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# HOW THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA



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THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE SECRETARY OF WAR

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

GEORGE CREEL

*June 15, 1917*

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

I hereby create a Committee on Public Information, to be composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and a civilian who shall be charged with the executive direction of the committee.

As civilian chairman of the committee I appoint Mr. George Creel. The Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy are authorized each to detail an officer or officers to the work of the committee.

WOODROW WILSON.

APRIL 14, 1917.

## HOW THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA.

IN THE years when this Republic was still struggling for existence, in the face of threatened encroachments by hostile monarchies over the sea, in order to make the New World safe for democracy our forefathers established here the policy that soon came to be known as the Monroe doctrine. Warning the Old World not to interfere in the political life of the New, our Government pledged itself in return to abstain from interference in the political conflicts of Europe; and history has vindicated the wisdom of this course. We were then too weak to influence the destinies of Europe, and it was vital to mankind that this first great experiment in government of and by the people should not be disturbed by foreign attack.

Reenforced by the experience of our expanding national life, this doctrine has been ever since the dominating element in the growth of our foreign policy. Whether or not we could have maintained it in case of concerted attack from abroad, it has seemed of such importance to us that we were at all times ready to go to war in its defense. And though since it was first enunciated our strength has grown by leaps and bounds, although in that time the vast increase of our foreign trade and of travel abroad, modern transport, modern mails, the cables and the wireless, have brought us close to Europe and have made our isolation more and more imaginary, there has been, until the outbreak of the present conflict, small desire on our part to abrogate or even amend the old familiar tradition which has for so long given us peace.

In both conferences at The Hague, in 1899 and 1907, we reaffirmed this policy. As our delegates signed the first convention in regard to arbitration, they read into the minutes this statement:

"Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

At The Hague we pledged ourselves, in case we ever went to war, to observe certain broad general rules of decency and fair fighting. But at the same time we cleared ourselves from any responsibility for forcing other nations to observe similar pledges. And in 1906, when our delegates took part in the Algeciras Conference, which was to regulate the affairs of the distracted Kingdom of Morocco, they followed the same formula there. While acquiescing in the new régime which guaranteed the independence and integrity of Morocco, we explicitly announced that we assumed no police responsibility for the enforcement of the treaty. And if any honest doubt was left as to our attitude in regard to the enforcement of Old World agreements, it was dispelled five years later, when our Government refused to protest against the overthrow of the *Acte d'Algeciras*.

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We declined to be drawn into quarrels abroad which might endanger in any way our traditional policy.

Our second great tradition in international relations has been our persistent effort to secure a stable and equitable agreement of the nations upon such a maritime code as would assure to all the world a just freedom of the seas.

This effort was born of our vital need. For although it was possible for the Republic to keep aloof from the nineteenth century disputes that rent the Continent of Europe, we could not be indifferent to the way in which war was conducted at sea. In those early years of our national life, when we were still but a few communities ranged along the Atlantic coast, we were a seafaring people. At a time when our frontiersmen had not yet reached the Mississippi, the fame of our daring clipper ships had spread to all the Seven Seas. So while we could watch the triumphant march and the tragic countermarch of Napoleon's grand army with detached indifference, his Continental Blockade and the British Orders in Council at once affected the lives of our citizens intimately and disastrously.

So it was in the case of the Barbary pirates. We had no interest in the land quarrels and civil wars of the Barbary States, but we fought them for obstructing the freedom of the seas.

And in the decades ever since, although the imagination of our people has been engrossed in the immense labor of winning the West, our Department of State has never lost sight of the compelling interest that we have upon the seas, and has constantly striven to gain the assent of all nations to a maritime code which should be framed and enforced by a joint responsibility. Various watchwords have arisen in this long controversy. We have urged the inviolability of private property at sea, we have asked for a liberal free list and a narrow definition of contraband. But our main insistence has not been on any such details. One salient idea has guided our diplomacy. The law of the sea must be founded not on might but on right and a common accord, upon a code binding all alike, which can not be changed or set aside by the will of any one nation. Our ideal has been not a weakening but a strengthening of legal restraint by the free will and agreement of all. We have asked nothing for ourselves that we do not ask for the whole world. The seas will never be free, in our American meaning, until all who sail thereon have had a voice in framing sea laws. The just governance of the seas must rest on the consent of the governed.

No other question of international polity has found the great powers more divided. But in our insistence on this fundamental principle, we have been strengthened by the support of many other countries. At times we have had the support of Great Britain. No one of our Secretaries of State has more clearly defined our ideal than has Viscount Grey, recently British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. None of our statesmen has ever gone so far as he in advocating limitation of the rights of belligerents on the sea. It was on his initiative that the international naval conference was summoned to London in 1909, and it was under his guidance that the eminent international lawyers and diplomats and admirals who gathered there drew up the Declaration of London.

While there were in that Declaration sections that did not quite meet our approval and that we should have liked to amend, the document was

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from our point of view a tremendous step in advance. For although, like any effort to concisely formulate the broad principles of equity, it did not wholly succeed in its purpose, it was at least an honest attempt to arrive at an agreement on a complete international code of sea law, based upon mutual consent and not to be altered by any belligerent in the heat of the conflict.

But the Declaration of London was not ratified by the British Parliament, for the point of view prevailing then in England was that a power dependent almost wholly upon its navy for protection could not safely accept further limitations upon action at sea unless there were compensating limitations on land powers. And this latter concession Germany consistently refused to make. The conference therefore came to naught. And the London Declaration having been rejected by the strongest maritime power, its indorsement was postponed by all the other countries involved. Our motives, however, remained unchanged; and our Government persisted in its purpose to secure a general ratification either of this declaration or of some similar maritime code.

There has been in our diplomacy one more outstanding aspiration. We have constantly sought to substitute juridical for military settlement of disputes between nations.

The genesis of this idea dates from the discussions over the Federal organization of our 13 original States, which were almost as jealous of their sovereignties as are the nations of Europe to-day. The first great step toward the League of Honor, which we hope will at last bring peace to the world, was taken when our 13 States agreed to disarm and submit all their disputes to the high tribunal of the new federation.

And this idea of an interstate court, which except at the time of our Civil War has given this Nation internal peace, has profoundly influenced our foreign policy. Of our efforts to bring others to our way of thinking, an historical résumé was presented by our delegates at the First Hague Conference. A project was submitted there for the formation of a world court. And a few years later Mr. Root, our Secretary of State, in instructing our delegates to the Second Conference at The Hague, laid especial emphasis on this same international ideal.

We have taken a particular pride in being in the vanguard of this movement for the peaceable settlement by process of law of all disputes between nations. And these efforts have not been without success. For although the last few decades have seen this principle time and again put under a terrific strain, no nation has dared to go to war against the award of a court of arbitration. The stupendous possibilities that lie in arbitration for solving international problems, promoting liberal principles, and safeguarding human life had been amply demonstrated before the present war began.

But in the discussions at The Hague, largely through the resistance of the German Empire and its satellites, the efforts of our delegates and those of other Governments to bring about a general treaty of compulsory arbitration had failed. And therefore this nation, having been thwarted in its attempt to secure a general agreement, began negotiations with all those nations which like our own preferred the methods of law and peace, with

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the purpose of effecting dual arbitration treaties. And before the end of 1914 we had signed far-reaching treaties with 30 nations, 20 of which had been duly ratified and proclaimed. But in this work, too, we were made to feel the same opposition as at The Hague. For while Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy cordially welcomed our overtures, the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires were noticeably absent from the list of those nations who desired by specific agreements in advance to minimize the danger of war.

On the eve of the present conflict, our position toward other nations might have been summarized under three heads:

I. *The Monroe doctrine*.—We had pledged ourselves to defend the New World from European aggression, and we had by word and deed made it clear that we would not intervene in any European dispute.

II. *The freedom of the seas*.—In every naval conference our influence had been given in support of the principle that sea law to be just and worthy of general respect must be based on the consent of the governed.

III. *Arbitration*.—As we had secured peace at home by referring inter-state disputes to a federal tribunal, we urged a similar settlement of international controversies. Our ideal was a permanent world court. We had already signed arbitration treaties not only with great powers which might conceivably attack us, but even more freely with weaker neighbors in order to show our good faith in recognizing the equality of all nations both great and small. We had made plain to the nations our purpose to forestall by every means in our power the recurrence of wars in the world.

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The outbreak of war in 1914 caught this Nation by surprise. The peoples of Europe had had at least some warnings of the coming storm, but to us such a blind, savage onslaught on the ideals of civilization had appeared impossible.

The war was incomprehensible. Either side was championed here by millions living among us who were of European birth. Their contradictory accusations threw our thoughts into disarray, and in the first chaotic days we could see no clear issue that affected our national policy. There was no direct assault on our rights. It seemed at first to most of us a purely European dispute, and our minds were not prepared to take sides in such a conflict. The President's proclamation of neutrality was received by us as natural and inevitable. It was quickly followed by his appeal to "the citizens of the Republic."

"Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality," he said, "which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. \* \* \* It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it." He expressed the fear that our Nation might become divided in camps of hostile opinion. "Such divisions among us \* \* \* might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend."

This purpose—the preservation of a strict neutrality in order that later we might be of use in the great task of mediation—dominated all the President's early speeches.

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"We are the mediating Nation of the world," he declared in an address on April 20, 1915. "We are compounded of the nations of the world; we mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things. We are, therefore, able to understand them in the compound, not separately as partisans, but unitedly as knowing and comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating Nation."

American neutrality, in those first months of the great war, was beyond any question real.

But the spirit of neutrality was not easy to maintain. Public opinion was deeply stirred by the German invasion of Belgium and by reports of atrocities there. The Royal Belgian Commission, which came in September, 1914, to lay their country's cause for complaint before our National Government, was received with sympathy and respect. The President in his reply reserved our decision in the affair. It was the only course he could take without an abrupt departure from our most treasured traditions of noninterference in Old World disputes. But the sympathy of America went out to the Belgians in their heroic tragedy, and from every section of our land money contributions and supplies of food and clothing poured over to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which was under the able management of our fellow countrymen abroad.

Still, the thought of taking an active part in this European war was very far from most of our minds. The Nation shared with the President the belief that by maintaining a strict neutrality we could best serve Europe at the end as impartial mediators.

But in the very first days of the war our Government foresaw that complications on the seas might put us in grave risk of being drawn into the conflict. No neutral nation could foretell what violations of its vital interests at sea might be attempted by the belligerents. And so, on August 6, 1914, our Secretary of State dispatched an identical note to all the powers then at war, calling attention to the risk of serious trouble arising out of this uncertainty of neutrals as to their maritime rights and proposing that the Declaration of London be accepted by all nations for the duration of the war.

But the British Government's response, while expressing sympathy with the purpose of our suggestion and declaring their "keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries," announced their decision "to adopt generally the rules of the Declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations." The Declaration had not been indorsed by any power in time of peace, and there was no legal obligation on Great Britain to accept it. Her reply, however, was disappointing, for it did nothing to clarify the situation. Great Britain recognized as binding certain long accepted principles of international law and sought now to apply them to the peculiar and unforeseen conditions of this war. But these principles were often vague and therefore full of dangerous possibilities of friction.

Controversies soon arose between Great Britain and this Nation. In practice their ruling sometimes seemed to our Government inconsistent with the spirit of international law, and especially with the established

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precedents which they invoked. But painful as this divergence of opinion sometimes was, it did not seriously threaten our position of neutrality, for the issues that arose involved only rights of property and were amply covered by the arbitration treaty signed only a short time before by Great Britain and the United States.

And this controversy led to a clearer understanding on our part of the British attitude toward our ideal of the freedom of the seas. They were not willing to accept our classification of the seas as being distinct from the Old World. We had confined our interest to matters affecting rights at sea and had kept carefully aloof from issues affecting the interests of European nations on land. The British were interested in both. They explained that they had participated in the London naval conference in the hope that it would lead to a sound and liberal entente in the interest of the rights of all nations on the sea and on the land as well, and that they had refused to ratify the London Declaration because no compensating accord on the Continent had resulted. They could not afford to decrease the striking power of their navy unless their powerful neighbors on land agreed to decrease their armies.

That this attitude of England deeply impressed our Government is shown by the increasing attention given by the United States to the search for ways and means of insuring at the end of the war, a lasting peace for all the world. The address of our President, on May 27, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace was a milestone in our history. He outlined the main principles on which a stable peace must rest, principles plainly indicating that this nation would have to give up its position of isolation and assume the responsibilities of a world power. The President said:

"So sincerely do we believe these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation."

It was a new and significant note in our foreign policy. But the mind of America had learned much in the long bitter months of war. Future historians will make charts of this remarkable evolution in our public opinion: the gradual abandonment of the illusion of isolation; the slow growth of a realization that we could not win freedom on sea—for us a vital interest—unless we consented to do our share in maintaining freedom on land as well, and that we could not have peace in the world—the peace we loved and needed for the perfection of our democracy—unless we were willing and prepared to help to restrain any nation that willfully endangered the peace of the whole world family.

Had this address of the President come before the war, there would have arisen a storm of protest from all sections of the land. But in May, 1916, the Nation's response was emphatic approval.

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In the meantime, although our neutral rights were not brought into question by Germany as early as by England, the German controversy was infinitely more serious.

For any dissensions that might arise, no arbitration treaty existed between the United States and the German Government. This was from no fault of ours. We had tried to establish with Germany the same treaty

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relations we had with Great Britain and 19 other nations. But these overtures had been rejected. And this action on the part of the Imperial German Government was only one example of its whole system of diplomacy. In both conferences at The Hague it had been the German delegates who were the most active in blocking all projects for the pacific settlement of disputes between nations. They had preferred to limit international relations to the old modes of diplomacy and war. It was therefore obvious from the first that any controversy with the German Government would be exceedingly serious; for if it could not be solved by direct diplomatic conversations, there was no recourse except to war.

From such conversations there is small hope of satisfactory results unless the good faith of both sides is profound. If either side lacks good faith, or reveals in all its actions an insidious hostility, diplomacy is of no avail. And so it has proved in the present case.

In the first year of the war the Government of Germany stirred up among its people a feeling of resentment against the United States on account of our insistence upon our rights as a neutral nation to trade in munitions with the belligerent powers. Our legal right in the matter was not seriously questioned by Germany. She could not have done so consistently, for as recently as the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 both Germany and Austria sold munitions to the belligerents. Their appeals to us in the present war were not to observe international law, but to revise it in their interest. And these appeals they tried to make on moral and humanitarian grounds. But upon "the moral issue" involved, the stand taken by the United States was consistent with its traditional policy and with obvious common sense. For if, with all other neutrals, we refused to sell munitions to belligerents, we could never in time of a war of our own obtain munitions from neutrals, and the nation which had accumulated the largest reserves of war supplies in time of peace would be assured of victory. The militarist state that invested its money in arsenals would be at a fatal advantage over the free people who invested their wealth in schools. To write into international law that neutrals should not trade in munitions would be to hand over the world to the rule of the nation with the largest armament factories. Such a policy the United States of America could not accept.

But our principal controversy with the German Government, and the one which rendered the situation at once acute, rose out of their announcement of a sea zone where their submarines would operate in violation of all accepted principles of international law. Our indignation at such a threat was soon rendered passionate by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. This attack upon our rights was not only grossly illegal, it defied the fundamental concepts of humanity. Aggravating restraints on our trade were grievances which could be settled by litigation after the war, but the wanton murder of peaceable men and of innocent women and children, citizens of a nation with which Germany was at peace, was a crime against the civilized world which could never be settled in any court.

Our Government, however, inspired still by a desire to preserve peace if possible, used every resource of diplomacy to force the German Government to abandon such attacks. This diplomatic correspondence, which has already been published, proves beyond doubt that our Government sought by every honorable means to preserve faith in that mutual sincerity between nations which is the only basis of sound diplomatic interchange.

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But evidence of the bad faith of the Imperial German Government soon piled up on every hand. Honest efforts on our part to establish a firm basis of good neighborliness with the German people were met by their Government with quibbles, misrepresentations, and counter accusations against their enemies abroad. And meanwhile in this country official agents of the Central Powers—protected from criminal prosecution by diplomatic immunity—conspired against our internal peace, placed spies and *agents provocateurs* throughout the length and breadth of our land, and even in high positions of trust in departments of our Government. While expressing a cordial friendship for the people of the United States, the Government of Germany had its agents at work both in Latin America and Japan. They bought or subsidized papers and supported speakers there to rouse feelings of bitterness and distrust against us in those friendly nations, in order to embroil us in war. They were inciting to insurrection in Cuba, in Haiti, and in Santo Domingo; their hostile hand was stretched out to take the Danish Islands; and everywhere in South America they were abroad sowing the seeds of dissension, trying to stir up one nation against another and all against the United States. In their sum these various operations amounted to direct assault upon the Monroe doctrine. And even if we had given up our right to travel on the sea, even if we had surrendered to German threats and abandoned our legitimate trade in munitions, the German offensive in the New World, in our own land and among our neighbors, was becoming too serious to be ignored.

So long as it was possible, the Government of the United States tried to believe that such activities, the evidence of which was already in a large measure at hand, were the work of irresponsible and misguided individuals. It was only reluctantly, in the face of overwhelming proof, that the recall of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador and of the German military and naval attachés was demanded. Proof of their criminal violations of our hospitality was presented to their Governments. But these Governments in reply offered no apologies nor did they issue reprimands. It became clear that such intrigue was their settled policy.

In the meantime the attacks of the German submarines upon the lives and property of American citizens had gone on; the protests of our Government were now sharp and ominous; and this Nation was rapidly being drawn into a state of war. As the President said in Topeka, on February 2, 1916:

"We are not going to invade any nation's right. But suppose, my fellow countrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then? \* \* \* I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy \* \* \* daily increase in number and intricacy and in danger, and I would be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor; and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do." The next day at St. Louis, he repeated his warning: "The danger is not from within, gentlemen, it is from without; and I am bound to tell you that that danger is constant and immediate, not because anything new has happened, not because there has been any change in our international relationships within recent weeks or months, but because the danger comes with every turn of events."

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The break would have come sooner if our Government had not been restrained by the hope that saner counsels might still prevail in Germany. For it was well known to us that the German people had to a very large extent been kept in ignorance of many of the secret crimes of their Government against us. And the pressure of a faction of German public opinion less hostile to this country was shown when their Government acquiesced to some degree in our demands, at the time of the *Sussex* outrage, and for nearly a year maintained at least a pretense of observing the pledge they had made to us. The tension was abated.

While the war spirit was growing in some sections of our Nation, there was still no widespread desire to take part in the conflict abroad; for the tradition of noninterference in Europe's political affairs was too deeply rooted in our national life to be easily overthrown. Moreover, two other considerations strengthened our Government in its efforts to remain neutral in this war. The first was our traditional sense of responsibility toward all the republics of the New World. Throughout the crisis our Government was in constant communication with the countries of Central and South America. They, too, preferred the ways of peace. And there was a very obvious obligation upon us to safeguard their interests with our own. The second consideration, which had been so often developed in the President's speeches, was the hope that by keeping aloof from the bitter passions abroad, by preserving untroubled here the holy ideals of civilized intercourse between nations, we might be free at the end of this war to bind up the wounds of the conflict, to be the restorers and rebuilders of the wrecked structure of the world.

All these motives held us back, but it was not long until we were beset by further complications. We soon had reason to believe that the recent compliance of the German Government had not been made to us in good faith, and was only temporary; and by the end of 1916 it was plain that our neutral status had again been made unsafe through the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the German autocracy. There was general agreement here with the statement of our President, on October 26, 1916, that this conflict was the last great war involving the world in which we could remain neutral.

It was in this frame of mind, fearing we might be drawn into the war if it did not soon come to an end, that the President began the preparation of his note, asking the belligerent powers to define their war aims. But before he had completed it, the world was surprised by the peace move of the German Government—an identical note on behalf of the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, sent through neutral powers on December 12, 1916, to the governments of the Allies, proposing negotiations for peace. While expressing the wish to end this war—"a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity"—the greater portion of the note was couched in terms that gave small hope of a lasting peace. Boasting of German conquests, "the glorious deeds of our armies," the note implanted in neutral minds the belief that it was the purpose of the Imperial German Government to insist upon such conditions as would leave all Central Europe under German dominance and so build up an Empire which would menace the whole liberal world.

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Moreover, the German proposal was accompanied by a thinly veiled threat to all neutral nations; and from a thousand sources, official and unofficial, the word came to Washington that unless the neutrals used their influence to bring the war to an end on terms dictated from Berlin, Germany and her allies would consider themselves henceforth free from any obligations to respect the rights of neutrals. The Kaiser ordered the neutrals to exert pressure on the Entente to bring the war to an abrupt end, or to beware of the consequences. Clear warnings were brought to our Government that if the German peace move should not be successful, the submarines would be unleashed for a more intense and ruthless war upon all commerce.

On the 18th of December, the President dispatched his note to all the belligerent powers, asking them to define their war aims. There was still hope in our minds that the mutual suspicions between the warring powers might be decreased, and the menace of future German aggression and dominance be removed, by finding a guaranty of good faith in a League of Nations. There was a chance that by the creation of such a league as part of the peace negotiations, the war could now be brought to an end before our Nation was involved. Two statements issued to the press by our Secretary of State, upon the day the note was dispatched, threw a clear light on the seriousness with which our Government viewed the crisis.

From this point, events moved rapidly. The powers of the Entente replied to the German peace note. Neutral nations took action on the note of the President, and from both belligerents replies to this note were soon in our hands.

The German reply was evasive—in accord with their traditional preference for diplomacy behind closed doors. Refusing to state to the world their terms, Germany and her allies merely proposed a conference. They adjourned all discussion of any plan for a league of peace until after hostilities should end.

The response of the Entente Powers was frank and in harmony with our principal purpose. Many questions raised in the statement of their aims were so purely European in character as to have small interest for us; but our great concern in Europe was the lasting restoration of peace, and it was clear that this was also the chief interest of the Entente Nations. As to the wisdom of some of the measures they proposed toward this end, we might differ in opinion, but the trend of their proposals was the establishment of just frontiers based on the rights of all nations, the small as well as the great, to decide their own destinies.

The aims of the belligerents were now becoming clear. From the outbreak of hostilities the German Government had claimed that it was fighting a war of defense. But the tone of its recent proposals had been that of a conqueror. It sought a peace based on victory. The central empires aspired to extend their domination over other races. They were willing to make liberal terms to any one of their enemies, in a separate peace which would free their hands to crush other opponents. But they were not willing to accept any peace which did not, all fronts considered, leave them victors and the dominating imperial power of Europe. The war aims of the Entente showed a determination to thwart this ambition of the Imperial German Government. Against the German Peace to further German growth and aggression the Entente Powers offered a plan for a European Peace that should make the whole Continent secure.

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At this juncture the President read his address to the Senate, on January 22, 1917, in which he outlined the kind of peace the United States of America could join in guaranteeing. His words were addressed not only to the Senate and this Nation but to people of all countries.

"May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had not place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear."

The address was a rebuke to those who still cherished dreams of a world dominated by one nation. For the peace he outlined was not that of a victorious emperor, it was not the peace of Caesar. It was in behalf of all the world, and it was a Peace of the People.

"No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property."

"I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafeard, the little along with the great and powerful."

"I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection."

"I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence."

"And the paths of the sea must, alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and cooperation."

"It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armament and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. \* \* \* There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained."

"Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to

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be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind."

If there were any doubt in our minds as to which of the great alliances was the more in sympathy with these ideals, it was removed by the popular response abroad to this address of the President. For while exception was taken to some parts of it in Britain and France, it was plain that so far as the peoples of the Entente were concerned the President had been amply justified in stating that he spoke for all forward-looking, liberal-minded men and women. It was not so in Germany. The people there who could be reached, and whose hearts were stirred by this enunciation of the principles of a people's peace, were too few or too oppressed to make their voices heard in the councils of their nation. Already, on January 16, 1917, unknown to the people of Germany, Herr Zimmerman, their Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had secretly dispatched a note to their minister in Mexico, informing him of the German intention to repudiate the *Sussex* pledge and instructing him to offer to the Mexican Government New Mexico and Arizona if Mexico would join with Japan in attacking the United States.

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In the new year of 1917, as through our acceptance of world responsibilities so plainly indicated in the President's utterances in regard to a league of nations, we felt ourselves now drawing nearer to a full accord with the powers of the entente; and as on the other hand we found ourselves more and more outraged at the German Government's methods of conducting warfare and their brutal treatment of people in their conquered lands; as we more and more uncovered their hostile intrigues against the peace of the New World; and above all, as the sinister and antidemocratic ideals of their ruling class became manifest in their maneuvers for a peace of conquest—the Imperial German Government abruptly threw aside the mask.

On the last day of January, 1917, Count Bernstorff handed to Mr. Lansing a note in which his Government announced its purpose to intensify and render more ruthless the operations of their submarines at sea, in a manner against which our Government had protested from the beginning. The German Chancellor also stated before the Imperial Diet that the reason this ruthless policy had not been earlier employed was simply because the Imperial Government had not then been ready to act. In brief, under the guise of friendship and the cloak of false promises, it had been preparing this attack.

This was the direct challenge. There was no possible answer except to hand their ambassador his passports and so have done with a diplomatic correspondence which had been vitiated from the start by the often proved bad faith of the Imperial Government.

On the same day, February 3, 1917, the President addressed both Houses of our Congress and announced the complete severance of our relations with Germany. The reluctance with which he took this step was evident in every word. But diplomacy had failed, and it would have been the hollowest pretense to maintain relations. At the same time, however, he made it plain that he did not regard this act as tantamount to a declaration of war. Here for the first time the President made his sharp distinction between government and people in undemocratic lands:

"We are the sincere friends of the German people," he said, "and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for

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them. \* \* \* God grant we may not be challenged by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

In this address of the President, and in its indorsement by the Senate, there was a solemn warning; for we still had hope that the German Government might hesitate to drive us to war. But it was soon evident that our warning had fallen on deaf ears. The tortuous ways and means of German official diplomacy were clearly shown in the negotiations opened by them through the Swiss legation on the 10th of February. In no word of their proposals did the German Government meet the real issue between us. And our State Department replied that no minor negotiations could be entertained until the main issue had been met by the withdrawal of the submarine order.

By the 1st of March it had become plain that the Imperial Government, unrestrained by the warning in the President's address to Congress on February 3, was determined to make good its threat. The President then again appeared before Congress to report the development of the crisis and to ask the approval of the Representatives of the Nation for the course of armed neutrality upon which, under his constitutional authority, he had now determined. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two Houses of Congress showed themselves ready and anxious to act; and the Armed Neutrality Declaration would have been accepted if it had not been for the legal death of the Sixty-fourth Congress on March 4.

No "overt" act, however, was ordered by our Government until Count Bernstorff had reached Berlin and Mr. Gerard was in Washington. For the German ambassador on his departure had begged that no irrevocable decision should be taken until he had had the chance to make one final plea for peace to his sovereign. We do not know the nature of his report to the Kaiser; we know only that, even if he kept his pledge and urged an eleventh-hour revocation of the submarine order, he was unable to sway the policy of the Imperial Government.

And so, having exhausted every resource of patience, our Government on the 12th of March finally issued orders to place armed guards on our merchant ships.

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With the definite break in diplomatic relations there vanished the last vestige of cordiality toward the Government of Germany. Our attitude was now to change. So long as we had maintained a strict neutrality in the war, for the reason that circumstances might arise in which Europe would have need of an impartial mediator, for us to have given official heed to the accusations of either party would have been to prejudge the case before all the evidence was in. But now at last, with the breaking of friendly relations with the German Government, we were relieved of the oppressive duty of endeavoring to maintain a judicial detachment from the rights and wrongs involved in the war. We were no longer the outside observers striving to hold an even balance of judgment between disputants. One party by direct attack upon our rights and liberties was forcing us into the conflict. And, much as we had hoped to keep out of the fray, it was no little relief to be free at last from that reserve which is expected of a judge.

Much evidence had been presented to us of things so abhorrent to our ideas of humanity that they had seemed incredible, things we had been loath to believe, and with heavy hearts we had sought to reserve our

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judgment. But with the breaking of relations with the Government of Germany that duty at last was ended. The perfidy of that Government in its dealings with this Nation relieved us of the necessity of striving to give them the benefit of the doubt in regard to their crimes abroad. The Government which under cover of profuse professions of friendship had tried to embroil us in war with Mexico and Japan could not expect us to believe in its good faith in other matters. The men whose paid agents dynamited our factories here were capable of the infamies reported against them over the sea. Their Government's protestations, that their purpose was self-defense and the freeing of small nations, fell like a house of cards before the revelation of their "peace terms."

And judging the German Government now in the light of our own experience through the long and patient years of our honest attempt to keep the peace, we could see the Great Autocracy and read her record through the war. And we found that record damnable. Beginning long before the war in Prussian opposition to every effort that was made by other nations and our own to do away with warfare, the story of the Autocracy has been one of vast preparations for war combined with an attitude of arrogant intolerance toward all other points of view, all other systems of government, all other hopes and dreams of men. With a fanatical faith in the destiny of German kultur as the system that must rule the world, the Imperial Government's actions have through years of boasting, double dealing, and deceit tended toward aggression upon the rights of others. And if there still be any doubt as to which nation began this war, there can be no uncertainty as to which one was most prepared, most exultant at the chance, and ready instantly to march upon other nations—even those who had given no offense. The wholesale depredations and hideous atrocities in Belgium and in Serbia were doubtless part and parcel with the Imperial Government's purpose to terrorize small nations into abject submission for generations to come. But in this the Autocracy has been blind. For its record in those countries, and in Poland and in northern France, has given not only to the Allies but to liberal peoples throughout the world the conviction that this menace to human liberties everywhere must be utterly shorn of its power for harm.

For the evil it has effected has ranged far out of Europe—out upon the open seas, where its submarines in defiance of law and the concepts of humanity have blown up neutral vessels and covered the waves with the dead and the dying, men and women and children alike. Its agents have conspired against the peace of neutral nations everywhere, sowing the seeds of dissension, ceaselessly endeavoring by tortuous methods of deceit, of bribery, false promises, and intimidation, to stir up brother nations one against the other, in order that the liberal world might not be able to unite, in order that the Autocracy might emerge triumphant from the war.

All this we know from our own experience with the Imperial Government. As they have dealt with Europe, so they have dealt with us and with all mankind. And so out of these years the conviction has grown that until the German Nation is divested of such rulers democracy cannot be safe.

There remained but one element to confuse the issue. One other great autocracy, the Russian Government of the Russian Czar, had long been hostile to free institutions; it had been a stronghold of tyrannies reaching

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far back into the past; and its presence among the Allies had seemed to be in disaccord with the great liberal principles they were upholding in this war. Russia had been a source of doubt. Repeatedly during the conflict liberal Europe had been startled by the news of secret accord between the Kaiser and the Czar.

But now at this crucial time for our Nation, on the eve of our entrance into the war, the free men of all the world were thrilled and heartened by the news that the people of Russia had risen to throw off their Government and found a new democracy; and the torch of freedom in Russia lit up the last dark phases of the situation abroad. Here indeed was a fit partner for the League of Honor. The conviction was finally crystallized in American minds and hearts that this war across the sea was no mere conflict between dynasties but a stupendous civil war of all the world; a new campaign in the age-old war, the prize of which is liberty. Here at last was a struggle in which all who love freedom have a stake. Further neutrality on our part would have been a crime against our ancestors, who had given their lives that we might be free.

"The world must be made safe for democracy."

On the 2d of April, 1917, the President read to the new Congress his message, in which he asked the Representatives of the Nation to declare the existence of a state of war, and in the early hours of the 6th of April the House by an overwhelming vote accepted the joint resolution which had already passed the Senate:

"Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."*

Neutrality was a thing of the past. The time had come when the President's prophecy was fulfilled:

*"There will come that day when the world will say, 'This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind.' "*

## APPENDIX I.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, DELIVERED TO THE  
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 22, 1917.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

On the eighteenth of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a peace will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honourable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot in honour withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement can not now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our

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people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candour and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.

No covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected than no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all,—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own

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interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable,—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization

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of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candour and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our

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traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafeard, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

## APPENDIX II.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. DELIVERED AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, APRIL 2, 1917.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland on the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that

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were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privates or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate

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steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty,—for it will be a very practical duty,—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and

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autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thoughts, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honour.

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One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion, and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the

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reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

*see also  
IV, p. 3*

## APPENDIX III.

### ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON, FLAG DAY, JUNE 14, 1917.

#### MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

We meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honour and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us,—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away,—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? —For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honour as a sovereign government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition amongst us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance,—and some of those agents were men connected with the official Embassy of the German Government itself here in our own capital. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her,—and that, not by indirection, but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbours with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our

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own choiee. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonoured had we withheld our hand.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own. They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle whieh shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as servieable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller states, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was ineredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their class-rooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German poliey as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well advanced intrigues lay baek of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan states with German prinees, putting German offieers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia. The demands made by Austria upon Servia were a mere single step in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and politieal control across the very centre of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Servia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to beeome part of the central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else! It rejeeted the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choiee of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force,—Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians,—the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East. These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct

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their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution! Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single Power. Servia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Roumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbour at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point Fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people: they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it: an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next

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step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction,—socialists, the leaders of labour, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succour or cooperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom; and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations; and seek to undermine the government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a Peoples' War, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments,—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

2

# NATIONAL SERVICE

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# HANDBOOK

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*It is not an army we must shape and train for war;  
it is a nation.*—WOODROW WILSON



ISSUED BY  
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

—  
CORRECTED TO JULY 30, 1917  
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## INTRODUCTION.

The one great task before the Nation to-day is to win the war. If our arms are to be successful, every citizen must give his all, whether this be time, or money, or life, or all three. To aid in this victory by answering an ever-increasing demand manifested by citizens throughout the Nation for reliable information on all branches of service, military and non-military, this Handbook is published. At this time it is of vital importance that all men and women throughout the land work together without wasteful haste, without misdirected effort, but with every ability and resource fully commanded in cooperation for the speedy ending of the war. To work effectively, yet passionately, we must work intelligently, and each must do his own task. It is to point out the most useful avenues of service, and at the same time inform each member of the community of the varied tasks undertaken by the Army and Navy and in the air, behind the plow and at the machine, by banks and by railroads, by doctors, nurses, and workers in the laboratories, by social workers everywhere, that this Handbook is sent throughout the Nation.

To work without lost motion, we must all work together. This means organization and centralization. It is of great importance that every community should display at once completely democratic and also genuinely effective control of the agencies of production and welfare. A central committee, in which representatives of all important community activities are included, should lead in the work of the war and delegate to subcommittees, responsible to the central committee, the direction of specific enterprises. Let us take as our watchwords, "Intelligent efficiency" and "Get together."

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*

Many have helped in the preparation of this book. All the work has been supervised by Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, Director of the Division of Civic and Educational Cooper-

*Introduction.*

tion of the Committee on Public Information. In collecting and verifying the information given in the Handbook the various departments of the Government and numerous unofficial organizations have rendered most cordial assistance. The idea of the book was suggested by the Directory of Service published in April in the Columbia University War Papers, and in a few instances passages have been taken from that publication. The work of organizing and editing the material presented in the Handbook has been done by Mr. John J. Coss with the cooperation of Mr. James Gutmann. Acknowledgment for help in the preparation of the various sections is made to Messrs. Irwin Edman, Horace L. Friess, and John Herman Randall, Jr. In collecting the information of interest to the great geographical divisions of the Nation, representatives at Harvard University, Columbia University, and the Universities of North Carolina, Texas, Chicago, and California have also assisted the editors.

GEORGE CREEL, *Chairman.*

## DOMESTIC WELFARE.

### FIRST LINES OF DOMESTIC WELFARE.

1. *An army of 100,000,000.* Perhaps the most important military lesson we can learn from the allies' three years of warfare is that the battles of this war will be won, in a large part, behind the lines. However well trained may be the army in khaki, its effectiveness will be intimately dependent upon the effectiveness of the civilian army at home. The ununiformed divisions of education, industry, agriculture, and social service, although their duties are less spectacular, are no less pivotally important than the divisions on the fields of France. Even a million men in the field will mean little with a sluggish 99,000,000 at home. With an organized country behind the army, we are literally mobilizing a force of a hundred million for victory.

2. *Increased effort.* The primary work of this national civilian army is to furnish those supplies necessary to win the war, and at the same time try to keep up the work of the country with as little interruption as is now possible. Fighting forces are to be adequately and steadily supported and supplied. This means, in the first place, that industry must be kept at the maximum of production, consistent with the preservation of the health and vitality of the workers of the country. The most universal and immediate tax upon every civilian, therefore, is the tax of increased effort, intenser application, and concentration on the specific job he is at. There must be a careful husbanding of every source of national energy, physical, social, and scientific. For these resources are the first lines of domestic war work, the first lines behind the lines.

3. *The achievements of peace.* For the last generation, in our legislation, in our education, and in our social and philanthropic work, we have been trying increasingly to make the Nation make the most of itself. We have been bettering the conditions of labor and of living: by law and by private effort we have succeeded in maintaining an increas-

ingly high standard of health and efficiency. We have been experimenting in education, adapting our school machinery and methods to the newer industrial conditions and the modes of living and earning a living that they were forcing upon our children. Our bureaus of public health, our labor laws, and our charitable organizations have combined to reduce the ravages of disease, fatigue, and unhealthful surroundings both in the home and working life of the poor.

4. *Must be preserved in war.* The first impulse after war was declared was to cast all one's effort and enthusiasm into work that had an immediate and obvious military bearing; to regard reconstructive activities as luxuries that must wait for their continuance until the war was over. But these protective and conserving agencies are peculiarly necessary in war time when increased pressure in every department of life and industry tends to throw off the safeguards it has taken a generation to achieve. One of the most important branches of military science is devoted to keeping the soldier at the maximum of vitality. It is no less imperative to keep the civilian corps at the same pitch of effectiveness. The conserving and constructive agencies of peace, whether in the form of labor legislation, education, or social work, instead of being abandoned, should be redoubled in their efforts and, so far as conditions will permit, broadened in their scope.

#### INDUSTRY AND SOCIAL WELFARE.

5. *Women workers.* Since the Nation, once there is a call to the colors, is increasingly dependent on the labor of women, it is immeasurably important that the standards and safeguards we have built up in the last 30 years for their protection be maintained just as rigidly as is possible under the abnormal conditions of war.

6. *Result of industrial exhaustion.* If this were certain to be a short war, a temporary speeding up of labor might be permissible, but English experience since the beginning of the war has clearly demonstrated that although the labor conventions may be disregarded for an extended period, the laws of physiology can not be repealed. An extension in the number of hours beyond a certain point, instead

of increasing the output, is almost certain to reduce it after the first spurt. The "stale" worker will produce less in quantity and quality than the one who remains fit; there will be an increase in the sick list, more broken time, and a disorganization of the factory. A few weeks' overtime may mean more output, but after that it will mean a steady lessening of the capacity of each individual worker. This has been definitely established by the careful researches of such investigators as Miss Josephine Goldmark, whose reports on the conditions of women who worked overtime won a 10-hour day in Oregon. It has been proved by hundreds of big manufacturers who shortened their working day to increase their output.

7. *America's stand.* The Council of National Defense has applied the lesson of the costly British experience. It has published a request to the State legislatures asking them not to depart from the present standards of labor without specific declaration from the Council that such departure is essential for the effective pursuit of national defense. It is not going to gear labor for a short, breathless spurt when there may be a long, steady pull ahead. It has requested likewise that power to make exemption be placed in the hands of the governor, who is to use such power only at the particular request of the Council.

It is of first-rate importance that the legislatures heed this request of the National Defense Council. A watchful eye should be kept on the State legislatures to see that under the stress of a national emergency the working capacity of labor is not sacrificed for a temporary increase in output. It is not a question of sentimental coddling of factory workers, but a matter of permanent efficiency. Sickness, accidents, and loss of production are sure to follow an undue lengthening of hours and an abolition of one day's rest in seven.

President Wilson, in his telegram to Gov. Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, gave emphatic support to labor protection:

I think it would be most unfortunate for any of the States to relax the laws by which safeguards have been thrown about labor. I feel that there is no necessity for such action, and that it would lead to a slackening of the energy of the Nation rather than to an increase of it, besides being very unfair to the laboring people themselves.

No better expression of the need of maintaining the standards gained in the past could be given than in the address of Secretary Baker, delivered in New York City on July 4:

We must look to the end of this great business. We at home must fight for democracy here as well as our armies for it abroad. In the midst of our military enterprises we must be equally loyal to our own political theories here. All this vast reorganization of industry must be made without the loss of the great physical and social gains which we have achieved in the last hundred years, mostly years of peace and fruitful effort and toil.

We must not allow the hours and conditions of people who work in factories and workshops to be upset and interfered with. We must preserve the sweetness of our rights. We must agree in deeds of grace here, as our soldiers do deeds of grace on the other side, for I can see the day when this harbor of yours will be filled with the mass of ships returning from abroad and bringing back our soldiers. They will come, it may be, with their ranks somewhat thinned by sacrifice, but with themselves glorified by accomplishment. And when those heroes step off the boats and come ashore and tell us that they have won the fight for democracy in Europe we must be able to tell them in return that we have kept the faith of democracy at home and won battles here for that cause while they were fighting there.

8. *Legislative control.* Any infraction of present labor laws, or any attempt to evade them under cover of war stress, should be reported immediately to the State industrial commission. (See State Registers, page 203ff.) Any project of lowering standards may profitably be reported to the Consumers' League, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City, Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary. This organization is making a national campaign to maintain labor standards throughout the country.

#### EDUCATION.

9. *Keep the schools and colleges open.* In a letter to Secretary Lane of July 21 President Wilson emphatically approves the continuation of the Nation's work of education. He said:

It would seriously impair America's prospects of success in this war if the supply of highly trained men were unnecessarily diminished. There will be need for a larger number of persons expert in the various fields of applied science than even before. Such persons will be needed both during the war and after its close. I therefore have no hesitation in urging colleges and technical schools to

endeavor to maintain their courses as far as possible on the usual basis. There will be many young men from these institutions who will serve in the armed forces of the country. Those who fall below the age of selective conscription and who do not enlist may feel that by pursuing their courses with earnestness and diligence they also are preparing themselves for valuable service to the Nation. I would particularly urge upon the young people who are leaving our high schools that as many of them as can do so avail themselves this year of the opportunities offered by the colleges and technical schools, to the end that the country may not lack an adequate supply of trained men and women.

10. *A war necessity.* None of the great universities contemplate suspending their work, nor would it be wise for them to do so. For the duration of the war and sometime thereafter there will be an unprecedented need for men expertly trained in every technical field. One of the severest handicaps the country could experience would be a shortage of doctors, or of chemical, electrical, or mining engineers, once our active participation in the war is well under way.

