- Oct. 29.—French troops in the Monastir section capture the village of Gardilovo and a system of Bulgarian trenches between Kenali and the Cerna.
- Oct. 30—Russian, Serbian, and Rumanian forces in Dobrudja assume the offensive.
- Nov. 1—British capture Barakli-Azuma, Kumli, and Proserik on the Struma front.
- Nov. 6—Russo-Rumanian army in Dobrudja drives Mackensen's army out of four villages north of the Cernavoda-Constanza railroad.
- Nov. 7-9—Mackensen driven back twelve miles toward Cernavoda-Constanza line; his retreating army sets fire to the towns of Hirsova and Topal.
- Nov. 10—Russians occupy Dunareav Station on the west side of the Danube, two miles from Cernavoda.
- Nov. 11—Russians advance southward in Dobrudja and occupy the villages of Ghisdarechti and Topal; Russian fleet shells Constanza.
- Nov. 12—Serbs occupy the village of Polog and Culse Hill in the Cerna River section.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Oct. 13—Italians break Austrian lines at several points in drive toward Trieste and take strong Austrian positions between Sette Croci and Monte Roite.
- Oct. 18—Italians take the summit of Mount Pasubio.
- Oct. 21—Italian Alpini take strong Austrian position in the Boite Valley.
- Oct. 27—Italians blow up Austrian ammunition depots on the Julian front.
- Oct. 30—Italians win battle in the Cordevole Valley to the south of Settesasa.
- Nov. 3—Italians take strong Austrian defenses east of Veliki Kribach and Mount Pecinka on the Julian front.
- Nov. 4—Italians push forward in the Wipach Valley.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

- Oct. 18—Russian troops in Armenia drive off attacks by Turks and Kurds on Sudindag Mountain.
- Oct. 26—Russians capture Bijar, in the Hamadan sector, Persia.
- Oct. 30—Turks driven out of six villages near Hamadan.
- Oct. 31—Russians disperse Turkish forces in the district of Gumuskhana.

- Nov. 7—Allies occupy the Island of Leros, off the coast of Asia Minor.

AERIAL RECORD

- Aerial engagements on the western front have been notable for the number of machines that took part. Twenty-three machines were reported lost on Oct. 21. On Oct. 23 twenty aeroplanes were shot down in the Somme region. Of these the Allies lost eleven and the Germans nine. On Nov. 9 a fleet of thirty allied aeroplanes raided German bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge and in Northern France. The Germans lost thirteen machines and the Allies seventeen.
- Forty allied aeroplanes raided the Mauser works at Obendorf on Oct. 13. Six German and nine allied machines were reported shot down.
- Austrian seaplanes dropped bombs on Padua. Nov. 11, setting fire to several buildings.

NAVAL RECORD

- The Cunard liner Alaunia was sunk by a mine in the English Channel.
- In a raid made by German destroyers on the English Channel, Oct. 27, the British lost six drift-net boats, the torpedo-boat destroyer Flirt, and the transport Queen. Berlin denied the British assertion that two German destroyers were lost.
- German submarines have been unusually active. The Greek steamer Angheliki, which was taking to Saloniki recruits of the volunteer movement, was torpedoed near Piraeus and about two hundred men were drowned. In the Mediterranean Sea, the American steamship Lanao, the French cruiser Rigel, the British transports Crosshill and Seček, the Hawaiian liner Columbian, and the Peninsular and Oriental liner Arabia have been sunk. One American citizen was on board the Arabia. In the war zone thirty Norwegian, two Danish, one Rumanian, one Russian, four Swedish, three Greek, and eighteen British vessels, including the freighter Rowanmore and the horse transport Marina, have been sunk. Both the Rowanmore and the Marina had American citizens on board.

MISCELLANEOUS

- On Nov. 5 Germany and Austria proclaimed the Kingdom of Poland. Austria-Hungary also granted autonomy to Galicia. Greece has conceded further demands of the Allies, who have formally recognized the Provisional Government set up by Venizelos.



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