11. *Medical students.* In regard to physicians and surgeons, this fact has already been recognized. Medical students have been urged by the hospitals to remain at their studies and under no conditions to enlist in the medical or other branches of the service until their courses were completed. Then, when they will be urgently needed, they can take their places in the Medical Corps as fully trained doctors. (See paragraphs 136 to 148, inclusive.)

12. *Engineers.* No less important is the work of the engineering schools, which should not be allowed to become disorganized. Modern warfare is so largely a matter of experts, experts in transportation, industry, and organization, that a depletion of technical engineering forces would be comparable in its effects to the loss of an army corps. The building of aircraft, of ships, the planning of camps, trenches, mines, and roads, the organization of rail transportation for troop and supply movements, all demand an army of technically trained men. And after the war is over the allied countries are counting upon American aid. Our own industrial development, moreover, will be irremediably handicapped if our technical forces are not constantly fed. A breakdown in the engineering education of the country at

this time would be a loss of one of the most essential instruments of industrial welfare and efficiency.

13. *Elementary and high schools.* For the same reasons as those just outlined, the elementary and high schools of the country must be kept going even more effectively than in times of peace. It is the part of wisdom to prepare ourselves for a long struggle, and if the higher technical ranks of the country are to be maintained at their full strength, the schools which are the feeders of the technical colleges must be kept at the top notch of efficiency.

14. *Courses for women.* Again, with the withdrawal of thousands of men from clerical, minor administrative and routine positions, women must be trained to take their places. In the next three years the graduates of our high schools will have unusually arduous as well as unprecedented tasks on their hands. If there is the slightest let up in educational standards, we shall find ourselves in a few years with a civilian army of incompetents.

15. *Curricular changes.* Instead, therefore, of reducing the curriculum, every effort should be made to bring the educational machinery to a greater degree of effectiveness and, so far as possible, to adapt it to the new necessities of war-time industry. There should be increased time given to physical science and industrial organization. Especially will the education of girls have to be modified to fit them for the variety of new occupations in which their services will be in acute demand. There will have to be an expansion in business courses, in methods of industrial organization, factory and financial management. With a million men withdrawn from the industrial ranks of the country, the entrance of women into industry will be unprecedently increased. We can not afford to stint on training them for their new duties.

In the colleges there will likewise be a modification in the way of increased attention to technical studies. All branches of engineering and scientific industrial management will assume a larger proportion, and the food situation will necessitate increased attention to intensive cultivation and the most modern and productive methods of scientific farming.

Many colleges will be anxious to introduce military instruction. In some instances this will be possible and profitable through the use of the present equipment and corps of instructors. With the plans for the National Army demanding all the attention of those trained in giving military instruction, the Government is not at present in a position to give any aid to institutions in the way of military instruction.

16. *Old courses continued.* Finally, the normal academic activities of the colleges must not be seriously curtailed. For the problems of social reconstruction that the war will leave in its aftermath we shall more than ever need trained minds, equipped to handle trying and complex industrial and social situations. Expert training in these fields, as well as a habit of clear thinking and unclouded judgment, is peculiarly necessary for the tasks of reconstruction and social development to which we shall have to turn our attention, once the war is over. College men did not fail to respond when the war came upon us. Their training and their capacity will be no less needful to us after peace returns.

17. *Always open.* Use of educational institutions continuously should be carefully considered. Vocational courses and special emergency courses may well be given in the normal vacation time or regular work may be continued throughout the year.

18. *Appropriations and gifts.* In the light of the almost immediate results such training will have in increasing the productivity of the Nation, it would be decidedly against the public interest for legislatures to cut down the appropriations for State universities or for individuals or foundations to curtail their contributions to the work of private educational institutions. There will, of course, have to be a temporary cutting down in the more remote branches of research. Even here it should be remembered, however, that provision for remote laboratory researches has frequently resulted in unexpected practical industrial inventions and discoveries. A short-sighted and niggardly war economy in education may handicap our industrial progress indefinitely.

**SOCIAL WORK AND PHILANTHROPY.**

19. Next to education and labor legislation, the most important means of securing national vitality and efficiency is social and philanthropic work. For the period of arduous reconstruction sure to follow this war, it is important to preserve the children who will have to bear its burdens.

20. *Child-welfare work*, then, is a primary form of insurance of the country's future. It is the saving of the soldiers of the reconstruction. Every existing agency for child conservation will have to put forth extraordinary efforts to meet the increased pressure of war time. The children's aid and protective societies, the private and public agencies to guard against the exploitation of children in industry, never had a more urgent reason for activity. Under the slogan of patriotism there have been and will be attempts made to employ children in factories. Any such attempt, as outlined in the section on legislation, should be resisted, both in legislation and in the pressure of public opinion. Children should be kept at school, and every organization guarding their health and their future should be maintained.

21. *Child labor*. The slight increase in production that might result in diverting children from school to the factory and farm would be paid for by a breakdown of our technical efficiency. Attention should, moreover, be called to the fact that if the schools are shut we shall have to provide adequate control for juvenile delinquents, whose number may vitally increase under abnormal social conditions.

Since the outbreak of the European war the National Child Labor Committee has watched closely the policies pursued by foreign countries in regard to children. From this distance it was possible to see what England was too close to the firing line to see and has only recently begun to realize, namely, that laws which were essential for the protection and education of children in time of peace are even more necessary in time of war, because children must be equipped to carry on the work of the nation after the war. When America entered the war the National Child Labor Committee immediately warned against the suspension of labor laws and made every effort to forestall the enactment of such legislation where it was introduced. The demand

that boys be excused from school to help in the production of foodstuffs came just as the committee had finished an important study of the employment of children in agriculture and was met by a constructive plan suggesting that the younger ones remain in school and work in school or home gardens, and that older boys be employed on farms only under careful supervision and without serious shortening of the school term. The committee believes not only that laws for the conservation of childhood should remain intact on the statute books in time of war but that they should be extended where the health and development of the child require it, and that such laws should be as rigorously enforced in time of war as in time of peace. For further information address Miss Florence I. Taylor, Secretary National Child Labor Committee, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

22. *Settlement work, etc.* Direction of the play and interests of children under expert guidance; the big-brother movement; playgrounds and gymnasiums; children's courts, and probation officers, all the machinery and method that have been devised for nurturing child life, should be not only continued but augmented. These things may not always be immediate war measures, but they are a necessary safeguard against the physical and moral collapse of the next decade and generation. Moreover, every form of sickness and social wastage at home is a serious and real drain upon the total national energy. All settlement work should be continued.

23. *The Y. M. C. A.*, despite its increased tasks in the great camps of the Army and Navy (see paragraphs 251 to 259, inclusive, and 273), should not neglect its work at home. The tendency toward a relaxation and disintegration of moral and social standards in war time makes the influence of all such conserving social organizations a primary necessity.

THE Y. W. C. A.

24. *The Y. W. C. A.* One of the best organized agencies for improving the physical, mental, and moral status of the women of the community is the Young Woman's Christian Association. To meet the needs of war times and carry on

the work for and with women which peace as well as war necessitates, the Y. W. C. A. is rallying its forces as never before.

25. *Scope of the work of the Y. W. C. A.* Its work includes, among other activities, foreign-language bureaus and classes in English, Red Cross and other emergency classes, classes in various kinds of cookery, and the so-called Eight Week Clubs.

26. *Employment bureaus.* The employment bureaus of the Y. W. C. A. seek to place young women in suitable positions and also to advise the applicants as to the work they desire.

27. *Industrial work.* With the prospect of thousands of young women entering industrial life for the first time it is an imperative necessity for the Y. W. C. A. to enlarge its facilities for social and recreative work among the factory girls. A greatly increased force of volunteer workers is needed for club work in the industrial department as advisers or helpers. Where clubs of the working girls already exist they should be strengthened and new ones formed where advisable. If the factory is far removed from the association, rented centers may be obtained nearer it. Even if one has but a very little time to spare one can be of great service in helping the mass of woman factory workers and keeping them at the highest pitch of efficiency. Apply at the local association.

28. *Work at camp sites.* In cooperation with Mr. Raymond Fosdick's Committee on Camp Activities (see paragraphs 248 to 267, inclusive), the Y. W. C. A. is undertaking work in the towns near the training camps of our officers and enlisted men. This is work with the young women normally in the community and those who come in because of the large number of men quartered near by. The work is difficult, but it is important and calls for the most highly gifted and resourceful women.

29. *Information about the Y. W. C. A.* Information concerning any of these activities may be obtained from the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. of the U. S. A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

## FURTHER WELFARE WORK.

30. *Welfare work in industry.* Brief mention of work to be undertaken in the interest of the industrial army has been made. For purposes of social conservation and maximum protection, the welfare work that has been increasingly carried on in factories and stores must be maintained. War work always demands, as it inspires, a more intense effort and consequently increased nervous strain. If we are to maintain at once the flow of our supplies and the health of our industrial armies, in addition to maintaining labor safeguards, we must continue to keep check on the health and elasticity of the workers and provide recreation and leisure for the workers. Rest rooms, playgrounds, etc., are necessities of modern industry in war as well as in peace. Added to this, there should be the same care as before with regard to safeguards and safety devices on machinery. We can now less than ever afford to waste life and limbs and labor in industrial accidents. Even when these are reduced to a minimum, there still holds the same necessity for industrial insurance. Poverty and incapacity, it must always be remembered, reduce the fighting forces of industry, upon which the fighting forces in uniform depend. If energy is to be saved, it must be by increased ingenuity and resourcefulness in time and labor saving devices.

31. *Keeping up the vitality of the industrial army.* The Government has, in the selective-draft act, made it a crime to sell intoxicating liquors to men in the uniform of the Army and Navy. A clear head and steady nerves are essential at the front. For work at home and behind the lines an unimpaired vitality can not be too strongly urged. If liquor makes men in uniform inefficient, it will do the same to the men out of it.

32. *Philanthropic institutions.* The work of philanthropic institutions must be maintained. The shifts inevitable in war-time industry, the loss of sons who partly contribute to household expenses, all are bound to create additional distress among the normally needy sections of the population. Private philanthropy has, in the United States, undertaken work so important that in other countries it is a State function. The work of organized

charity therefore deserves every possible form of public and private support and endowment. The Red Cross is preparing to become the central clearing house for all the charitable and relief work in the United States, as well as among the American forces abroad in the allied countries. It recognizes that war relief at home is no less urgent than it is immediately behind the firing lines.

33. *Comfort for the soldiers.* In the matter of comforts, it should be remembered also that civilians can help increase the good cheer and spirits of our armies if they will provide, through the Red Cross, cigars, cigarettes, candy, and also books and magazines which are almost a necessity to reduce the inevitable monotony of trench life. They will help to make up for those minor comforts and amenities of civil life which, despite the best efforts of the Government, the soldier must to some degree forego.

Civilians can aid through the Commission on Camp Activities (see paragraph 266) by paying the expenses of, or organizing volunteer entertainments for the soldiers in training at the camps. The acting profession, as well as the managers and moving-picture manufacturers, can here lend a valuable and peculiarly human service to the fighting forces. Boredom and consequent seeking of stimulation in unwholesome channels are almost as efficacious as bullets in destroying the morale and physical welfare of an army. To supply the soldier with a laugh now and then is to be an unofficial attaché of the medical and relief corps.

#### PUBLICITY.

34. *Forming public opinion.* The civilian's voluntary contributions to war work will be conditioned by the facility with which he can acquire information about it. Agencies of publicity by stimulating interest and publishing facts which will help the citizen to know the work which is going on and the work which needs to be done will themselves be performing a distinct war service.

All chautauquas and social and literary clubs may well make part of their programs explanations of our war aims and of the possibilities of civilian aid.

35. *Libraries.* The public libraries by furnishing their readers with the best books, pamphlets, maps, and magazines,

domestic and foreign, by displaying them on open shelves, by printing lists of the most important books and articles, by holding exhibitions of war material, including posters, and pictures of war scenes, may likewise help to make the war a personal challenge and a definite and familiar task to the general public. Special bulletin boards for war notices might well be maintained by our libraries. Special attention should also be paid by libraries to the task of collecting and exploiting material giving the reasons for America's participation in the war.

It is most important for libraries in war time to stress the development of the human and industrial resources of the community by providing literature on agriculture, food production, and conservation, home economics, and industry, as well as on military and naval training, munition manufactures, and other economic, business, and industrial questions that the war has brought into prominence. Government publications especially will now be fully utilized. See Bibliography, pages 227 to 234.

36. *Bibliography and guide.* The Chief Bibliographer and the members of the staff of the Library of Congress have published a pamphlet called *The United States at War; Organization and Literature*. In the introduction is given an outline of the organization of the Federal Government. A chronological summary of the events leading up to the entrance of the United States into the war, followed by a similar chronology of the activities of the United States in the war up to June 1, 1917, is then given, and, lastly, a summary of the miscellaneous associations which have perfected some sort of an organization.

The body of the work consists of an alphabetical arrangement of organizations and subjects. Under the names of organizations the headquarters address, origin, membership, organization, functions, publications, and references to descriptive literature are given where possible. Under the subjects the work of the various organizations is mentioned and reference is made to some of the literature.

Librarians and information bureaus should be supplied with this excellent guide and its supplementary numbers.

37. *Camp libraries.* The creation of a Library War Service Committee, which will see that every cantonment erected for

training the National Army is supplied with a library, was authorized by the American Library Association at its thirty-ninth annual meeting. (See paragraphs 264 to 266, inclusive.)

38. *The Committee on Public Information.* The Committee on Public Information was created by Executive Order of the President of the United States, as follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

I hereby create a Committee on Public Information, to be composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and a civilian who shall be charged with the executive direction of the committee.

As civilian chairman of the committee, I appoint Mr. George Creel.

The Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy are authorized each to detail an officer or officers to the work of the committee.

WOODROW WILSON.

APRIL 14, 1917.

39. *The divisions of the committee.* (1) *The Division of Publicity.* The effort of the committee is to open up the business of government, as far as may be proper and possible, to the inspection of the people, in recognition of the truth that public support is largely a matter of public understanding. To this end representatives of the committee have been attached to the various departments of Government. Editors, reporters, special writers, authors, photographers, and motion-picture producers alike are urged to avail themselves of the services of the committee in connection with their activities.

(2) *The Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation.* In addition to those activities which are indicated in its title, this division has inaugurated the work of preparing and publishing war informative literature. The first of these publications were President Wilson's "War Message and Facts Behind It," and "How the War Came to America" (also in several foreign language translations). The latter was the first of a Red, White, and Blue book series, of which the present volume is the second. Other pamphlets and booklets in process of preparation are: "Anthology of War Prose and Poetry"; the "War-information Series," in which the following are announced: "The Nation in Arms," by Secretaries Lane and Baker; the "Government

of Germany," Prof. C. D. Hazen; "From Spectator to Participant," Prof. A. C. McLaughlin; "American Loyalty by Citizens of German Origin. All literature is distributed free on request, except the anthology, which will be sold at a low price for a war charity.

(3) *The Official Bulletin.* Its single purpose is to assure the full and legal printing of the official announcements of Government heads in connection with governmental business. The Bulletin is distributed free to postmasters and to the press and can be subscribed for by others at the price of \$5 per annum.

(4) *The four-minute men.* An organization of speakers enrolled for the duration of the war to deliver four-minute talks in motion-picture theaters during intermissions. When this book went to press there was an enrollment of more than 3,000 speakers in 28 States, and the division was rapidly completing its organization to cover the entire country. The organization is almost purely communal. State chairmen and local chairmen are supplied with material from Washington, but each chairman forms his own local organization and secures his own speakers, and each speaker prepares his own speech.

(5) *The division of pictures.* Mr. William A Brady, by appointment of President Wilson, has organized the motion picture on a war cooperation basis, working in conjunction with the Committee on Public Information. This division also aims to provide the public with news photographs and illustrations of the activities of the Army and Navy, both abroad and at home, and to open as far as may be proper and possible new channels for spreading public information through the medium of pictures.

(6) *Posters.* Mr. Charles Dana Gibson has been appointed by the committee to mobilize the artists of the Nation for war service; and a supply of posters, war cards, etc., has been assured by the volunteer patriotism of individuals. Artists desiring to aid should write Charles Dana Gibson, Carnegie Studios, New York City.

(7) *The cable censorship.* All outgoing cables from the United States are censored under plans and policies emanating from the Committee on Public Information.

(8) *Newspapers.* To the committee was intrusted the duty of keeping the press informed as to the matter deemed dangerous. This matter is not concerned with criticism or opinion, but is confined entirely to news dangerous to the United States and valuable to the enemy. Rules can not be hard and fast but the thought of the Government is expressed in a set of regulations. No disciplinary power abides in the Committee on Public Information and the committee assumes no responsibility for the enforcement of the requests.

40. These divisions do not cover the full activities of the Committee on Public Information. The broad field of its work can not be expressed in the terms of organization. By the logic of events and the necessities of the public requirements which called it into being its functions have grown until it touches at times nearly every part of the great machinery which now coordinates the forces of the Republic for war purposes.

## EUROPEAN WAR RELIEF.

41. *General statement.* To give an accurate or complete description of the types of war relief being done by the innumerable philanthropic organizations is impossible. Conditions change from day to day, and the men and women engaged in this work are obliged to alter their activities as circumstance or experience may dictate.

Financial support and personal service are needed by all, however, and all the time. It is surely of great importance that though America has entered the war, American charities among the war-stricken countries of Europe should not cease. We must bend all our energies to the successful prosecution of the war; we must economize in every way possible; but there is one field from which our energies must not be diverted, one direction in which we must not stint—our relief charities. Our aid must continue as great as it has been; if anything, it should be increased. All those whom this war kills will not have died on its battle fields. Even as we fight side by side with the allied soldiers we must continue to relieve the noncombatants.

A detailed account of the activities of the many organizations in this field can not be given. A directory of the more important ones is given at the end of this section. Financial aid is needed by all alike, and a list of other contributions desired by any single one may be obtained upon request. In general, the name is descriptive of the chief aim of the association, and the address given may be used either for sending contributions or for inquiries as to supplies needed or service required.

42. *American Red Cross.* The work of the American Red Cross deserves especial note, however, for this is not a private organization nor a limited corporation, but it is on the contrary recognized by the United States Government, whose President is its president.

*Red Cross War Budget.* A large part of the \$100,000,000 fund just raised and for which subscriptions were con-

tributed throughout the country will be applied to European war relief. Chairman Davison has outlined these plans as follows:

Beyond the military and civilian needs of our own people we must undertake a larger humanitarian work to aid our allies. This work the Red Cross has already started by sending a commission to Europe. This commission, headed by Major Grayson M. P. Murphy, is composed of sociological and medical experts and will work in conjunction with agencies appointed by the French Government. It will make a survey of the situation abroad and will recommend to us in the order of greatest importance the work which America must undertake.

Tuberculosis and the many new and terrible diseases that have developed from trench warfare, and which are incident to army life, must be combated. They may be conquered both to preserve our own troops serving abroad and to aid our allies. To the degree in which we are successful in conserving man power we shall help to win the war.

The Red Cross does not aim to reconstruct devastated villages, but we do feel that it is a part of America's duty to contribute toward the temporary housing of the thousands of homeless and to aid and encourage them in reestablishing their lives by such assistance as we can give. We want to help them with implements, with materials, with expert services, with everything that we can that will help to put these valiant peoples back on their feet.

We are sending our troops to the front to fight, but how long will it be before "the American section of the western front" will compare in a creditable degree with that of the sections held to-day by other nations. Pending the arrival of our Army in such forces shall we not immediately stretch a hand to encourage and stimulate those who are fighting valiantly for our own, as well as their own?

To this point I have had in mind only France. What about Russia with a thousand miles of battle front and with only 6,000 ambulances, as compared with the western battle front 400 miles long with 63,000 ambulances? We should send to Russia thousands of ambulances with their personnel, and with as many doctors and nurses as we can spare from this country. What evidence will have been furnished to Russia that the United States is her ally in this war if she has nothing more substantial than our frequently expressed kindly sentiments? The way to hearten and encourage Russia is for the American Red Cross to extend to her, without delay, a practical helping hand. It is my opinion that we of the United States can not justify ourselves in the eyes of Russia by merely assuring Russia that we are her ally when we are in position to join hearts with her through the medium of a national volunteer organization, even though we can not at this time join arms with her.

A representative of the Queen of Rumania called upon us last week asking for aid, and when I requested a list of the most pressing needs of that stricken people the reply was "anything, everything." This

rather confirmed an official request to us to send at once 100 doctors, the necessary medical supplies to Rumania to arrest an epidemic. We can reach Rumania effectively only through Russia. Can we send substantial aid through stricken Russia to stricken Rumania with none for Russia herself?

So it is all along the line in the Balkans and in other small countries. Are they to know by personal contact and by succor that we are in this war, and that we recognize that they are fighting our battles, or are they merely to receive information to that effect through the press?

Since the publication of this statement the Red Cross has sent a mission to Russia, headed by Dr. Frank Billings, of Chicago, and Mr. William B. Thompson, of New York; and supplies and a commission, headed by Henry W. Anderson, of Richmond, Va., have been sent to Roumania. (See paragraph 169.)

*Information.* For further general information, or information concerning any of the many activities of the Red Cross, address the Bureau of Information, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. (See also paragraphs 158 and following.)

43. *Commission for Relief in Belgium.* Perhaps the association which has attracted the most universal admiration in the present war is the Commission for Relief in Belgium, under the leadership of Mr. Herbert Hoover. Its work is too well known to require a detailed statement of how it has labored under the most trying conditions and has literally rescued the invaded sections of Belgium and France from all but total destruction. The United States Government has determined to finance this work for the six months beginning June 1, 1917, and will advance a loan of \$5,000,000 a month to feed the people of the German occupied sections of France and a loan of \$7,500,000 a month for Belgian relief. Mr. Hoover, in a letter to his associates, indicates the commission's plans.

*To my associates of the Commission for Relief in Belgium:*

We are sure that the whole American people will be glad to know that, through the sympathetic arrangements made by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, the cost of the Belgian and northern France relief, so far as it is feasible under present shipping conditions, will be borne for the next six months by the American Government. This has been made possible by a loan of \$75,000,000 from the United States to the Governments of Belgium and France.

The money will be advanced by the Treasury in installments of \$12,500,000 per month, of which \$7,500,000 will be available for Belgian relief and \$5,000,000 for the relief in northern France. The way is open so that at the termination of the six months thus provided for application may be made to the Government for further loans. We desire to state that, although the commission has endeavored for many months to secure this gratifying result, we feel that the appeals that have been made by you have largely influenced the Government in finally granting the request of the Belgian and French Governments. Therefore the time, energy, and money expended in your campaign have done more than to bring in immediate contributions; they have helped to insure the relief of Belgium and northern France throughout the war.

The commission has long desired Government recognition in order that its work should be more firmly established as a distinctly American undertaking, and we feel that you will join with us in intense satisfaction that the work has now become a responsibility and a duty shared by the whole American Nation.

Realizing that each committee and community has adopted its own method of making appeals and collecting funds, we do not purpose suggesting the specific action which you will take in meeting the changed conditions resulting from this gratifying action of our Government, but we outline below, in a few paragraphs, answers to certain general questions that may arise.

It will be noted that \$12,500,000 per month is much less than the amount which we have stated as necessary to supply the imports required for the limited ration we have endeavored to provide. The explanation lies in that this amount will now cover all of the foodstuffs that we can hope to ship owing to the recent swiftly developed shortage of the world's shipping. Our statements in regard to the amount necessary have been correct, and the balance between the \$12,500,000 and the former estimate required to give the limited ration will now of necessity be supplied by encroaching upon the country's stock of milk cattle, which had been reserved to maintain a supply of fresh milk for the children and to serve as a nucleus from which to restock the country after the war. The importation of meat, particularly fats, has always been one of the most expensive items in our program.

It must be clearly understood that the commission for relief in Belgium will continue to assume the entire charge of purchasing and transporting all food into Belgium and northern France. The commission also will continue to be the only fully regular vehicle by which money, food, and clothing can be sent into Belgium.

The commercial exchange department will continue as heretofore to effect transfers of money into Belgium. By depositing dollars in our New York office or pounds sterling in London, the equivalent in francs will be paid to any person in Belgium, provided the name and correct address be supplied. The service extends over practically all of Belgium except for a small restricted portion under military control. Individuals or committees outside of Belgium can send money to relatives or friends, or support, by direct money contributions, any of the

specially deserving internal charities which use local currency to advantage in payment of wages or in purchasing home-grown products. Over \$5,000,000 has been transferred in this way since the belligerent Governments gave their official sanction to the operations of this department.

The Government payments will commence on June 1, and we shall be glad to have remittances up to that date, but we make no appeal for contributions thereafter.

We suggest that you offer to cancel all pledges made to you for future payments and offer to return any moneys which have been paid in advance on account of maturing pledges.

The children of Belgium will have the first call upon all food which is imported, and every effort will be made to maintain the supplementary meal which has been so important a factor up to the present in sustaining the health of millions of children.

Naturally, having built up such an effective organization, you will desire to keep it alive as far as possible, and we venture to suggest that, although the general relief of the countries involved will now be met by the Government appropriations, emergencies and special conditions may arise which could only be met by private donations. In such circumstances your organization will afford a ready means of meeting the demands of the situation, whatever they may be. Should any of your contributors desire to continue their gifts, notwithstanding the present position, they may be assured that their contributions will be expended sooner or later to great advantage, since, in any event, relief in many forms will doubtless be required after the war.

Finally, I wish for myself and my colleagues of the administration of the commission to express my sincere appreciation of all the untiring, faithful, and truly beautiful work you have done as organizers and managers, and of the generous response which your long list of donors have made. My association with you has been, to me, an inspiring revelation of the great heart of America.

To you, as individuals and as organized groups, I express my heartfelt thanks.

HERBERT HOOVER,

*Chairman Commission for Relief in Belgium.*

44. *Clearing House for France.* It should be borne in mind, however, that this governmental provision applies only to those sections of France and Belgium actually in the hands of the Germans. The uninvaded sections, however, are seriously affected by the war and are hardly less in need of aid. Assistance can well be brought to these sections through the agency of the War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies. This organization has outlined its own activities as follows:

It gives its services and information free to all contributors.

It cooperates with the American relief clearing house of France and its committees representing the various allied countries. Such

committees operate under the patronage of the heads of the respective Governments.

It is kept reliably informed as to what form of relief is most needed and where, and disseminates such information to affiliated organizations in America.

It acts as a purchasing and forwarding agent for organizations and individuals wishing to contribute funds or supplies, thereby giving contributors the benefit of its exceptional prices.

It obtains free shipment, with few exceptions, for contributions from New York to the designated destination in Europe.

It enters contributions of supplies into ports of the allied countries free of customs duties.

It is given free transportation for supplies over the French and Italian railways.

It delivers supplies where they are most needed by the quickest and surest route.

It does away with the former confusion, delay, and waste.

It makes no charge for its services, and all contributions for relief are delivered intact, without deduction for operating expenses.

Contributions of the most varied type are needed, and the clearing house in Paris has just announced the need every month of 2,000 tons of dried vegetables, canned beans, dried apples, tapioca, peaches, prunes, sugar, flour, peas, rice, and other foods. In addition there is frequent demand for clothing of all kinds. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont is the treasurer, and his address is 40 Wall Street, New York City.

45. *Other organizations.* The need in the other European countries is also great. Serbia, Roumania, Poland, all have suffered frightfully, and there is not a single country which has not endured fearful privation. The list given below is but a partial record of the many societies operating. There are many not mentioned which are doing admirable work. Innumerable organizations, such as the Navy League and the Daughters of the Confederacy, whose aim is not primarily philanthropic, have done splendid work in war relief, work which should be given every encouragement.

#### 46. DIRECTORY OF EUROPEAN WAR RELIEF ORGANIZA-TIONS.

Ambulance Chirurgicale Mobile No. 1. Directrice, Mrs. Borden Turner, Farmers Loan & Trust Co., depository, New York.

American Aid for Homeless Belgian Children. Miss Marie Louise de Sadeleer, treasurer, 9 East Thirty-ninth Street, New York. Gifts to be sent to National City Bank, New York.

American Ambulance Hospital in France. William R. Hereford, secretary, 14 Wall Street, New York. J. P. Morgan & Co., 23 Wall Street, New York.

American Ambulance in Russia. Philip M. Lydig, secretary, 111 Broadway, New York. Hamilton Fish, jr., chairman executive committee, 111 Broadway, New York.

American Authors Fund for the Relief of the Wounded Soldiers of the Allied Nations. Authors' Fund, care State Street Trust Co., 33 State Street, Boston, Mass.

American Artists' Committee of One Hundred Relief Fund for the Families of French Soldier-Artists. William Bailey Faxon, treasurer, 215 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York.

American Branch of the Fatherless Children of France Fund. Walter W. Price, treasurer, 111 Broadway, New York.

American Comfort Packet Committee. Mrs. Mary Hatch Willard, chairman, 66 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York.

American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. Charles R. Crane, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

American Committee for Training in Suitable Trades the Maimed Soldiers of France. Mrs. Edmund L. Baylies, Biltmore Hotel, New York.

American Fund for French Wounded. Mrs. Ethelbert Nevin, chairman, 122 Madison Avenue, New York. Miss Anne Morgan, treasurer.

American Girls' Aid (French). Miss Gladys Hollingsworth, chairman, 293 Fifth Avenue, New York.

American Hostels for Refugees in Paris and Children of Flanders Rescue Committee. Henry W. Munroe, jr., treasurer, care Mrs. Mary Cadwalader Jones, 21 East Eleventh Street, New York.

American Huguenot Committee. Edmond E. Robert, treasurer, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War. Felix M. Warburg, treasurer, 174 Second Avenue, New York.

American Jewish Relief Committee. Herbert H. Lehman, treasurer, 20 Exchange Place, New York.

American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. Money should be sent to American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. Merchandise should be sent, transportation prepaid, to American Red Cross Receiving and Shipping Station, Bush Terminal, Brooklyn, N. Y. C. S. Magee, secretary, 1624 H Street NW, Washington, D. C.

American Society for Relief of French War Orphans. Thomas Cochran, 120 Broadway, New York.

American Students Committee of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Henry R. Sedgwick, treasurer, 107 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York.

American Women's Committee for the Charities of the Queen of Belgium. John Moffat, honorary secretary, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

American Women's War Relief Fund. John Moffat, Fifth Avenue Building, New York.

Appui Belge. Miss Raymonde Coudert Glaenzer, vice president, 105 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

Australian War Relief Fund. A. J. Howard, treasurer, 435 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Belgian Refugee Workshop Fund. Prof. Albert G. van Flecke, American Security & Trust Co., Washington D. C.

Belgian Relief Fund. Rev. Father J. F. Stilemans, 431 West Forty-seventh Street, New York; J. P. Morgan & Co. depository, 10 Bridge Street, New York.

Belgian Soldiers' Tobacco Fund, 949 Broadway, New York City.

Blue Cross Fund for Wounded Horses. Mrs. Elphinstone Maitland, secretary, 55 East Ninety-third Street, New York.

British-American War Relief Fund. Henry J. Whitehouse, treasurer, 681 Fifth Avenue, New York.

British Red Cross Committee. Edwin S. Marston, president, 12 Bridge Street, New York.

British War Relief Association. Henry Clews, treasurer, 542 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Bulgarian Relief Committee. Dr. Hugo Schweitzer, treasurer, 30 Church Street, New York.

Cardinal Mercier Fund, Maryland Committee. Hon. James Augustus Whiteley, chairman, 223 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore, Md.

Cardinal Mercier Fund, New York Committee. Miss Marie La Montagne, treasurer, Buckingham Hotel, New York; J. P. Morgan & Co., 23 Wall Street, New York.

Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War. Harry Fischel, treasurer, 63 Park Row, New York. In cooperation with the American Jewish Relief Committee.

Central Committee for the Relief of Lithuanian War Sufferers. M. Salcius, secretary, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Children of America's Army of Relief. The Federal Trust Co., 85 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.

Colonie de Franceville of Madame F. Berkeley Smith. Mrs. Walker D. Hines, 122 East Seventieth Street, New York.

Commission for Relief in Belgium. Alexander J. Hemphill, treasurer, 120 Broadway, New York.

Commission for the Relief of Belgian Prisoners in Germany. James A. Blair, jr., treasurer, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Committee for Men Blinded in Battle. William Forbes Morgan, jr., treasurer, 17 East Thirty-eighth Street, New York.

Committee of Mercy. August Belmont, treasurer, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Dollar Christmas Fund for Destitute Belgians. Henry Clews, treasurer, 66 Broadway, New York.

Duryea War Relief. Mrs. Charles H. Ditson, 259 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Emergency Aid Committee (Philadelphia). Mrs. J. Norman Jackson, treasurer, 1428 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Fatherless Children of France (*Orphelinat des Armées*). J. P. Morgan & Co., depository, Fifth Avenue Building, New York.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Charles S. Macfarland, treasurer, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

Flotilla Committee. Miss Emily Chauncey, executive secretary, 38 West Thirty-ninth St., New York.

Franco American Committee for the Protection of the Children of the Frontier of France. Frederic R. Coudert, treasurer, 2 Rector Street, New York.

Franco Serbian Field Hospital of America. Henry B. Britton, treasurer, 17 West Thirtieth Street, New York.

General Italian Relief Committee, Longacre Building, West Forty-second Street, New York.

International Reconstruction League. John Moffat, executive chairman, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Irish Relief Fund Committee. Thomas Hughes Keiley, treasurer 5 Beekman Street, New York.

Lafayette Fund. Francis Roche, treasurer, Vanderbilt Hotel, New York.

Le Bien-Etre du Blessé. John Monroe & Co., treasurer, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Le Paquet du Soldat. 55 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

L'Union des Arts, 712 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Montenegro Relief Association of America. Jane Stewart Cushman, treasurer, 105 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

National Allied Relief Committee. Karl Davis Robinson, secretary, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York. James A. Blair, jr., treasurer.

New York Surgical Dressings Committee. Mrs. Edward Ringwood Hewitt, 19 East Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

Noel du Soldat Belge Fund. P. Dumont, 10 Bridge Street, New York.

People's Relief Committee for the Jewish War Sufferers. Boris Fingerhood, secretary, 196 East Broadway, New York. Isaac Goldberg, treasurer, 171 East Broadway.

Permanent Blind Relief War Fund. F. A. Vanderlip, honorary treasurer, 590 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Persian War Relief Fund, Edward M. Bulkeley, treasurer, 25 Broad Street, New York.

Polish Hospital Supply and Clothing Committee (auxiliary of the Polish Relief Fund), 681 Fifth Avenue. Miss Eleann Blodgett, chairman.

Polish University Grants Committee of the Polish Victims' Relief Fund. Mme. Jane Arctowska, 33 West Forty-second Street, New York.

Polish Victims' Relief Fund. W. O. Gorski, executive secretary, 33 West Forty-second Street, New York.

Prince of Wales National Relief Fund. R. M. Stuart Wortley, treasurer, 25 Broad Street, New York.

*European War Relief.*

Refugees in Russia. John Moffat, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Relief Fund for the Families of French Soldier Artists. William Anderson Coffin, chairman, 58 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York.

Roumanian Relief Committee of America. 43 Cedar Street, New York. Henry Clews, treasurer.

Russian American Relief Association. Care National City Bank, 55 Wall Street, New York.

Russian War Relief Committee. John Moffat, secretary, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Secours National Fund for the Relief of Civilian War Sufferers in France. Mrs. Whitney Warren, 16 East Forty-seventh Street, New York.

Serbian Distress Fund (Boston). John F. Moors, treasurer, 111 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.

Serbian Hospital Fund. Otto T. Bannard, treasurer, 1 Madison Avenue, New York.

Serbian Relief Committee. Miss F. Hastings, secretary, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Murray H. Coggeshall, treasurer.

Shamrock Fund. Miss Mary Dougherty, secretary, 165 Madison Avenue, New York.

Siberian Regiments American Ambulance Society. Samuel McRoberts, honorary treasurer, Flatiron Building, New York.

Sicilian Relief Fund. Mrs. Frederick Crowninshield, treasurer, Stockbridge, Mass.

Ukrainian War Relief Fund. Simon Yadlowsky, treasurer, 83 Grand Street, Jersey City, N. J.

Union Nationale des Eglises Réformées Evangéliques de France Emergency Relief Fund, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York. Alfred R. Kimball, treasurer.

Vacation War Relief Committee. Miss Emily Chauncey, executive secretary, 38 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York. Miss Anne Morgan, chairman, Old Colony Club Building, Madison Avenue, New York. Miss Robinson Smith, treasurer, 30 West Thirtieth Street, New York City.

War Babies' Cradle. Mrs. Jules S. Bache, treasurer, 42 Broadway, New York.

War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies. 40 Wall Street, New York. Thomas W. Lamont, treasurer.

Zionist Medical Unit. Miss Henrietta Szold, chairman, 44 East Twenty-third Street, New York.

## RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

47. *Need for cooperation.* The war emergency has already had a very wonderful effect upon the national life. It has forced all men who have a common purpose to get together in order that their work may be effective. Small differences, personal quarrels, and petty jealousies can have no place in the Nation's activity if we are to fulfill the duty which confronts us. The desire to cooperate has nowhere been manifested more splendidly than in the work of the religious bodies within the Nation. Before our entry into the war these bodies had all been engaged, through their membership, in supporting the agencies of European war relief (see paragraph 41 and following), and undoubtedly the members of the different religious bodies will continue this necessary work; but in addition they are all facing the same problem in the home community.

48. *Joint activities.* We have come to realize that religious organizations must be leaders in every community in all good works and that they must concern themselves not merely with men's souls but also with their bodies. In this time, therefore, the religious institutions can do no more useful work than to support within their own communities all those agencies which are striving to maintain the highest level of physical and moral welfare. An interdenominational, intersectarian, interreligious committee should be formed in every community, and now as never before this committee should seek to enlist the support of every member of the organizations represented in its personnel. The work that is to be done is especially pressing in towns and cities at or near the sites of the great Army and Navy training camps (see paragraphs 248 to 267, inclusive, and 273). If the men in these camps are to be safe and the families from which they come are to feel secure those cities must be kept clean and wholesome. The Government has expressed its intention to do everything within its power to bring this about; but public opinion, local assistance, strong

enforcement of the law, and local intolerance of any connivance at the evasion of the law will be necessary if the Government's plans are to be successful.

49. *Forming opinion.* America, by and large, is a religious country, and churches and synagogues and religious organizations of every kind are centers of inspiration and information. In every attempt to increase food production and to conserve our food supply, every industrial emergency, every call to care for the welfare of the civil population, the leader in religious bodies has an opportunity to disseminate information and to arouse the interest to serve the community and to serve the Nation. It would be well if every clergyman, every priest, and every rabbi in the country would consider himself a special agent of the community's welfare and work now as he has never worked before for efficient and harmonious cooperation.

50. *Religious noncombatants.* Certain religious sects, the most notable of which is the Society of Friends, are reluctant to engage in the actual fighting of the war because of their religious beliefs. To these bodies, who are as anxious to aid the Nation in the crisis as any others, the service rendered to the sick and wounded and the maintenance of the welfare of the community at home come with peculiar force and will doubtless bring peculiar satisfaction.

51. *Reserve Officers' Camps.* Some of the great religious bodies have already begun their work of helpfulness in connection with the reserve officers' training camps. No chaplains have been assigned to these camps, and it is not anticipated that any will be assigned to the second series of training camps. In providing for religious meetings and in rendering the camp localities desirable recreation grounds for the men in training a very useful work has been done.

#### CHAPLAINS.

52. Every religious body will be given opportunity by the Government to have its representatives with the forces as chaplains. The number from each body will be proportional to its national membership. Every effort is being made to select the men who are especially fitted for the work to be done.

## ARMY CHAPLAINS.

53. *Appointment.* Chaplains in the United States Army are appointed by The Adjutant General who consults in his selection advisory boards which represent the evangelical bodies (Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America), and the Roman Catholic and Jewish beliefs.

54. *Qualifications.* The general requirements for chaplains in the Army are, age limit 40 years, a good education, sound physical condition, irreproachable character, experience or adaptability for work among young men.

55. *Applications.* If you are a clergyman desiring to serve as a chaplain in the United States Army, write to The Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., for an application blank. When this is returned, send with it the indorsement of the controlling ecclesiastical body under which you serve. If a member of an Evangelical church, send in addition such an indorsement to Rev. Worth M. Tippy, representative of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. If a Roman Catholic, address Father L. J. O'Hern, C. S. P., St. Paul's College, Brookland, D. C., and enclose 10 letters of recommendation, including the indorsement of your bishop.

## NAVY CHAPLAINS.

56. *Appointment.* Appointments to the grade of acting chaplain in the Navy are made by the Secretary of the Navy and after examinations the appointees are given the rank, pay (\$2,000 per annum), and allowances of lieutenant, junior grade. There is one chaplain to each 1,250 of the total personnel of the Navy and Marine Corps, varying in grade as captain, commander, etc. (pay from \$5,000 to \$2,000 plus allowance for quarters), with regular promotions.

57. *Qualifications.* An acting chaplain must serve three years at sea before becoming eligible for examination for commission as a chaplain. A former act of Congress provides that a chaplain must be less than 35 years of age at the time he is commissioned, but during the period of the war older men are eligible. About six months will be required

for the routine of examining an acting chaplain after the expiration of his three years of sea duty and the issuing of his commission as a chaplain. The department has therefore established a maximum age limit of  $31\frac{1}{2}$  years in the case of applicants for appointment as acting chaplain in the Navy. The minimum age limit is 21 years. *Attention is invited to the fact that these age limits are established by law and the department can not waive same under any conditions.* An applicant must be in sound physical condition, with a minimum height of about 66 inches and weight of about 132 pounds. (These requirements may, however, be modified.) A vision of not less than 12/20 for each eye, unaided by glasses and capable of correction to 20/20, is essential. A medical examination precedes appointment.

A candidate must be a regularly ordained minister of good standing in his particular denomination and in his community. His moral character and general fitness for the service required in the Navy must be established to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Navy. He must show by testimonials his capabilities to gain the confidence and esteem of young men and to become a leader among them.

58. *Applications.* Applications for appointment as acting chaplain should be made to the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., and in other respects as for Army chaplaincies. *They must be written in the applicant's own handwriting,* giving a brief history of himself.

It is the desire of the department to make such appointments to the Chaplain Corps of the Navy as shall be satisfactory to and recommended by the denomination to which a candidate belongs. Testimonials from the proper officers in a denomination should therefore be submitted with the application.

#### MILITIA CHAPLAINS.

59. Opportunities for serving as the chaplain of a militia regiment are offered only when such positions become vacant. Applications should be made to the various militia organizations in the different States.

## PROFESSIONAL MEN AND WOMEN.

60. *General statements.* Those engaged in professions which do not involve the manipulation of materials needed in the war are face to face with the difficult problem of serving the Nation and at the same time using their expert equipment.

The principle stated in the following extract from the bulletin of the Yale Engineering Association may well be borne in mind, though it is the hope of all that the expert abilities of all citizens will be conserved to the greatest possible degree by the Government's plan of service:

In the present enthusiasm that prevails it is most important to bear in mind a fundamental point that may be illustrated by the experience of an officer who spoke recently before the members of a city club. When he stated that the idea of service was willingness to take a minor position and give such service as possible to the Government and not to demand or expect an important position and make such position a requisite for entering the service, no one in the meeting was willing to enroll under these conditions. If a man has training and ability of a special value to the Government in excess of other men, this fact will soon be recognized, but in spite of this special training many men will at first be of little value to the service because they have not the general military training and knowledge. War means sacrifice, and the chief sacrifice to many civilians will be that they must accept, if they serve at all, positions in the Army and Navy which they will not consider at all commensurate with the positions they hold in civil life, whether viewed from the standpoint of responsibility or compensation.

61. *Teachers, physicians, surgeons, dentists, druggists,* may all serve by continuing their peace-time professions until definitely called to other work. So, too, may many in other professions whose age renders action and field service impossible. We shall need to keep our teaching institutions intact, and doubtless the work of nearly every profession will continue, but the work will have to be done by a smaller number of men. Not alone those who go to the front will sacrifice; those who remain must carry burdens up to the limit of their strength.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that physicians, surgeons, and dentists are needed in large numbers for military service. (See paragraphs 142 to 155, inclusive.)

62. *Linguists.* A limited number of men who speak and write French and German with perfect facility will be needed as interpreters and for work in detention and prison camps and with troops. The National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, Dr. E. Stagg Whitin, secretary, has perfected plans which have been approved by the War Department for a course of training to fit men for this work. The course is being given at the summer session of Columbia University, July 11 to August 17. Inquiry may be made there or to the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, Union Trust Co. Building, Washington, D. C.

63. *Librarians* in limited numbers will be needed for the camp libraries. (See paragraphs 264 to 266, inclusive.)

64. *Engineers and trained artisans.* One profession which will, of course, be of primary importance is that of engineering in all its branches. Besides the work of actual military construction, roads, camps, etc., there will be demand for engineers for reconstruction in the allied countries. France is calling for a corps of engineers and an army of American railroad men to repair her crippled railway systems. Russia's effective participation on the eastern front depends in large measure on the repairing and development of its transportation system. Its industrial mobilization depends largely on the technical aid received from American engineering and industrial experts. The work of assisting in rebuilding the allied countries, undertaken in part by the Rockefeller Foundation, will require the services of a considerable number of American technical experts. As Commissioner of Education Claxton has pointed out, the allies have suffered an almost irreparable loss of their highly trained scientists, and the next few years will see them increasingly dependent on our engineers.

To aid the Government to get engineers and to utilize to the fullest the inventive ability of its members, the United Engineering Society has appointed a council of 24 well-known engineers. The society includes the American Society

of Civil Engineers, the American Institute of Mining Engineers, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and the American Institute of Electrical Engineers.

Many younger men with engineering training will render an important service as semi-technical artisans in war industries and actual field construction. A few highly trained specialists, already approaching the needed number, can direct, but a great number of workers is and will continue a constant demand.

65. *Chemists.* There will be a limited demand by the Government for trained chemists as inspectors and experimenters in the official laboratories and with the field and base hospital units. They can also perform useful service as inspectors of explosives and ammunition in factories and arsenals. For entrance into much of this work one of the first channels is the civil service. Chemists will be needed, too, in the manufacture of drugs. Chemists are advised to keep in communication with the schools where they were trained, for information as to where they can be of service to the Government in a civil or military capacity.

66. *Lawyers.* There will be only a very limited call for lawyers in the Government service. At the present time there is practically no need for lawyers in the service of the Judge Advocate General of the Army or the Navy. A few lawyers are appointed on examination by the civil service for solicitors to the Navy Department. The legal service needed in the emergency by the Treasury Department and the Council of National Defense has been of a volunteer character, and the work with the Food Administrator's staff will probably be on that basis. There are no further openings at present with the Treasury or Council, and the need in connection with food administration has not yet appeared. The Shipping Board is not in need of further legal assistance.

*Legal advice.* The legal profession can perform an important social service by lending its efforts to needy clients in criminal and civil cases and insuring an equitable administration of the law in war time as well as in times of peace. Legal associations, such as the War Committee of the Bar of

the City of New York, may be formed to mobilize the legal profession for such service as its members' training has especially fitted them for.

67. *Speakers.* It is necessary to provide orators as speakers at public meetings where the principles of our Government, the causes of the war, the duty of the citizen, and other topics may be discussed with a view to informing the public, enlightening the ignorant, and inspiring the faithful and loyal. This work would also embrace the promotion of the interests of the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Government loans, etc.

The Division of Four-Minute Men of the Committee on Public Information (see paragraph 39) has organized over 3,000 speakers throughout the country. They are to give short addresses on public questions in moving-picture theaters. The speaking is controlled by State and city chairmen, who are in communication with and receive material from the division. Inquiries should be addressed to Mr. William McCormick Blair, director, 10 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

The National Security League, after a preliminary meeting at Chautauqua, N. Y., has undertaken to provide speakers who will address audiences throughout the country on patriotic subjects.

68. *Photographers* with expert training are needed in connection with numerous arms of military service—usually with the Signal Corps, which includes aviation. (See under Army, paragraphs 199, 211, and 230.)

69. *Artists.* The artists of the country can render a distinguished service by employing their talents in the creation of war posters. The response so far has been very encouraging. The artistic energies of the French and Italian peoples have produced pictorial calls to arms and to financial and civilian support of the allied cause. The war will provide the opportunity and the challenge to American artists. Their work can be a great stimulus to recruiting for the various branches of service, to support of Government loans, to relief work, and to encouragement of civilian work behind the lines.

*War posters.* For those interested in contributing war posters, inquiries may be addressed to Charles Dana Gibson, Carnegie Studios, New York City.

*Camouflage.* A more direct military service can be rendered by artists in camouflage, the art of protective and deceptive coloring and construction. Artists with a love for construction and physically fit for military service will be needed in limited numbers. Inquiries may be addressed to American Camouflage, 215 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York City.

*Draftsmen.* A considerable number of expert draftsmen are required in the civil service at present. The Civil Service Commission makes the further announcement that until further notice women will be admitted to examinations for draftsmen and copyist draftsmen under the Navy Department. Continuous examinations, for which applications may be filed at any time until further notice, are pending for the position of ship draftsman, mechanical draftsman, electrical draftsman, and marine engine and boiler draftsman, under that department. For further information as to mode of application, etc., see under The Civil Service (paragraphs 129 to 135, inclusive).

70. *Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau.* For men with college and university training the Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C., under Dean William McClellan, is performing a useful function. This agency expects to receive calls for specialists from the governmental departments and through representatives at the colleges and universities throughout the country it can locate the men needed. It must be understood that the calls have only begun, and at present only a limited number of those listed with the Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau can be placed.

It should always be borne in mind that with every month the war lasts there must come an ever-increasing call for men in positions where the work of the hand counts for a great deal. It is conceivable that men and women with professional and semiprofessional training will be needed for

such work. Very recently an agency has been established through which trained men and women may offer their services to the Government and indicate their proficiency in lines other than their chosen profession. This agency is the United States Public Service Reserve with offices at 1712 I Street, Washington, D. C. Its director is Mr. W. E. Hall, whose success with the Boys' Working Reserve has especially fitted him for his new and broader task. For further details, see paragraph 103.

## FINANCING THE WAR.

71. *General statement.* The financing of America's part in the war and a large measure of the operations of the nations with which we are making common cause, is by act of Congress in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury. The response of the American people to the first appeal for funds was heartening to every patriot and to every lover of freedom. The country was offered an issue of \$2,000,000,000 of Liberty bonds and the people subscribed \$3,035,226,850—an oversubscription of \$1,035,226,850, or 50 per cent more than the amount offered. This great success of the first installment of the Liberty Loan echoed throughout the world as a conclusive reply to the enemies of America, who claimed that the heart of the United States was not in this war.

72. *Taxation and bonds.* America's part in the war will be financed by two means—taxation and bond issues. Taxation will represent the financial burden which will be borne by the present generation which engaged in the war, and bond issues will represent the financial burden to be borne in part by succeeding generations as their price for the liberty which we are fighting to preserve for them. Congress has authorized the bonds necessary for the time being, and is now considering the question of taxation.

73. *The bond act.* The facility and expedition with which the bond bill was enacted and placed into immediate operation established a record among nations. On the 6th of April, 1917, the war resolution was passed. Secretary McAdoo immediately advised the Congress of the financial necessities, and on the 24th of April, 1917, the greatest bond bill in the history of the United States and one of the greatest financial measures in the history of the world became a law by practically unanimous vote of Congress.

The measure authorized an issue of \$5,000,000,000 in bonds and \$2,000,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness. By its provisions the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is authorized to loan \$3,000,000,000 of the sums raised to the nations engaged in war with the enemies

of the United States. By July 6 a total of \$1,303,000,000 credit had been advanced to the allied powers.

While the bill was pending in Congress, in order to conserve all the time possible Secretary McAdoo began a study of the immediate financial needs of the countries fighting against Germany, because it was realized that the first effective blows to be leveled at Germany would be dealt by quickly supplying to the nations battling against her all the necessary credits with which to buy the implements of war and the means of prosecuting the conflict vigorously, while the United States was assembling her military forces for active participation. This inquiry and a survey of our own immediate necessities was completed shortly after the enactment of the bond bill, and led the Secretary to place before the country a \$2,000,000,000 issue of bonds as the first move to meet the situation.

74. *Short-Term Certificates.* In the meantime, through the Federal Reserve banks, there were offered short-term certificates of indebtedness running for a few months and bearing interest at the rate of 3 and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent per annum. These issues were offered periodically in amounts of about \$200,000,000 each, and before the bond issue was completed something approaching \$1,000,000,000 had been obtained in this way. These funds were loaned to the nations making war on Germany by the purchase of their securities running for the same length of time and bearing the same rate of interest as the bonds of the United States.

It was announced that the certificates of indebtedness would be received from any subscriber of bonds as a payment on bonds allotted to him. By this utilization of certificates of indebtedness, extending over a period of a number of weeks, practically one-half of the loan had been absorbed by the country and the necessary transfer of credits adjusted before the bonds had actually been subscribed and issued. This contributed largely to the prevention of any monetary disturbance in the unprecedented financial operations of the Government.

#### THE LIBERTY LOAN.

It was on the 2d of May that the initial offering of \$2,000,000,000 of bonds was announced. The entire bond issue was christened "The Liberty Loan of 1917." The

money raised by it is for the purpose of waging war against autocracy. It is to supply the sinews of battle in the interest of free government.

75. *Details of the issue.* Following the announcement of the amount, on the 14th of May the details of the bonds were given to the public. The bonds were dated June 15, 1917, and bore interest at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum from that date, payable semi-annually on December 15 and June 15. They will mature June 15, 1947, but may be redeemed on or after June 15, 1932, in whole or in part, with accrued interest, on three months' published notice, on any interest day; in case of partial redemption, the bonds to be redeemed will be determined by lot by such method as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. The principal and interest of the bonds will be payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value, and the bonds are exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation, except estate or inheritance taxes, imposed by authority of the United States or its possessions, or by any State or local taxing authorities. The bonds do not bear the circulation privilege but are receivable as security for deposits of public money.

76. *Conversion.* Provision has been made by Secretary McAdoo in accordance with the act of Congress for converting the Liberty Loan  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent bonds into bonds paying a higher rate of interest, if bonds bearing a higher rate are issued by the United States Government during the war with Germany.

77. *Partial payment.* In order to make it as easy as possible for the people of the country to participate in the loan a plan of partial payments was evolved extending over as long a period as the necessities of the financial operations of the Government would permit. The dates for payment in installments follow:

Two per centum on application;  
Eighteen per centum on June 28, 1917;  
Twenty per centum on July 30, 1917;  
Thirty per centum on August 15, 1917;  
Thirty per centum on August 30, 1917.

78. *Form of bonds.* The bonds will be issued in both coupon and registered form, the coupon bonds being in denomina-

nations of \$50, \$100, \$500, and \$1,000. Registered bonds will be issued in denominations of \$100, \$500, \$1,000, \$5,000, \$10,000, \$50,000, and \$100,000. Coupon bonds are payable to bearer, and the interest is payable upon presentation of interest coupons attached to the bonds, one for each six months' period. Registered bonds are registered in the name of the holder on the books of the Treasury and are payable, as to principal, only to the person whose name appears on the face of the bond. The interest on such bonds is payable by check to his order at the end of each six months' period.

79. *Floating the loan.* In floating the loan, Secretary McAdoo took every means to make it a popular loan and to give every citizen of the United States an equal opportunity to subscribe for the bonds. He made two trips through the country in order to explain the necessities of the Government, the great value of the bonds, and the wisdom of the people investing in them.

The Federal Reserve System afforded a great instrument for the organization of the necessary machinery to distribute information, sell the bonds, and collect the vast amount of money placed at the disposal of the Government. The 12 Federal Reserve banks, which are the fiscal agents of the Government, became the headquarters of their respective districts in handling the loan. The direction of the whole operation was centered in the Treasury Department, and the plan of dealing with the several districts through the Federal Reserve banks resulted in the establishment of a workable organization that handled the situation expeditiously and effectively. Great credit is due to the Federal Reserve banks. The National banks, State banks, trust companies, private banks, bond houses, newspapers, express companies, department stores, and many other private corporations, firms, organizations, and individuals patriotically cooperated with the Government to receive and transmit applications for the Liberty Loan without expense to the United States or to the applicants. Never before was the whole machinery of business and enterprise organized into a great voluntary machine for service to the country without expectation of compensation or hope of reward, except the satisfaction that it contributed immeasurably to the

success of the greatest loan in our history, and thus to the cause for which the loan was made.

The payment of subscriptions was so arranged as to prevent the slightest ripple in the financial situation. This was accomplished by redepositing in the banks to the credit of the Government the funds which were subscribed by the banks or their customers, the deposits being subject to the Government's call and remaining with the banks until needed. This process avoided the withdrawing of the money from circulation and locking it up in the Treasury. On the contrary it was left with the banks and was available for the country's credit needs for withdrawal by the Government as needed. When withdrawn from one bank in settlement of bills or obligations it meant simply the transfer to another institution, and in this way the money placed to the credit of the Government was kept in constant circulation.

80. *Number of subscribers and allotments.* The great popularity of the loan and the strength of the support of the people to the President is attested by the large oversubscription and the great number of subscribers. While returns are as yet incomplete it is estimated that more than 4,000,000 men and women of the United States subscribed for the bonds and that 99 per cent subscribed in amounts ranging from \$50 to \$10,000, their subscriptions aggregating \$1,296,684,850, while the number of individual subscribers to \$5,000,000 and over was 21, their subscriptions aggregating \$188,789,900.

One of the chief purposes of Secretary McAdoo's campaign was to distribute the bonds widely throughout the country. The large number of subscribers, especially the large number of small subscribers, is most gratifying and indicates that the interest of the people was aroused as never before in an issue of bonds.

In making the allotment of \$2,000,000,000 out of the \$3,035,226,850 subscribed, the Secretary decided to allot in full all subscriptions for bonds from \$50 to \$10,000.

The subscriptions by Federal reserve districts were as follows:

Boston-----	\$332,447,600
New York-----	1,186,788,400
Philadelphia-----	232,309,250

*Financing the War.*

Cleveland -----	\$286,148,700
Richmond -----	109,737,100
Atlanta -----	57,878,550
Chicago -----	357,195,950
St. Louis-----	86,134,700
Minneapolis -----	70,255,500
Kansas City-----	91,758,850
Dallas -----	48,948,350
San Francisco-----	175,623,900

Allotments of bonds were made as follows:

Subscriptions.	Allotments.	
Up to and including \$10,000.	\$1,296,684,850	\$1,296,684,850
Over \$10,000 up to and including \$100,000.	560,103,050	60 per cent. but not less than \$10,000 bonds.
Over \$100,000 up to and including \$250,000.	220,455,600	45 per cent, but not less than \$60,000 bonds.
Over \$250,000 up to and including \$2,000,000.	601,514,900	30 per cent, but not less than \$112,500 bonds.
Over \$2,000,000 up to and including \$6,000,000.	234,544,300	25 per cent, but not less than \$600,000 bonds.
Over \$6,000,000 up to and including \$10,000,000.	46,674,150	21 per cent.....
\$25,000,000-----	50,000,000	20 (22) per cent.....
\$25,250,000-----	25,250,000	20 (17) per cent.....
Total subscriptions.....	3,035,226,850	
Total allotment.....		2,000,000,000

## INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND LABOR.

81. *General statement.* From President Wilson's address to the people, April 15, 1917:

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be the managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service," and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied, and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does—the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great service army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the Nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process, and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

82. *Military industries.* Skilled workers are needed in the Army and Navy, though the number as compared with that needed to furnish war supplies is small. In the Quartermaster Enlisted Reserve Corps (see paragraph 227) the occupations listed are motor-truck drivers, wagon masters, blacksmiths, electricians, saddlers, painters, labor overseers, teamsters, storekeepers, farriers, forge masters, horseshoers, bakers, cooks, butchers, clerks, and watchmen.

The Adjutant General's office (see paragraph 199) has sent orders to recruiting stations to enlist as many of the

following workers as possible: Blacksmiths, blasters and powdermen, cabinetmakers, wooden-boat calkers, bridge, house, and ship carpenters, clerks, cooks, divers, draftsmen, drillers, teamsters, electricians, enginemen, chauffeurs, farriers, firemen, masons, mine foremen, concrete foremen, painters, railroad construction men, glaziers, horseshoers, lithographers, machinists, oarsmen, skilled boatmen, mule packers, photographers, pipefitters, plumbers, riggers, riveters, harnessmakers, shoemakers, storeroom keepers, surveyors, transit men, tinsmiths, and students of engineering. In the Signal Enlisted Reserve Corps (see paragraph 230) the men needed are radio operators, experts in gas engines, experts in motor generators, motor-truck drivers, telegraphers, switchboard men, linemen, electricians, mechanics, and cooks. The Ordnance Enlisted Reserve Corps (see paragraph 229) requires men skilled in practically every trade and business, and *military training as a soldier is not required* before enlistment. The members of this section are required to perform the duties of their particular trade or business incident to furnishing troops with ordnance equipment, and are not required, except in emergency, to drill with rifles, perform guard duty, or other purely military duties. Only men of sound physique and good character will be taken. Application blanks may be obtained at Army recruiting stations (see paragraphs 199 and 229).

A large number of laborers of every variety will be needed in connection with the building and running of the 16 cantonments for the new National Army. A list of these camps will be found on map page 251 in the appendix.

83. *Naval trades.* The principal need of the Navy is for radioelectricians, machinists, firemen, and cooks. Bakers, musicians, yeomen, clerks, carpenters, coppersmiths, boiler makers, shipwrights, blacksmiths, painters, pharmacists, and ship fitters can also find employment in the Navy. Men who already possess a mechanical trade may be enlisted for duty in that trade, even if over 25, provided they are under 35 years of age. Many painters, boat builders, ship carpenters, coppersmiths, drillers, ordnance men, pipe coverers, riggers, and ship carpenters are needed at once in the navy yards. The civilian mechanical force at navy yards and other naval establishments ordinarily numbers about 25,000. Since the

1st of April this force has been increased to about 35,000, and it is daily being added to. This increase has been effected through the United States Civil Service Commission. Of approximately 10,000 men appointed, 8,500 have registered for employment with the commission's local boards of examiners at the yards and stations, and the remaining 1,500 have been certified through the direct efforts of the commission at Washington and its agents in the field.

Applications for entrance into this service should be addressed to the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., or to the nearest District Headquarters. (See Appendix, State Registers.)

84. *War industries.* Skilled workmen will in most cases serve their country best if they remain at their posts and increase their care and efficiency in contributing to the preparation of war supplies. Workers engaged in the manufacture of war materials should remember that their activities are second only in importance to those of the men in the trenches. Therefore until called to military duty they should stay at their tasks. Even when drafted if their worth appears of primary importance to the officials they may be exempted (see paragraph 241).

85. *New industries.* New industries incident to our entrance into the war will have to be started. Materials which in the past were imported from Germany must be manufactured in this country owing to the state of war. The fact that in peace time over 90 per cent of our surgical instruments were imported from Germany is indicative of the reorganization which will be necessary.

Plans are already under way which will make possible the manufacture within our borders of instruments for military as well as domestic use. The situation is, furthermore, of particular importance to drug manufacturers, and it may be mentioned that such a drug as salvarsan will be available from production in this country. This drug was formerly imported from Germany but will now be manufactured in America.

By direction of the President certain plants will be immediately constructed for the production of nitrates from atmospheric nitrogen. The plants to be constructed do not involve the use of water power, but use a process which is a

modification of processes previously known; and the total expenditure involved in these projects is about \$4,000,000. Nothing further can be said at this time about the process or the location of the works which are to be constructed. Of the total amount appropriated by Congress, namely, \$20,000,000, substantially \$16,000,000 remains undesignated as to its expenditure by the President.

The committee, consisting of the Secretaries of War, Interior, and Agriculture, to which the President referred the question of the selection of a site or sites for the development of water power, has made no report to the President on that subject, but is engaged in the making of further engineering studies, and the subject is temporarily closed to further discussion by localities and communities desiring to be considered as possible sites for the plants.

86. *Retail trades.* In this field, as in all others, stress must be laid on the necessity for rigid economy, but special note may be made of the desirability for cutting down expenses in the way of delivery of merchandise. Small purchases may well be carried home, and the waste of the present delivery system may be largely eliminated by not returning goods. If unnecessary expenses of this sort are eliminated, a large number of men will be released for war service, and the equipment employed will be made available for other purposes. In this connection the advisability of buying products raised or manufactured in the vicinity may also be stressed. This will effect great savings in transportation and will help to avoid waste of perishable articles.

87. *Shipbuilding.* On July 13 Major Gen. George W. Goethals, then general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, made public his program for ship construction. The program as embodied in the following extracts from a letter to President William Denman of the Shipping Board, may be altered, in view of changes in the Shipping Board and the nomination, by the President, of Edward N. Hurley, as chairman of the Shipping Board, and of Rear Admiral Capps, U. S. N., as general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

## I.

## SHIPS NOW BUILDING.

Contracts for 348 wood ships have been let, or agreed upon, with a tonnage capacity of 1,218,000 tons, at a cost, completed, of approximately \$174,000,000. In addition I have under negotiation contracts for about 100 wood ships. Contracts for 77 steel ships have been let, or agreed upon, with a tonnage of 642,800 tons, at a cost of approximately \$101,660,356.

There are thus provided 425 ships of all sorts, with an aggregate tonnage of 1,860,800, at a cost of approximately \$275,000,000, besides 100 more wood ships under negotiation. I shall continue to let all contracts for wood ships (of design approved by the Naval Architect of the Corporation) which I can secure from responsible bidders.

## II.

## CONSTRUCTION OF STANDARDIZED SHIPS.

My main reliance for getting the greatest amount of the most serviceable tonnage in the shortest time will be on the construction of fabricated steel ships of standard pattern. For that purpose I shall use, to some extent, the existing yards.

On July 16 I shall offer contracts for the building of two plants (to be owned by the Government) for the construction of fabricated steel ships, to produce 40 ships of an aggregate tonnage capacity of 2,500,000 tons within the next 18 to 24 months. The additional contracts for wood ships, which I expect to place, together with the full number of fabricated steel ships which it is planned to build, will require more money than Congress has authorized. When I know how much will be needed, it will be necessary to ask Congress for further sums.

## III.

## COMMANDERING OF SHIPS IN YARDS.

On July 16 I shall deliver to shipbuilders a general statement of the program which I have long been maturing for commandeering ships now under construction for private account (such ships having an aggregate tonnage considerably in excess of 1,500,000 tons).

The essence of this program is to commandeer all such ships and expedite their construction by adding labor and cutting out refinements. By thus federalizing each yard, giving it Government help and putting it on a speed basis, we shall produce its greatest efficiency. As fast as the berths are cleared each yard will be devoted to the production of a single type of tonnage for which it is best suited. I count upon the complete cooperation of the yards.

There is great need for men in the shipbuilding trades, and our shipyards should be supplied with all the labor

that they can use. It is estimated that some thousands of skilled carpenters and other woodworkers will be available, and though these would be far from sufficient they may be counted upon to form the nucleus of a larger body. One skilled man could direct the work of 25 or more who, if they have had any experience in the use of tools, can do the work required.

Thousands of young men from the colleges who are not subject to draft are to be called upon to serve as apprentices in the yards in which the fleet of wooden ships are to be built to carry supplies to Europe. The task of organizing this force to speed up the building program has been placed in the hands of the employment service of the Department of Labor, under the leadership of Mr. C. T. Clayton. (See also paragraph 103.)

88. *Steel industry.* At a conference on July 12 between the committee of the American Iron & Steel Institute and the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, Chairman Denman, of the Shipping Board, and Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, discussion was had of the prospective demand upon the steel industry of the country for supplies of various steel products for carrying on the war. The steel men repeated their assurance that their entire product would be available for the need, and that they were doing everything possible to stimulate an increased production and speed deliveries.

The price to be paid for the iron and steel products furnished was left to be determined after the inquiry by the Federal Trade Commission is completed, with the understanding that the price, when fixed, would insure reasonable profits and be made with reference to the expanding needs of this fundamental industry.

The representatives of the Government assured the committee of the steel institute that it was the intention of the Government to distribute the war requirements over the entire iron and steel producing capacity of the country.

The large steel plants are searching continually for skilled machinists, and even men with but slight experience can find employment with high wages in almost any manufacturing place.

89. *Munitions.* Among war industries the manufacture of munitions naturally occupies a position of primary importance. The large plants are all busy and production has increased enormously over that of a year ago. The large factories have been building additional annexes, without, however, stopping production, and industrial conditions have thereby been improved. The large volume of business in most cases has already necessitated the plants being operated 24 hours a day, one shift of laborers immediately following another.

The firearms available for commerce will be limited, but the Government in letting its contracts has in no case placed orders with firms which, because of the new work undertaken, would curtail the production already begun for the allies.

90. *Coal.* The coal situation has caused considerable difficulty to those responsible for the welfare of this branch of the country's organization.

The Bureau of Mines has for a number of years been engaged in studying this problem and has by this time completed a number of reports that tend to solve many of the difficulties met with in the burning of coal. These reports are not only of extremely great value to the engineers and firemen of power plants, but they are also a practical aid to the householder in keeping up his furnace in an economical manner. Many of the conclusions can be put into operation at once with a great saving of coal and without any expensive new equipment being installed. As an illustration, the substitution of coke for anthracite coal in many localities is very desirable on the score of economy, and the bureau desires to stimulate the use of coke as a domestic fuel because of its cleanliness. The reports may be obtained by applying to the Director of the Bureau of Mines, Washington, D. C.

The following statement has been authorized by the committee on coal production of the Council of National Defense after a meeting of the full committee:

The primary purpose of the committee on coal production, as outlined when it was created, is to increase coal production so that an adequate supply will be available. How well it has accomplished this purpose is shown by the following figures:

Bituminous coal loaded at the mines in the United States for rail movement amounted in May to nearly 40,000,000 tons, or over 7,000,000 tons more than was loaded in May a year ago and 4,000,000 tons more than in April of this year. Anthracite shipments in May were over 1,300,000 tons more than for May a year ago. This mine activity probably makes a record month for rail shipments to the consumers, and figures already reported for the first half of June show that a still further increase is going on which is expected to make June exceed May by a substantial tonnage. So far this year, therefore, the mines have been surpassing previous records.

A proposal that coal prices during the war be fixed by a joint governmental commission composed of the Secretary of the Interior, the defense council's coal-production committee, and the Federal Trade Commission was approved on June 27 by a special committee of coal operators representing the trade in all sections of the country.

The operators voted to establish in Washington a permanent bureau for cooperation with the Government. It will be a clearing house of the coal association.

#### WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

91. *Purpose.* The Bureau of War-Risk Insurance of the Treasury Department writes war-risk insurance on American vessels and their cargoes and on masters, officers, and crews of American vessels. Plans are under consideration to have it also undertake the insurance and indemnification of officers and enlisted men in the Army and Navy of the United States. (See paragraph 182.)

92. *Insurance on vessels and cargoes.* In the week following August 1, 1914, at the outbreak of the war, war-risk rates on cargoes and hulls were almost prohibitive and shippers paid as high as 25 per cent and 30 per cent to cover war risks through the North Sea. South American rates were up to 20 per cent, while rates to India and the Far East ranged from 15 per cent to 20 per cent.

On August 7, 1914, Secretary McAdoo called a conference of business interests and suggested that a Bureau of War Risk Insurance be established in the Treasury Department to afford to our suffering commerce at reasonable rates the necessary protection against war risks. At the suggestion of the Secretary a bill was accordingly introduced in Con-

gress and enacted into law on September 2, 1914. On September 3, the next day, the bureau was organized and ready for business. It has proved of immeasurable service to the business of the country, affording protection against war risks at reasonable rates. The total amount insured from September 2, 1914, to June 30, 1917, was \$623,964,598.

A general schedule of rates has been published, and definite rates are quoted when the bureau is advised of the name of the vessel, the voyage (all ports named), the amount of insurance required, the name of the insured, and the approximate sailing date.

All quotations are made for 48 hours' acceptance and filing of application, accompanied by certified check (made payable to the Treasurer of the United States) in payment of the premium, and with the warranty that the vessel will sail within 15 days from the date of the application. No insurance will be accepted after a vessel has sailed.

93. *Life and accident insurance.* With the approval of the President, Secretary McAdoo on May 2, 1917, recommended that the powers of the War-Risk Insurance Bureau of the Treasury Department be enlarged so as to permit the granting of war-risk insurance on the lives of officers and seamen of American merchant ships, just as war-risk insurance on the hulls and cargoes of the vessels themselves is granted. The bill was passed by Congress and was signed by the President on June 12, 1917. This additional insurance protection provides not alone for insurance of the lives of the men against the risks of war upon the high seas but also for certain indemnities for injuries, as well as for compensation during captivity. Exercising the power granted to him by law, the Secretary has issued an order requiring the owners of vessels to take out war-risk insurance for the officers and crews of their vessels traveling in the war zone. The insurance is permissive for the rest of the world.

94. *Policies of insurance protecting the officers and seamen of the American merchant marine* are on a form known as blanket contracts, one policy being issued to cover the entire complement (master, officers, and crew) of the vessel. For identification purposes an application is required in connection with each policy, upon which is listed the name of each individual, his nationality, address, position occupied,

rate of wages per month (including bonuses), and the amount for which he is insured, and this form must be completed before the policy is written.

The form just referred to is known as the final application. It is preceded, in practically every case, by a "provisional" application. This form is necessary because in most cases the crew of the boat is not completed until just before sailing, and it is almost impossible for the vessel owners or charterers to furnish a final application until after the boat has sailed, and in order to effect the insurance until such time as the final application can be completed and forwarded to the bureau, "provisional" application referred to above serves to bind the insurance.

95. *Amount of insurance.* The policy is effective in the event of death, dismemberment, permanent and total disability as the result of any act of war, or detention after capture by an enemy of the United States, and the amount of insurance provided is based on earnings. In all cases where the monthly earnings of the individual insured, including the bonuses, amounts to less than \$125 per month, the amount of insurance granted is \$1,500. In all cases where the monthly wage, including bonuses, exceeds \$126, but not \$416.66, the amount of insurance is 12 times the monthly earnings. In cases where the monthly earnings exceed \$416.66, i. e., \$5,000 per annum, the amount of insurance is \$5,000; in other words, the minimum amount of insurance provided under the present form for seamen is \$1,500 and the maximum \$5,000.

The policy pays 100 per cent for loss of life, both hands, both arms, both feet, or both legs, or both eyes; for loss of one hand 50 per cent, one arm 65 per cent, one foot 50 per cent, one leg 65 per cent, one eye 45 per cent, and total destruction of hearing 50 per cent.

96. *Detention by enemy.* In the event of detention by an enemy of the United States following capture, compensation is paid at the same rate as the earning of the detained person immediately preceding such detention for the period of detention, until such time as the total compensation so paid shall amount to the principal sum for which the individual is insured, all payments provided for in the policy to be made to the master, officer, or member of the crew,

except that a payment for loss of life will be made to the estate of the insured for distribution to his family, free from liability at death, and payment for compensation on account of detention will be made to dependents of the individual insured, if designated by the person detained. Aggregate payments with respect to any one person shall not exceed the principal sum for which that individual is insured. A new policy is provided for each trip.

#### COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION.

97. *Railroads.* New and pressing problems have likewise confronted those who are responsible for the commerce of the country. European experience at the outset of the war illustrated the absolute necessity for keeping the country's railroad service in a condition as near to that of normal times as was possible. Thanks to this lesson and the realization of its supreme importance, the railroads have been able to a large extent to meet unusual problems of transportation and to avoid serious blockades. One thing above all others must continue to be borne in mind by those men engaged in railroading—stay at your posts until you are definitely instructed to enter other service.

Skilled railroad men will form one of the first units to be sent to France, and the American Engineering Commission is now in Russia. The operating efficiency of the railroads must be maintained for a successful mobilization, but there will have to be a thorough economizing on rolling stock. While passenger service itself should be kept commensurate with the needs of the traveling public, some of the luxuries of travel, such as parlor, chair, observation, and lounging cars, etc., will have to be cut down. All special excursion trains, local accommodation trains poorly patronized, may have to be reduced for the duration of the war. The authorities controlling transportation have an important function to perform in fixing the priority of freight. War industries must have the first call on cars for shipment and for transporting raw material. Industry will feel the pressure of war here as scarcely anywhere else, and much criticism and many hardships are bound to occur. With limited rolling stock, "business as usual" in all branches is scarcely possible.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has created a division of car service under the authority conferred by the car-service act approved May 29, 1917, amending section 1 of the act to regulate commerce, to deal with the movement, distribution, exchange, interchange, and return of freight cars. Complaints and communications regarding car service received by the Interstate Commerce Commission will be handled through the new division. The carriers have appointed local car-service committees at some 25 points throughout the country, and the National Industrial Traffic League has appointed similar committees of shippers at the same points, the aim being to secure harmony and cooperation between shippers and carriers. The commission suggests that these committees should meet jointly where necessary to adjust local affairs; any irreconcilable differences which arise may be referred to the carriers' commission on car service or to the division of car service of the Interstate Commerce Commission for adjustment.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison, chairman of the Railroads War Board, has made the following statement:

The railroads of the United States, as part of their effort under the direction of the Railroads War Board to make available a maximum of transportation energy for the movement of freight necessary for the successful conduct of the war, report the elimination of passenger trains aggregating 16,267,028 miles of train service per year.

This is done by the railroads to save man power, fuel, and motive power, that they may be applied to the transportation of necessities.

Every ton of coal, every locomotive, every mile of track space, every man whose duties are absorbed by an unnecessary passenger train can be put to effective use in freight service, and nothing is more necessary at the moment to insure the safety and prosperity of the country than that the railroads be able to handle the utmost possible amount of freight. The railroads gave in April some 15 per cent more freight service, with practically the same facilities, as in the same month last year.

The elimination of passenger service already reported will make available for other purposes over 1,120,000 tons of coal.

98. *Inland water transportation.* The problems confronting those responsible for inland water transportation are, in many ways, similar to those of railroad operators. The Council of National Defense has organized a commission on inland water transportation whose function will be the systematizing of the work of companies engaged in this work.

It is hoped through this agency, to aid in some degree in meeting the existing shortage in freight cars in sections where water transportation is possible.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison, of the Railroads War Board, has made the following statement:

The railroads will welcome any practicable water transportation and are prepared to cooperate cordially with responsible persons or corporations who may provide such water transportation by the exchange of traffic, the assurance of joint through bills of lading, and, if necessary, where conditions justify it, by joining the water carriers in the building of tracks to connect the railroads with the wharves and landings of water carriers.

99. Shipping must be provided not only for transport and munition service, but also to carry food and coal and steel to our allies. Italy must have coal and steel from outside her borders if her munition factories are to run at full schedule. No Italian offensive can be effective if coal and steel are not imported. This brings a call to our miners, railroads, and merchantmen.

100. *Merchant marine engineers and officers.* On June 20 Mr. William Denman, then chairman of the Shipping Board, announced a country-wide call by the board for engineers to serve on the forthcoming war fleet of the merchant marine.

Not less than 5,000 additional engineer officers will be needed on American ships in the next 18 months. Anticipating this demand, the board will establish marine engineering schools, in which to train men not now qualified to receive papers. Each term will last one month. The expense of tuition is borne by the Shipping Board. Marine engineers of all grades, oilers, and water tenders, and stationary engineers, are eligible for the classes.

As the rules of the Steamboat-Inspection Service covering qualifications of applicants for examination have been recently modified, the Shipping Board expects a response to its call from all parts of the country.

After passing their examinations, engineer students will be given an opportunity for further training under service conditions until wanted on ships of the new merchant marine.

The board is also recruiting for the merchant service 5,000 masters and mates, and is establishing a chain of

schools in navigation on both coasts to train those needing preliminary instruction.

There are seven schools in New England: At Harvard and Technology, New Bedford, Portland, Rockland, Machias, and Boothbay Harbor. A second chain of the schools embraces Greenport, L. I.; Atlantic City; Cape May; Crisfield, Md.; Philadelphia; Baltimore; and Norfolk. A third will embrace Charleston, Jacksonville, Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston, and a fourth Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Portland, Oregon. Schools will be established later at points on the Great Lakes.

The engineering schools which opened July 2 are at Institute of Technology, Cambridge, where 150 men a month can be handled in a class; Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J.; Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; the Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland; the Armour Institute, Chicago; Washington University, Seattle; and Tulane University, New Orleans.

The following is a list showing the names and addresses, together with the territory covered by the various district officers, of the United States Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation:

W. H. Hand, jr., Customhouse, Boston, Mass. East Massachusetts to Maine, inclusive.

Eads Johnson, 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y. New Jersey (outside the Delaware River), New York, and to eastern Massachusetts.

G. R. McDermott, Room 302, 1319 F Street NW., Washington, D. C. Chesapeake and Delaware, and Atlantic coast from Philadelphia to Norfolk.

W. C. McGowan, 505 Heard Building, Jacksonville, Fla. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Atlantic and Gulf coast lines of Florida to and including the Apalachicola River on the west.

Warren Johnson, 817-819 Hibernia Bank Building, New Orleans, La. From the Apalachicola River on the east to, but not including, the Mississippi River on the west.

Charles N. Crowell, 1316 Carter Building, Houston, Tex. Texas and the Mississippi River.

A. F. Pillsbury, 310 Sansome, San Francisco, Cal. Pacific coast.

John F. Blain (under Capt. Pillsbury), Securities Building, Seattle, Wash. Seattle and vicinity.

Aliens who are not subjects of the German Government or of its allies may serve as watch officers on American ships

in foreign trade by appearing before local inspectors of the Steamboat-Inspection Service and obtaining licenses from them.

#### LABOR.

101. *The labor supply.* Even industries not directly connected with the war are feeling its results in many ways. For one thing the departure of men who joined the military forces or who entered other fields has given rise to a serious employment problem. It is of especial importance that such a condition should not be allowed to grow acute, for a sharp decline in the production of articles only remotely connected with the war might seriously embarrass the Government. The employment service of the Department of Labor is organizing labor with a view to making prompt responses to appeals from vital industries.

102. *Labor exchanges.* The question of securing an adequate labor supply naturally falls within the work of the Department of Labor. Through its employment service, which is represented in all parts of the country, efforts are being made with a view to securing necessary mechanics for government arsenals and navy yards, shipbuilders for construction of merchant vessels which are to be erected under the direction of the Shipping Board, and unskilled workers for the tillage of the soil.

The possibilities and usefulness of the Federal Employment Service are well illustrated by the dispatch with which the first order of the Shipping Board for assistance was filled. Within four days after the appeal had reached the Department of Labor its officers throughout the country had succeeded in locating some 15,000 men experienced in shipbuilding who were available for Government work.

An account of the work being done to solve the problem of farm labor will be found in the sections on agriculture (see paragraphs 119 to 121, inclusive). Particularly noteworthy is the work of the United States Boys Working Reserve. (See also the lists of labor bureaus in the State registers, Appendix, pages 203ff.)

For a description of the need for maintaining labor standards see under "Domestic welfare," paragraphs 1 to 8, inclusive.

103. *The United States Public Service Reserve.* On July 12 the Department of Labor announced plans for establishing for adults a working reserve similar to the successful Boys' Working Reserve. This will be called the United States Public Service Reserve. Those who are willing to engage in such service, whether in a voluntary or wage-earning capacity, are asked to enroll. Detailed information as to the qualifications of each member will be secured, studied, and recorded. Arrangements have been made to get prompt information of opportunities for service. Available members will be put in touch with governmental departments and other employers who need men for work of value to the Nation.

A certificate of enrollment and an appropriate badge or button will be given each member. The application form of the reserve states:

I hereby apply for membership in the United States Public Service Reserve, United States Department of Labor, and request registration in its records of the accompanying description of my training, experience, aptitudes, and capacity for service. I further request the United States Public Service Reserve whenever it learns of a need, in public or private employment, for service in the national interest of a man of my qualifications, to notify me, with full particulars, including duties and compensation, and thereby afford me an opportunity to assist under the auspices of the reserve. I make this application because I desire a practical opportunity in this war emergency to contribute personal service by doing work that will aid the general welfare.

The Public Service Reserve will furnish an authorized national organization for listing those desiring service and supplying those needing it. It will supplement the regular employment service of the Department of Labor, which is now placing about 20,000 men a month, by supplying a reservoir of available men of all degrees of skill and attainment who are ready and able to meet emergencies as they arise. In bringing possibilities of employment under governmental departments to the attention of its members it will make clear that such positions are attainable only on conforming

with the applicable requirements of the Civil Service Commission. It will encourage and enlist the help of all organizations engaged in vocational training in order that the transfer of men from unessential to essential industries may be facilitated. It will seek the cooperation and try to stimulate and utilize the activities of the various technical, professional, and other organizations which have been doing excellent work in mobilizing their members for national service. It will furnish an official channel through which opportunities for service may be communicated to the members of such organizations. It will seek to enroll as many as possible of those whose applications are already on file in Washington, in order that they may be more readily found when the need for assistance arises.

The organization will be conducted by a director (Mr. W. E. Hall) responsible to the Secretary of Labor, who will be assisted by associate directors and advisory committees of technical and other experts. As the work extends, the State councils of defense will be asked to nominate State directors and boards. These officers, together with representatives to be appointed by technical societies and other affiliated organizations, will constitute a general council.

Offices have been opened by the Department of Labor; forms have been prepared and the work of enrolling members has begun. Applications for membership may be directed to the United States Public Service Reserve, Department of Labor, 1712 I Street, Washington, D. C.

104. *Labor adjustments.* Another function of this department especially significant at the present time is that of mediation and conciliation in labor disputes. Working in close cooperation with the Council of National Defense, the department has put forth every effort with a view to preserving peace, to the end that the maximum of production may be obtained. The seriousness of the situation which prevailed in the industries of England at the beginning of the war is familiar to us all. To avert a repetition of such a calamity in this country the Department of Labor is using its every energy. To mention only one instance will visualize the importance of this work. Appeals have been made hitherto by another branch of the Government to the em-

ployers and workmen of the tin-plate industries to increase to the utmost their output, that there may be available a sufficient supply of tin cans for the packing of foodstuffs. Trouble arose in several large factories, but through the intervention of the Department of Labor the difficulties were composed and a stoppage of work which would have resulted in irreparable loss was avoided.

A willingness to adjust hours and wages through arbitration is required both of employer and of employee if the maximum of efficiency is to be preserved.

The laboring classes should guard against legislation which would decrease the restrictions on hours and conditions of work and on child labor beyond the point of greatest efficiency.

## AGRICULTURE AND THE FOOD SUPPLY.

105. *General Statement.* From President Wilson's address to the people, April 15, 1917:

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen, not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms. The supreme need of our own Nation and of the nations with which we are cooperating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency, but for some time after peace shall have come, both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America.

Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the Nation count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual cooperation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done, and done immediately, to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike, and upon the able-bodied boys of the land, to accept and act upon their duty—to turn in hosts to farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

The Government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to cooperate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it, and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the Nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great democracy, and we shall not fall short of it!

Let me suggest, also, that everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the Nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and

extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

106. *Need for increasing food supply.* "The world's wheat production for 1916, because of the bad weather conditions and presence of disease affecting wheat, was comparatively low. As compared with the five-year average it was short 88,000,000 bushels, but as compared with the record crop of 1915, it was 386,000,000 short, so that there was carried over into the present year only 164,000,000 bushels. Moreover, no Russian wheat could be drawn upon by the outside world.

"In the United States the crop of winter wheat is very definitely far below the normal. Even with the increased acreage for spring wheat the forecast for the United States is but 656,000,000 bushels. The lowest unofficial Canadian forecast is 250,000,000 bushels, giving us for the United States and Canada 906,000,000 bushels. Adding to this the possible 100,000,000 bushels which may be carried over from the present and we have an approximation of 1,006,000,000 bushels.

"If we base our calculations on our present rate of consumption, we will need for this coming year for the manufacture of flour for the United States and Canada 550,000,000 bushels. We shall need to hold for seed for the crop of 1918 90,000,000 bushels. There will be needed in the various industries 10,000,000 bushels, and if we try to hold as a reserve to carry us over, only half of our present surplus, namely, 50,000,000 bushels, we will need to hold for the United States and Canada a total of 700,000,000 bushels.

"At the most conservative estimate our allies will need 550,000,000 bushels of wheat and 425,000,000 bushels of feed grain to carry them through until the next harvest. The prospects in the United States indicate that our yield of corn, oats, rye, barley, kaffir and other feed grains will enable us to meet the second requirement, but if we use our wheat as we are using it at present we will have but 300,000,000 bushels to export." (From Ten Lessons on Food Conservation.)

107. *Organization for meeting the task.* In the Federal Department of Agriculture, the State departments of agriculture, and the State agricultural colleges and experiment stations the Nation already possesses officially organized agencies which for many years have been actively studying all agricultural problems. These agencies are working in very close cooperation and are and have been actively directing their energies to the handling of such problems as are presented by this emergency. In addition to these central and field forces the department and the State agricultural colleges maintain in a large number of counties men and women county agents, whose functions are described below. The Nation also is fortunate in possessing many important farmers' organizations, such as the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the American Society of Equity, the Gleaners, the Farmers' National Congress, the American National Live Stock Association, the National Wool Growers' Association, and many others. These organizations are cooperating actively with Federal and State agencies in the development of national programs for production and conservation of food.

Agricultural conferences were called by the Secretary of Agriculture and held at St. Louis, Mo., and Berkeley, Cal., early in April, 1917, and were participated in by representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture and representatives of State agricultural colleges and State agricultural commissions. These conferences suggested the creation in each State, either separately or, preferably, in connection with the State council of safety, of a small central agricultural body, composed of agricultural officials and representatives of agricultural colleges, of farmers' organizations (such as the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the American Society of Equity, the Gleaners, the Farmers' National Congress, and others), of bankers' and business agencies, and of women's organizations. Such agencies now have been created in nearly every State in the Union and have rendered very effective service in connection with the organization of agriculture. The conference also suggested the creation of county, township, or urban bodies of similar constitution, working in close cooperation with the State-central agency,

to study and deal with problems of food production and conservation.

The Secretary of Agriculture, on April 18, recommended to the Senate an appropriation of \$25,000,000 for enlarging very greatly the force of the department engaged in cooperative demonstration work, instructing in home economics, combating destructive insects and diseases, conserving perishables on the farm, and safeguarding the seed stocks for 1918, including provision for additional Assistant Secretaries. He proposed also a complete survey of the food supply, the licensing of all industrial establishments important to agriculture or connected with the food supply, preference to agricultural needs in the movement of freight, enlargement of the telegraphic market news service, and in extreme cases the purchase of food products by the Government, with authority to store and subsequently dispose of them.

On May 5 the Secretary of Agriculture issued the following appeal to the women of the United States:

Every woman can render important service to the Nation in its present emergency. She need not leave her home or abandon her home duties to help the armed forces. She can help to feed and clothe our armies and help to supply food to those beyond the seas by practicing effective thrift in her own household.

Every ounce of food the housewife saves from being wasted in her home—all food which she or her children produce in the garden and can or preserve—every garment which care and skillful repair make it unnecessary to replace—all lessen that household's draft on the already insufficient world supplies.

To save food, the housewife must learn to plan economical and properly balanced meals, which, while nourishing each member of the family properly, do not encourage overeating or offer excessive and wasteful variety. It is her duty to use all effective methods to protect food from spoilage by heat, dirt, mice, or insects. She must acquire the culinary ability to utilize every bit of edible food that comes into her home. She must learn to use such foods as vegetables, beans, peas, and milk products as partial substitutes for meat. She must make it her business to see that nothing nutritious is thrown away or allowed to be wasted.

Waste in any individual household may seem to be insignificant, but if only a single ounce of edible food, on the average, is allowed to spoil or be thrown away in each of our 20,000,000 homes, over 1,300,000 pounds of material would be wasted each day. It takes the fruit of many acres and the work of many people to raise, prepare, and distribute 464,000,000 pounds of food a year. Every ounce of food thrown

away, therefore, tends also to waste the labor of an army of busy citizens.

While all honor is due to the women who leave their homes to nurse and care for those wounded in battle, no woman should feel that, because she does not wear a nurse's uniform, she is absolved from patriotic service. The home women of the country, if they will give their minds fully to this vital subject of food conservation and train themselves in household thrift, can make of the housewife's apron a uniform of national significance.

Demonstrate thrift in your homes and encourage thrift among your neighbors.

Make saving rather than spending your social standard.

Make economy fashionable lest it become obligatory.

EMERGENCY ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

108. The emergency which the country faced as a result of its entrance into the war has called for the extension of the work of the Department of Agriculture along certain lines more rapidly than under normal conditions. Much is now being done along emergency lines in most of the offices and bureaus of the department by readjusting different kinds of work so as to give most emphasis where it is now most needed; but the emergency needs will be cared for much better when additional funds for this purpose are provided.

109. *County agents.* The number of men county agents will be greatly increased as soon as funds become available. The plans contemplate the extension of the county agent work to all the rural counties of the Union in which there is need for the work and the placing of an additional agent in some of the counties already organized. The number of men agents at present is about 1,400. These agents have to do primarily with the introduction of improved methods of production, conservation, and distribution of crops and live stock, and with assisting people to organize for effective local effort. The women county agents will assist women and girls in their problems of production and conservation, especially in the work of home canning and drying. The staff of about 500 women county agents will be increased. These women experts, 35 of whom in one State are giving instruction in canning, will be instrumental in conserving millions of quarts of food.

Women agents will be placed for the first time in cities. Thus many of the larger cities of the country will be provided with women advisers on home economics. These will demonstrate methods of food conservation and utilization and will in some cases also stimulate the production of food. The women county agents in the agricultural counties will perform similar services. Through both men and women agents the formation of pig, poultry, and other clubs devoted to food production and conservation among young people will be stimulated. The choice of these men and women lies with the director of extension work in each State. The number employed will depend upon the number of trained men and women available.

110. *Information.* To keep the people fully and promptly informed as to the agricultural and food situation and to supply official directions for carrying out their individual parts in the national agricultural program, the department maintains an Office of Information the function of which is to cooperate with the daily, weekly, and agricultural and trade press.

As part of the campaign for the dissemination of information to individuals and to the public press, the Weekly News Letter of the department is supplied to the department's personnel, to a large number of its volunteer cooperators, and to editors of interested publications. In addition to the news items and this weekly publication, the department publishes a large number of bulletins, circulars, leaflets, and posters. Of the last named a total of more than 8,000,000 copies dealing with emergency subjects have been issued since April 1. The department has added to and improved its Farmers' Bulletin series during the last few months. To meet the emergency, over 3,000,000 copies of Farmers' Bulletins were distributed during the first three months after the war was declared. Some of these bulletins dealt with such subjects as "drying fruits and vegetables in the home," "canning," "the small vegetable garden," "fighting garden pests," "the use of corn meal in the home," "bread making," and with many other subjects which have to do with production, conservation, and distribution of food.

Upward of 14,000,000 Farmers' Bulletins were distributed last year, and this year the department expects greatly to

increase the circulation. They are obtained free by writing to the Division of Publications, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

The department conveys its knowledge even more directly through the county agents, field representatives, and special agents, and through the field and teaching forces of the cooperating State agricultural colleges and experiment stations. These agents carry the information directly to the people, and through actual demonstration, wherever this is practicable, prove the local value of the measures suggested.

The chief Federal sources of information regarding the agricultural service and the food conservation are, of course, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, and The Food Administrator, Washington, D. C. (See below.)

State sources are:

- (1) The agricultural college of each State.
- (2) The agricultural departments of the various States (situated at the State capitals).
- (3) The various State commissions appointed to relieve the present condition (situated at State capitals).
- (4) County agents, representing both the State agricultural college and the United States Department of Agriculture.
- (5) Local branches of the Food Supply Commission.
- (6) Local committees of the Council of National Defense.

The number of agencies interested in food supply and conservation is enormous and can not be listed. It is believed that these agencies will do well to associate themselves with the appropriate local committees of the State and Federal food councils and work with them. All have work to do, but the efforts of all can be best conserved by working together.

*111. How to get aid from the Department of Agriculture.* To secure help from the United States Department of Agriculture one need only write to the department, stating the problem as clearly as possible or asking for help in some special field. The inquiry will be referred to those qualified to answer the questions, and the information will be sent in the form of printed material or individual letter. Or one may telephone or write to the county agent or the State agricultural college or experiment station for assistance.

The average citizen is safe in assuming that if his problem has to do with anything that grows in the ground, or is derived from any animal, anything that is used for food, anything that is useful for clothing, produced or capable of being produced in the United States, the Department of Agriculture is interested and either has an answer to his question or can help him to an answer. In the present emergency the department is mobilizing its information with the object of answering questions likely to arise under the new conditions.

112. *How to volunteer for agricultural emergency service.* The department suggests that those who wish to volunteer to help the Nation in matters of food production and food conservation should report to their county agents (see paragraph 109), to the field representatives of the department assigned to their localities, or to their State agricultural colleges or State councils of defense. The State colleges co-operate so closely with the Federal Department of Agriculture that volunteers who work with the colleges render national service just as much as if they had tendered their service directly to the department at Washington.

The department, in utilizing agricultural volunteers, endeavors to use them in their own localities where their knowledge of local conditions will be of special service. Typical examples are the volunteer organizations which work with the county agents, who represent both the Federal Department and the State agricultural colleges. The hundreds of field men sent by the department on special missions similarly aim to interest and enlist, as volunteers, selected people of each locality. Thus, in handling the emergency farm-labor problem, the department developed a national plan, but worked through local agencies in each county who knew, at first-hand, the local farm-labor situation.

113. *Agricultural associations.* Never so much as now can agricultural organizations be of service. In cooperating with Federal and State authorities, disseminating information, and arranging for cooperation in buying, use of machinery, supplying labor, and transportation and marketing, they have a great opportunity to serve both the farmer and the Nation. It is a time for all to get together, to

check inefficiency and friction, and the slogans of every citizen should be "Intelligent cooperation," "Get together."

114. *City gardens.* A home garden should be grown on every farm and a back-yard or vacant-lot garden for every city family if possible. The results of this will be slight by comparison with what may be obtained by more intensive cultivation of farms, but they are nevertheless of decided importance.

The Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls have been set to work at the cultivation of certain strips of land, and the attempt is being made by some agencies to institute model farms and to train young boys in agricultural work.

115. *Live stock.* The raising of live stock must be increased. This applies to all types of stock. Horses will be needed in large numbers to supply the new National Army, as well as for use in agriculture and industry. Great numbers of horses have been lost in the war, and this curtailment has caused an appeal for cooperation to be sent to all breeders in this country and Canada. Sheep raising is of vital importance in view of the serious shortage of wool. Pork production should be increased substantially through the more extensive use of fall litters, better care, and better feeding. Beef-cattle breeding should be encouraged and milk production could be increased by more liberal and intelligent feeding. Poultry products should be increased.

Special campaigns to increase the production of hogs and poultry, the two animal products capable of most rapid increase, will be carried on by the Bureau of Animal Industry. Work in forming boys' and girls' pig clubs and poultry clubs will be pushed in cooperation with State agricultural colleges. The bureau also will seek to bring about the more general production of infertile eggs after the hatching season and will assist to save beef heifers of the West from slaughter and to distribute them to other sections, especially the Southeast, for breeding purposes. Campaigns for increased production and fuller utilization of dairy products and for fuller development of farm sheep raising also will be conducted by the bureau.

116. *Cattle diseases.* In addition to the efforts to stimulate directly the production of live stock the Bureau of Animal Industry will seek indirectly to increase production by com-

bating animal diseases throughout the country on a more intensive scale than ever before. In its attempt to free the South from cattle-tick fever, so that more and better cattle can be raised in that section, the United States Department of Agriculture has had one of its biggest tasks. This disease annually takes, directly and indirectly, a toll of millions of dollars from the cattle industry. The fever is transmitted by the cattle tick, and the conquest of the disease, therefore, depends upon the elimination of the parasite. This has been accomplished over considerable areas by the dipping of the infested cattle in arsenical baths. If kept from cattle, the pests soon perish and the area cleared of them becomes free from the disease.

The work of exterminating the cattle-fever tick is being carried on now throughout the quarantined area of the South by the Federal Government, the States, counties, communities, and individuals. In the 10 years during which the department has been campaigning against the cattle-tick fever an area of 312,012 square miles has been freed from the tick. All persons wishing to help put their communities in condition to produce more and better meat should align themselves with the agencies active in their communities, or if work is not yet under way should write to the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., for suggestions in regard to starting operations.

The Department of Agriculture is waging in portions of the West a fight against the serious disease of sheep scabies. Excellent results have been secured so far. Of the original 17 States quarantined against the disease in 1903, Texas and 9 counties in California now remain under quarantine. Individuals residing in sections where the disease still exists who wish to assist in the work should write for suggestions to the United States Department of Agriculture.

117. *Control of insects and predatory animals.* Throughout the country the Bureau of Entomology is assisting wherever possible in the control or extermination of insect pests which injure plants and animals. The annual damage to the wheat crop alone during the years 1909 to 1912 was estimated at from 6 to 7.4 per cent. The bureau, through the teaching of control measures, has in many instances been able to prevent damage which would have cost

millions of dollars. Persons observing insects working damage to crops or animals, especially strange insects, should immediately notify the bureau at Washington, D. C.

It is contemplated that if funds are made available for the purpose, the Bureau of Entomology and the Bureau of Biological Survey will extend their activities in the field to protect crops and live stock. The former bureau will assist in organizing communities for combating insect pests, both of crops and live stock. The latter agency will increase its field force of hunters, trappers, and poisoners of predatory animals and small animal pests which attack crops in the sparsely settled States of the West.

118. *Aid to plant industries.* Primarily the Bureau of Plant Industry carries on experimental and research work for the benefit of the agriculture of the country. One of the most important of the activities which directly benefit the individual farmer, developed largely since the war emergency has arisen, is concerned with the locating of seed stocks and their efficient distribution. A committee created for the most part from the bureau is carrying on an active canvass of the country with the aim of gathering information in regard to all important seeds in which a shortage has occurred or is likely to occur. Farmers or seedsmen who have surplus stocks of seeds may cooperate with the bureau by informing it in regard to their holdings.

It is also endeavoring to make it possible for farmers to know the quality of seed which they purchase. To this end the seed-testing laboratories have been enlarged, and arrangements are being made with dealers in seed to specify on packages holding seed the germinability and purity and, where it is important, the place of origin of the seed.

The bureau also is doing special advisory work in the identification and control of plant diseases, placing emphasis on the cereals, potatoes, beans, and truck crops. It is enlarging its work relating to the storage of both Irish and sweet potatoes with a view to making these crops available throughout the year as economic conditions warrant. The greatly enlarged peanut production will receive consideration, as the bureau plans to assist by giving growers the latest advice on harvesting and curing the crop. Those interested in these or other special agricultural activities should make their wants known to the department.

**FARM LABOR.**

119. *Federal and State cooperation.* To meet the very pressing demand for farm labor the United States Department of Agriculture and the United States Department of Labor, the latter using the United States employment service, are working through Federal, State, and city cooperative systems, State commissioners of labor and agriculture, State committees on food production and conservation, State agricultural colleges, county agents, county organizations, and local community committees, with the object of supplying as far as possible a farm hand for every vacancy, either during the growing season or at harvest time.

The Department of Agriculture represents the Federal authorities in determining farm-labor needs and in assisting in organizing all available farm labor in the rural districts. A State farm-help specialist representing the department is engaged in this work in nearly every State.

The Department of Labor devotes its attention to organizing labor in urban communities and industrial regions, and when necessary cooperates in obtaining extra labor from the populous centers.

The plan provides for strictly local handling of labor problems that can be adjusted locally. Farm laborers are sent from outside into a county only to fill actually vacant places. The farmer in need of help is expected to notify the local committee in his community or the county agent, telling how many men he needs and when he must have them, or he may get in touch with the State agricultural college or the State farm-help specialist representing the United States Department of Agriculture. All local men without work are referred to the farmers, who make their vacancies known to the Government. Demands that can not be supplied from rural and village communities are referred to the United States Department of Labor. It is necessary that every farmer needing help shall make his wants known.

The Boys' Working Reserve provides a material addition to the supply of labor available for farm use. For an account of this reserve, see paragraph 121.

120. *State labor exchanges.* Many States have organized their labor forces so as to provide a source from which agri-

culture and industry may draw a supply at times when workmen are particularly needed. One State has about 250 free employment offices. Another has been divided into employment districts and a free employment office has been established in each, the work being carried on under the direction of the labor division of the State Council of National Defense. A large number of county agricultural agents are cooperating, and these are also under the general supervision of the council. In order to supply the needs of the farmers as quickly as possible several thousand copies of the State employment prospectus and application blanks were distributed in the rural districts. All the larger employers have been card catalogued and the information thus obtained will aid in pooling labor so that it may be made available at short notice. Not only will this aid the employers, but it will materially lessen the time lost by workers in finding new positions and will thus avoid unemployment.

A public employment bureau has been organized in another State, and within a week positions for 500 men were found in a single city. The work has been so satisfactory in every way that it is planned to continue it on a larger scale. Many civic and commercial organizations have offered their aid in assisting this bureau.

Unofficial organizations are also working to solve the problems of bringing employees and employers together. Such an organization as the Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau, interested primarily in the service of college men, may be mentioned in this connection. (See paragraph 70 and also the U. S. Public Service Reserve, paragraph 103).

121. *The Boys' Working Reserve.* In order to place boys on farms or in industries where they may be of particular service during their summer vacations, many organizations have already gathered information to aid boys seeking employment of this type. The Boys' Working Reserve, with headquarters in the United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., was planned to fill this need. Mr. W. E. Hall is the director and the work is carried on through a committee composed of the heads of the State defense councils and the heads of representative boys' organizations. The object of the boys' reserve is to enlist boys within the ages of 16 and 21 for work upon farms, in shipyards, and in other

national enterprises. The work of organization has already been accomplished in many States, and boys in considerable numbers have been placed in camps to receive intensive farm training, as well as on some of the farms on which they are to work. Other organizations, such as the Y. M. C. A. and Boy Scouts and many church clubs and local patriotic organizations, have lent immediate and capable support to this important enterprise. A list of State directors chosen to date will be found in the appendix, pages 203 to 226. Boys desiring to enter this work should make application to these men.

#### **LOANS TO FARMERS.**

122. In addition to placing an adequate labor supply at the farmer's disposal, it is necessary that he be provided with the capital which he requires.

Under the Federal farm-loan act, approved July 17, 1916, 12 Government controlled and cooperatively owned Federal land banks have been established in the United States to lend money to farmers or prospective farmers at 5 per cent interest for land purchase and farm development. To secure these loans first mortgages are taken on land, these mortgages running from 5 to 40 years, at the option of the borrower. They are retired on the amortization, or partial payment, plan.

*The 12 Federal land banks* are under the supervision of the Federal Farm Loan Board, a bureau of the Treasury Department. The board is composed of the Secretary of the Treasury as chairman ex officio; George W. Norris, farm-loan commissioner; Herbert Quick; W. S. A. Smith; and Charles E. Lobdell.

Any person desiring to avail himself of the services of this system should communicate with the Federal Land Bank serving the district in which he resides. The banks and the States served by each are shown as follows:

Springfield, Mass., serving Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey.

Baltimore Md., serving Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, and District of Columbia.

Columbia, S. C., serving North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Louisville, Ky., serving Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio.

New Orleans, La., serving Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

St. Louis, Mo., serving Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas.

St. Paul, Minn., serving North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

Omaha, Nebr., serving South Dakota, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Iowa.

Wichita, Kans., serving Colorado, New Mexico, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

Houston, Tex., serving Texas.

Berkeley, Cal., serving California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona.

Spokane, Wash., serving Washington, Montana, Oregon, and Idaho.

The Federal Farm Loan Board has issued several bulletins explaining the details of the system, and these bulletins will be sent free to any inquirer who will write to the Federal Farm Loan Board, Washington, D. C., or to the bank of his district. (See Map, page 253.)

#### **ASSISTANCE IN MARKETING.**

123. In the wide field of distribution and preparations for distribution—the handling, packing, transporting, storing, and merchandising of agricultural products after they have been produced—the Bureau of Markets of the Department of Agriculture is seeking in every way possible to help the producer as well as the consumer. In the four years during which the work has been in progress much has been done in surveying and analyzing the complex factors which enter into the marketing of agricultural products; in giving the farmer and consumer a clearer insight into marketing operations; in giving advice and demonstrating methods; and in making public a body of knowledge in regard to the volume of products handled and stored, the amounts of products produced in certain sections, and the demand existing in various market centers—knowledge on which producers and consumers have found it possible to act to their advantage.

With funds made available in the food-production bill just enacted by Congress the bureau will extend these activities and will take up additional lines of work of special value in the present emergency. In the effort, for example, to save the large quantity of perishable fruits and vegetables which annually spoil because of improper handling the bureau will extend its present demonstrations and inves-

tigations in the proper handling of perishables. This work will be carried on with as many producers, shippers, carriers, and warehousemen as can be reached. Producers will be advised as to improved methods of picking, sorting, handling, and packing their perishable products and will be shown how to construct or alter storage houses for a maximum efficiency. Shippers will be assisted in perfecting methods of inspection and will be advised in regard to the most advantageous loading and shipping arrangements. The bureau will seek to reduce the losses of perishables still further by demonstrating to carriers and urging upon them the use of improved refrigerator cars which give greater refrigerating efficiency while they are economical in ice consumption and permit heavier loading.

To better the general marketing conditions of the country by making public accurate information in regard to the supply of and demand for various agricultural products, the bureau will materially extend its market-news service under the food-production bill. This service consists in the making public of facts in regard to the production of various agricultural products, car-lot shipments and their destinations, and receipts, prices, normal consuming power, demand, and other conditions in a number of large market centers. The bureau last year covered by its news service a number of the most important fruits and vegetables, some throughout the country for the entire season and others in relatively restricted regions or for only a portion of the season. The service also covered live stock and meats throughout the country, in so far as shipments in car lots to central markets were concerned, and a number of large consuming markets in the East. Under the extended news service practically all important fruit and vegetable products will be covered throughout the country and during the entire season, and reports on receipts of meats will be received from a number of additional consuming markets. The service also will be broadened to include butter, cheese, eggs and poultry, and grain, hay, and seeds.

In addition to its work through the market news service, for more efficient distribution, the bureau will seek to assist in solving the more local problems of certain large cities due to the increased production in their neighborhoods of truck

farms and home gardens. To carry on this work it is hoped to station agents in a score or more of cities where marketing problems are more acute and to endeavor to bring about the marketing of the crops with minimum waste and losses. If practicable, these agents will each day publish information showing the amounts of different products on the market and the amounts likely to be received in the immediate future. The bureau also will seek to stimulate direct marketing by placing in certain cities agents who will advise on the most advantageous and economical methods of parcel-post and express marketing.

The Bureau of Markets now furnishes data of great economic value in stabilizing market conditions through its reports on cold-storage holdings of food products. In the last few years this service has been built up gradually by obtaining volunteer reports from an increased proportion of storages until now practically every storage company in the country is cooperating in making known the exact state of our food supplies held under refrigeration.

In order that the public may know how much food is available in the country from all sources the Bureau of Crop Estimates, the Bureau of Chemistry, and other branches of the department, with funds provided expressly for that purpose by Congress, expect to begin immediately a country-wide survey of food resources. The aim of this survey will be to disclose the quantities of various foodstuffs on farms, in factory and storage houses of all kinds, in stores and shops, and in the homes of consumers. Actual inventories will be made of holdings by large concerns, and surveys will be made of supplies on farms, in homes, and in the hands of small retail dealers. Estimates also will be made of average family consumption. As a basis for these estimates careful studies will be made of the holdings and consumption of representative families in certain sections. Such families may facilitate the work of the survey greatly by furnishing information in their possession and by helping the field agents to gather such information as involves the taking of inventories.

The Bureau of Markets has issued a number of bulletins presenting the results of its studies on the marketing of farm products, which should be helpful in solving some of the problems of producers. These publications may be had by

application to the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Where publications do not apply, the bureau, on presentation of problems by letter, also often may be able to offer helpful advice.

#### EXPORTS.

124. The President has made the following statement with regard to the policy of export control, power over which was vested in him by an act of June 15, 1917:

It is important that the country should understand just what is intended in the control of exports which is about to be undertaken, and since the power is vested by the Congress in the President, I can speak with authority concerning it. The Exports Council will be merely advisory to the President.

There will, of course, be no prohibition of exports. The normal course of trade will be interfered with as little as possible, and, so far as possible, only its abnormal course directed. The whole object will be to direct exports in such a way that they will go first and by preference where they are most needed and most immediately needed, and temporarily to withhold them, if necessary, where they can best be spared.

Our primary duty in the matter of foodstuffs and like necessities is to see to it that the peoples associated with us in the war get as generous a proportion as possible of our surplus; but it will also be our wish and purpose to supply the neutral nations whose peoples depend upon us for such supplies as nearly in proportion to their need as the amount to be divided permits.

There will thus be little check put upon the volume of exports, and the prices obtained for them will not be affected by this regulation.

This policy will be carried out, not by prohibitive regulations, therefore, but by a system of licensing exports which will be as simply organized and administered as possible, so as to constitute no impediment to the normal flow of commerce. In brief, the free play of trade will not be arbitrarily interfered with; it will only be intelligently and systematically directed in the light of full information with regard to needs and market conditions throughout the world and the necessities of our people at home and our armies and the armies of our associates abroad.

The Government is taking, or has taken, steps to ascertain, for example, just what the available present supply of wheat and corn is remaining from the crops of last year; to learn from each of the countries exporting these foodstuffs from the United States what their purchases in this country now are, where they are stored, and what their needs are, in order that we may adjust things so far as

possible to our own needs and free stocks; and this information is in course of being rapidly supplied.

The case of wheat and corn will serve as an illustration of all the rest of supplies of all kinds. Our trade can be successfully and profitably conducted now, the war pushed to a victorious issue, and the needs of our own people and of the other people with whom we are still free to trade efficiently met only by systematic direction; and that is what will be attempted.

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that, except at such time or times and under such regulations and orders and subject to such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe, until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress, the following articles, namely, coal, coke, fuel oils, kerosene and gasoline, including bunkers; food grains, flour and meal therefrom, fodder and feeds, meat and fats; pig iron, steel billets, ship plates and structural shapes, scrap iron and scrap steel; ferromanganese; fertilizers; arms, ammunition, and explosives shall not, on and after the 15th day of July, 1917, be carried out of or exported from the United States or its territorial possessions to Abyssinia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, France, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Germany, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Great Britain, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Japan, Liberia, Leichtenstein, Luxemburg, Mexico, Monaco, Montenegro, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, the Netherlands, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Portugal, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Roumania, Russia, Salvador, San Marino, Serbia, Siam, Spain, her colonies, possessions, or protectorates; Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela, or Turkey.

The orders and regulations from time to time prescribed will be administered by and under the authority of the Secretary of Commerce, from whom licenses, in conformity with the said orders and regulations, will issue.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1917, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.]

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

FRANK L. POLK.

President Wilson's statement, issued with the embargo proclamation, gives the reason for the control of exports:

In controlling by license the export of certain indispensable commodities from the United States, the Government has first and chiefly in view the amelioration of the food conditions which have arisen or are likely to arise in our own country before new crops are harvested. Not only is the conservation of our prime food and fodder supplies a matter which vitally concerns our own people, but the retention of an adequate supply of raw materials is essential to our program of military and naval construction and the continuance of our necessary domestic activities. We shall, therefore, similarly safeguard all our fundamental supplies.

It is obviously the duty of the United States in liberating any surplus products over and above our own domestic needs to consider first the necessities of all the nations engaged in war against the Central Empires. As to neutral nations, however, we also recognize our duty. The Government does not wish to hamper them. On the contrary, it wishes and intends, by all fair and equitable means, to cooperate with them in their difficult task of adding from our available surpluses to their own domestic supply and of meeting their pressing necessities or deficits. In considering the deficits of food supplies, the Government means only to fulfill its obvious obligation to assure itself that neutrals are husbanding their own resources and that our supplies will not become available, either directly or indirectly, to feed the enemy.

For the information of shippers the exports council has authorized the publication of a list comprising the articles which have already been determined to be included under the general headings mentioned in the President's proclamation of July 9. This list supersedes an unauthorized and incorrect statement hitherto published. Additions may be made to this list, if it is determined that other articles are properly included in the general headings given in the President's proclamation. Official notice will be given of such changes when they occur.

Export license is required at present for any article on the following list:

Coal, coke, fuel oils, lubricating oil, benzol, head-lantern oil, toluol, naphtha, benzene, red oil, kerosene, and gasoline, including bunkers.

Food grains, flour and meal therefrom, corn flour, barley, rice flour, rice, oatmeal and rolled oats, fodder and feeds, oil cakes and oil-cake meal, malt, peanuts.

Meats and fats, poultry, cottonseed oil, corn oil, copra, coconuts (desiccated), butter, fish (dried, canned, or fresh).

Grease (inedible or edible of animal or vegetable origin), linseed oil, lard, meats (all varieties), tinned milk, peanut oil and butter, rapeseed oil, tallow, tallow candles, stearic acid.

Pig iron, steel billets, steel sheet bars, steel blooms, steel slabs, ship plates and structural shapes, iron plates, I beams, mild-steel plates, rolled steel plates, steel channels, steel angles, mild-steel plates (ordinary tank quality), steel beams, steel plates one-eighth of an inch thick or heavier (steel sheets one-eighth inch thick or heavier are classed as steel plates), steel tees and zees, structural steel shapes, boiler plates, tank plates, steel doors, steel car frames, steel towers, scrap iron and scrap steel, ferromanganese.

Fertilizers, cattle manure (shredded), nitrate of soda, poudrette, potato manure, potassium salts, land plaster, potash, cyanamide, phosphoric acid, phosphate rock, superphosphate, chlorate potash, bone meal, bone flour, ground bone, dried blood, ammonia and ammonia salts, acid phosphate, guano, humus, hardwood ashes, soot, sheep manure (pulverized), anhydrous ammonia.

Arms, ammunition, and explosives, nitrate of potash, rosin, sulphur, saltpeter, turpentine.

#### FOOD CONSERVATION.

125. *General statement.* The food problem concerns not merely the producer but has reference to the consumer and to food conservation in general. Economy and thrift are the watchwords in this instance, and obviously the women must play a very important part in solving the food problem.

A nation-wide food inventory is proposed to be made by the Bureaus of Markets, Crop Estimates, and Chemistry, and the States Relations Service, United States Department of Agriculture. Its purpose is to find as accurately as possible the condition of the country's food stores and the normal consumption, in order that such action as may be necessary to insure a sufficient supply may be taken intelligently. An inventory is to be made of stocks in wholesale, jobbing, storing, and other commercial establishments, including large retail houses; and an estimate is to be made of raw products on the farms and of stocks of food in smaller retail stores and in the hands of consumers. Plans are being made for detailed dietary studies of one thousand or more families, and for a study of the current consumption of the country based upon investigations of more than 10,000 families.

126. The President, on May 19, issued a statement in which he indicated his intention of creating the position of commissioner of food administration and named Herbert C. Hoover for the position. Mr. Hoover cooperates with the Department of Agriculture. The President's statement contains the following paragraph:

It is proposed to draw a sharp line of distinction between the normal activities of the Government represented in the Department of Agriculture in reference to food production, conservation, and marketing on the one hand and the emergency activities necessitated by the war in reference to the regulation of food distribution and consumption on the other.

All measures intended directly to extend the normal activities of the Department of Agriculture in reference to the production, conservation, and the marketing of farm crops will be administered as in normal times through that department, and the powers asked for over distribution and consumption, over exports, imports, prices, purchase, and requisition of commodities, storing, and the like which may require regulation during the war will be placed in the hands of a commissioner of food administration appointed by the President and directly responsible to him.

127. Mr. Hoover, as national food administrator, has appealed in the interests of food conservation to the women of the country, saying that this is the idea of the food administration—

**WIN THE WAR BY GIVING YOUR OWN DAILY SERVICE.**

“Save the wheat: One wheatless meal a day. Use corn, oatmeal, rye, or barley bread, and non-wheat breakfast foods. Order bread 24 hours in advance so your baker will not bake beyond his needs. Cut the loaf on the table and only as required. Use stale bread for cooking, toast, etc. Eat less cake and pastry.

Our wheat harvest is far below normal. If each person weekly saves 1 pound of wheat flour that means 150,000,000 more bushels of wheat for the allies to mix in their bread. This will help them to save democracy.

Save the meat: Beef, mutton, or pork not more than once daily. Use freely vegetables and fish. At the meat meal serve smaller portions, and stews instead of steaks. Make

made dishes of all left overs. Do this and there will be meat enough for everyone at a reasonable price.

We are to-day killing the dairy cows and female calves as the result of high prices. Therefore eat less and eat no young meat. If we save an ounce of meat each day per person we will have additional supply equal to 2,200,000 cattle.

Save the milk: The children must have milk. Use every drop. Use butter milk and sour milk for cooking and making cottage cheese. Use less cream.

Save the fats: We are the world's greatest fat wasters. Fat is food. Butter is essential for the growth and health of children. Use butter on the table as usual, but not in cooking. Other fats are as good. Reduce use of fried foods. Soap contains fats. Do not waste it. Make your own washing soap at home out of the saved fats.

Use one-third ounce less per day of animal fat and 375,000 tons will be saved yearly.

Save the sugar: Sugar is scarcer. We use to-day three times as much per person as the allies. So there may be enough for all at reasonable price. Use less candy and sweet drinks. Do not stint sugar in putting up fruit and jams. They will save butter.

If everyone in America saves one ounce of sugar daily, it means 1,100,000 tons for the year.

Save the fuel: Coal comes from a distance and our railways are overburdened hauling war material. Help relieve them by burning fewer fires. Use wood when you can get it.

Use the perishable foods: Fruits and vegetables we have in abundance. As a nation we eat too little green stuffs. Double their use and improve your health. Store potatoes and other roots properly and they will keep. Begin now to can or dry all surplus garden products.

Use local supplies: Patronize your local producer. Distance means money. Buy perishable food from the neighborhood nearest you and thus save transportation."

There were by July 30, 2,000,000 pledges signed.

128. *Women's clubs, etc.* Women's clubs, settlement workers, church societies, and associations of every kind should

make it their business to stimulate efficient methods of the use and preservation of food. Canning, drying, preserving with sugar and salt, and the putting down of eggs and of meats by farmers should all be encouraged. And it is most important to remember that unless this work is well done it is time, money, and food wasted. Before you get to work, learn how. In every community there should be centers for instruction in food conservation. If information can not be obtained at home, write to **The Food Administrator**, Washington, D. C.

## THE CIVIL SERVICE.

129. *General statement.* The United States Civil Service Commission is an official organization, designed to fill vacancies in governmental offices by a process of competitive examinations and selection on the basis of merit. The Civil Service Commission is an employment agency on a large scale, but it goes beyond the functions of the ordinary employment agency in that it tests the fitness of every person it certifies as eligible. Equipped as it is with quite 3,000 representative agencies—that is, local boards of examiners—situated in every part of the country, it is eminently qualified to perform the important service of bringing the man and the job together, so far as the needs of the Government are concerned.

130. *Mobilization of laborers.* In addition to supplying immediate needs, the commission, through its 3,000 local representatives, has canvassed the country and enrolled for future use about 35,000 mechanics of all kinds who have expressed their willingness to accept employment in a navy yard or arsenal if called upon. Other "mobilization" efforts of the commission consist of lists of the names, addresses, and specialties of the members of this spring's graduating classes of the colleges and universities; the name, character, and number of employees of every manufacturing plant in cities having a post office of the first or second class (about 3,000 cities in all); and the name, address, and specialty of practically every economic expert in the United States. These lists will be used as occasion arises in making direct and personal announcement of the Government's requirements in civil branches.

131. *Adjustment to war conditions.* The unusual burden which the war has imposed upon the Civil Service Commission is easily realized when we consider the tremendous number of offices created by our present situation. Manual laborers, workers in industry, technical, skilled, and even unskilled workmen of every sort are required by the Government in connection with the huge undertakings which

the war has made necessary. There was a tendency to abrogate civil service rules and open positions to noncompetitive appointment. Fortunately, this tendency was checked, and the carefully established system of past years will not give way under the difficulties of war.

132. *Examinations and applications.* Examinations are being given constantly at all the civil service offices in the greatest variety of subjects. If a man believes himself capable of giving genuine service to the Government he should inquire of the United States Civil Service Commission, at Washington, D. C., or of one of its 12 district secretaries (for list see Appendix, State Registers), or of the department concerned, in Washington; or of the United States Public Service Reserve (see paragraph 103); or of the Inter-collegiate Intelligence Bureau (see paragraph 70).

Persons who wish to take an examination should observe the following directions: In writing for application forms or for information the name of the examination desired should always be stated. The application form when received should be carefully filled out in accordance with the instructions printed thereon and mailed without delay to the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., or to the proper district secretary. (See Appendix, State Registers.) If the application is received by the district secretary in time for him to arrange for the examination, and the applicant is found to be entitled to the examination requested, a card will be sent to him in ample time to admit him to the examination if a mental test is required.

A large number of communications are received in which the writers fail to give their full post-office addresses, and in many cases the letters are not signed. Applicants should see that their names are plainly and correctly written and their post-office addresses (city, street, and number) given in full. A number of applicants fail to reach the Commission or district secretary on account of not having sufficient postage attached. Usually at least 4 cents is required. It is not necessary to inclose postage stamps in order to secure a reply from the district secretary.

The commission is authorized to exclude from any examination aliens and those who do not show the necessary physical and moral qualities.

133. *Available positions.* It is impossible to give even a partially complete list of the many positions open to competition. The usual peace-time positions, as well as the needs of war service, must be supplied, and new examinations are being announced every day. A very short selection from the announcements of examinations pending July 1 gives a good idea of the variety of positions offered in the civil service: Stenographer and typewriter; typewriter, every Tuesday, \$900-\$1,200; assistant superintendent artillery ammunition, \$2,500-\$3,000; assistant superintendent brass cartridge cases, \$2,500; assistant superintendent small-arms ammunition, \$2,500-\$3,000; draftsman, Watertown Arsenal, \$2,200; mechanical engineer, Frankford Arsenal, \$2,200-\$3,600; superintendent of equipment, \$2,400-\$2,800; superintendents of inspection, \$2,500-\$4,000; superintendent of small-arms ammunition, \$5,000-\$6,000; sub-inspector of ordnance, Navy Department, \$4.48 per diem; apprentice draftsman, Ordnance Bureau, War Department, \$480 per annum; assistant inspector of hull (wood) construction, \$4-\$6 per diem; chemist, Watertown Arsenal, \$1,400 per annum; chief inspector of fuses, \$3,000; expert radio aid, navy yard, \$6 per diem; nautical expert, Hydrographic Office, \$1,000-\$1,800; special mechanic qualified in submarine construction, \$5.04 per diem; topographic and subsurface draftsinan, navy yards, \$4.48-\$5.04 per diem; superintendent manufacture of field and seacoast cannon, \$4,000-\$5,000.

134. *Location, rank, and salary* all vary—the latter ranging anywhere from \$900 or \$1,000 to \$5,000 or more per annum. Appointments to positions directly created by the war are, in general, not permanent. On the other hand, they are more than temporary, as it is expected that, where an indefinite term is specified, the employment will continue at least six months after the termination of the war. Besides this, where a man shows himself exceptionally capable, he will have a good chance of being retained or transferred.

135. *Skilled labor and trained experts.* The war has caused an unprecedentedly large demand for skilled labor of many sorts, besides the need for individual experts, as indicated above. Industrial mechanics and ship draftsmen will be needed in large numbers in connection with the

shipbuilding program. The Treasury Department will need a large number of more or less trained employees in connection with the collection of the new taxes. There is an unsatisfied demand for typists and stenographers and draftsmen.

In filling all these positions, the merit system will be adhered to. Naturally it may be advisable, in certain cases, to give preference to women and to men not eligible for military service. Again, it may prove best to accept the large number of volunteers before taking those who will be paid. In addition, the authorities will avoid taking men already in useful and essential trades, and thus avoid crippling industry. All details, however, are comparatively unimportant; one thing alone is certain—the Government will do its best to get capable men and women in its civil service, just as in its military forces.

## MEDICAL AND NURSING SERVICE.

### MEDICAL SERVICE.

136. *General statement.* The Medical Departments of the Army and Navy are confronted with varied and difficult tasks of critical importance in caring for the health of our soldiers and sailors in training and active service, and in aiding our allies in medical work. From 665 medical officers in the Regular Army and 508 in the Navy when war was declared the personnel must be recruited up to at least 21,000 in the Army and 2,000 in the Navy. And this must be done without rendering ineffectual the work of our hospitals, medical schools, and general medical service at home. Not only must men be found, but material must also be provided (see paragraph 85), and special problems of disease prevention and the training and return to civil life of those injured in the war must be met.

137. *General medical board.* In the solution of these problems the chief medical officers of the Army, Navy, Public Health Service, and the Red Cross are assisted by the committee on medicine and surgery of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense. This committee includes the general medical board, of which Dr. Franklin Martin is chairman, and a committee on standardization of medical and surgical supplies and equipment, of which Major F. F. Simpson is chairman. It is also represented on the general munitions board of the council. An insight into the close cooperation existing between all the official and civilian medical forces, and the recognition that the country's experts in every branch of medical science are being called into council begets confidence in the Nation's ability to win, as completely as human beings can, the fight against disease and injury. (See Council of National Defense, Appendix, page 199.)

### REGULAR ARMY AND NAVY.

138. *Requirements.* Physicians, graduates of a reputable medical school, between the ages of 21 and 32 (in the Army

the age limit is 34 until Jan. 1, 1918), may apply for examination for a provisional commission in the Medical Corps of the United States Navy. If this and a physical examination are successfully passed, a four months' course at the Naval Medical School, Washington, D. C., is required, and if successfully completed the applicant may be commissioned in the Medical Corps. The same provision is made for Army service, save that the course in the Army Medical School is normally of eight months' duration. This course may be shortened to three or four months for the period of the emergency. Detailed regulations are given in Navy N., Nov., 264, 1917, Army, Form 132, revised Aug. 17, 1916. About 1,500 men are needed for the Regular Army Medical Corps while at the present time only a few are needed for the Regular Navy service. Applications for examination should be made to The Surgeon General, United States Army, or The Surgeon General, United States Navy, Washington, D. C.

139. *Licentiates of the national examining board* who desire to enter the regular service of the Army or Navy may submit an application in proper form, and the Army and Navy examining board at its discretion may accept the papers submitted to the national examining board, provided the candidates conform to the other regulations of service.

140. *The record of the medical service* of the Army is a brilliant one. Through the investigations of its members, yellow fever was conquered, typhoid driven from our own and European armies, beriberi brought under partial control in the Philippines, and hookworm in Porto Rico and pellagra in the South. Experts in medical administration have stated that the work of the medical service of the Navy, if less spectacular, is not less sound, and that the plans for the expansion of the Naval Medical Service represent a complete grasp of the needs of the emergency and an ability amply sufficient to meet them.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

141. In this time of need the facilities of the Public Health Service, which is a bureau of the Treasury Depart-

ment, have been put at the disposal of the military forces. Their hospitals may be used by the Army and Navy, and their officers and employees may be detailed for service with the Army or Navy.

#### MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS.

142. *Numbers needed.* At the lowest estimate 21,000 men, fully equipped for medical service, are needed for the Medical Reserve Corps. Most of these men must be volunteers, for the number of men who have completed their training before the age of 31 is negligible. The call comes, "Physicians 31 to 45, come across." On July 25 there were about 5,000 accepted on the Medical Reserve lists, and a total of 11,000 had been recommended for commissions.

143. *Mortality.* Reports have been circulated that 60,000 of the allies' physicians have already been killed in the war. This is impossible, for there are not 45,000 registered physicians in all Great Britain and France. The statement is absurd and without foundation. In the three months' battle of the Somme only 50 physicians were reported killed.

Col. T. H. Goodwin, of the British Medical Corps, who has been detailed in a consulting capacity to the office of the Surgeon General of the United States Army, has authoritatively contradicted rumors that have been current regarding the casualties among medical officers in France and Belgium. Having cabled to England for the exact information on this point, the following official reply was received by him:

Total casualties among medical officers on the western front from the beginning of the war to June 25, 1917, are as follows:

Killed	195
Wounded	707
Total battle casualties	902

In addition 62 medical officers have died from sickness.

"All statements to the contrary," says Col. Goodwin, "are false, arising from mistake, natural exaggeration, or from a deliberate and malicious attempt to discourage doctors from entering the medical service of the Army."

144. *Need for full quota.* In the United States there are 90,000 physicians and surgeons of military age, 22 to 55 years. Seven medical men for each thousand enlisted men, will be at least 21,000 for the first 3,000,000 men. This is a heavy load, but the medical service makes no greater demand than any other; it asks every man to do his duty, and do it voluntarily. It should be borne in mind that the consideration given to special training will vary with the number of physicians enrolled in the Medical Reserve Corps. If The Surgeon General has large numbers of men at his disposal, he can then assign men for duty as their training indicates. If he is hard pressed for men, then all the physicians in the force will be called on for general work. If the medical work is to reach its highest efficiency, the force, therefore, must be recruited up to not less than 21,000. Physicians by not enrolling prevent the soldiers from receiving expert treatment and rob the members of their own profession of the opportunity to make use of their long-trained talents.

145. *Volunteer system.* At present there is no possible way of filling the quota save through the volunteer system. If the war is soon to be won, our wounded must be cared for, healed, and returned; if peace is to come with the least possible destruction of human life, our Army hospitals have to be manned. And men now well trained must furnish the personnel, for physicians can not be made in 3 or 6 or 9 or even 12 months. Those now practicing must change their offices to the front.

#### MEDICAL RESERVE CORPS.

146. *The requisites for appointment* are as follows: The applicant must be a reputable physician (doctor of medicine), in good standing in his community, in the active practice of his profession, licensed to practice medicine in the State in which he resides, between 22 and 55 years of age, a citizen of the United States (first papers not sufficient), and physically and professionally qualified. Members of the National Guard are not eligible.

147. *The examination proper* is physical and professional. The physical requirements are stated in G. O. 66, 1910, and Circular No. 2, A. G. O., 1916. The visual requirements are

that the applicant have not less than 20/100 vision in each eye, fully correctible by glasses. If the applicant is found physically disqualified, the professional examination need not be proceeded with.

The professional examination is oral, but in case the oral examination is not satisfactory to the examiners the applicant will be given a written examination. In either case the examination will be in the following subjects: (a) Practice of medicine, including etiology, clinical description, pathology and the treatment of diseases; (b) surgery, principles and practice; (c) obstetrics and gynecology; (d) hygiene, personal and general, especially as to the prophylaxis of the more prevalent epidemic diseases.

Specialists will be examined in their specialty.

*A complete set of papers* includes the following:

(a) Personal history properly filled out and sworn to before a notary public. (Form 149.)

(b) Two testimonials as to citizenship, character, and habits.

(c) Physical examination report. (Form 138.)

(d) Report of the board as to qualifications of applicant. (Form 150.)

(e) Certificate of license to practice medicine in the State in which the applicant resides.

(f) Documentary evidence of citizenship if of foreign birth.

148. *The procedure for those applying for commissions* in the Medical Officers' Reserve Corps is as follows: Go to the examining board nearest you (see locations by reference to State lists, pages 203ff) and take with you documents sufficient to satisfy the requirements listed above. The board will examine you and forward your papers to The Surgeon General. If your papers are satisfactory, a commission will be issued. A complete statement of the composition and regulations of the Officers' Reserve Corps is given in Special Regulations 43, March 29, 1917. This may be obtained at local Army headquarters or at The Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C.

The regulations specified above, while stated in reference to the Medical Reserve Corps, apply, with the appropriate changes, to the Dental and Veterinary Reserve Corps. The

procedure for examination is the same. The dentists will need to fill a quota of 2,000.

149. *Preparedness League of American Dentists.* Dentists continuing at their practice have been organized into the Preparedness League of American Dentists, with a membership of 20,000. They have offered to repair the teeth of prospective recruits free of charge. This is a most important service, for many applicants are rejected because of defective teeth.

Similar work is being undertaken by physicians, who are volunteering to treat men rejected for physical defects which will readily yield to treatment.

150. *Men with training in laboratory work* which is useful for medical practice, but who are not doctors of medicine, can not, under the present law, be enrolled by the medical forces of the United States Army. Legislation may be altered in this regard, but in any case a limited number of men will be needed for special duty. Application may be made to Surg. Gen. Rupert Blue, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.; Mr. John D. Ryan, director of military relief, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.; General Medical Board, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.; or the Surgeon General of the Army or the Navy.

151. *The women physicians* of this country are anxious to enter the Army medical service, and with this end in view the Medical Women's National Association, 32 North State Street, Chicago, Ill., has issued a call for 500 volunteers. No official ruling has yet been given in this matter, but those who are interested should address Dr. Rosalie S. Morton, chairman of the war service committee of the Medical Women's National Association, 701 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The women of Great Britain have maintained successful hospitals at the front, and women physicians in France, Russia, Serbia, Austria, and Germany have been active in the medical war service.

Whatever decision may be reached regarding the service of women physicians with the Army, they can be of very great assistance in maternity, infant, and child welfare work at home or abroad, and will doubtless be called upon to assist medical examining boards acting for those agencies which demand the services of women.

152. *Base hospitals.* It has been found useful to organize under the Red Cross at hospitals in various parts of the country hospital units, in which various medical specialists who have worked together in the past are included. These units during the period of their organization are under the Red Cross, but on being called into service automatically become an integral part of the Army, and their connection with the Red Cross then ceases. (See paragraphs 170, 162 to 164.)

These base hospital units have in addition to their medical and nursing personnel 153 enlisted personnel, for which they need ambulance drivers, cooks, wardmen, quartermasters, barbers, and some engineers, all of whom are enrolled for enlistment in the Enlisted Reserve Corps. Some of these units have already gone over seas, and it is expected that other units will follow them before the main body of our own troops is sent over.

153. *Ambulance service.* America has already aided the French in the service of the American ambulance, which has been operating hospitals and field ambulances since the beginning of the war. At the present time a large ambulance corps is being organized as a part of the National Army, and this corps will go to France for service with the French as soon as its personnel is enlisted and trained. They will be under the command of General Pershing when on French soil. The organization of this ambulance service is in charge of Col. Jefferson H. Kean. The equipment of this ambulance corps will consist of 2,000 ambulances, 100 two-ton trucks, 100 three-fourths-ton trucks, 100 light touring cars, and 100 motorcycles. The personnel of each section will consist of 1 sergeant (first class), 1 corporal, 2 orderlies, 2 clerks, 1 chief mechanic, 2 mechanics, 1 cook, 1 assistant, and 24 motor drivers. Five sections will be placed under a captain, and 20 sections will be commanded by a major. About half the number will be recruited from college men. Some of the men of this corps have already been placed in training at Allentown, Pa. (See paragraph 226.)

154. *Reeducation and rehabilitation.* A phase of medical work which has received great attention from the allies is that having to do with the reeducation and rehabilitation of men who may be maimed and crippled in the war. This problem

we too must face, for, whether or not we shall return men from the front to America except when permanently disabled, we know now that we shall need in this country many hospitals to care for those chronically incapacitated and those whose injury robs them of their former usefulness and who must be reeducated as well as rehabilitated. Medical care and teaching must combine to rebuild some of our returned forces into a useful citizenship. Dr. Amar, one of the most noted French authorities, has said, "The time has come for organizing the work of the wounded in such a manner that each man may take his true place in the social machine and contribute according to his ability." At the end of the war we do not want those who have fought and have been permanently injured to feel that they are merely onlookers in our national life. This work of restoration will be considerable. The physicians studying the question have found that of the whole number of crippled men at least 80 per cent, and probably more, can be reeducated or trained to new occupations if their physical defects are given immediate treatment after they have left the Army hospital and their training is given the proper attention. From 70 to 80 per cent of the wounded returned to Canada have needed reconstruction work. The allied nations have been giving much attention during the latter period of the war to find proper occupations for the blinded and those who have lost an arm or a leg. Furthermore, much study has been given to the rehabilitation of men whose nerves have been shattered and who have become disheartened from the result of wounds from which they have recovered.

Some of the specific needs in connection with this work will be the early training of medical officers in reeducation work, the arrangement for the treatment of the wounded as early as possible by specialists, the establishment of reconstruction hospitals in this country, as far as possible adapting the existing institutions to the work, and the arrangement for occupational analysis of the wounded. It is interesting in this connection to note that three reconstruction hospitals in this country have already been authorized by the Government. Those who have country places suitable for reconstruction hospitals or convalescent camps are invited

to communicate with The Surgeon General of the Army or with the director of military relief, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., or with the General Medical Board, Council of National Defense, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

155. *Home medical service.* In our anxiety to furnish adequate medical attention to our fighting forces we must not forget that we shall not be free from the cares of our home population. Physicians who are acting on the public health service should seriously consider whether entering Federal service will endanger the welfare of their own communities. We shall need to strengthen our lines of health defense at home or we shall be in no position to meet emergencies. This should be noted especially by those physicians on health boards at or near the great Army and Navy training sites. These localities must maintain the highest sanitary standards and the problem will be critically important and difficult. So important is this consideration that there are those who advocate obtaining the medical men needed by our troops through the processes of selective conscription.

It is important that maternal, infant, and child welfare should not be neglected in the present emergency, and physicians whose practice has been largely along these lines should probably continue in civilian service either at home or abroad.

156. *Nursing needs.* The nursing service in our own country will be severely taxed by reason of the calls made upon it for nurses to go to the front. Those who are fitted by physique, temperament, and education for nursing work should very seriously consider the advisability of going into training schools for nurses connected with our great hospitals and other institutions. We shall need nurses of thorough training now more than ever before, and mere first-aid or nurses-aid training will not fit women for difficult and responsible nursing positions.

157. *Medical students.* From the time war was declared, those in positions of authority have urged men at present enrolled in medical schools to continue their work of preparation. This must be emphasized again. The teaching personnel of our medical and student body must be kept at their

present work, for upon them depends the welfare of our army and the community in the years to come. It is a serious question whether medical schools should not continue in session throughout the entire year without the usual interruptions of vacations. The same advice is given to schools for dental surgery and pharmacy. Students who anticipate entering the medical profession and in their college work have made preparation for a medical education should be encouraged to continue in their original intention.

#### THE AMERICAN RED CROSS.

158. The American National Red Cross is the only volunteer society now authorized by this Government to render aid to its land and naval forces in time of war. Any other society desiring to render similar assistance can do so only through the American National Red Cross. (General Order No. 170, War Department, 1911.)

159. *Functions.* The purposes of the American National Red Cross are:

1. To furnish volunteer aid to the sick and wounded in time of war.
2. To act in matters of voluntary relief and in accord with the military and naval authorities as a medium of communication between the people of the United States of America and their Army and Navy.
3. To carry on a system of national and international relief in time of peace, and to apply the same to mitigating the sufferings caused by pestilence, famine, fire, floods, and great national calamities.

*Funds.* The society is supported by voluntary contributions.

#### FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

160. *Central organization.* The governing body consists of a central committee numbering 18 persons, appointed in the manner following: Six by the incorporators, 6 by the representatives of the State and Territorial societies, and 6 by the President of the United States, one of whom shall be designated by him as chairman, and one each to be named by him from the Departments of State, War, Navy, Treasury,

and Justice. The central committee appoints an executive committee of 7 persons from its own members. At present the national officers are: President, Hon. Woodrow Wilson; vice president, Robert W. De Forest; treasurer, Hon. John Skelton Williams; counselor, Hon. John W. Davis; secretary, Charles L. Magee; chairman central committee, Hon. William Howard Taft; vice chairman, Eliot Wadsworth.

The work of the society is carried on under the War Council appointed by President Wilson. Its membership is as follows: Henry P. Davison, chairman; Charles D. Norton, Grayson M. P. Murphy, Edward N. Hurley, Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., and Hon. William Howard Taft and Eliot Wadsworth, ex officio.

The Department of Civilian Relief is under the direction of W. Frank Persons; the Department of Military Relief is under the direction of John D. Ryan; and the Supply Service is under the direction of Frank B. Gifford. Mr. Harvey D. Gibson has been appointed General Field Head, with headquarters in Washington. Mr. Gibson's duties will be to reorganize the departments, develop the chapters and increase the Red Cross membership.

The national headquarters of the American Red Cross are at Washington, D. C. Major Grayson M. P. Murphy represents the Red Cross in Europe.

161. *The local organizations* are called chapters or auxiliaries and are grouped in divisions under directors. On February 1 Red Cross chapters numbered only 272; on July 1 the number had reached 1,534. The Red Cross membership is now over 2,000,000. Information regarding Red Cross work may be obtained by applying to American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., or to the division directors, as follows: Director of northeastern division, James Jackson, Boston, 4 Liberty Square; director of Atlantic division, A. W. Staub, New York, Metropolitan Tower; director of central division, John J. O'Connor, Chicago, 112 West Adams Street; director of southern division, E. H. Wells, Washington, American Red Cross; director of mountain division, S. P. Morris, Denver, State capitol; director of Pacific division, John L. Clymer, San Francisco, 502 California Street. The first source of information, however,

should be the local chapter. If no chapter exists, the organization of one might well be considered. For advice in this matter address Mr. H. D. Gibson, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

162. *Authority for war service.* The system according to which the Red Cross is authorized to render aid to the land and naval forces of the United States is described by an act of Congress approved on April 24, 1912.

The organized Red Cross units serving with the land forces will constitute a part of the sanitary service of the land forces.

When the War Department desires the use of the services of the Red Cross in time of war, or when war is imminent, the Secretary of War will communicate with the chairman of the central committee of the society, specifying the character of the service required, the kind and number of Red Cross units desired, and designating the place or places where the personnel and matériel will be assembled.

When any member of the Red Cross reports for duty with the land forces of the United States, pursuant to a proper call, he will thereafter be subject to military laws and regulations as provided in article 10 of the International Red Cross Convention of 1906, and will be provided with the necessary brassard and certificate of identity.

Except in cases of great emergency, Red Cross personnel serving with the land forces will not be assigned to duty at the front, but will be employed in hospitals in the home country, at the base of operations, on hospital ships, and along lines of communications of the military forces of the United States.

Before military patients are received in a Red Cross hospital, specific authority must in the first instance be received from the Secretary of War, and the director must be a commissioned officer of the Medical Corps or, in special cases, an officer of the medical section of the Officers' Reserve Corps designated by him to command it. Under specific authority, however, military patients may be sent to Red Cross general hospitals not commanded by a commissioned medical officer under such conditions as to allowances, reports, and the control of military patients as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

163. *Official examination.* No units, sections, detachments, or individuals of the American Red Cross will be accepted for service by the War Department, unless previously inspected by a medical officer of the Army, and found qualified for the service expected of them.

The American Red Cross may, when war occurs or is imminent, be called upon by the War Department to assist the sanitary service by furnishing organized units, sections, detachments, or individuals whose services may be necessary, such as physicians, surgeons, dentists, chaplains, laboratory experts and their assistants, pharmacists, nurses, stenographers and clerks, hospital personnel, and sick transport personnel.

164. *Compensation.* Persons enrolled by the American Red Cross in its units or as individuals who are accepted for the sanitary service shall be paid by the National Government according to the nature of their services whenever authority of law exists for such payment either on military rolls or as civilian employees.

Red Cross volunteers are persons who give their services without pay, and such volunteers serving with Red Cross organizations, or as individuals under Red Cross commissions, warrants, or letters of appointment, shall, during the period of such service with the sanitary department of the Army, be given the respect due to their positions and services and shall be furnished such appropriate quarters, beds, food, and transportation as may be necessary for the discharge of their duties. They shall be entitled to wear a distinctive badge approved by the Secretary of War and issued by the American Red Cross.

165. *Military status.* All units, sections, detachments, or individuals of the American Red Cross, upon being accepted for duty by the Secretary of War in time of war, or when war is imminent, shall from the date of such acceptance be subject to the orders of the proper military authorities, and such Red Cross personnel when serving with the Armies of the United States in the field, both within and without the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, are subject to the Articles of War.

166. *Classes of volunteers.* To facilitate the enrollment and training of Red Cross personnel it shall be divided into three classes:

Class A. Those willing to serve wherever needed.

Class B. Those willing to serve in home country only.

Class C. Those willing to serve at place of residence only.

Only persons belonging to class A shall be enrolled in Red Cross organizations intended for service at military bases or along the line of communications. Individuals whose services may be needed in the zone of the line of communications and base may be also enrolled in class A.

Class B will be enrolled for service in hospitals and other sanitary institutions that may be established in the home country. They may be organized into such units and receive such training as may be deemed advisable.

Class C will be composed of individuals of local Red Cross societies who on account of their occupation or experience in the care of sick and other hospital duties may be expected to render efficient service in military institutions established in their locality.

167. *Units.* The Red Cross units organized for service with the Army or for the purpose of training personnel therefore are:

1. Ambulance companies. (See paragraph 172.)
2. Base hospitals. (See paragraphs 170 and 171.)

3. Hospital units. (See paragraphs 170 and 171.)
4. Surgical sections.
5. Emergency nurse detachments.
6. Sanitary training detachments. (See paragraph 173.)
7. Information sections.
8. Refreshment units and detachments.
9. Supply depots. (See paragraph 174.)
10. General hospitals.
11. Convalescent homes. (See paragraph 178.)

168. *Information.* For detailed statements on the work of these units and other facts not given here consult the Regulations Governing the Employment of the American Red Cross in Time of War, which may be obtained for the sum of 5 cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. Remittance may be made by coupons, purchasable in sets of 20 for \$1. Stamps will not be accepted.

169. *The Red Cross War Council and its plans.* The Red Cross has completed a campaign to raise \$100,000,000 with which to carry on its war work. Mr. H. P. Davison, chairman of the Red Cross war council, who assumed the leadership in this undertaking, has explained the need for this fund, as follows:

Given the greatest war the world has known, now entering the last month of its third year, on the one hand; the American Red Cross on the other, what is the Red Cross going to do?

The first thing it is going to do is to effect the most efficient organization possible. The President has appointed a war council, which council has assumed the responsibility of effecting this organization. It is developing plans which involve the selection of the best talent in the United States in medicine, in sanitation, in transportation, in construction, in welfare work, in purchasing, in commercial business, in accounting, and in such other lines as may be required in an undertaking of this magnitude. Ordinarily it would be difficult to employ trained talent of the character required. Men would not be available, but it has already been demonstrated beyond any concern on the part of the council that the best talent is available and most of it volunteer, so that in whatever direction it may be necessary to move the work may be carried on intelligently, efficiently, and economically.

The desire of the war council is for immediate action to be as efficiently and economically executed as possible. By reason of the cooperative spirit of the public it is believed that the overhead charges in the administration of this work will be comparatively low. Only a small percentage of each dollar contributed will be required to carry the relief to its destination.

Next we shall continue organizing base hospitals with personnel and full equipment in order that they may be turned over to the Army upon a day's notice for transport to France. At the same time we will proceed to organize such units to be stationed at the mobilization camps of our soldiers and our sailors in this country as may be desired by the Surgeon General of the Army and Navy. Also we shall proceed with the purchasing, collection, shipment, and storing of such supplies as may be necessary, or even precautionary, to be immediately available.

We shall purchase, equip, and man hospital ships. We shall organize and maintain a sanitary engineering corps to be subject to the call of the Army or Navy. In fact, we should be prepared to meet any and every emergency in connection with the needs of our soldiers and sailors in this country when called upon by the Army and the Navy, it being understood that our work in this particular is supplemental to that of those departments of our Government.

How much is this going to cost? No one can tell, because no one as yet knows whether we are to have 500,000 men or 2,000,000 men, or more, mobilized and going forward to the line of battle. The foregoing, you will note, treats only with the military necessities and not with the civilian relief in our own country, to which, important as it is, I make no reference in this statement.

This same service we propose to render through the Red Cross to American soldiers and sailors abroad, not merely to protect them in health and to maintain them as effective fighting men, but to look after their comfort and happiness while they are on leave. The Red Cross must act as a foster parent to these young soldiers of America 3,000 miles from their homes.

In addition to its work at home and with the soldiers in the field the Red Cross is planning extensive war relief work in Europe (see paragraph 42).

The policy of the Red Cross in handling its funds has been announced as follows:

The Red Cross has appropriated \$1,000,000 to provide immediate necessities in France, to be spent under the direction of the American Red Cross Commission in France headed by Major Grayson M. P. Murphy, a member of the War Council. The Red Cross has also appropriated \$200,000 to purchase medical supplies and instruments, whereby the Red Cross Commission to Russia may take care of more urgent needs upon arrival in that country.

The sum of \$200,000 has been appropriated to purchase materials to supply most urgent needs in Roumania. The sum of \$300,000 has been appropriated for use in Armenia, and \$6,500 has been appropriated to purchase drugs to be sent to the Russian Red Cross.

Aside from the foregoing no appropriations have been made by the War Council for work in foreign countries. The need in all the allied countries is beyond computation and use can be found for all funds which can possibly be obtained either now or in the future. That very fact imposes upon the Red Cross an extraordinary obligation, which it fully recognizes, to use the funds committed to it only after assuring itself not only that any proposed expenditure will do good, but that it will accomplish the greatest good relative to other needs which are crying to be supplied.

The Red Cross has now at work in France a commission of experts and it has more recently sent to Russia a similar commission. The expenses of these commissions are borne privately and are not a charge on Red Cross funds. It is the purpose of the Red Cross to send similar commissions to Italy and Roumania, and also to appoint a commissioner to Great Britain. No appropriations for use in any country will be made until after investigation, and all except emergency appropriations will be made by the War Council for specific purposes and in specified amounts.

It is also the policy of the War Council to withhold any very large expenditures abroad until it is made certain that every necessary provision has been made to take care of our own soldiers and sailors.

Appropriations as authorized will as far as feasible be made public immediately, and frequent statements will summarize the expenditures of the past and set forth the condition of Red Cross finances.

#### WORK FOR MEN.

The first thing to do is to join the Red Cross. The annual membership fee is \$1.

170. *The base hospital units* call for men of some training. An Army unit cares for 500 beds, and at full strength has the following personnel:

Medical officers	<sup>1</sup> 23
Dentists	2
Chaplains	1
Nurses	<sup>2</sup> 50
Nurses' aids	<sup>3</sup> 25
Male administration personnel	<sup>1</sup> 150
Civilian employees	15

<sup>2</sup> Fifteen additional nurses in reserve.

<sup>3</sup> Twenty-five additional in reserve.

<sup>1</sup> This number includes the quartermaster and registrar, who may not be medical men.

171. The unit for the Navy calls for from 250 to 350 beds and has the following personnel:

Medical officers		10
Dentists		1
Nurses		<sup>1</sup> 40
Nurses' aids		<sup>2</sup> 14
Civilian employees		<sup>2</sup> 20

Medical men accepted for these units must be between the ages of 25 and 50, graduates of a recognized medical school and licensed to practice. The Red Cross doctors are enrolled in the Officers' Reserve Corps and the remaining personnel as enlisted men under military control. (See paragraphs 162, 165, and 226.)

172. *Ambulance companies* are organized to bring the wounded to the base hospitals. A company requires the following personnel:

Captain	1	Cooks	2
First lieutenants	4	Assistant cooks	2
First sergeant	1	Chauffeurs	20
Sergeants	11	Musicians	2
Mechanics	5	Privates	43

Applicants for enrollment in the ambulance companies must be between the ages of 18 and 45 and must be able to meet the physical, educational, and practical requirements which may be prescribed.

173. *Sanitary training detachments* are formed to train men for medical service. A detachment consists of:

Commandant	1	Mechanics	4
Assistant commandant	1	Carpenters	4
Quartermaster	1	Cooks	2
Pharmacist	1	Clerks	2
Section chiefs	5	Privates	40

For information concerning service in the groups described above, address Bureau of Medical Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

174. *Supplies.* The hospital units, ambulance companies, and sanitary detachments need supplies, such as surgical dressings, garments, and hospital supplies, for all of which

<sup>1</sup> Twenty additional nurses in reserve.

<sup>2</sup> Not necessary for enrollment.

chapters and individuals are urged to assume the responsibility. Money, rooms for the use of workers, and storage space are also needed. Those who stay at home may help in these ways. Information will be furnished by American Red Cross, Bureau of Supplies, Washington, D. C., or 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

175. *Camp representatives.* Opportunity to serve as volunteer representatives of the Red Cross in training camps here and later, if desired, with the troops abroad is offered to men over 31. These representatives will receive food and shelter from the Government on the same footing as lieutenants and captains. They would be expected to cooperate with the officers, hospitals, Y. M. C. A., and other non-military organizations, and to call on the Red Cross for emergency supplies needed for the welfare and comfort of the troops. Application may be addressed to Mr. Henry S. Thompson, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

#### WORK FOR WOMEN.

176. *Nursing.* Again, the first thing to do is to join the Red Cross. Graduate registered nurses between the ages of 25 and 40, physically strong and recommended by their profession, may serve in the base hospital units. The Red Cross Nursing Service has 12,000 accepted nurses enrolled. Fourteen hundred nurses are needed, enough for 2,000,000 men.

Nurses' aids are selected from those who have earned certificates in elementary hygiene and home care of the sick, home dietetics, and the preparation of surgical dressings. These courses are given in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Washington, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, Pasadena, Los Angeles, and wherever 10 women can get an enrolled Red Cross nurse as instructor. (See paragraph 161.)

Professional nurses and those desiring instruction in first aid and the courses mentioned above should address the Bureau of Nursing Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

177. *General aid.* Most women can help, if they will, in preparation of supplies. Eight three-hour lessons, chiefly

practical, are needed for instruction in preparing surgical supplies. Write the nearest chapter or the Bureau of Nursing Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

*Convalescent homes* will be such private residences or other buildings or institutions as are accepted by the American Red Cross as complying with the necessary conditions for providing accommodation for disabled officers and men who require no further active medical or surgical treatment, and who are awaiting discharge from the service on account of permanent disability. The expenses in connection with the upkeep of convalescent homes will be met entirely by private funds, except that an allowance for subsistence may be made by the Government when desired. Convalescent homes will be at all times subject to inspection by duly authorized representatives of the War Department.

#### WORK FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY.

178. If increased medical science has taught us anything it has taught us that there is no such thing as being sick all by oneself. The sickness of an individual may sometimes be of tremendous community importance if the disease be contagious and in any case the community efficiency is decreased by one unit, and even more than that since the person who is ill demands attention from others. It is the realization of this fact that gives importance to the care with which every member in the community looks out for his own health.

The soldiers in training have some one to watch them constantly and a sick list is made up daily. Every effort is going to be made by those in authority at the camps to give those in training the most expert and most immediate medical treatment.

Those in civilian life are not subject to such a medical service, but if the citizen army of 100,000,000 is to maintain its efficiency every citizen must cooperate and must not only care for his own health but be on the lookout for anything in the community in which he lives which would tend to decrease the healthful character of the locality. More specifi-

cally, increased attention must be paid to conditions on vacant lots, area ways, cellars, back yards, drains, pollution of streams, etc.

Private and public hospitals should be encouraged and dispensaries should be provided with funds making their continued activity possible. What we should like to do in times of peace we have come to regard as not merely desirable but as absolutely necessary in times of war. Some such few desirable immediate by-products the conflict may bring us.

## THE ARMY.

179. *Table of United States Army armed forces as at present authorized:*

Regular Army	300,000
National Guard (16 divisions)	450,000
National Army (first call)	687,000

In addition to these forces there are enrolled a considerable number of reserve officers; 40,000 men are in officers' training camps; 16,000 men are serving in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and provision has been made for reserve forces for the Regular Army, the National Guard, and for special and technical corps to serve with the National Army. A second series of officers' training camps will be opened on August 27, with 12,000 men enrolled. (See paragraph 218 and following.)

The national registration on June 5 of men between 21 and 30, inclusive, showed a total enrollment for the United States of 9,659,382.

180. *The Army of the United States.* From the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the National Army will come, in the main, our fighting forces. Individuality each of the elements will have, but they are all part of one great army. One step to make this evident has already been taken. The regiments, brigades, and divisions of each arm of the above three groups will be numbered in a separate series, and the first number of each series will be as indicated in the following table:

	Regiment.			
	Infantry.	Field Artillery.	Cavalry.	Engineers (pioneers).
Regular Army.....	1		1	1
National Guard.....	101		101	101
National Army.....	301		301	301

	Brigade.			Division.		
	Infantry.	Field Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Field Artillery.	Cavalry.
Regular Army.....	1	1	1	1	.....	15
National Guard.....	51	51	51	26	.....	.....
National Army.....	151	151	151	76	.....	.....

<sup>1</sup> This is to provide for the organization of Cavalry divisions, either mounted or dismounted.

The Engineer regiments, except pioneers, will be numbered in the manner already approved and put into effect.

The designations of regiments of the National Guard will show in parentheses their present State designations, as, for example, —th Infantry (1st Me.), —th Field Artillery (2d Pa.), etc. The designations of regiments of the National Army will show in parentheses the State from which each organization, or the bulk of it, was drawn, as, for example, —th Infantry (W. Va.), —th Field Artillery (Minn.). No parentheses implies Regular Army, an ordinal number and State abbreviation implies National Guard, a simple State abbreviation implies National Army.

181. *Pay in the Army.* The figures given include a 20 per cent increase for foreign service.

*Monthly pay for first enlistment period.*

\$33.	\$36.60.	\$40.20.	\$40.80.	\$44.	\$51.20.
PRIVATE.	PRIVATE SECOND CLASS.	CORPORAL, Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry.	CORPORAL, Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps, Q. M. Corps, Medical Department.	SERGEANT, Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry.	SERGEANT, Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps, Q. M. Corps, Medical Department.
BUGLER.	PRIVATE FIRST CLASS.	SADDLER.	MECHANIC, Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, Medical Department.	STABLE SERGEANT, Field Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry.	STABLE SERGEANT, Engineers.
		FARRIER.	MECHANIC, Coast Artillery.	SUPPLY SERGEANT Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry.	SUPPLY SERGEANT, Engineers.
		WAGONER.	CHIEF MECHANIC, Field Artillery.	MESS SERGEANT, Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry.	MESS SERGEANT, Engineers.
			MUSICIAN THIRD CLASS, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers.	COOK.	COLOR SERGEANT.
				HORSESHOER.	ELECTRICIAN SERGEANT SECOND CLASS.
				RADIO SERGEANT.	BAND SERGEANT.
				FIREMAN.	MUSICIAN FIRST CLASS, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers.
				BAND CORPORAL.	MUSICIAN SECOND CLASS, Cavalry, Artillery, Infantry, Engineers.
				MUSICIAN THIRD CLASS, Military Academy.	MUSICIAN SECOND CLASS, Military Academy.

*Monthly pay for first enlistment period—Continued.*

\$56.	\$60.	\$66.	\$84.	\$96.
BATTALION SERGEANT MAJOR, Field Artillery, Infantry.	REGIMENTAL SERGEANT MAJOR. REGIMENTAL SUPPLY SERGEANT.	SERGEANT MAJOR, SENIOR GRADE. QUARTERMASTER SERGEANT, Q. M. Corps.	QUARTERMASTER SERGEANT, SENIOR GRADE, Q. M. Corps.	
SQUADRON SERGEANT MAJOR.	ORDNANCE SERGEANT.	FIRST SERGEANT.	HOSPITAL SERGEANT.	BAND LEADER.
SERGEANT MAJOR, JUNIOR GRADE.	BATTALION SERGEANT MAJOR, Engineers.	SERGEANT FIRST CLASS, Medical Department.	MASTER ENGINEER, JUNIOR GRADE.	MASTER SIGNAL ELECTRICIAN.
MASTER GUNNER.	BATTALION SUPPLY SERGEANT Engineers.	SERGEANT, FIELD MUSICIAN, Military Academy.	ENGINEER.	MASTER ELECTRICIAN.
SERGEANT BUGLER.	ELECTRICIAN SERGEANT FIRST CLASS.	SERGEANT FIRST CLASS, Q. M. Corps, Engineers, Signal Corps.		MASTER ENGINEER, SENIOR GRADE.
ASSISTANT BAND LEADER.	ASSISTANT ENGINEER.	MUSICIAN FIRST CLASS, Military Academy.		MASTER HOSPITAL SERGEANT.
				BAND SERGEANT AND ASSISTANT LEADER, Military Academy.

Monthly pay is increased with successive enlistments.

Certain men because of special qualifications and service draw monthly pay beyond the regular enlistment rate, as follows:

*Additional pay per month.*

Mess sergeant -----	\$6.00	Expert first-class gunner	
Casemate electrician-----	9.00	F. A.-----	\$5.00
Observer first class -----	9.00	Expert rifleman-----	5.00
Plotter-----	9.00	Nurse (first-class private)-----	3.00
Coxswain -----	9.00	Sharpshooter-----	3.00
Chief planter-----	7.00	First-class gunner-----	3.00
Chief loader-----	7.00	Second-class gunner-----	2.00
Observer second class-----	7.00	Marksman-----	2.00
Gun commander-----	7.00	Dispensary assistant-----	2.00
Gun pointer-----	7.00	Certificate of merit-----	2.00
Surgical assistant-----	5.00		

Enlisted men are provided free with all necessary clothing and equipment.

Officers, in addition to fixed allowances for quarters, heat, and light, receive the following sums yearly, with provision for increase every five years for all ranks below brigadier general: Second lieutenant, \$1,700; first lieutenant, \$2,000; captain, \$2,400; major, \$3,000; lieutenant colonel, \$3,500; colonel, \$4,000; brigadier general, \$6,000; major general, \$8,000; lieutenant general, \$11,000.

While in France pay may be drawn either in French currency, at an exchange rate announced monthly, or in a check on the Treasury of the United States, which may easily be sent to the States or cashed in France at the current rate of exchange. The present rate (July 15) is 5.70 francs to the dollar.

182. *Special provisions for men in service.* Legislation providing for compensation and indemnification for soldiers and sailors and those dependent upon them has not yet been passed. Measures are being considered, however, for governmental action in this matter. Preliminary definite steps were taken on July 2, when Secretary McAdoo called a conference of the life insurance companies of the United States to consider plans to this end. The conference was attended by representatives of the War, Navy, and Commerce Departments and the Council of National Defense. After a prolonged discussion, the insurance men voted almost unanimously that the insurance and indemnification of the soldiers and sailors should be undertaken by the Government. The preparation of necessary legislation was begun immediately.

On July 13 Samuel Gompers, chairman of the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, appointed Judge Julian W. Mack, United States circuit court, of Chicago, chairman of the Section on Compensation for Soldiers and Sailors and their Dependents. Judge Mack will work in cooperation with the Treasury Department. He has expressed, as his opinion, the belief that the responsibility of providing funds for separation allowances, compensation for injuries, and pensions should rest upon the Government.

The committee selected by Judge Mack to draft legislation on separation allowances, compensation for injuries, and

pensions, to be presented to the Council of National Defense for approval and then to Congress, is: P. Tecumseh Sherman, New York, chairman: D. L. Cease, editor of the Railroad Trainmen's Journal, of Cleveland, secretary; and Frank V. Whiting, general claims attorney, New York Central Lines, New York; Prof. F. Spencer Baldwin, New York; S. Herbert Wolfe, Washington; and J. W. Sullivan, of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Edwin F. Sweet, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, on July 14 made the following statement regarding the insurance of the fighting forces of the Nation:

It is possible at this time to suggest the general outlines of a plan for consideration and constructive criticism. I believe there should be created in connection with one of the existing executive departments of the Government a soldiers' and sailors' indemnity bureau, with a competent man of insurance experience at its head: that the necessary actuarial and clerical assistance should be provided; that protection for a definite amount, not exceeding \$4,000, should be automatically furnished to everyone in the military and naval service of the United States, without regard to rank and without expense to the insured; that such insurance or protection should cover partial and total disability as well as death; that no medical examination should be required except that necessary for admission into the service; that all losses should be paid in regular installments; that all adjustments should be made with the least possible delay; and that a limit, analogous to statutes of limitation, should be fixed for the correction of records and the presentation of claims.

As concrete evidence of the Government's obligation a certificate or policy might well be given to each soldier and sailor. This would materially add to its moral influence.

In addition to the protection thus furnished to all engaged in war service, I think the same bureau should be authorized to furnish death and casualty benefits or protection to soldiers and sailors to the amount of \$6,000 to one individual, upon terms as favorable as in times of peace. From the experience of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance it is conceivable that this can be done by the Government without material loss. The funds that a private corporation applies to commissions, medical-examination fees, advertising, etc., would be available by the Government for the payment of losses. But if loss should result, a proper recognition of the obligation conferred upon the general public by the defenders of their country demands that it should be met by the Government and thus fall upon all who receive the benefit of the service rendered rather than upon those who render it.

183. *Mail for the forces in Europe.* Mail addressed to members of the expeditionary forces should bear the com-

plete designation of the division, regiment, company, or other organization to which the addressee belongs.

*Under no circumstances should the location or station of a military organization be included in the address on a letter for a person or organization in Europe.*

In the upper left-hand corner of a letter should be placed the usual form of return request and the name and address of the sender.

Postage should be fully prepaid. The rate on letter mail to our military forces in France is 2 cents the ounce or fraction thereof. Newspaper mail is carried for 1 cent for 4 ounces.

No other than United States postage stamps are available for the prepayment of postage.

The correct manner of addressing a letter is as follows:

Return to	Stamp.
MRS. JOHN SMITH,	
— Blank Street,	
New York City.	
JOHN SMITH, Jr.,	
Co. X, — Infantry,	
American Expeditionary Forces.	

Money orders payable at the United States postal agency or its branches in Europe will be sold to purchasers in the United States or its possessions, and money orders payable in the United States or its possessions will be sold to purchasers at the agency or its branches in Europe, under regulations provided by the Post Office Department, at domestic rates.

Money and valuables will not be accepted for transmission by registered mail. Important papers which can be duplicated if lost may be accepted for registration, but indemnity will not be paid for lost registered mail. Postal money orders should be used.

Mail for American military personnel in Europe should not be forwarded in care of The Adjutant General of the Army, as a general rule. This may be done, however, in cases where the writer does not know that the addressee has actually embarked. Mail should not be sent in care of our embassies abroad.

There is no provision at present for parcel-post service between our forces in Europe and the United States or its possessions.

Private telegrams to be cabled to members of the American Expeditionary Force in Europe will be addressed "*Amexforce, London*," with the addressee's name and the official designation of the unit to which he belongs appearing as the first words of the text.

Under no circumstances should the location or station of a unit be designated in the address or body of a telegram.

Examples are given as follows:

A telegram to Captain John B. Jones, Medical Corps, United States Army Base Hospital No. 10, American Expeditionary Forces, would be in the following form:

Amexforce, London,

John B. Jones, Base Hospital Number 10:

Have followed your instructions.

MARY JONES.

Or, for Private H. K. Smith, Company K, Forty-seventh United States Infantry:

Amexforce, London,

H. K. Smith, Co. K, Forty-seventh U. S. Infantry :

Will not change address.

JANE SMITH.

To comply with European censorship regulations all messages must be written in plain language (English or French), or in an international code, and must be intelligible to the censors. The use of two codes or two languages or of combinations of code and plain language in the same message is forbidden. Code language may be used only in full-rate messages.

Codes authorized by the British censorship are:

A. B. C. 5th; Scott's 10th; Western Union; Lieber's; Bentley's Complete Phrase Code (not including the oil and mineral supplements); Broomhall's Imperial Combination Code; Broomhall's Imperial Combination Code, rubber edition; Myers's Atlantic Cotton Code, thirty-ninth edition; Riverside Code, fifth edition.

In case of a code message, the name of the code must be designated when the message is filed.

Every telegraph message must be signed. The surname alone may be used, but such a signature as "John," "Mary," "Mother," etc., will not be passed.

Attention is called to the fact that there are three classes of service available—full rate, deferred rate, and week-end rate.

It is the intention of the War Department to detail an officer specially to care for Army mail matters.

#### **THE REGULAR ARMY.**

184. *Men needed.* About 15,000 recruits were needed on July 30 for the Regular Army in the various branches, as indicated in paragraph 186. A considerable number of provisional second lieutenants are also required. (See paragraph 187 and following.)

185. *Avenues for entering the Army.* Officers for the Regular Army are graduates from the West Point Military Academy or those who have passed examination for provisional second lieutenant, (see paragraph 187 and following), or such reserve officers as may be assigned. The enlisted men of the Regular Army are volunteers or those assigned from the selective draft. (See paragraph 194 and following.)

*Enlistments* on or after May 18 are for the period of the emergency, and it is the policy of the War Department to treat enlistments from April 1, 1917, on the same basis.

186. *The regiments added to the Regular Army to bring it up to war strength are—*

Engineers, 4 regiments, organization completed.

Cavalry, 8 regiments, organization completed.

Field Artillery, 12 regiments, organization completed.

Coast Artillery, 10,000 men, list full.

Infantry, 27 regiments (1,969 each), organization partly completed.

Several thousand recruits were required for the Signal Corps (including Aviation), Quartermaster Corps, and Medical Department (Sanitary Forces). These lists have been filled, except for specially qualified men.

In addition to the recruits needed to fill the 27 new Infantry regiments about 23,000 men were required to bring the 37 Infantry regiments authorized for peace times up to the war footing.

Recruits over the 300,000 regular forces are needed to fill vacancies in order that the war strength may be maintained. Men may consequently enlist in the Regular Army even after the authorized strength has been reached.

## PROVISIONAL SECOND LIEUTENANTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY.

187. *General statement.* To increase the number of officers in the Regular Army, authorization was given on June 3, 1916, for the appointment of provisional second lieutenants in the Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Coast Artillery. Appointments may be made after prescribed examinations from enlisted men of the Regular Army and officers of the Philippine Scouts, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the National Guard, graduates and students of "distinguished" and "recognized" colleges, and from civil life. All information concerning these appointments is given in Special Regulations No. 1, "Appointment of Provisional Second Lieutenants," 1917. "Distinguished" colleges are those so listed in the annual report of the War Department, because of the excellent military standing of their student battalions. "Recognized" colleges are those so listed by the Bureau of Education.

188. *Applications.* Copies of the prescribed form of application may be obtained upon request, from The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C., and, when returned, should be accompanied by three or four testimonials as to character from persons of the community in which the applicant has lived, and from those candidates who claim exemptions under paragraphs 191 and 192, by proof of graduation.

*Letters of designation.* Upon receipt of application in proper form, The Adjutant General of the Army will issue letters of designation to those applicants whom the War Department desires to appear for examination.

*Examining boards.* Candidates will be authorized to report for examination at such military posts or at such other places in the vicinity of their homes as may be designated in each case. The examination will be conducted by a board to consist of two medical officers and two or more line officers, appointed by the War Department or by the commanding officer at the post designated.

189. *Physical examination.* Examination as to physical qualifications will conform to the standard required of recruits (see paragraph 197) except that any applicant whose degree of vision is less than 20/40 in either eye or who is color blind for red, green, or violet will be rejected.

190. *Examination as to moral fitness and character.* Each applicant will submit to the officer conducting the examination testimonials or certificates as to his moral character and fitness for the position of a commissioned officer, and these testimonials and certificates will be forwarded with the report of the board.

191. *Mental examination for the Mobile Army: Infantry, Cavalry, and Field Artillery—*

GROUP I.

	Weight.
1. United States history and Constitution-----	1
2. English grammar and composition-----	2
3. General history-----	1
4. Geography-----	1
5. Arithmetic -----	1
6. Algebra -----	1
7. Geometry, plane-----	1
8. Trigonometry, plane-----	1

GROUP II.

1. English and American literature -----	2
2. French-----	2
3. German -----	2
4. Spanish -----	2
5. Analytical geometry-----	2
6. Calculus (differential and integral)-----	2
7. Minor tactics and field engineering-----	2
8. Surveying -----	2

For general scope of the mental examination see Special Regulations No. 1.

*Exemptions:* (a) Honor graduates of "distinguished colleges." No mental examination.

(b) Graduates of "recognized colleges" exempt from Group I and all save two subjects in Group II. Only one foreign language may be offered.

(c) Students of "recognized colleges" exempt from all of Group I for which certificate of examination or satisfac-

tory completion can be produced. If this list includes more than 4 of Group I, two subjects of Group II are required. Only one foreign language may be offered. If less than 4, the candidate comes under (d).

(d) All candidates from the Officers' Reserve Corps, the National Guard, and from civil life who are not graduates of or students in a recognized college or university will take all of Group I and any one subject of Group II.

(e) Men now in Officers' Training Camps. No mental examination. (See paragraph 213.)

*Special Cavalry examination.* Upon the completion of the mental examination the board will examine the applicants for mounted service and will report upon their suitability therefor, taking into consideration only proficiency in riding, horsemanship, and size when so great as to indicate present or future unsuitability for mounted service.

#### 192. Mental examination for Coast Artillery Corps:

##### GROUP I.

	Weight.
1. United States History and Constitution-----	1
2. English grammar and composition-----	2
3. General history -----	1
4. Geography-----	1
5. Arithmetic-----	1
6. Algebra-----	1
7. Geometry, plane-----	1
8. Trigonometry, plane-----	1
9. Elementary electricity-----	1
10. Elementary mechanics-----	1
11. Elementary chemistry-----	1

##### GROUP II.

	Weight.
1. English and American literature-----	2
2. French -----	2
3. German -----	2
4. Spanish -----	2
5. Analytical geometry-----	2
6. Calculus (differential and integral)-----	2
7. Surveying -----	2
8. Advanced electricity-----	2
9. Advanced mechanics-----	2

Exemptions as in paragraph 191 except:

All candidates from the Officers' Reserve Corps, the National Guard, and from civil life who are not graduates

of a recognized college or university will take all of Group I and any one subject of Group II. A candidate who elects to take advanced electricity or advanced mechanics will be excused from the elementary examination in the corresponding subject of Group I.

An examination was held beginning July 23, 1917.

#### TEMPORARY SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

193. *In case of need, noncommissioned officers in the Regular Army, after mental examination, may be appointed to the rank of temporary second lieutenant.* Such appointments are not open to civilians. To July 15 about 2,000 such appointments had been made.

#### ENLISTED MEN IN THE REGULAR ARMY.

194. *Requirements.* The applicant must be between the ages of 18 and 40, inclusive, unmarried and able-bodied, free from disease, able to speak the English language, and of good moral character and temperate habits. He must be sober and not below average intelligence. It is the policy not to enlist the subjects of enemy countries or their allies, since such men in the event of capture would not be subject to the rights of prisoners of war. Other aliens, except for special reasons, will be enlisted during the period of the present emergency.

195. *Pay.* Pay varies from \$30 to \$105 per month. Soldiers serving beyond the limits of the United States (not in Alaska, Hawaii, or the Canal Zone, but in Europe), have their pay increased 20 per cent from date of departure. In case of death in line of duty, a soldier's widow or any other person previously designated by him receives an amount equal to six months' pay. (See paragraphs 181 and 182.)

196. *Allotments.* A soldier may make an allotment of any part of his pay to any person he may elect. The amount is then sent directly to that person by the Quartermaster Corps, insuring the receipt and relieving the soldier of the trouble of sending money home each month.

197. *Physical requirements.* For Infantry, Coast Artillery, and Engineers, the height of applicants 21 years of age or over must be not less than 5 feet 1 inch and weight not more than 190 pounds.

For Cavalry, the height of applicants 21 years of age or over must be not less than 5 feet 1 inch and not more than 5 feet 10 inches and weight not to exceed 165 pounds.

For Field Artillery, the height of applicants 21 years of age or over must be not less than 5 feet 1 inch and not more than 6 feet and weight not more than 190 pounds. For the mountain batteries, the height must be not less than 5 feet 8 inches.

A variation not exceeding a fraction of an inch above the maximum or below the minimum height given for Cavalry and Field Artillery is permissible if the applicant is in good health and is in other respects desirable as a recruit.

The minimum weight of applicants 21 years of age or over for all arms of the service is 128 pounds, with some minor exceptions, but in no case will an applicant whose weight falls below 110 pounds be accepted without special authority from The Adjutant General of the Army.

*Table of physical proportions for height, weight, and chest mobility for applicants under 21 years of age.*

	Minimum height.	Minimum weight.	Chest mobility.
	Inches.	Pounds.	Inches.
At 18 years of age.....	61	110	2
At 19 years of age.....	61	110	2
At 20 years of age.....	61	110	2

198. *Divisions.* Men may enlist in the Infantry, the Cavalry, the Field Artillery, the Coast Artillery, the Engineer Corps, the Medical Department, the Quartermaster Corps, and the Signal Corps, subject to the restrictions of paragraphs 184 and 186. Men between the ages of 18 and 35, inclusive, who enlist in the Signal Corps of the Army may serve as non-fliers in the aviation section. (See paragraphs 336 to 337, inclusive.)

199. *Special needs.* The Adjutant General's office has sent orders to recruiting stations to enlist as many of the following workers as possible: Blacksmiths, blasters and powdermen, cabinet makers, wooden-boat calkers, bridge, house and ship carpenters, clerks, cooks, divers, draftsmen, drillers, teamsters, electricians, enginemen, chauffeurs, farriers, firemen, masons, mine foremen, concrete foremen, painters, rail-

road construction men, glaziers, horseshoers, lithographers, machinists, oarsmen, skilled boatmen, mule packers, photographers, pipefitters, plumbers, riggers, riveters, harness-makers, shoemakers, storeroom keepers, surveyors, transit men, tinsmiths, and men with practical training in engineering.

#### THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS.

##### ORGANIZATION.

200. *Purpose and duty.* The Officers Reserve Corps is authorized by sections 37-40, 49, and 51-53 of the National Defense Act, approved June 3, 1916.

Applicants commissioned in the Officers' Reserve Corps will rank in the various sections according to grades and to length of service in their grades. Commissions will be issued for five years.

In times of peace, officers of the Reserve are liable to service in the field for 15 days every year, during which service they will receive the pay and allowance of their respective grades in the Regular Army. In time of actual or threatened hostilities the President may order members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, subject to physical examination, to temporary duty with the Regular Army, or as officers in volunteer or other organizations that may be authorized by law, or as officers at recruit rendezvous and depots or on other duty. They may be promoted to vacancies in volunteer organizations or in the Regular Army. While Reserve officers are on such service they shall be entitled to the pay and allowances of the corresponding grades in the Regular Army.

201. *Qualifications.* Commissions in the Officers' Reserve Corps are open to "such citizens as shall be found physically, mentally, and morally qualified." Enlisted men of the Regular Army and of the National Guard are eligible, but not officers, with the restrictions noted under paragraph 203.

##### 202. Examinations:

*Physical examination.* Each applicant must pass a physical examination, requirements varying from the perfection required for the Aviation Section to the less stringent re-

quirements for serving in the more technical branches off the field. This must be passed before the mental examination.

*Moral examination.* The applicant must, in general, furnish character recommendations from at least three reputable citizens.

*Mental examination.* The applicant must then apply for a mental examination, which will vary for the particular corps. Attendance for three months at an officers' training camp is required before application will be considered for line officers. (See paragraph 211.)

203. *Age restrictions.* In addition the applicant must conform to the following age restrictions:

1. For officers of the line (Infantry, Cavalry, Field and Coast Artillery):

Second lieutenant, 21 to 32 years of age.

First lieutenant, 21 to 36 years of age.

Captain, 21 to 40 years of age.

Major, 21 to 45 years of age.

(See paragraph 222.)

2. The above age limits do not apply for Staff Corps (Quartermaster, Engineer, Ordnance, Signal, Judge-Advocate, and Medical Corps) except:

Adjutant General and Inspector General with the rank of major, 21 to 45 years of age.

Commissions will not be issued for grades within which the applicant, by reason of age, has less than one year to serve. (See, however, paragraph 222.)

#### DIVISIONS OF THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS.

204. The Officers' Reserve Corps has two great divisions, Line and Staff Officers. There are within these two branches subdivisions. The plan of organization follows, and thereafter (205 ff.) a detailed description of the different arms of the service is given.

##### *Officers of the Line:*

1. Infantry.<sup>1</sup>
2. Cavalry.<sup>1</sup>
3. Field Artillery.<sup>1</sup>
4. Coast Artillery.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For commissions in these branches attendance at one of the officers' training camps is necessary.

*Officers of the Staff:*

5. Medical Officers' Reserve Corps.
6. Adjutant General's Officers' Reserve Corps.<sup>1</sup>
7. Judge Advocate General's Officers' Reserve Corps.<sup>1</sup>
8. Inspector General's Officers' Reserve Corps.<sup>1</sup>
9. Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps.<sup>1</sup>
10. Engineer Officers' Reserve Corps.<sup>1</sup>
11. Ordnance Officers' Reserve Corps.
12. Signal Officers' Reserve Corps.<sup>1</sup>

## DESCRIPTION OF STAFF CORPS.

205. *Medical Officers' Reserve Department.* Apply to Maj. Noble, or to the Surgeon General, Washington, D. C.

1. Medical Section—for Captains and First Lieutenants; for Majors.

2. Dental Section.

3. Veterinary Section.

For description of this division see paragraph 146 and following.

206. *Adjutant General's Officers' Reserve Corps.* The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C.

*Judge Advocate General's Officers' Reserve Corps.* Judge Advocate General, Washington, D. C.

*Inspector General's Officers' Reserve Corps.* Inspector General of the Army, Washington, D. C.

207. *Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps.* No applications received; see also paragraph 214.

Applicants for the quartermaster section will be examined for duties that require—

Administrative knowledge of a technical military nature relating to Quartermaster Corps duties. (Theater of operations.)

*Mental examination.*—For majors and captains whose duties are connected with the service of the theater of operations:

*Administration.*—Oral and practical. The Manual for the Quartermaster Corps.

*General duties.*—United States Army Transport Service Regulations, 1914, and circulars of the Quartermaster General's Office relating to supplies, payment, and services. The Manual for the Quartermaster Corps.

Blanks should be furnished and the applicant required to exemplify their use in the preparation of contracts, bonds, returns, accounts current, bills of lading, transportation requests, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Applications no longer received because of the number already on file.

*Military law* (oral).—Manual of Courts-Martial. The law of war. Civil functions and relations of the military. Instructions for the government of armies of the United States in the field (Rules of Land Warfare, with its appendices).

*Hippology* (oral).—The Cavalry horse; draft horses and mules; inspection and purchase; care of; feeding; watering. Stables: Construction; lighting; ventilation. Forage: Kinds and relative value; inspection of; causes of deterioration; proper care of.

*Transportation* (oral).—By land (rail, wagon, and pack) and water. Care of animals on cars and transports. Construction and repairs of roads, railroads, bridges, etc.

208. *Engineer Officers' Reserve Corps.* Applications not received; see paragraph 215.

Class A: Men who will be used for service at the front.

First and second lieutenants:

(a) Must have had active practice in engineering profession or some business immediately connected with or concerned in engineering matters.

(b) Must either hold or have qualified for the grade of junior engineer, electrical or mechanical, or higher grade in the civil service, or must be a graduate from an approved engineering college, or have been in the above practice of engineering at least two years.

Captains: Similar qualifications to the above, except that men of more experience and knowledge, and with a knowledge of the principles of military organization and operations are required.

Class B: Engineer reserve officers required for special services. Candidates must be qualified for at least one of the following duties (Army Regulations 1493):

The duties of the Corps of Engineers comprise reconnoitering and surveying for military purposes, including the laying out of camps; selection of sites and formation of plans and estimates for military defenses; construction and repairs of fortifications and their accessories; \* \* \* the installation of electric power plants and electric cable connected with seacoast batteries; \* \* \* In time of war within the theater of operations it has charge of the location, design, and construction of wharves and landings, storehouses, hospitals, and other structures of general interest, and of the construction, maintenance, and repair of roads, ferries, bridges, and incidental structures, and of the construction, maintenance, and operation of railroads under military control, including the construction and operation of armed trains.

For this class no examinations may be held, appointments being based upon evidence submitted by the candidates, of their actual employment in corresponding or higher positions in civil life, and their references to their employers.

In addition, men have been enrolled with experience as—

Bridge engineers.

Civil engineers.

Constructing engineers (earth and concrete).

Constructing engineers (wharves, piers, and buildings).

Electrical engineers (for small plants and power lines).

Highway engineers.

Mining engineers (skilled in tunneling and the use of explosives).

Railroad engineers (construction and maintenance).<sup>1</sup>

Railroad operating officials.<sup>1</sup>

Sanitary engineers.

Topographical engineers.

*209. Ordnance Officers' Reserve Corps.* Apply for examination to Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, Washington, D. C.

*Duties.* The Chief of Ordnance of the Army is charged with the duty of procuring, by purchase or manufacture, and distributing the necessary ordnance and ordnance stores for the Army and the National Guard. Ordnance and ordnance stores include cannon and artillery vehicles and equipments; apparatus and machines for the service and maneuver of artillery; small arms, ammunition, and accoutrements; horse equipments and harness for Field Artillery, and horse equipments for Cavalry and other mounted men; tools, machinery, and materials for the ordnance service; and all property of whatever nature (including specially equipped motor trucks, motorcycles, tractors, and railroad cars) supplied to the Military Establishment by the Ordnance Department.

Eight hundred students, installed on the campuses of eight American colleges, are now taking the preparatory course to fit them for ordnance work in the Enlisted Reserve Corps. These students are training to become storekeepers in that branch of the service which will supply the new American armies with guns and munitions.

The primary courses were opened in the middle of May. Each course is six weeks in duration. After a student is graduated he is sent for a higher course of training, also

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<sup>1</sup> In actual war operations. For operations outside theater of war, see under Quartermaster Corps, above.

lasting six weeks, to various arsenals designated by the War Department. The men are enlisted as privates, but a certain percentage of those graduated from the arsenals are recommended for promotion to noncommissioned grades.

The first or primary courses are being given at the University of Illinois, University of Wisconsin, Harvard, Dartmouth, the University of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania State College, Columbia University, and the University of Chicago.

The arsenals where the men go to take their six weeks of higher training are situated at Watertown, Mass.; Rock Island, Ill.; Augusta, Ga.; and San Antonio, Tex.

*Captains and first lieutenants.* For this class of ordnance officers it is desired to have mechanical engineers, chemical engineers specially qualified in explosive chemistry, and metallurgical engineers; also men with special knowledge of the manufacture of leather goods and cloth material. Applicants should preferably be graduates of a recognized college or university, and should have had sufficient experience in the manufacture or investigation of ordnance material to qualify them to take up at once such duties in the Ordnance Department. No oral or written examination will be given in these cases, but the examining board will investigate thoroughly the education, training, and experience of the applicant, and weight will be given to the indorsements of the principal engineering societies. *In no case will the physical examination be waived.*

*Majors.* The examination will be the same as the foregoing, but the board will, in addition, inquire into the business capacity of the applicant and his experience in handling affairs and men. The examination under "Administration" and "Duties of ordnance officers" will also be more extended than for the grades of captain and first lieutenant, by reason of the greater responsibility pertaining to the duties of officers of field rank.

210. *Signal Officers' Reserve Corps.* From June 14 on no further applications were received for classes *a* and *b*, because of the completion of the quota needed for the time. It is the hope of the department that the future need for officers will be met by promotions from the ranks.

*Duties.* The Signal Corps is to the Army about what a combination of telegraph, telephone, and radio service is to a nation in peace time.

The legal functions of the Signal Corps include the duties of collecting and transmitting information for the Army by telegraph or otherwise, and of devising and providing the means for so doing.

Signal troops are organized into units to construct, operate, and maintain the tactical and strategic lines of information for the Army.

*Qualifications.* To meet these general duties, the Signal Corps requires officers with a knowledge of telegraph apparatus, telephones, batteries, cables, and especially at present motor generators, gas engines, and radio apparatus.

*Examinations:* Candidates will be examined for duty in the following three classes:

(a) The Signal Corps field organizations.

(b) Special service in connection with the installation and operation of telephone, telegraph, and cable systems; the laying of deep-sea cables; the design and supply of electrical equipment used in transmission of information, etc.

(c) The Aviation Section. See paragraphs 338 to 342, inclusive.

#### THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS IN WAR TIME.

211. *Organization.* When, through the declaration of war, it became evident that great numbers of officers would be needed for a National Army the War Department determined to suspend the established examinations for the Reserve Corps and accept no further applications for commissions for reserve officers of the line. In the place of the plan suited for peace, it was decided to institute examinations which would continue for three months and not merely exclude the unfit, but actually train those suited for service and determine their individual abilities. On April 18 announcement was made that a series of training camps would be established in which those willing to accept service would be trained, and at the end of three months examined and commissioned if found competent. These camps were opened on May 15 at 16 sites throughout the United States (see map, page 251), and on June 18 a camp for 1,200 negro officers was opened at Des Moines, Iowa. From each of the

population areas, out of which one division for training the National Army would be drawn, 2,500 men were accepted for training. Approximately 40,000 men are, therefore, in the camps. From these probably 25,000 to 30,000 will be commissioned.

212. *Training.* For the first month all the men in the camps received the same training, but for the second and third months they were detailed for special instruction as preference and ability indicated.

213. *Assignment to arms of service.* Most of the men in the training camps will be commissioned as Infantry officers for the National Army. Commissions as provisional second lieutenants in the Regular Army may be given to not more than 10 per cent of those between the ages of 21 and 27 from each camp. These men will be exempt from the mental examination usually required (see paragraphs 191 and 192) and will be selected for physique and adaptability.

Each camp has begun the instruction for Cavalry and Field Artillery, to which latter each camp will furnish 450 men. The Field Artillery will be equipped from National Guard units detailed to the camps. The Coast Artillery has taken in all 1,425 officers for training at their stations.

The camps have been or will be also called upon to furnish the needed quota of reserve officers for some of the divisions of the Staff Corps.

214. *Quartermasters.* All authorizations for examination for original applications after April 12, 1917, have been discontinued indefinitely. the Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps now having either commissioned, or under examination for commission, more than the number of officers required for the needs of the service.

If examinations are again resumed, authorizations will probably be confined to candidates for line commissions at the various reserve officers' training camps whose business qualifications and adaptability shown for quartermaster work during training period would seem to qualify them for commission in the Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps. Examining boards will be convened at the end of the training period at each camp to determine the fitness and recommend from each training regiment those candidates qualified and who desire commissions as officers in the Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps with rank not higher than that of

captain for duty with troops in the various phases of administration, supply, finance, transportation, and construction. The necessary prerequisites are ability to handle workmen and to administer the affairs of Quartermaster Corps working units. The boards will also recommend from each training regiment quartermasters with a grade of captain, or lieutenant, for duty as commanders, or second in command, of motor-truck companies. Those recommended by each board will be arranged in relative order of their suitability, and note will be made of the particular class or classes of quartermaster duty for which they are suited.

Those who desire to enter the Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps should make application for authority to attend the training camps with a view to commission in one of the line sections, Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, or Coast Artillery Corps. If successful in obtaining such a commission, and showing special qualifications for Quartermaster Corps duties, they will be afforded an opportunity to appear before the boards referred to in paragraph 214.

**215. Engineers.** Special camps of Army Engineers have been established (see map, page 251), and to these 150 men have been sent from each camp. No applications from civilians for admission to these camps will be considered, though men may be sent to them from the number of those already commissioned.

Applications for Reserve Engineer Officers' commissions in excess of present needs have been received, and on June 20 consideration of applications received after that date was suspended. To applications received before that date and not yet acted on, preference will be given in order of merit.

The general nature of the work of the Engineer Corps was indicated under paragraph 208. It may be stated that many of the officers will be engaged upon construction work in France between the seaport and the Army's sphere of operation. Some Reserve Engineer Officers have been assigned to duty under the Quartermaster's Department for the construction of cantonments. Others will officer the nine regiments now being organized as part of the National Army (see paragraph 247) for railroad construction and operation. Still others will officer the regiment of woodsmen and mill workers now being organized for work in France as part of the National Army (see paragraph 247).

216. *Ordnance.* For training for first lieutenants in the Ordnance Corps, 80 men were sent from each camp to proving grounds for instruction in the machine guns (see paragraphs 209 and 210).

217. *Signal Corps.* It is planned to send from each camp 25 men every week to the Schools of Military Aeronautics (see map, page 251) for training in the groundwork of aviation. Men not over 25 years of age are preferred.

THE SECOND SERIES OF OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS TRAINING CAMPS.

218. Following the policy of commissioning officers on demonstrated worth, applications were received from June 15 on till July 16 for a second series of Officers' Training Camps, which will be held beginning August 27, 1917.

The locations, as revised July 30, are as follows:

Divisional areas.	Location.
I, II, III.....	Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y.
IV.....	Fort Niagara, N. Y.
V.....	Fort Meyer, Va.
VI, VII.....	Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.
VIII, IX.....	Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind.
X, XI.....	Fort Sheridan, Ill.
XII, XV.....	Leon Springs, Tex.
XIII, XIV.....	Fort Snelling, Minn.
XVI.....	Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.

This list supersedes that of map, page 251.

219. *Quotas of camps based on population.* Each camp will have a quota equaling the population of the divisional area (Census Bureau estimate, 1915) multiplied by 0.00016. This will give to each divisional area about 1,000 men and will insure an equal basis of representation to each State in the Union according to population.

220. *Qualifications:*

The minimum age limit for all applicants is 20 years and 9 months. However, in order to obtain the experienced class of men desired, preference was given to men over 31 years of age, other things being equal.

Applications were received between June 15 and July 15, 1917. Under no circumstances was an application considered if received after July 16.

Shortly after July 16 Army examiners will visit various points, to be announced, in each State. Applicants selected for personal and physical examination will be notified to appear before the Regular Army examiner in person at a convenient point, for inquiry into his record, capacity, leadership, and qualifications in general, also for further physical examination if deemed necessary by the examiner.

After the personal and physical examinations are completed, and as soon after August 1, 1917, as practicable (not later than Aug. 10) the accepted applicants will be notified when and where to go for the training course.

221. *Obligation.* Accepted applicants, unless they are reserve officers or members of the Regular Army or National Guard in Federal service, will be required to enlist for a period of three months, under section 54, National Defense Act, and will agree to accept such commission in the Army of the United States as may be tendered by the Secretary of War. The enlistment obligates one to service in the training camp only.

222. *Appointments at close of camps. Age limits for commissions.* Men will be classified and recommended for commissions on the basis of their qualifications as demonstrated during the training. Those eligible under the Officers' Reserve Corps age limits (up to 32 for second lieutenant, 36 for first lieutenant, 40 for captain, and 45 for major) will be commissioned for five years in the Reserve Corps. However, these age limits will not govern all appointments, because under the act of May 18, 1917, these age limits do not apply to appointment for the war only. Accordingly, men qualified for commissions (except for the Reserve Corps age limits) will be commissioned in the National Army for the war. In other words, a man of 40 may be commissioned a second lieutenant in this manner if recommended for that grade.

223. *Pay and expenses.* The Government will pay the men in training \$100 per month during the three months' course and will provide transportation, uniforms, and subsistence, except that Reserve Officers in training will receive the pay of their grades and will provide uniforms and subsistence at their own expense.

All accepted applicants are urged, however, to provide their own uniforms in advance as follows: One service hat; 1 service coat, olive drab; 2 flannel shirts, olive drab; 2 service breeches, olive drab; 1 pair canvas leggins; 1 pair marching shoes.

The Government will provide all necessary arms and equipment, and the necessary drill regulations and other publications used in the course will be issued to accepted applicants in the camps.

224. *Course of instruction.* The training will cover a period of three months. For the first month the course will be uniform for all, with the purpose of giving instruction in the duties common to all arms. At the end of a month the men will be divided, according to qualifications and needs of the service, into Infantry, Cavalry, Field and Coast Artillery for special instruction in their respective branches during the last two months. Candidates for Cavalry commissions will be equipped and trained dismounted for service as Infantry.

#### ENLISTED RESERVE CORPS.

225. *The Enlisted Reserve Corps* is authorized by section 55 of the National Defense Act, approved June 3, 1916, the purpose or object being to secure an additional reserve of enlisted men in the following special branches: Medical Department, Quartermaster Corps, Engineer Corps, Ordnance Department, and Signal Corps, who can be brought to the aid of the Government in time of national crisis.

*Requirements.* Applicants must be citizens between 18 and 45 years of age, physically and morally fit. Previous military training is not required.

*Duties.* In time of peace enlistment is for four years. Reservists must keep themselves physically fit and are liable to two weeks' military training a year. In time of war reservists may be assigned to duty with units of the Regular Army or formed into separate units. The enlistment becomes subject to termination at the end of the present emergency.

Up to July 1 about 16,000 men enlisted in all of the five sections of the corps. Enlistment up to the present authorized strength will be continued for the various sections

of the corps until the organization of the new National Army, about September 1, when the Enlisted Reserve Corps will be merged with the National Army. The Engineer regiments recruited as Enlisted Reserve Corps (see paragraphs 215 and 247) have already been designated as units of the National Army.

226. *The Medical Department* has employed enlisted men as the sanitary forces in base and field hospitals and in Ambulance Corps. (See paragraphs 152 and 153.) Applications for enlistment made after June 14 were not received except for base hospital units when needed. Men desiring to serve in the Medical Department may enlist in the Regular Army Medical Department at any recruiting station.

227. *The Quartermaster Enlisted Reserve Corps.* See Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps, division 9 of the Officers' Reserve Corps, for details as to duties, etc. This corps differs from the Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps in that it is for enlisted men, corporals and sergeants; not for commissioned officers. The present authorized number of recruits is 15,993, and with the exceptions below noted the quota was practically complete on July 1.

There is need of blacksmiths, saddlers, farriers, painters, teamsters, cooks, butchers. Especially needed are bakers. The motor organizations and the clerical positions are filled.

228. *Engineer Enlisted Reserve Corps.* The engineer regiments now being recruited have been organized as the first corps in the National Army.

229. *Ordnance Enlisted Reserve Corps.* No units have been organized in this corps, but the Ordnance Department has been authorized to recruit 1,000 men.

*Duties.* The Ordnance Enlisted Reserve Corps requires men skilled in practically every trade and business, and *military training as a soldier is not required* before enlistment. The members of this section are required to perform the duties of their particular trade or business incident to furnishing troops with ordnance equipment, and are not required, except in emergency, to drill with rifles, perform guard duty, or other purely military duties which fall to the lot of soldiers of the Infantry, Cavalry, and other branches of the Army. The Ordnance Department may be likened to

a large business concern, reservists being required to handle the increased business resulting from war.

*Personnel and qualifications.* If otherwise qualified, married men may be enlisted or reenlisted in the Enlisted Reserve Corps without reference to higher authority unless the circumstances appear to be such as would probably result in application for discharge because of dependent relative should the man be ordered to active service with the Regular Army.

Desirable persons qualified to fill the following-named positions will be enlisted in the Ordnance Enlisted Reserve Corps *for the period of the war*, unless sooner discharged by proper authority, and promoted to the higher grades as vacancies occur and the reservists' qualifications, education, and service justify. The positions are as follows:

Armorer (foremen).	Motorcycle mechanics.
Armorer.	Overseers of labor.
Blacksmiths.	Oilers.
Canvas workers.	Painters (foremen).
Carpenter (foremen).	Painters.
Carpenter.	Packers.
Chaussieurs.	Plumbers.
Checkers.	Plumbers' helpers.
Clerks.	Riveters.
Cooks.	Saddlers (foremen).
Draftsmen (mechanical).	Saddlers.
Electricians and helpers.	Stenographers.
Engineers (steam or gas).	Storekeepers.
Firemen.	Tentmakers.
Laborers.	Textile workers.
Machinists and helpers.	Typewriters.
Mechanics and helpers (automobile).	Watchmen.
	Wheelwrights.

230. *The Signal Enlisted Reserve Corps.* This corps does not require as great technical knowledge as the Signal Officers' Reserve Corps (see paragraph 211). There is need in classes *a* and *b* for telegraphers, radio operators, experts in gas engines, experts in motor generators, motor-truck drivers, switchboard men, linemen, electricians, mechanics, and cooks. These men will be enlisted with grades varying from master signal electricians to privates. (See paragraph 181 for pay.)

For Aviation Section see paragraph 343.

*Qualifications.* The following are the general qualifications requisite for enlistment in the Signal Enlisted Reserve Corps (sections *a* and *b*):

1. Master signal electrician: The applicant must be—
  - (a) An expert telegrapher and have knowledge of the construction, operation, and maintenance of telegraph systems, primary and secondary batteries, and motor generators, or—
  - (b) An expert radio operator and have knowledge of radio apparatus.
  - (c) Have knowledge of the construction, operation, and maintenance of telephone systems, switchboards, location of troubles, repairs, primary and secondary batteries, motor generators, or—
  - (d) Possess such qualities as would fit him to act as senior noncommissioned officer of a company of signal troops, to act as a leader.
2. Sergeant, first-class: The applicant must be—
  - (a) An expert telegrapher and have knowledge of the operation and maintenance of telegraph systems and batteries, or—
  - (b) An expert radio operator and have knowledge of radio apparatus, or—
  - (c) Have knowledge of telephone systems, switchboards, batteries, locating and correcting faults, etc., or—
  - (d) Possess such qualities as would fit him to act as leader of a platoon of a company of signal troops.
3. Sergeants and corporals: The applicant must have general knowledge of the subjects given under *b*, or possess such qualities as would fit him to act as a leader of a platoon or section of a company of signal troops.
4. Private, first-class and private. The applicant must show an interest in the subjects mentioned, be competent, keen, and possess such qualities as will insure that he will develop along the proper lines in training.

*Examination.* Applicants for enlistment as master signal electricians and sergeants, first-class, will be given an oral examination. Applicants for enlistment in the other grades

will demonstrate to the officer designated to obtain recruits that they have the necessary qualifications.

#### THE NATIONAL GUARD.

231. *Purpose.* The National Guard is organized by States for interior State protection in times of peace. It is subject to call for special service, or to draft by the Federal authorities, under the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916.

The guard is armed, uniformed, and equipped by the Federal Government from funds appropriated by Congress for that purpose, and allotted each year to the different States on the basis of the number of men in the National Guard organized in the States on the 30th day of June.

232. *Federal service.* When drafted into Federal service the guard becomes part of the armed forces of the United States, and while in service is outside the control of States and receives the same pay and allowances as that of the officers and enlisted men of similar grade in the Regular Army, and is subject to the same laws, regulations, and discipline as the Regular Army. The guard is organized on the model of the Regular Army and maintains all branches of the service save aviation. Men qualified for aviation are sent to the signal-reserve camp at San Diego, Cal., and on completing their training receive reserve commissions. This training for Guardsmen has for the present been discontinued.

233. *Personnel.* On June 30 there were 111,960 men of National Guard organizations in Federal service, and 191,619 yet to be drafted in, with a reserve of 4,443. Those troops not yet in Federal service were to be drafted into Federal service on July 15, July 25, and August 5.

Before service overseas the guard will receive intensive training in 16 tented camps in the Southeastern and Southern Departments. (See map, page 251.)

234. Assignments of National Guard divisions to their various cantonments superseding the list on map, page 251, have been completed by the War Department as follows:

To Charlotte, N. C. (Camp Greene), division 5, from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; to be called into Federal service on July 25.

To Spartanburg, S. C. (Camp Wadsworth), division 6, from the State of New York; to be called into Federal service on July 15.

To Augusta, Ga. (Camp Hancock), division 7, from the State of Pennsylvania; to be called into Federal service on July 15.

To Anniston, Ala. (Camp McClellan), division 8, from the States of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia; to be called into Federal service on July 25.

To Greenville, S. C. (Camp Sevier), division 9, from the States of Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina; to be called into Federal service on July 25.

To Macon, Ga. (Camp Wheeler), division 10, from the States of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida; to be called into Federal service on August 5.

To Waco, Tex. (Camp McArthur), division 11, from the States of Wisconsin and Michigan; to be called July 15.

To Houston, Tex. (Camp Logan), division 12, from the State of Illinois; to be called July 25.

To Deming, N. Mex. (Camp Cody), division 13, from the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, and Minnesota; to be called July 15.

To Fort Sill, Okla. (Camp Doniphan), division 14, from the States of Kansas and Missouri; to be called August 5.

To Fort Worth, Tex. (Camp Bowie), division 15, from the States of Texas and Oklahoma; to be called August 5.

To Montgomery, Ala. (Camp Sheridan), division 16, from the States of Ohio and West Virginia; to be called July 15.

To Hattiesburg, Miss. (Camp Shelby), division 17, from the States of Indiana and Kentucky; to be called August 5.

To Alexandria, La. (Camp Beauregard), division 18, from the States of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana; to be called August 5.

To Linda Vista, Cal. (Camp Kearny), division 19, from the States of California, Utah, Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico; to be called August 5.

To Palo Alto, Cal. (Camp Freemont), division 20, from the States of Washington, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and Wyoming; to be called on July 25.

#### **THE NATIONAL ARMY.**

235. *Composition.* The National Army, which will furnish the largest fighting force of the United States in the present war, is to be composed of young men, strong, alert, competent. It will be representative of our entire citizenship, and in its selection and training will give to all equal opportunity to serve and to command. The men who compose it will be within the ages of 21 and 30. They must be almost perfect physically and must be taken from those groups upon whose trained skill the country does not de-

pend for its continued ability to support itself and the allies and the armies in the field.

236. *Registration.* On June 5, 1917, men within the ages named registered throughout the Nation. Estimates had been made of the number of registrations to be expected and the results showed a discrepancy of 4.1 per cent. The apparent shortage, about 413,000, is considerably less than the number of men 21 to 30 years of age, inclusive, who are estimated by the War Department to have been in the various branches of the military and naval services of the United States on June 5, and for that reason exempt from the requirement of registration. This number is 600,000. On the face of these figures, therefore, it appears that the number of men between the ages of 21 and 31 in the United States is slightly in excess of the number estimated by the Census Bureau on May 12—10,079,000. The returns of registration available on June 25 are as follows:

	Total registration.	Per cent of estimate.	Unnaturalized Germans.
United States.....	9,659,382	95.9	111,823
Alabama.....	179,828	85.7	89
Arizona.....	36,932	106.4	193
Arkansas.....	147,522	94.2	98
California.....	297,532	82.2	3,948
Colorado.....	83,038	75.8	372
Connecticut.....	159,761	129.3	1,126
Delaware.....	21,864	108.8	92
District of Columbia.....	32,327	87.1	79
Florida.....	84,683	88.9	208
Georgia.....	231,418	90.6	120
Idaho.....	41,150	79.4	181
Illinois.....	672,498	105.2	6,051
Indiana.....	255,145	100.6	1,149
Iowa.....	216,594	108.8	1,862
Kansas.....	150,029	85.3	736
Kentucky.....	187,573	92.8	...
Louisiana.....	157,827	92.3	216
Maine.....	60,176	95.5	120
Maryland.....	120,458	99.1	912
Massachusetts.....	359,323	101.1	1,508
Michigan.....	372,872	129.4	3,021
Minnesota.....	221,715	90.6	1,971
Mississippi.....	139,525	79.7	45
Missouri.....	299,625	94.9	1,008
Montana.....	88,273	120.4	687
Nebraska.....	118,123	91.3	1,156
Nevada.....	11,821	71.6	87
New Hampshire.....	37,642	102.3	79
New Jersey.....	302,742	100.8	4,956
New Mexico.....	32,202	77.6	108
New York.....	1,054,302	99.4	30,870
North Carolina.....	200,032	102.9	73
North Dakota.....	65,007	73.0	615
Ohio.....	565,384	114.4	6,189
Oklahoma.....	169,211	79.3	219
Oregon.....	62,618	57.9	577
Pennsylvania.....	830,507	95.0	12,674
Rhode Island.....	53,415	88.7	126

	Total registration.	Per cent of estimate.	Unnaturalized Germans.
South Carolina.....	128,039	93.4	28
South Dakota.....	58,014	72.1	484
Tennessee.....	187,611	96.2	85
Texas.....	408,702	97.3	1,834
Utah.....	41,952	90.8	344
Vermont.....	27,658	94.1	72
Virginia.....	181,826	97.5	179
Washington.....	108,330	49.8	791
West Virginia.....	127,409	90.0	1,003
Wisconsin.....	240,170	104.6	23,121
Wyoming.....	22,848	64.5	329
National Parks.....	85	-----	2
Indians.....	6,001	-----	-----

Of the 9,659,382 registrants reported, 7,347,794 are white citizens; 953,899 are colored citizens; 1,239,865 are unnaturalized foreigners from countries other than Germany; 111,823 are unnaturalized Germans, including "declarants"—that is, persons having declared their intention to become citizens but not having received their final naturalization papers; and 6,001 are Indians.

There is nothing in the returns to indicate that there has been any general attempt at evasion of registration by any important element of the population.

On July 5 registration took place in the Territories of Alaska, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, but no returns are as yet available (July 20).

237. *Allotment and selection.* The act for the temporary increase of the Military Establishment, approved May 18, 1917, provided that—

Quotas for the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or subdivisions thereof, shall be determined in proportion to the population thereof, and credit shall be given to any State, Territory, District, or subdivision thereof, for the number of men who were in the military service of the United States as members of the National Guard on April first, nineteen hundred and seventeen, or who have since said date entered the military service of the United States from any such State, Territory, District, or subdivision, either as members of the Regular Army or the National Guard. (Sec. 2.)

The rules and regulations prescribed by the President for local and district boards, promulgated July 2, further states that—

The quotas to be called and furnished by the respective local boards shall be determined in accordance with said act of Congress and regu-

lations to be hereafter prescribed by the President. The President will cause the quotas for the several States, Territories and the District of Columbia to be determined and notice thereof to be communicated to the governor of each State and Territory and to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The governor of each State and Territory and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, acting for and by the direction of the President, shall therenpon, in accordance with regulations to be hereafter prescribed by the President, determine the quotas to be called and furnished by the several local boards within such State, Territory, or District from the persons whose registration cards are within the jurisdiction of the respective local boards therein, and shall communicate notice thereof to each local board within such State, Territory, or District. (Sec. 13.)

The number to be called and the quotas for the individual States are as follows:

	Net quota.
United States	<u>687,000</u>
Alabama	13,612
Arizona	3,472
Arkansas	10,267
California	23,060
Colorado	4,753
Connecticut	10,977
Delaware	1,202
District of Columbia	929
Florida	6,325
Georgia	18,337
Idaho	2,287
Illinois	51,653
Indiana	17,510
Iowa	12,749
Kansas	6,439
Kentucky	14,236
Louisiana	13,582
Maine	1,821
Maryland	7,096
Massachusetts	20,586
Michigan	30,291
Minnesota	17,854
Mississippi	10,801
Missouri	18,660
Montana	7,872
Nebraska	8,185
Nevada	1,051
New Hampshire	1,204
New Jersey	20,665
New Mexico	2,292

	Net quota.
New York	69,241
North Carolina	15,974
North Dakota	5,606
Ohio	38,773
Oklahoma	15,564
Oregon	717
Pennsylvania	60,859
Rhode Island	1,801
South Carolina	10,081
South Dakota	2,717
Tennessee	14,528
Texas	30,545
Utah	2,370
Vermont	1,049
Virginia	13,795
Washington	7,296
West Virginia	9,101
Wisconsin	12,876
Wyoming	810
Alaska	696
Hawaii	000
Porto Rico	12,833

*Selection.* The local boards (see below) gave to each man registered a number beginning in every area with 1 and disregarding alphabetical sequence. These numbers were transmitted to the office of the Provost Marshal General at Washington. Numbers representing the number of men enrolled in the largest local area were placed in a lottery. On July 20 at Washington, in the presence of high officials of the Government, the order in which each man in every local area is to be called for examination was determined by drawing these numbers from the lottery and listing them in the order drawn.

238. *Examination.* The men selected will be called to appear before boards for examination and for further determination of their status. On the basis of the law of May 18 the President promulgated on July 2 regulations governing these boards and at the same time made the following statement:

The regulations which I am to-day causing to be promulgated, pursuant to the direction of the selective service law, cover the remaining steps of the plan for calling into the service of the United States qualified men from those who have registered; those selected as the result of this process to constitute, with the Regular Army,<sup>3</sup> the National Guard, and the Navy, the fighting forces of the Nation,

all of which forces are, under the terms of the law, placed in a position of equal right, dignity, and responsibility with the members of all other military forces.

The regulations have been drawn with a view to the needs and circumstances of the whole country and provide a system which it is expected will work with the least inequality and personal hardship. Any system of selecting men for military service, whether voluntary or involuntary in its operation, necessarily selects some men to bear the burden of danger and sacrifice for the whole Nation. The system here provided places all men of military age upon an even plane, and then, by a selection which neither favors the one nor penalizes the other, calls out the requisite number for service.

The successful operation of this law and of these regulations depends necessarily upon the loyalty, patriotism, and justice of the members of the boards to whom its operation is committed, and I admonish every member of every local board and of every district board of review that their duty to their country requires an impartial and fearless performance of the delicate and difficult duties intrusted to them. They should remember as to each individual case presented to them that they are called upon to adjudicate the most sacred rights of the individual and to preserve untarnished the honor of the Nation.

Our armies at the front will be strengthened and sustained if they be composed of men free from any sense of injustice in their mode of selection, and they will be inspired to loftier efforts in behalf of a country in which the citizens called upon to perform high public functions perform them with justice, fearlessness, and impartiality.

The regulations fill a closely printed book of 84 pages, but, stated in brief, they provide that there should be a local exemption board for each county of 45,000 population and each city of 30,000, with an additional board for each 30,000 population. These boards consisted of three persons appointed by the President, and one member was a physician. These local boards on being organized took over all registration cards, numbered them serially without regard to alphabetical order, transmitted copies to the State adjutant general and prepared lists for posting, for the press, and the Provost Marshal General in Washington.

As soon as the allotted number had been selected and the local board had the list of those under its control arranged in the order of liability for service, the local boards summoned in order the men whose names are on their lists as liable to service to appear for physical examination. From five to seven days' notice was given. Those found physically deficient will be reexamined, and if the physicians or the board disagree on the findings they will be held qualified

and reexamined by the surgeons of the Army. Persons outside the area of their local boards must file, on or before the tenth day after notice to appear is sent to them, application for examination by another board.

239. *Exemptions.* The following persons or classes of persons, if called for service by a local board and not discharged as physically deficient, will be exempted by such local board upon a claim for exemption being made and filed by or in respect of any such person, and substantiated in the opinion of the local board, and a certificate of absolute, conditional, or temporary exemption, as the case may require, shall be issued to any such person.

The claim to be exempted must be made by such person, or by some other person in respect of him, on a form prepared by the Provost Marshal General and furnished by the local boards for that purpose. Such claim must be filed with the local board which notified such person that he is called for service on or before the *seventh* day after the mailing by the local board of the notice required to be given such person of his having been called for service.

*The statement on the registration card of any such person that exemption is claimed shall not be construed or considered as the presentation of a claim for exemption.*

(a) *Officers of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia.*—Officers, legislative, executive, and judicial, of the United States, the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia. The word “officers” shall be construed for the purpose of said act of Congress and these rules and regulations to mean any person holding a legislative, executive, or judicial office created by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or of any of the several States or Territories.

(b) *Ministers of religion.*—Any regular or duly ordained minister of religion.

(c) *Students of divinity.*—Any person who on the 18th day of May, 1917, was a student preparing for the ministry in any recognized theological or divinity school.

(d) *Persons in the military or naval service of the United States.*—Any person in the military or naval service of the United States.

(e) *Subjects of Germany residing in the United States.*—Any person who is a subject of Germany, whether such person has or has not declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States.

(f) *All other resident aliens who have not taken out their first papers.*—Any person who is a resident alien; that is, a citizen or subject of any foreign state or nation other than Germany who shall not have declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States.

240. *Discharge.* The following persons or classes of persons shall, if called for service by any local board and not discharged as physically deficient or exempted in accordance with the regulations hereinbefore prescribed, be discharged by such local board upon a claim for discharge being made and filed by or in respect of any such person, and substantiated in the opinion of the local board, and a certificate of absolute, conditional, or temporary discharge, as the case may require, issued to any such person.

The claim to be discharged must be made by such person, or by some other person in respect of such person, on a form prepared by the Provost Marshal General and furnished by the local boards for that purpose. Such claim must be filed with the local board on or before the *seventh* day after the mailing by the local board of the notice required to be given such person of his having been called for service.

*The statement on the registration card of any person that discharge is claimed shall not be construed or considered as the presentation of a claim for discharge.*

(a) *County and municipal officers.*

(b) *Customhouse clerks.*

(c) *Persons employed by the United States in the transmission of the mails.*

(d) *Artificers and workmen employed in the armories, arsenals, and navy yards of the United States.*

(e) *Persons employed in the service of the United States designated by the President to be exempted.*—Any person employed in the service of the United States, upon presentation to such local board at any time within 10 days after the filing of a claim of discharge by or in respect of such person, of an affidavit signed by the official of the Government of the United States having direct supervision and control of the

department, commission, board, bureau, division, or branch of the Government of the United States in which such person is employed stating that such person is, in his opinion, necessary to the adequate and effective operation of such department, commission, board, bureau, division, or branch in the service of the United States and can not be replaced by another person without substantial material loss in the adequate and effective operation of said department, commission, board, bureau, division, or branch in the service of the United States.

In the case of a person employed in the legislative or judicial branch of the Government the affidavit may be signed by the official under whom such person serves.

(f) Pilots.

(g) Mariners actually employed in the sea service of any citizen or merchant within the United States.

(h) Those in a status with respect to persons dependent upon them which renders their exclusion or discharge desirable.

1. *Any married man whose wife or child is dependent upon his labor for support*, upon presentation to such local board, at any time within 10 days after the filing of a claim for his discharge by such married man, of an affidavit signed by him giving his name, age, and place of residence; the name and place of residence of his wife; the name(s), age(s), and place of residence of his child or children (if any); and stating that he is a married man, the husband of said wife, the father of her child or children; that such wife, child, or children is (are) dependent upon his labor for support as the term "labor" is used in these rules and regulations; that his income from which such wife and child or children received such support was mainly the fruit of his mental or physical labor, and was not mainly derived from property or other sources, independent of his mental or physical labor. (Details of procedure follow in printed regulations.)

2. Any son of a widow, dependent upon his labor for support.

3. Son of aged or infirm parents, dependent upon his labor for support.

4. Father of a motherless child or children under 10 years of age, dependent upon his labor for support.

5. Brother of a child or children under 16 years of age, who has (have) neither father nor brother, and is (are) dependent upon his labor for support.

(i) *Any person who is found by such local board to be a member of any well-recognized religious sect or organization organized and existing May 18, 1917, and whose then existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form, and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organization.* (Sec. 20, in part.)

In addition, persons convicted of a felony will be discharged. (Sec. 21.)

Local boards will issue cards of exemption or discharge.

241. *Exclusions and discharges by the district boards.* District boards of at least five members each will be appointed by the President for each Federal judicial district (with certain territorial exceptions).

District boards have exclusive original jurisdiction, in respect of any person whose name has been certified to a district board as called by a local board within its jurisdiction and who has not been exempted or discharged, to hear and determine all question or claims for including or excluding or discharging any such person arising under the following provision of said act of Congress authorizing the President to exclude or discharge persons engaged in industries, including agriculture, found to be necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment, or the effective operation of the military forces, or the maintenance of national interest during the emergency.

A claim for discharge under this provision of said act of Congress may be filed with a district board by, or in respect of, any person whose name has been certified to the district board by a local board within the jurisdiction of such district board as one called for service by such local board and not exempted or discharged.

Any such claim for discharge must be filed with the district board on a form provided by the Provost Marshal General and supplied by district boards and local boards for that purpose on or before the *fifth* day after the mailing by

a local board of notice to such person that his name has been certified to such district board as called for service and not exempted or discharged.

*The statement on the registration card of any such person that exemption or discharge is claimed shall not be construed or considered as the presentation of a claim for discharge.*

Such a claim may be filed by or in respect of any such person on any of the following grounds:

1. That he is actually engaged in a particular, designated, industrial enterprise, or in a particular, designated, agricultural enterprise necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment; that his continuance therein is necessary to the maintenance thereof, and that he can not be replaced by another person without direct substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the enterprise in which he is engaged.

2. That he is actually engaged in a particular, designated, industrial enterprise, or in a particular, designated, agricultural enterprise necessary to the effective operation of the military forces; that his continuance therein is necessary to the maintenance thereof, and that he can not be replaced by another person without direct substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the enterprise in which he is engaged.

3. That he is actually engaged in a particular, designated, industrial enterprise, or in a particular, designated, agricultural enterprise necessary to the maintenance of national interest during the emergency; that his continuance therein is necessary to the maintenance thereof, and that he can not be replaced by another person without direct substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the enterprise in which he is engaged.

The word "necessary" as used in said act of Congress shall be construed and held to mean that the discontinuance of, or serious interruption in, the particular, designated, industrial enterprise, or the particular, designated, agricultural enterprise in which the person is engaged would result in substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective maintenance of the Military Establishment, or the

adequate and effective operation of the military forces, or the maintenance of national interest during the emergency.

The word "necessary" as used in the phrase "that his continuance therein is necessary to the maintenance thereof" in these regulations shall be construed and held to mean that the withdrawal of the labor or service of such person would directly result in substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the particular, designated, industrial enterprise or particular, designated, agricultural enterprise in which such person is engaged.

Affidavits in support of or in opposition to any such claim shall be filed within five days after the filing of a claim for discharge by or in respect of any such person.

The words of the act "persons engaged in industries, including agriculture," shall not be construed and held to mean that a person engaged in a particular industrial enterprise or particular agricultural enterprise is entitled to be discharged by reason of the fact that such class of industry, taken as a whole, or agriculture, taken in its entirety, is necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment or the effective operation of the military forces or the maintenance of national interest during the emergency. (Sec. 44, in part.)

The district boards will issue cards of discharge for the cases coming under their control.

242. *District boards and appeals.* To the district boards all the local boards will furnish lists of men accepted or exempted or discharged. Appeals for a status different from that established by the local boards may be carried to the district boards for final decision, and the Government may make appeals from the local board decisions to the district board.

The provision for appeals by or on behalf of individuals is as follows:

An appeal may be taken by or in respect of any person called for service by any local board from the final decision of such local board, disposing of a claim for exemption or discharge, to the district board having jurisdiction in the area in which such local board is located.

The person called, or the person who filed the claim for exemption or discharge in respect of such person, must file with such local board a claim of appeal, if an appeal is taken, on a form prepared by the

Provost Marshal General and furnished by the local boards for that purpose and must give notice of the filing of such claim of appeal to the district board having jurisdiction on a form prepared by the Provost Marshal General and furnished by the local boards for that purpose.

Any such claim of appeal and the notice thereof must be filed and given within 10 days after the mailing of a notice to such person and to the person who filed the claim of exemption or discharge in respect of such person that the claim of exemption or discharge is denied.

Upon such claim of appeal being filed with the local board it shall be the duty of such local board, if it has not already done so, to forward to the district board having jurisdiction all affidavits and records in connection with the claim filed by such person or in respect of such person for exemption or discharge.

No appeal can be taken, or can be allowed to be taken, by order of any local board or district board from any order or decision of any local board, except from the final decision on a claim of exemption or discharge filed by or in respect of a person called by a local board for service. (Sec. 26, in part.)

The findings of the district board will be indicated by the card issued whether it be for service, exemption, or discharge.

243. *The President's power.* The President may affirm, modify, or reverse any decision of a district board.

244. *Limitations of exemptions, exclusions, and discharges.* When the causes no longer exist because of which the rulings of the local or district boards were made the findings of these boards will be subject to reconsideration.

245. *Continuation of the local and district boards.* The local and district boards will continue to perform such duties as are necessary in connection with the determination of the men subject to service in the National Army.

#### THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ARMY.

246. For each of the 16 divisional areas in the United States, based on population, there will be built a great wooden city, where the National Army will be quartered until it is trained. The Regular Army is stationed at training quarters throughout the States, and the National Guard at 16 camps located in the Southeastern and Southern Departments. (For location of National Army cantonments and National Guard tented camps see map, page 251.)

The names and locations of the National Guard camps are given in paragraph 234. Those of the National Army cantonments are as follows:

Camp Devens, Ayer, Mass.  
Camp Upton, Yaphank, Long Island, N. Y.  
Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J.  
Camp Meade, Annapolis Junction, Md.  
Camp Lee, Petersburg, Va.  
Camp Jackson, Columbia, S. C.  
Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga.  
Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, Ohio.  
Camp Taylor, Louisville, Ky.  
Camp Custer, Battle Creek, Mich.  
Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.  
Camp Pike, Little Rock, Ark.  
Camp Dodge, Des Moines, Iowa.  
Camp Funston, Fort Riley, Kans.  
Camp Travis, Fort Sam Houston, Tex.  
Camp Lewis, American Lake, Wash.

For the sections which these cantonments serve see the map.

In all, about 1,000,000 men will have to be housed and fed in quarters not standing three months ago. The gigantic nature of the task becomes clearer when one realizes that each cantonment will require 25,000,000 feet of lumber, 7,500 doors, 37,000 window sashes, 4,665 casks of Portland cement, and 5,000 yards of broken stone. The water supply of a cantonment will be 2,500,000 gallons a day. It will have its own sewerage system, fire department, bakeries, ice plants, and hospitals. It will even require a gigantic steam-heating plant. Sixteen cities, each with a population of 40,000, well cared for—that is the task.

Actual construction work at each of the 16 cantonments to be erected for the new National Army will be in charge of an officer of the Quartermaster Corps, either Regular or Reserve, to be known as the constructing quartermaster. Under him will be an assistant quartermaster.

The constructing quartermaster will be in full charge at each cantonment, directing the laying out of the buildings and supervising for the Government the entire work of construction as carried on by the contractor.

The position of constructing quartermaster is a most important one as the contracts are being executed on a cost plus percentage basis, which makes it necessary that the quartermaster should keep a very close watch on all the operations of the contractor. It will be his task, too, to facilitate the work in every way possible, so that the cantonments may be completed expeditiously and at a minimum of expense.

The personnel of the contracting quartermasters includes a number of well-known civilian engineers who have been given major's commissions in the Quartermaster's Reserve Corps. In addition, several officers of the Regular Army Quartermaster's Corps are acting in executive capacity.

Orders have gone to the governors of 15 States to muster into the Federal service 16 companies of engineers of the National Guard, who will be assigned to do the preliminary engineering work on the sixteen sites for cantonments for the National Army, one company to a cantonment.

One company each has been ordered from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Mississippi, Iowa, Kansas, Texas, and California and two companies from New Jersey.

The first work of each company will be to plot out the site chosen for the cantonment, to prepare preliminary plans showing the contractor where sewers, water pipes, wires, roads, regimental camps, and all necessary buildings and other works are to be placed.

The supplies that have been ordered reach figures that seem too great for credence until one places over against them 1,000,000 men and their needs for a year. A few instances will suffice. Orders have been placed for 5,000,000 blankets, 6,000,000 shoes, and 11,191,000 light woolen stockings.

Enormous orders for all types of ammunition have been placed. In 1915 the appropriation for small arms was \$875,000. In 1917 it is \$148,500,000.

247. *Units already formed.* Nine regiments of railroad engineers and one regiment of woodsmen and mill workers have been organized as units of the National Army, and other special forces may be authorized before the general call is issued which will bring the 500,000 men of the first increment into training at the cantonments.

## WELFARE OF THE CAMPS.

## THE COMMISSION ON TRAINING CAMP ACTIVITIES.

248. *Camp health and morals.* The officials and officers of the Army and the Navy are determined to do everything in their power to provide training conditions for our forces which will not endanger their health or moral welfare. The Surgeons General of the Army, Navy, and Public Health Service are all united in their efforts to effect this result.

249. *Army camps.* This is evidenced for the Army by the following sections of the Army bill:

SECTIONS FROM THE ARMY BILL (H. R. 3545) APPROVED BY THE  
PRESIDENT MAY 18, 1917.

SEC. 12. That the President of the United States, as the Commander in Chief of the Army, is authorized to make such regulations governing the prohibition of alcoholic liquors in or near military camps and to the officers and enlisted men of the Army as he may from time to time deem necessary or advisable: *Provided*, That no person, corporation, partnership, or association shall sell, supply, or have in his or its possession any intoxicating or spirituous liquors at any military station, cantonment, camp, fort, post, officers' or enlisted men's club which is being used at the time for military purposes under this act, but the Secretary of War may make regulations permitting the sale and use of intoxicating liquors for medicinal purposes. It shall be unlawful to sell any intoxicating liquor, including beer, ale, or wine, to any officer or member of the military forces while in uniform, except as herein provided. Any person, corporation, partnership, or association violating the provisions of this section or the regulations made thereunder shall, unless otherwise punishable under the Articles of War, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than twelve months, or both.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, empowered, and directed during the present war to do everything by him deemed necessary to suppress and prevent the keeping or setting up of houses of ill fame, brothels, or bawdy houses within such distance as he may deem needful of any military camp, station, fort, post, cantonment, training, or mobilization place, and any person, corporation, partnership, or association receiving or permitting to be received for immoral purposes any person into any place, structure, or building used for the purpose of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution within such distance of said places as may be designated, or shall permit any such person to remain for immoral purposes in any such place, structure, or building as aforesaid, or who shall violate any

order, rule, or regulation issued to carry out the object and purpose of this section shall, unless otherwise punishable under the Articles of War, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or imprisonment for not more than twelve months, or both.

250. *Navy camps.* Secretary Daniels has already stated that the Department of the Navy would leave nothing undone to protect the health and morals of the men under his control. (See paragraph 273.)

251. *Personnel of the commission.* To render these intentions effective a Commission on Training Camp Activities has been appointed by the Secretary of War, with the following personnel: Raymond B. Fosdick, chairman; Lee F. Hanmer, Thomas J. Howells, Joseph Lee, Malcolm L. McBride, John R. Mott, Charles P. Neill, Maj. P. E. Pierce (United States Army), Joseph E. Raycroft.

Mr. Fosdick has also been appointed by Secretary Daniels as chairman of the Naval Commission on Training Activities. (See paragraph 273.)

252. *Purpose.* In announcing the creation of this commission Secretary Baker addressed to the governors of the States and the chairmen of the State Councils of Defense a letter from which the following statements are taken:

In the training camps already established or soon to be established large bodies of men, selected primarily from the youth of the country, will be gathered together for a period of intensive discipline and training. The greater proportion of this force probably will be made up of young men who have not yet become accustomed to contact with either the saloon or the prostitute, and who will be at that plastic and generous period of life when their service to their country should be surrounded by safeguards against temptations to which they are not accustomed.

Our responsibility in this matter is not open to question. We can not allow these young men, most of whom will have been drafted to service, to be surrounded by a vicious and demoralizing environment, nor can we leave anything undone which will protect them from unhealthy influences and crude forms of temptation. Not only have we an inescapable responsibility in this matter to the families and communities from which these young men are selected but from the standpoint of our duty and our determination to create an efficient army we are bound as a military necessity to do everything in our power to promote the health and conserve the vitality of the men in the training camps.

I am determined that our new training camps, as well as the surrounding zones within an effective radius, shall not be places of temptation and peril. The amendments to the Army bill recently passed (see paragraph 249) give the War Department more authority in this matter than we previously possessed. On the other hand, we are not going to be able to obtain the conditions necessary to the health and vitality of our soldiers without the full cooperation of the local authorities in the cities and towns near which our camps are located or through which our soldiers will be passing in transit to other points.

As I say, the War Department intends to do its full part in these matters, but we expect the cooperation and support of the local communities. If the desired end can not otherwise be achieved, I propose to move the camps from those neighborhoods in which clean conditions can not be secured.

In this connection let me call your attention to the Commission on Training Camp Activities, which I have organized to advise with me on questions relating to the moral hazards in our training centers, as well as to the promotion of rational recreation facilities within and without the camps.

The Commission on Training Camp Activities is a directive and coordinating agency for all the forces working to make the camp life physically and morally wholesome. Among the important organizations already advising the commission are the Playground and Recreation Association of America, Boston, Mass.; the American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West Fortieth Street, New York City; Bureau of Social Hygiene, 61 Broadway, New York City; Committee of Fifteen, Chicago, Ill.; Committee of Fourteen, New York City; the Y. M. C. A.; Y. M. H. A.; Y. W. C. A. (see paragraph 28); Knights of Columbus; and representatives of the great religious bodies in the Nation (see Chaplains, paragraphs 52 to 54, inclusive; for R. O. T. Camps see paragraph 51).

The Surgeon General of the Army and Public Health Bureau and the General Medical Board of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense are also cooperating with the commission.

253. *Camp recreation.* Mr. Fosdick purposes to clear up camp communities and fill the camps with recreation opportunities. He says:

Too many of the evils surrounding camp life in the past are traceable to the lack of adequate amusement and rational recreation for the soldier. Our commission does not intend to attempt to apply

impracticable, idealistic standards. We shall be dealing with a fine lot of healthy, red-blooded men, and we must have healthy, red-blooded forms of recreation. My point is that there must be plenty of it to absorb the surplus energies of the soldiers in their hours of relaxation. In connection with the work, therefore, but under the direct control of the Army, is the promotion of athletic sports and games such as are now carried on in England under the Aldershot plan and promoted to a large extent in Canada. Briefly, these games are built up on the inter-unit system, their idea being to develop the competitive instinct in the soldier. Boxing, wrestling, bayonet exercise, and all forms of hard, physical games are followed. Everybody must take part. Squads compete with squads, companies with companies, regiments with regiments, brigades with brigades, and divisions with divisions.

A member of the British mission recently in Washington, Col. Goodwin, told me that these games, which had been encouraged, in fact, enforced, by the army officials in France, were one of the great influences in keeping men sane and balanced behind the lines.

In addition to the recreational activities inside the camps, the commission will provide in the communities near the camps swimming pools, moving-picture shows, pool rooms, dance halls, and other forms of entertainment.

THE Y. M. C. A.

254. *Work in European camps.* The Y. M. C. A. has been active from the beginning of the war in the camps in Europe, and it plans now to continue that work with a personnel chosen from the countries which the camps represent. Information may be obtained only from the European office of the Y. M. C. A., room 304, International Council Building, No. 124 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York City.

255. *Work in National Army and naval training camps.* In cooperation with Mr. Fosdick's committee the Y. M. C. A. plans to work in the great camps to be established in this country:

It is proposed to erect about 200 association buildings in the Army camps throughout the country, each building to serve a brigade, and to have a staff of five secretaries. The buildings will provide large meeting rooms for moving-picture entertainments and concerts, correspondence facilities, rooms for educational classes, also games, pianos, and phonographs. The buildings will be available for other religious services as well as for services under the direction of Protestant chaplains.

256. *Budget.* The Y. M. C. A. has succeeded in raising its \$3,000,000 budget needed for its war work. But the association estimates that its work for the armies will cost \$5,000,000 a year. Two millions of the sum raised have already been cabled abroad for immediate use in London and Paris centers. It is, therefore, evident that funds will be needed continually if the work is not to suffer, and contributions will be more than welcome.

257. *Personnel.* The secretaries for this service are to be sought among the present employed officers of the North American Associations, ministers, professional and business men, upper-class students of colleges, theological and other professional schools, who qualify on the highest physical, educational, and social standards, who show leadership for work of this kind and have the qualifications. Where necessary, men will be given special preparation for the work before being assigned to definite responsibility. Special effort will be made to have the association secretaries work in close cooperation with the Army and Navy chaplains.

258. *Application.* Those interested in this service should apply to the Bureau of Personnel, Association War Work Council, 124 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York City.

Each candidate is expected to register his application in writing, using the regular war-work information blank. The application should be accompanied by a recent photograph. His references will be investigated, and, if found satisfactory, a personal interview (when practical) will be arranged with a representative of the candidate committee. If approved, his name is given to the executive committee with recommendations as to the type of work for which he is best qualified. If inexperienced in association work he is registered for the special course of training.

259. *Work with the American forces abroad.* With every 5,000 soldiers sent abroad, the Y. M. C. A. will send one secretary and equipment for a camp building, including an automobile, an auto truck, a large marquee, books, writing materials, games, candies, etc. Huts will be established close to the firing lines, with refreshment for wounded troops, who will be assisted to the Red Cross ambulances by Y. M. C. A. men whenever possible.

## THE Y. W. C. A.

260. *The camp work of the Y. W. C. A.* is described in paragraph 28.

## THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS AND CATHOLIC WOMEN'S WAR RELIEF.

261. *Recreation centers.* A fund of \$1,000,000 is being raised by the great organization for practical Catholic men, the Knights of Columbus, for establishing at the camps of the National Army, and possibly at the other Army camps, buildings for recreation which will be open to all soldiers without consideration of belief. The work is in charge of James A. Flaherty, Supreme Knight, New Haven, Conn. Contributions should be made payable to "Knights of Columbus War Fund," Supreme Secretary, Drawer 96, New Haven, Conn.

*Catholic Women's War Relief.* The furnishing of the camp buildings has been undertaken by the Catholic Women's War Relief. Rev. Lewis J. O'Hern, C. S. P., St. Paul's College, Brookland, D. C., who represents the hierarchy in the appointment of chaplains by the Government and in training-camp activities, is chairman of the War Relief Committee, and all inquiries should be addressed to him.

## THE Y. M. H. A.

262. *The Jewish work in the camps* will be undertaken in part in cooperation with the Y. M. C. A., but a special war council, under the chairmanship of Mr. S. A. Goldsmith, 31 Union Square, New York City, is perfecting detailed plans for the active helpfulness of the various Jewish organizations.

## CAMP LIBRARIES.

263. *The American Library Association* has been asked by the Commission on Training Camp Activities to furnish public-library facilities to the cantonments and National Guard training camps and has agreed to undertake this service.

Mr. J. I. Wyer, jr., director New York State Library, Albany, N. Y., who is chairman of the Library War Service

Committee of the American Library Association, is also chairman of the Committee on Camp Libraries.

264. *The committee's program* seeks to supply thoroughly modern public-library facilities for all soldiers in training. This service will be furnished through separate library buildings in all the principal camps and cantonments and by the utilization of Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus, and other similar buildings as branch distributing agencies in the larger camps and as the only or principal distribution points in the smaller camps.

265. *Budget.* The committee has undertaken to secure the funds for the erection of 32 library buildings, which may cost \$320,000, and the purchase of the necessary books for stocking these libraries with 10,000 volumes each at a possible expense of \$300,000.

The committee also requires funds for incidental expenses, to meet which the committee solicits funds either as single gifts or on the monthly payment basis. Send subscriptions to Frank P. Hill, chairman, Committee on Finance, 26 Brevoort Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The committee will also issue an appeal for gifts of books and magazines, to be sent to local libraries for sorting and forwarding when the proposed library buildings are erected.

#### DRAMATIC AMUSEMENTS.

266. Several of the largest theatrical producers have undertaken to organize theatrical entertainments for the camps. Many well-known actors have donated their services or agreed to serve at salaries much lower than they at present command. (See also paragraph 33.)

#### COLLEGE CLUB FOR TROOPS ABROAD.

267. The establishment in Paris of a home club for American college men or their friends who may be in the French capital for military or other service in the cause of the allies is contemplated by the American University Union in Europe, which has just been organized in this country. The privileges of the club will include information bureau, writing and newspaper room, library, dining room, bedrooms, baths, social features, medical advice, etc. The

union also expects to provide headquarters for the various bureaus already established or to be established in France by representative American universities, colleges, and technical schools. It will cooperate with these bureaus when established, and in their absence to aid institutions, parents, or friends in securing information about college men in all forms of war service, reporting on casualties, visiting the sick and wounded, etc.

The University Union will have its headquarters in Paris, with branch agencies in London and such other cities in allied countries as may seem desirable. Its office in America will be in or near New York City.

The board of trustees consists of Dr. Anson Stokes, of Yale, chairman; President Hutchins, of the University of Michigan, vice chairman; Mr. Roger Pierce, of Harvard, honorary secretary; Mr. Henry Thompson, of Princeton, honorary treasurer; President Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins; President Finley, Commissioner of Education of the State of New York; and Mr. John Sherman Hoyt. Mr. Hoyt was appointed a member, in accordance with the constitution, by the chairman of the International Army and Navy Y. M. C. A.

The executive committee consists of Prof. Nettleton, of Yale; Prof. Lansing, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and three or five others to be elected by the trustees.

The advisory council will consist of the presidents of the Paris alumni associations or duly chosen representatives of the following colleges: Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Williams, and Yale. The President of the United States, the President of France, the Secretaries of War and Navy of the United States, the American ambassadors to France and Great Britain, the general commanding the American troops in France, and other persons of distinction may be invited to become honorary patrons to the union.

Membership in the union is restricted to colleges in the United States giving degrees recognized by the committees on admissions of the New York University Club, to clubs of college men, and to any person contributing \$100 or more to the work of the union, who shall be enrolled as a sustaining member for one year.

## THE NAVY.

268. *Naval units.* The various naval units now existing in addition to those of the Regular Navy are the Naval Reserve Force, the Marine Corps, the Marine Corps Reserve, the Naval Militia, and the Coast Guard. All of these are rapidly being called into active service in connection with the full mobilization of the Navy.

269. *Personnel of the United States Navy.* The total enlisted strength of the Navy on July 23 was 135,234 men. Since the declaration of war 57,898 men have enlisted. The number of enrolled men in the Navy has been more than doubled since March 1. In addition to this large number, about 35,000 enlisted in the Naval Reserve Force and 10,000 National Naval Volunteers (Naval Militia in Federal service). Additional recruits are desired, however, to raise the total enlistment in the Navy to 150,000, as authorized by law. Besides the men for duty in the seaman branch, the Navy needs men for service in special branches, such as artificers, yeomen, electricians, the commissary, hospital corps, aeronautics, and the like, to be selected on a basis of previous experience or of special aptitude. See paragraphs 278 to 285, inclusive.) The principal need of the Navy is for radio electricians, machinists, firemen, and cooks. Bakers, musicians, yeomen, clerks, carpenters, coppersmiths, boiler makers, shipwrights, blacksmiths, painters, pharmacists, and ship fitters can also find employment in the Navy.

270. *New training camps.* To provide for the many new recruits, a large number of new training camps are being built. Work on the new training camps for naval recruits and reserves is being rapidly rushed to completion. Several large camps have already been completed, others will be finished shortly, and several more will be ready for occupancy early in August. Including the camps for the Marine Corps, quarters will be provided for more than 80,000 men, and the approximate cost will be \$9,000,000.

Camps have been completed, are now in course of construction, or will soon be begun, at the following points:

Philadelphia, Pa., for 5,000 men; completed.  
Newport, R. I., for 6,000 men; completed about July 1.  
Cape May, N. J., for 2,000 men; will be completed about August 1.  
Philadelphia, Pa., for 5,000 men; completed.  
Pensacola, Fla., for 1,000 additional men; completed.  
Key West, Fla., for 500 men; in course of construction.  
Mare Island, Cal., for 5,000 men; in course of construction.  
Puget Sound, Wash., for 5,000 men; work begun.  
Hingham, Mass., for 500 men; completed about July 1.  
New Orleans, La., for 500 men; completed about July 1.  
San Diego, Cal., for 2,500 men; completed about July 1.  
Great Lakes Training Station, Chicago, Ill.; accommodations for 15,000 additional recruits.

In addition a number of small camps have been constructed.

The camp at Port Royal, S. C., for 5,000 men of the Marine Corps is practically completed, and the construction of the Marine Corps camp at Quantico, Va., providing for 8,000 men is well under way.

Preparations are being made for the erection of buildings at the Hampton Roads Naval Operating Base that will provide accommodations for 10,000 men.

Arrangements have also been made to take over the Mississippi exposition grounds at Gulfport, Miss., which, with the erection of barracks and other temporary buildings, will provide for about 3,500 men.

In Brooklyn, N. Y., a camp for 3,000 regulars will be built adjoining the navy yard and a camp near Pelham, N. Y., for 5,000 reserves.

#### THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

271. *Information about enlistment.* Navy recruiting stations are located in all the larger cities and many of the smaller ones.

Information regarding enlistment in the Navy, and the address of the nearest recruiting office will be furnished promptly upon request received at either the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., or the Navy Publicity Bureau, 318 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York, N. Y.

Additional and complete information is given in the illustrated booklet entitled "The United States Navy," published by the Navy and given free upon request at any station.

272. *Requirements for enlistment.* An applicant for enlistment must be an American citizen, native or fully naturalized, and must be able to read and write English. He must be between 17 and 30 years of age, and if under 20 he must present an age certificate. Applicants under 18 must furnish the written consent of parent or guardian, to be filled out on a separate blank, which is supplied on request. In addition they must have the special permission of the Bureau of Navigation. On the application blank each applicant must state that he believes himself to be physically qualified to perform the duties of the rating to which he may be assigned; that he is of good habits and character; and that he has never deserted from any branch of the military service. An applicant must appear personally at a navy recruiting station or navy yard, and there be examined as to his qualifications for enlistment. The term for enlistment is four years, except for boys under 18, who enlist to serve during their minority.

273. *Training camp welfare.* Secretary of the Navy Daniels has announced the appointment of an advisory committee on the improvement and welfare of the men in the training camps and stations of the Navy and Marine Corps, to be called the Naval Commission on Training Activities. In the regular and reserve corps of the Navy and Marine Corps there have been recently added about 114,000 men, and the majority of these recruits are very young men and boys who have come from sheltered homes in America. In announcing the appointment of the commission, Secretary Daniels made the following statement:

I believe that their welfare and their training in good surroundings is a matter of the highest importance, and every effort is being made to secure the very best moral environment for the young men in all the training camps and stations. To this end, I have asked the co-operation of the authorities in the States where these young men are at present located and have requested a committee of men and women who have taken deep interest in the physical and moral welfare of young men to cooperate.

I am glad to say that a commission of men and women, all of whom have rendered important service and have special fitness to

give advice in this important work, have accepted and have enlisted as volunteers in the effort to make conditions as near ideal for the enlisted personnel as possible. At my request, Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick will be chairman of the commission. Mr. Fosdick has been appointed in like capacity by Secretary Baker on Army camps. In order to secure the most hearty cooperation for each arm of the service, I deemed it best to secure Mr. Fosdick to be chairman of the naval committee as well as of that of the Army.

The committee is composed of Raymond B. Fosdick, chairman; Walter Camp, New Haven, Conn.; Barton Myers, Norfolk, Va.; Joseph Lee, Boston, Mass.; John J. Egan Atlanta, Ga.; Selah Chamberlain, San Francisco, Cal.; Clifford W. Barnes, Lake Forest, Ill.; Charles P. Neill, Washington, D. C.; E. T. Meredith, Des Moines, Iowa; John S. Tiehnor, secretary Army and Navy Y. M. C. A., New York; Lieut. Richard E. Byrd, United States Navy; Mrs. Finley J. Shepard, New York; Mrs. Daisy McLaurin Stevens, Hattiesburg, Miss.; and Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, Denver, Colo.

For an account of the commission's work in Army camps see paragraphs 248 and following.

274. *Naval training.* After enlisting, a man under 25, not skilled in any trade (see below), is enrolled as apprentice seaman and is sworn in. He is then sent to one of the training stations at Norfolk, Va.; Newport, R. I.; Great Lakes, Ill.; San Francisco, Cal.; or to one of the many new training camps. (See paragraph 270.) His training at these stations includes drills, duty, and study periods, but besides these, he is given an opportunity to work in the technical naval trades, such as signaling, wireless, music, hospital work, etc., and if he shows special aptitude he is assigned to a class for a course of instruction and later he may be assigned to one of the naval trade schools. After the apprentice seaman has completed his course of instruction he is examined, and if he is found qualified he is advanced in rating and is transferred to sea.

275. *Rates of pay.* When a man enlists he is immediately placed upon the pay roll, but an apprentice seaman does not draw all his pay for any month during the training period. This is given him when he completes his course of instruction; thereafter he draws all the pay due him each month. The pay of an apprentice seaman is \$32.60 a month during the period of the war and for six months thereafter. The

first raise in the seaman branch is to \$35.90, and this advance usually comes before the recruits are sent to sea. The next advance, after assignment to general service, is to the rank of seaman at \$38.40. A seaman is eligible for advancement to third-class petty officer at \$41 and so on to chief petty officer at \$83 with permanent appointment. Pay in the artificer class ranges from \$36.20 to \$83 a month, and for yeomen, musicians, Hospital Corps, and commissary branch from \$32.60 to \$83 a month. Further allowances are made for special duties.

276. *Savings, death benefits, etc.* As transportation is paid and a complete outfit is provided free for every recruit, the man has very few expenses and may deposit his savings with the Navy paymaster, or have the money paid to his family at home, by Government check or money order. Pay continues through sickness, and men who die in the service from wounds or disease not the result of their own misconduct have an amount equal to six months of their wages (or one year's for those in aviation duty) paid immediately to their widows, children, or other dependent relatives previously designated by them. For plans as to life and accident insurance for men in the naval service see paragraph 182.

277. *Advancement and commissions.* The next grade above that of chief petty officer (see above) is warrant officer with pay ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,400 a year. After six years' service, a warrant officer becomes a commissioned chief in a definite grade, and after further service he receives the pay and allowances of a lieutenant, junior grade, and later of lieutenant. Furthermore, since June, 1914, appointment as midshipmen to the Naval Academy is open to an enlisted man under 20 years of age who has been in the Navy at least one year at the time of appointment and who can pass the examination. After four years' training he is appointed ensign, with pay of \$1,700 a year.

*Examinations for commission.* In addition to this procedure for obtaining a commission, permission is frequently granted enlisted men to take the examination for appointment to a commission in either the Navy or the Marine Corps.

## SPECIAL TRAINING AND SERVICE.

278. *Artificers.* The artificer school is located at Norfolk, Va., and is composed of classes for shipwrights, ship fitters, blacksmiths, and painters. Men with previous experience or special recommendation from their commanding officers are received for instruction. The course requires three months and includes, besides technical training, lectures relative to naval usage, etc. Men who already possess a mechanical trade may be enlisted for duty in that trade, even if over 25, provided they are under 35 years of age.

279. *Yeomen.* This branch performs the clerical work of the Navy, and some previous clerical experience is necessary. Enlistments will be made when vacancies occur. The yeoman schools are located at Newport, R. I., and San Francisco, Cal. The schools are divided into five classes, the preliminary class and four departments of work: (a) The supply officer department; (b) the executive officer department; (c) the pay officer department; (d) the commanding officer's department. Each of these classes requires five weeks. The pay for yeomen ranges from \$32.60 to \$83 a month. All recruits in this branch must enlist as landsman-for-yeoman.

280. *Hospital Corps.* The work of the Hospital Corps consists of attendance upon the sick of the Navy and Marine Corps in naval hospitals, naval shore stations, on board ships, and upon the expeditions of the Marine Corps. Previous training is not essential, but a knowledge of nursing is advantageous, and men with technical experience and general education may more definitely expect continuous advancement. Training schools are located at Newport, R. I., and at San Francisco, Cal. The training consists of three weeks' general military instruction, a course in the hospital school, and further practical instruction in a naval hospital. The work is not specialized, but particular abilities of any man are fostered. Advancement is possible from the lowest enlisted rating of hospital apprentice, second class, to the rank of pharmacist, who is a warrant officer. The pay for men in the Hospital Corps ranges from \$35.90 for hospital apprentices, second class (recruits \$17.60), to \$77 a month for chief pharmacist's mate. Men

may present themselves for enlistment at any Navy recruiting station, navy yard, or naval station. At present only 125 men a month may be enlisted and they must enlist as hospital apprentice, second class, or first class.

281. *Electrical branch.* This branch is divided into general electricians and radio electricians. The physical and moral qualifications required for entrance to other branches of the naval service apply here, and in addition the applicant for general electrician must be an electrician by trade, and the applicant for radio electrician must be a competent Morse code operator (i. e., must receive about 20 words a minute) and must pass an examination in penmanship, spelling, and arithmetic. In addition to this, men holding commercial radio licenses and who can pass an examination may be enlisted as electrician, third class (radio), and then undergo the regular course of instruction. The schools are located at the Navy Yard, Brooklyn, N. Y., and at Mare Island, Cal. The course comprises 8 months of instruction. Applicants must be between 18 and 25 years old, and are enlisted as landsman-for-electrician. The pay ranges from \$32.60 to \$83 a month.

282. *Commissary department.* Applicants for enlistment in this section must have some experience in the work for which they apply whether as cooks, bakers, or stewards. They receive a six months' training in the school at San Francisco, Cal., or Newport, R. I., and are at first enlisted as landsman-for-ship's-cook or as landsman-for-baker. The age limit on first enlistment is 18 to 25 years. The pay ranges from \$32.60 to \$83 a month.

283. *Paymasters.* The Navy Pay Officers' School is in Washington, D. C. The course of instruction covers all duties performed by an assistant paymaster at sea and includes military instruction. The student officers are graduates of the Naval Academy or of distinguished military colleges or successful candidates in a competitive examination.

284. *Submarine service.* Congress has authorized an increase in submarines. Recruits for machinist's mate are especially wanted. The requirements for enlistment are a knowledge of machine-shop tools and bench work and of the parts of marine engines and boilers. The pay in this

branch is exceptionally high, since there are many additional payments for special service. Pay for machinist's mates, second class, is \$52 a month, and for machinist's mates, first class, \$66.50. Chief machinist's mates receive \$83. All qualified submarine men receive a special allowance of \$5 a month, besides \$1 a day for each day the vessel submerges, not to exceed \$15 a month. Advancement is rapid with appropriate increases in pay. Information can be obtained and enlistment made at the submarine base at New London, Conn.

285. *Aeronautic service.* Training in the aeronautic school is open only to selected enlisted men and to men who enlist for aviation duty. The station is at Pensacola, Fla. (For further information, see section on aeronautics, paragraphs 346 to 349, inclusive.)

#### UNITED STATES NAVAL RESERVE FORCE.

286. *General statement.* The Naval Reserve Force was authorized by the act of August 29, 1916. A brief description of each of the six classes is given below, and detailed information will be supplied on application to the commandant of the nearest naval district. A list of the commandants and their addresses is also given in paragraph 295. Applicants should address their communications to the nearest.

All members of the Naval Reserve Force, except the Naval Auxiliary Reserve, must be citizens of the United States. Members of the Naval Auxiliary Reserve must be citizens of the United States or its insular possessions. All persons applying for enrollment in the Naval Reserve Force must furnish satisfactory evidence as to character and ability.

Members of the Naval Reserve Force are not required to perform any active service in time of peace but may be assigned to duty at their own request. However, they are obligated to serve through a war or national emergency, and no members of the Naval Reserve Force will be eligible for confirmation in rank or rating until the completion of not less than three months' active service.

All members of the Naval Reserve Force, except the Fleet Naval Reserve, enroll in a provisional rank or rating and

their retainer pay commences from the date of their enrollment.

The retainer pay of all members of the Naval Reserve Force, except the Fleet Naval Reserve, is \$12 per annum until members have been confirmed in their rank or rating. After confirmation in rank or rating the retainer pay is as noted in each class below.

The maximum active service in time of peace allowed any member of the Naval Reserve Force is three months per year. This active service may be taken at the election of the member, but must be in periods of not less than three weeks at any one time.

For members of the Fleet Naval Reserve the minimum amount of active service allowed at any one time is one month.

Members of the Naval Auxiliary Reserve perform no active service except in time of war.

Owners and operators of power boats suitable for Government purposes may be enrolled in the Naval Coast Defense Reserve, and the Secretary of the Navy is authorized to enter into contract with owners to take over their boats in time of war upon payment of a reasonable indemnity.

287. *The Fleet Naval Reserve.* A reserve composed entirely of ex-service officers and men whose last service with the Navy terminated honorably.

The personnel of this reserve will be ordered to active duty at sea.

Officers and men are enrolled in the rank or rating last held in the Navy.

The retainer pay per year of officers in the Fleet Naval Reserve is two months' base pay of the corresponding rank in the Navy.

Active-service pay is in addition to retainer pay and is the full pay of the corresponding rank in the Navy of the same length of naval service.

The retainer pay of enlisted men is as follows: Less than 8 years' service, \$50 per annum; less than 12 years' service, \$72 per annum; 12 or more years' service, \$100 per annum.

Active-service pay is in addition to retainer pay and is the full pay of the corresponding rating in the Navy of the same length of naval service.

The retainer pay of each member of the Fleet Naval Reserve is increased 25 per cent on each re-enrollment, provided the member has completed not less than three months' active service during the last term of enrollment and re-enrolls within four months of date of termination of last enrollment.

288. *The Naval Reserve.* This is a reserve composed of ex-merchant marine officers and men.

The personnel of this reserve will be ordered to duty on naval and auxiliary vessels.

In order to be eligible for enrollment as an officer the applicant must have had not less than two years' experience as a watch officer (deck or engineer) on a lake or ocean going vessel.

In order to be eligible for enrollment in an enlisted rating in this class the applicant must present credentials to show the rating in which he has served in the merchant service.

The retainer pay of officers of the Naval Reserve is two months' base pay of the corresponding rank in the Navy.

The retainer pay of enlisted men in the Naval Reserve is two months' base pay of the corresponding rating in the Navy.

Active-service pay is in addition to retainer and is the full pay of the corresponding rank or rating in the Navy of the same length of naval service.

The retainer pay of each member of the Naval Reserve is increased 25 per cent on each re-enrollment, provided the member has performed not less than three months' active service with the Navy during the last term of enrollment, and re-enrolls within four months of the date of termination of last enrollment.

289. *The Naval Auxiliary Reserve.* This class of the reserve is composed of officers and men serving on board vessels of the United States merchant marine listed by the Navy Department as desirable auxiliaries and to be taken over as such in time of war.

The personnel of this reserve will serve on vessels on which serving when called into active service. As a rule they will not be transferred to any other vessel except in case of emergency.

The retainer pay of officers of the Naval Auxiliary Reserve is one month's base pay of the corresponding rank in the Navy.

Active-service pay is in addition to retainer pay and is the full pay of the corresponding rank in the Navy of the same length of naval service.

The retainer pay of enlisted men in the Naval Auxiliary Reserve is two months' base pay of the corresponding rating in the Navy.

Active-service pay is in addition to retainer pay and is the full pay of the corresponding rating in the Navy of the same length of naval service.

The retainer pay of each member of the Naval Auxiliary Reserve is increased 25 per cent on each reenrollment within four months from the date of the expiration of the last term of enrollment.

290. *The Naval Coast Defense Reserve* offers an opportunity to citizens of all ages who are capable of special useful service to the Navy, or in connection with the Navy in defense of the coast. Owners and operators of yachts and motor-power boats suitable for naval purposes in defense of the coast may be enrolled in this class and have their boats taken over upon payment of a reasonable indemnity. (See below, paragraph 291.)

*Personnel.* The personnel of this class is as follows:

(a) Officers (provisional) must have ability, experience, and special qualifications for important duties in naval districts and must furnish evidence as to ability, character, and citizenship. They must pass professional and physical examinations for provisional rank.

(b) Officers (confirmed). After three months' active service an officer may be confirmed in his provisional rank by passing professional and physical examinations.

(c) Men (provisional) must be capable of performing useful service with coast-defense vessels, torpedo craft, mining vessels, patrol vessels, or as radio operators, etc., and must give evidence as to ability, character, and citizenship. They must qualify physically.

(d) Men (confirmed). After three months' service a man may be confirmed in his provisional rating by passing an examination.

In addition to the above, men are wanted with experience in administration and accounts, wireless, signaling, telegraphy, electrical work, navigation, shopwork, gas-engine practice, running motor boats, engine rooms, etc.

*Pay, etc.* When actively employed, either under provisional or confirmed rank or rating, the pay of officers and men is the same as that of officers and men in the Navy of corresponding rank and with the same length of naval service. The following retainer pay is given in addition, and may be waived by enrolling in the Volunteer Naval Reserve. (See paragraph 293.)

- (a) Officers (provisional), \$12.
- (b) Officers (confirmed), two months' base pay of the corresponding rank in the Navy.
- (c) Men (provisional), \$12.
- (d) Men (confirmed), two months' base pay of the corresponding rank in the Navy.

In addition a uniform gratuity is given, as follows:

Officers, in peace time, \$50; in war time, \$150.

Men, in peace time, \$30; in war time, \$60.

291. *The patrol squadron.* This section of the Naval Coast Defense Reserve is planned as a defense of the coast and harbors against the operations of submarines or raiders, by a patrol of armed motor boats. Boats of the following kinds are desired:

*Type A, slow:* Sufficiently seaworthy to maintain station in harbor in moderate gale; speed not less than 7 knots; able to mount one 1-pounder R. F. gun and one machine gun.

*Type A, fast:* Able to keep sea in moderate gale; length not less than 40 feet; speed not less than 16 knots; able to mount one 1-pounder R. F. gun and one machine gun; to be self-sustaining for four men for four days.

*Type B, slow:* Able to keep sea in moderate gale; length not less than 60 feet; speed not less than 10 knots; able to mount one anti-aircraft gun, not less than one 3-pounder R. F. and two machine guns. To be self-sustaining for eight men for five days; to be equipped with radio and search-light.

*Type B, fast:* Able to keep sea in moderate gale; length not less than 60 feet; speed not less than 16 knots; able to mount one anti-aircraft gun, not less than one 3-pounder R. F. and at least two machine guns. To be self-sustaining for eight men for five days; to be equipped with radio and searchlight.

Owners or operators of these boats may be enrolled for service on their own boats under general qualifications of the Naval Coast Defense Reserve, or may offer their boats to the Government and receive an indemnity.

292. *The Naval Reserve Flying Corps.* This is open to qualified aviators or persons skilled in the design or building of aircraft. In order to be eligible for enrollment in this class of the Naval Reserve Force the applicant must be capable of handling aircraft alone and must be able to navigate the air.

The personnel of this reserve will be ordered to duty at sea or on shore where aviators are necessary.

The retainer pay of enlisted men of the Naval Reserve Flying Corps is two months' base pay of the corresponding rating in the Navy.

Active-service pay is in addition to retainer pay and is the full pay of the corresponding rank or rating in the Navy of the same length of naval service and the member is entitled to the same increases in pay as members of the Naval Flying Corps.

The retainer pay of each member of the Naval Reserve Flying Corps is increased 25 per cent upon each reenrollment within four months of the date of expiration of the last term of enrollment provided he has performed not less than three months' active service during the last term of enrollment.

293. *The Volunteer Naval Reserve.* The members of this class of the Naval Reserve Force must necessarily be eligible for one of the other classes, the only difference in their status being that they serve without retainer pay and without uniform gratuity in time of peace.

294. *Women.* Women may also render service in the Naval Reserve as telephone switchboard operators, nurses, and yeomen.

295. *Application.* Address application for all classes of service to the nearest office mentioned below (see map, page 252):

Commandant of the First Naval District, Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.

The first naval district includes the States of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

Commandant of the Second Naval District, Naval Training Station, Newport, R. I.

The second naval district includes the State of Rhode Island and that part of the State of Connecticut north of New London and east of Norwich.

Commandant of the Third Naval District, Navy Yard, New York.

The third naval district includes that portion of the State of Connecticut not included in the second naval district and the State of New York east of a line from Elmira and north through Syracuse to the Canadian border, and that part of the State of New Jersey north of Barnegat Inlet.

Commandant of the Fourth Naval District, Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa.

The fourth naval district includes the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware and New Jersey south of Barnegat Inlet.

Commandant of the Fifth Naval District, Citizens Bank Building, Norfolk, Va.

The fifth naval district includes the States of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and the State of North Carolina north of a line due west from Little River Inlet.

Commandant of the Sixth Naval District, Navy Yard, Charleston, S. C.

The sixth naval district includes the States of Georgia and South Carolina and that portion of North Carolina south of a line drawn due west from Little River Inlet; also that portion of the State of Florida north of a line southeast from Jacksonville to St. Augustine.

Commandant of the Seventh Naval District, Naval Station,  
Key West, Fla.

The seventh naval district includes that portion of Florida south of a line southeast from Jacksonville to St. Augustine and one southwest from Jacksonville to St. Johns Inlet.

Commandant of the Eighth Naval District, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

The eighth naval district includes the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, and that portion of the State of Florida west of a line drawn southwest from Jacksonville, Fla., to St. Johns Inlet, Fla.

Commandant of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Naval Districts, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh naval districts include the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Michigan, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and that portion of the State of New York west of a line drawn from Elmhira through Syracuse north to the Canadian border.

Commandant of the Twelfth Naval District, 417 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, Cal.

The twelfth naval district includes the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California.

Commandant of the Thirteenth Naval District, Navy Yard, Puget Sound, Wash.

The thirteenth naval district includes the States of Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon.

Commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District, Naval Stations, Honolulu, Hawaii.

The fourteenth naval district includes the Hawaiian Islands.

Commandant, Navy Yard, Washington, D. C., enrolling office, Old Naval Hospital, Ninth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D. C.

District of Columbia and Indianhead, Md.

Marine Superintendent, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone.

United States territory on the Isthmus of Panama.

**UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS.**

296. *Purpose.* The marines, the "soldiers of the sea," are an independent branch of the military service of the United States, serving generally under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy. They protect Government property at naval stations at home, and furnish the first line of the mobile defense of naval bases and naval stations beyond the limits of the United States. They guard American lives and interests abroad and are used as expeditionary forces and for advance base duty. The marines go with the warships, do guard duty on board, and act as landing parties ashore.

297. *History.* The Marine Corps was first called into existence by the act of the Continental Congress of November 10, 1775, and served throughout the Revolutionary War. It was disbanded at the close of the war, but was reorganized and permanently established July 11, 1798. It has participated in every expedition and action in which the Navy has engaged, and has cooperated in campaigns with the Army.

298. *Personnel.* Until recently the organized strength of the marines was 17,400 men, but in the present emergency an increase to 30,000 has been authorized. On July 21 there were 27,898 men enlisted in the Marine Corps. There are 119 marine recruiting stations in the United States.

299. *Requirements for enlistment.* An applicant for enlistment must be an American citizen between 20 and 35 years of age and must read, write, and understand English. He must be single and without dependent relatives, and must be of good moral character and excellent health. He must be at least 64 inches tall, and must weigh at least 124 pounds.

300. *Enlistment.* Marines are not enlisted at recruiting stations except those re-enlisting, but they apply and receive their mental and physical examinations there. Information regarding enlistments, etc., may be obtained by addressing the Officer in Charge of Recruiting, Headquarters, United States Marine Corps, Washington, D. C. Detailed and complete information is given in the pamphlets published by the marines, which may be obtained free at any station.

301. *Training.* When a recruit is enrolled he is put on probation and sent to a station at Port Royal, S. C.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Norfolk, Va.; Mare Island, Cal.; or Quantico, Va. Here he must undergo another examination, and if found satisfactory, he is sworn into the service. If unsatisfactory, he is returned to his home at the Government's expense.

302. *Service.* The term of enlistment for a marine is four years, after which he may be discharged or re-enlist. He may purchase his discharge sooner if he presents a valid reason. While in service the marines are given ample liberty, and may engage in special study, although this is not especially provided for. (In peace time the marines serve abroad in Cuba, Nicaragua, Hawaii, Guam, Philippines, Haiti, and in Pekin, China.) They receive instruction, however, in aviation, wireless telegraphy, heliograph, various other methods of signaling, telegraphy, planting of mines, and in the other forms of activity which their service demands. At the recruit depot at Port Royal, S. C., are schools for clerks and stenographers, and electrical and radio schools.

303. *Pay.* A marine regularly receives from \$15 to \$69 a month, according to rank and length of service. He receives 20 per cent increase aboard ship or in a foreign country. In addition to this, all extra services are paid for, from \$1 for signalman or \$5 for messman to 50 per cent increase for aviation. During the period of the war additional pay is given as follows: Private, \$15; corporal, \$15; sergeant, \$8; all higher ranks, \$6.

304. *Savings and death benefits.* The marine's pay is practically clear, as his expenses are few, and his savings may be deposited with the paymaster. Upon the death of any enlisted man from wounds or sickness not due to his own misconduct, there will be paid to the widow, children, or dependent relatives previously designated by him an amount equal to six months' pay. For plans as to life and accident insurance for men in the military service see paragraph 182.

305. *Advancements and commissions.* Advancement in the marines is comparatively rapid, since vacancies occur con-

stantly in the noncommissioned grades. Noncommissioned officers may be promoted to the warrant rank with pay varying from \$1,125 to \$2,500 a year. Men are also selected by competitive examination for training for commissions at the Naval Academy, and many worthy noncommissioned officers of the Fleet Marine Corps Reserve are also given commissioned rank.

#### MARINE CORPS RESERVE.

306. *History.* The Marine Corps Reserve was authorized by Congress as a reserve force to be trained in time of peace, and called into active service only when the country is at war, or when there exists a national emergency as declared by the President. It is divided into several classes, as follows:

307. Ex-marines may enroll in Class 1 of the Reserve, the Fleet Marine Corps, in their former ranks and draw a retainer of from \$50 to \$100.

308. *Class 2: Marine Corps Reserve A* for civilians with military training and experience.

*Eligibility Requirements.* For officer (provisional) a man must be a citizen of the United States between 20 and 35 years of age, and having two years' experience as an officer of a military or naval organization or a military school or college. He must be of good moral character and free from physical defects. After three months' service the officer may receive his commission after suitable professional and physical examinations.

An enrolled man (provisional) must furnish evidence as to military experience, character, and citizenship. He must be between 18 and 35 years of age when first enrolling. After three months' service and a suitable examination his rank may be confirmed.

Both men and officers with provisional appointment receive an annual retainer of \$12, and when confirmed each receives the equivalent of two months' pay based on comparison with the Marine Corps. When in active service they receive pay equivalent to that given in the Marine Corps. An appro-

priate uniform gratuity is likewise given, to be refunded when a discharge is obtained in peace time.

Duties consist of liability to serve, as in the Marine Corps, in time of war or national emergency.

309. *Class 4: Marine Corps Reserve B.* This class is for United States citizens who are capable of performing special useful service in the Marine Corps, such as owners and operators of automobiles, motor trucks, motor cycles, aeroplanes, etc.

To serve as officers, no military experience is necessary, but other requirements for class 2 hold good here. Men (provisional) must also satisfy requirements as in class 2, except that the kind of service varies from military to technical. The pay, uniform gratuity, and duties are essentially the same as for class 2.

310. *Class 5: Marine Corps Reserve Flying Corps.* For qualified aviators—similar in requirements, etc., to Classes 2 and 4.

311. *Class 6: Voluntary Marine Corps Reserve.* This class is composed of men eligible for the above classes who agree to waive their retainer fee and uniform gratuity in peace time.

#### THE NAVAL MILITIA.

312. *Purpose.* The Naval Militia has the same relation to the Navy as the National Guard to the Army. Naval militiamen in time of war are known as the National Naval Volunteers and become active members of the Navy and serve as bluejackets and officers in the main or reserve fleets, or wherever else they may be assigned. All matters relating to the Naval Militia come under the cognizance of the Bureau of Navigation.

313. *History.* The State of Massachusetts was the first to establish a Naval Militia, doing so on March 29, 1890. The next was the First Battalion Naval Militia, New York. It was founded in 1891, using the U. S. S. *Granite State*, a "dreadnaught" of 100 years ago, as armory. There is now Naval Militia in 22 States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii. States having Naval Militia are: California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri,

New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.

314. *Training, etc.* Training consists of drills for which the battalions are divided into divisions, and of instruction in navigation, infantry, ordnance, seamanship, signals, and the use of radio. This is further supplemented by practical experience. Naval militiamen may enroll in the National Naval Volunteers in which the period of enrollment is three years. The advancement as well as pay depends entirely upon merit, each man receiving approximately \$1 and upward per drill. Uniforms and equipment are furnished free.

315. *War service.* New battalions totaling 2,470 men have just been authorized by the President, and will soon be in service.

316. *Marine Corps.* Marine companies have been formed in connection with the Naval Militia, and have been called to active duty in the Navy. Enlistments in the Marine Corps Branch of the Naval Militia have, however, been temporarily suspended.

317. *Aviation Corps.* An aviation section is also attached to the Naval Militia, and a training depot has been established at Bay Shore, Long Island.

318. *Information.* Men desiring to enlist, or others wishing information, should apply to the Naval Militia headquarters (given below); or to the Division of Naval Militia Affairs, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

*The headquarters of Naval Militia organizations are as follows:*

California: Commanding Officer, California Naval Militia, Room 402, Sharon Building, 55 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Connecticut: Commanding Officer, Connecticut Naval Militia, South Norwalk, Conn.

District of Columbia: Commanding Officer, District of Columbia Naval Militia, Water and O Streets SW., Washington, D. C.

Florida:

First Battalion, Commanding Officer, First Battalion, Florida Naval Militia, Key West, Fla.

Second Battalion, Commanding Officer, Second Battalion, Florida Naval Militia, Jacksonville, Fla.

- Hawaii: Commanding Officer, Naval Militia of Hawaii, care Executive Chamber, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- Illinois: Commanding Officer, Illinois Naval Militia, Steamship *Commodore*, Chicago, Ill.
- Louisiana: Commanding Officer, Louisiana Naval Militia, 326 Camp St., New Orleans, La.
- Maine: Commanding Officer, Maine Naval Militia, 375 Fore Street, Portland, Me.
- Maryland: Commanding Officer, Maryland Naval Militia, 500 Continental Building, Baltimore, Md.
- Massachusetts: Commanding Officer, Massachusetts Naval Militia, State Armory, Fall River, Mass.
- Michigan:
- First Battalion, Commanding Officer, First Battalion, Michigan Naval Militia, 718 Penobscot Building, Detroit, Mich.
  - Second Battalion, Commanding Officer, Second Battalion, Michigan Naval Militia, Hancock, Mich.
- Minnesota: Commanding Officer, Minnesota Naval Militia, 120 North Fifteenth Avenue East, Duluth, Minn.
- Missouri: Commanding Officer, Missouri Naval Militia, 709 Laclede Gas Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- New Jersey:
- First Battalion, Commanding Officer, First Battalion, New Jersey Naval Militia, U. S. S. *Adams*, Hoboken, N. J.
  - Second Battalion, Commanding Officer, Second Battalion, New Jersey Naval Militia, U. S. S. *Vixen*, Camden, N. J.
- New York: Commanding Officer, New York Naval Militia, 2 Rector Street, New York, N. Y.
- North Carolina: Commanding Officer, North Carolina Naval Militia, Newbern, N. C.
- Ohio:
- First Battalion, Commanding Officer, First Battalion, Ohio Naval Militia, Calvin Building, Toledo, Ohio.
  - Second Battalion, Commanding Officer, Second Battalion, Ohio Naval Militia, 408 Federal Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Oregon: Commanding Officer, Oregon Naval Militia, 640 Morgan Building, Portland, Oreg.
- Pennsylvania: Commanding Officer, Pennsylvania Naval Militia, 333 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Rhode Island: Commanding Officer, Rhode Island Naval Militia, State Armory, Providence, R. I.
- South Carolina: Commanding Officer, South Carolina Naval Militia, Charlesten, S. C.
- Texas: Commanding Officer, Texas Naval Militia, care Blum Hardware Co., Galveston, Tex.
- Washington: Commanding Officer, Washington Naval Militia, 732 Central Building, Seattle, Wash.

**UNITED STATES COAST GUARD.**

319. *Purpose.* The Coast Guard was established in 1915 to combine the previously existing Revenue-Cutter Service and Life-Saving Service. In peace time it operates under the Treasury Department, and has as its principal function the saving of life and property from the destruction of the seas. In war time it operates as part of the Navy, subject to the orders of the Secretary of the Navy. There are 281 stations, divided into 13 districts.

320. *Training, etc.* Appointments to cadetships are made after competitive examinations, and a class of cadets is appointed each year. The cadets are educated at the Coast Guard Academy, at New London, Conn. The course covers three years and embraces professional and academic studies. Candidates for cadetships must not be less than 18 nor more than 24 years old, citizens of the United States, and unmarried. Appointments as cadet engineers are also made after competitive examination, and candidates must not be less than 20½ years of age and must serve a probationary term of at least one year before being commissioned third lieutenants of engineers. These must be between 21 and 26 years of age.

321. *Officers, personnel, etc.* Officers of the Coast Guard are on the same footing in rank and pay as officers of the Army and Navy. The authorized personnel is 270 commissioned officers and 3,931 warrant officers, petty officers, and enlisted men.

322. *Information.* Information may be obtained at any of the Coast Guard stations or at the headquarters, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

323. *Present use.* In the present emergency the Government has taken over the revenue-cutter system for other purposes.

**UNITED STATES JUNIOR NAVAL RESERVE.**

324. This is an organization for the training of American boys for the American Navy and merchant marine. Over 6,000 boys are enrolled in small posts throughout the country and are given instruction and naval training in addition

to their regular schooling. Two large training camps (Camps Dewey and John Paul Jones) are located at New London, Conn., and Corpus Christi, Tex., respectively. Scholarships are awarded on a basis of merit and special aptitude for the work in general.

A call was sent out for 1,000 additional boys to enlist at once. On June 10, 300 cadets were already in attendance, and it was expected that by July 1 over 1,200 boys will be in training for the Navy and merchant marine. Any boy between the ages of 14 and 18 may join the organization, and by general efficiency in drill and nautical study may earn a free scholarship at Camp Dewey for two months' training. Boys and young men between the ages of 10 and 18 who are not members of the United States Junior Naval Reserve, will be admitted to Camp Dewey on the payment of a nominal fee. There are nightly drills by classes of 100 each, besides special classes in the Hospital Corps and wireless school, while the cadets will receive nautical instruction once a week from an officer of the United States Navy or Militia.

Camp Dewey, on the Thames River, near New London, Conn., gave instruction to 200 boys last summer, and it is expected that there will be over 1,000 there this season.

For information address United States Junior Naval Reserve, 231 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York City.

#### THE NAVY LEAGUE.

325. The Navy League has undertaken a very useful work in stimulating recruiting and in providing for the comfort of sailors and their dependents. Some of the activities of the Navy League are recruiting for the regular Naval Service and for the Naval Reserve. Both of these branches are practically at their authorized strength at the present time, so for the moment the activities of the league in this direction are very slight.

Greatly increased, however, are the activities of the league which have to do with furnishing such articles as bring comfort to the sailors and are not furnished through regular governmental channels. Many thousands of knitted articles

have already been provided by the Navy League and it is still hard at work along these lines. Those who desire to cooperate should get in touch with their local branch, and if such a branch does not exist, might well consider starting one. All communications should be addressed to the Navy League of the United States, Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

The Navy League has undertaken to raise a war-relief fund, regarding which inquiry may be made as above.

## AVIATION.

326. The Army and Navy are at one in plans for an aviation service which will make possible the continuance of the supremacy in the air now held by those fighting against Germany and her allies.

In his Fourth of July address at New York Secretary Baker said:

In 1915 the Congress appropriated something less than a half million dollars for the building of aircraft in the Army. In 1917 the appropriation was \$47,000,000, and now Congress is considering a bill which appropriates the great sum of \$640,000,000 for the building of airplanes.

And the program is that American skill and ingenuity, American scientific knowledge, and the skill of handcraftsman shall furnish inexhaustive resources to the allies in the unquestionable supremacy of the air. Then our Army will have eyes that can see and be able to ferret out our adversary and enemy, and save the military operations of those who depend upon the airmen for their knowledge of the enemy disposition.

The Secretary of the Navy has recommended an appropriation of \$45,000,000 for the development of the Aeronautic Service.

327. *Joint boards.* To simplify the task of the Departments of War and Navy, Secretaries Baker and Daniels have appointed three joint boards: The Joint Army and Navy Board on Design and Specifications, the Joint Army and Navy Board on Aero Cognizance, and the Joint Army and Navy Board on Zeppelins. The work of these boards is sufficiently indicated by their titles.

328. *Aircraft Production Board.* To assist in the expansion of the Aviation Service, the Council of National Defense appointed on April 12 the Aircraft Production Board, with Mr. Howard E. Coffin chairman.

The general function of the Aircraft Production Board will be to bring manufacturers together and help make their resources available to the Government and assist the Government in stimulating the production of better types and greater quantities of air machines, to investigate and recom-

mend manufacturing plants where orders are to be placed, to aid in arranging with American factories as to the kinds of machine best suited to their several organizations and facilities for manufacture, to advise as regards priority of deliveries of aircraft material in accordance with a general policy as determined by the Council of National Defense, and following the selection of sites for aviation schools and supply depots by the military department, to advise in regard to buying or leasing the land, preparing it for use, and erecting all buildings.

A bill has been introduced in Congress to give the Aircraft Production Board power to spend the \$640,000,000 just appropriated.

329. *Cooperation with the allies.* Arrangements have been made with British and Canadian officers to standardize the training machines in use in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, so that machines can be distributed impartially and without difficulty among the three nations. It is hoped to be able to make satisfactory arrangements with the British and French manufacturers to secure the advantage of their experience and designs in spurring forward the development of our own industry. All reports that the United States intends to purchase aeroplanes abroad are manifestly false, since the allies are constantly in need of more machines than their own resources can supply.

330. *Machines, men, camps.* The immediate policy involves roughly a program for the first year of turning out in American factories some thousands of aircraft, including both training and battle types, and the establishment of schools and training fields with sufficient capacity not only to man these machines, but to supply a constant stream of aviators and mechanics to the American forces in Europe. Under the auspices of eight of the Nation's leading engineering schools, cadets are already under preliminary training for the American military air service. (See paragraph 331, and map, page 251.)

331. *Instruction.* The country has made progress in developing aviators. In April a group of Army officers visited the training camp of the Royal Flying Corps at Borden, Ontario, one of the four camps established in Canada, and the aviation school at Toronto, where cadets

are trained under military discipline for the service. In these schools there has been incorporated the latest European experience in the development of this new art of the air. Officers on a similar mission are now in England.

The eight institutions giving instruction in military aeronautics are the Universities of California, Texas, Illinois, and Ohio, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Georgia School of Technology, Cornell University, and Princeton University. Three technical instructors from each of these places were sent to Toronto. They returned on May 8 after a comprehensive study of the course given there, prepared to teach it themselves. On May 10 six of these engineering schools opened similar cadet aviation schools at their respective institutions.

At the present date there are something like 800 students at the various ground schools. Men are being delegated to the work in the eight colleges at the rate of 25 a week for each school, or about 200 a week. After August 25 the Government expects to graduate students into the advanced flying fields at the rate of 200 per week. The number to have been put into active flying by September 8 has been set at 1,408, but the total will probably be less, due to the weeding-out process which is going on continually.

These cadet schools might be described as laboratory courses in aviation. The students are given thorough instruction in the theory of flying, including the necessary physics and mathematics and the mechanics of aeroplane construction. The training schools are thoroughly equipped with samples of aeroplane parts and instruments for demonstration, as well as textbooks. Technical matters relating to map making, photography, bomb dropping, gun sighting, and all similar subjects which a military aviator must know, are also taught. All during this time the cadet is under military training, following the methods which Great Britain and Canada have found so successful. At the end of two months of this preliminary work, the cadet is given a final test to determine whether he shall go on to the aviation camp.

332. *Camps.* In the meantime plans are going ahead for the nine aviation fields to receive their men when they are ready. The Aircraft Production Board is working con-

stantly with the military departments in preparing for the construction of these fields. The standard field on which they are basing their program will provide for accommodating two squadrons of 150 students each with the necessary officer instructors and enlisted men, together with a certain number of additional enlisted men who will be training at the same time. The hangars will take care of 72 planes. The preparation of these fields will cost approximately \$1,000,000 each, including the construction of the necessary buildings, dormitories, workshops, and hangars. A standard set of buildings has already been worked out. The fields will be approximately a mile square, and great care is being taken by the military authorities in their location. (See map, page 251.)

333. *Men needed for Aviation Service.* Secretary of War Baker has announced plans for a greatly increased aeronautic personnel, and the following statement is from the War Office:

The general impression that the United States has a limitless number of applicants for a commission in the Aviation Section of the Army is entirely erroneous. Somehow this impression has gone abroad and been copied by papers throughout the country, thereby discouraging many capable men from putting in applications to become pilots. It is extremely desirable that this impression be corrected and that the knowledge that any man between the ages of 19 and 30 who is physically, mentally, and morally qualified for a commission in the Aviation Section has as good a chance now to become a flyer as at any time.

334. *Aviation units.* There is no one aviation division, but there are several aviation sections under the Signal Corps in the Army, and under four different branches of the Navy, as follows:

United States Army:

1. Aviation section of the Signal Corps, United States Army, for enlisted men and commissioned officers of the Regular Army.

2. Aviation section of the Signal Officers' Reserve Corps. A few men in addition are accepted for ground work, and because of special technical abilities.

3. Aviation section of the Signal Enlisted Reserve Corps, for ground duty.

United States Navy:

1. Naval Flying Corps, for enlisted men and commissioned officers of the Regular Navy.
2. Naval Reserve Flying Corps.
3. Aviation section of the Naval Militia, for enlisted men and officers of the Naval Militia.
4. Marine Corps Reserve Flying Corps, open only to qualified aviators.

335. *Physical requirements* for any aviation division are extremely rigid. Applicants must have perfect sight and hearing, sound lungs, a first-class heart (the slightest weakness disqualifies). The physical examination includes a specially devised test of the applicant's ears, intended to show his ability to maintain an equilibrium under conditions peculiar to aeronautics.

No applicant need consider the Aviation Service unless he is in the prime of health and athletic condition.

#### ARMY AVIATION SERVICE.

##### REGULAR ARMY—SIGNAL CORPS, AVIATION SECTION.

Men enlisted in the Signal Corps of the Army may serve as nonfliers in the Aviation Section.

336. *Requirements.* Applicants must be between 18 and 35, unmarried, and able to pass a physical examination.

*Duties.* Enlisted men, in general, are nonfliers, and repair the planes and motors, magnetos, carbureters, etc. They may also be promoted to the flier rank.

337. *Aviation mechanics.* A certain number of the enlisted men of the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps may be examined for the rating of aviation mechanic. In general, aviation mechanics are expert motormen, but only a very few are given an opportunity to fly.

For further details, apply to any Army recruiting station or to the Chief Signal Officer, Washington, D. C.

##### THE SIGNAL OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS, AVIATION SECTION.

338. *Number and grades of officers.* The grades in this section are in the same proportion as those obtaining in the aviation section, Signal Corps, United States Army, to and including the grade of major. Unless otherwise authorized by proper authority, all successful applicants for commissions

in the aviation section, Signal Officers' Reserve Corps, will enter as private, first class, and will be promoted in accordance with ability shown.

339. *Requirements for candidates.* 1. Physical (see above paragraph 335): Applicants must be between 19 and 30 years of age and pass a rigid physical examination.

2. Moral: Applicants must enclose with their applications at least three recommendations from reputable citizens so worded as to embrace moral character.

3. Professional: Applicants must establish that they have had a high-school or preparatory-school education. In determining the educational qualifications beyond a high-school education consideration will be given to the applicant's intelligence, business or other training, travel, tutoring, home study, activity, and military training.

340. *Method of entry.* A candidate wishing to pursue the course of instruction under this class must enlist as a private in the Signal Enlisted Reserve Corps. When so enlisted he will be enrolled as a private, first class, upon his declaration of honor that his enlistment is for the purpose of training himself as an aviator, and that he will pursue the course of instruction, first in groundwork at a School of Military Aeronautics (see paragraphs 331 and 341) and, then in an aviation training camp (see paragraph 332), take the regular military aviator's test, and apply for a commission. This enlistment will entitle him to pay and clothing, food, heat, light, quarters, and medical attendance, equivalent to about \$75 per month. In so enlisting he renders himself subject to the military laws of the United States and while on duty is amenable to the discipline of the Regular Army.

In order to apply for a commission in the aviation section of the Signal Corps it is necessary to write to the aeronautical officer of the nearest department headquarters (see map, page 251) or to the Personnel Section, Signal Corps, Washington, D. C. A blank will be sent to the applicant, and if he seems a satisfactory candidate he will receive a notice to appear before an examining board.

341. *The course at the aviation ground schools* is described as follows:

Before any flying is attempted the student must take an eight weeks' course in a School of Military Aeronautics. It will be necessary for a good many trained fliers to take this course, which deals with various technical aspects of aerial warfare, some of which may be novel to the man who knows how to fly but not how to fight or scout at the same time. Ten thousand men can receive instruction yearly at these schools.

The course includes: Military drill, calisthenics, machine gun, artillery observation, bombs and bombing, wireless and signaling, theory of flight, types of machines, care of machine, tools, map reading, reconnaissance, photography, stationary engines, meteorology, cross country and general flying. Practically all the instructors have observed the work in the Canadian camps, and the courses will be closely modeled upon the work done by the flying students of that country. It has not been ascertained definitely just how much time must be devoted to the teaching of flying itself, but it is believed that there will be no difficulty in fitting from 5,000 to 6,000 aviators for service each year.

342. *Applications* or requests for further information may be addressed to any of the following:

The Signal Corps, War Department, Washington, D. C.  
The Mineola Field, Mineola, Long Island.  
The Essington Flying Field, Essington, Pa.  
Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio, Tex.  
North Brothers Island, San Diego, Cal.  
Signal Officer, Central Department, Chicago, Ill.  
Fort Omaha, Omaha, Nebr.

#### THE SIGNAL ENLISTED RESERVE CORPS, AVIATION SECTION.

343. *Qualifications—General requirements.* Service in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, aviation section, Signal Corps, is by enlistment. Applicants must be over 18 and under 45 years of age. They must be of good antecedents and habits and free from bodily defects and diseases. They must be citizens of the United States or have made legal declaration of their intention to become citizens of the United States and be able to speak, read, and write the English language. Before enlisting they are required to pass a physical exami-

nation to determine their fitness for service in the United States Army. Before authority for enlistment is granted, applicants will furnish two or more certificates of good moral character. As the service is technical, men qualified as mechanicians, who have had experience in the construction and repair of aeroplanes or internal-combustion engines are particularly desirable. All men are enlisted as privates. If ability is shown, promotion will be made to the following grades.

*344. Qualifications for each grade:*

*Master signal electricians:* The candidate must have a practical knowledge of gasoline motors, magnetos, carburetors, telegraphy, and a fair knowledge of the principles of electricity and photography or airplanes and balloons.

*Sergeants, first class:* The candidate must have a working knowledge of gasoline motors, magnetos, carburetors, and a fair knowledge of the principles of metal working.

*Sergeants and corporals:* Candidates must have a general knowledge of the subjects given under requirements for first-class sergeants.

*Privates, first class:* Applicants must show an interest in the subjects mentioned, be competent, keen, and of a sufficiently high order of intelligence to insure that they will develop along the proper lines in training.

*345. Pay, etc.* All enlisted men of the aviation section, Signal Corps, of the United States Army, in addition to their regular pay, receive rations, quarters, clothing, fuel, bedding, medicine, and medical attendance when required.

#### NAVY AVIATION SERVICE.

##### NAVAL FLYING CORPS.

*346. For enlisted men in the Regular Navy—*

Men may enlist as "landsman for quartermaster (aviation)," or "landsman for machinist's mate (aviation)."

A number of men are needed at present, but they must be peculiarly fit mentally and physically and between the ages of 21 and 30 years. They will be sent to the aeronautic school at Pensacola, Fla., for a course of training and instruction. There are two classes, mechanics and fliers.

After three months of satisfactory work, candidates will be examined and rated as quartermaster (second class), mates, or machinist's mates (second class). If men entered as landmen or machinist's mates can qualify on arriving at Pensacola, they may be immediately rated as machinist's mates (second class, aviation).

After six months at Pensacola, particularly good men may be ordered to actual flying duty, in which case their pay will be increased 50 per cent. If they can pass examinations they may be promoted to first class (aviation).

347. *Balloonists.* The Navy is in immediate need of a number of candidates for balloonists. Instruction involves flights in free and captive balloons, descents, theoretical instruction, etc.

348. *Military training.* The prospective officers and men in both the Naval Reserve Flying Corps and the Naval Flying Corps, which includes only officers of the Regular Navy, are being given regular military training, as well as training in flying. Seaplanes of the tractor type, which are really flying boats, are being used, as well as various types of aircraft, including dirigible balloons.

349. *Pensacola.* The officers of the Naval Flying Corps who have been in training at the Navy Aeronautic Station at Pensacola, Fla., since last December are just completing their first course. Most of the 250 men who were enlisted in the Navy for aeronautic duties only are also at Pensacola undergoing instruction.

The dirigible balloon *DN-1*, of the non-rigid type, is now in use at Pensacola for training purposes and is being used to instruct the men who are to handle the fleet of new-type dirigibles ordered some time ago, the first of which, it is expected, will soon be in service.

#### NAVAL RESERVE FLYING CORPS.

350. Thousands have applied for enrollment in the Naval Reserve Flying Corps, and the applications are still pouring in. A large number of applications have been received from Boston alone and from New York, and hundreds of young men in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and in fact nearly every large city in the country have applied.

351. *Officers.* Applicants for enrollment as commissioned officers in this branch, if approved, are rated as seamen second class.

In the preliminary examination of these candidates the best officer material will be selected, having special regard for their educational qualifications. These candidates must be fully capable of passing a physical examination similar in all respects to that prescribed for line officers of the Regular Navy for aeronautic duty. Candidates who have had practical flying experience and possess pilot's licenses from recognized flying schools will be considered first, as their previous training will save time in their final qualification as naval aviators. These men will remain in the rating of seamen (second class) throughout the period of their flying instruction.

It is anticipated that certain other candidates for commissions, because of their special knowledge in the construction, design, or organization of aircraft establishments, will be of value to the naval service. Such applicants will, if qualified, be recommended to the bureau for a provisional appointment in the Volunteer Naval Reserve of the Naval Coast Defense Reserve (class 4) for service under the Naval Reserve Flying Corps (class 5).

352. *Men.* The selection of men as mechanics will be carefully made, and only well-qualified men enrolled. Applicants capable of passing an examination for machinist's mate second class would be desirable. Tradesmen, such as gas-engine mechanics, machine toolmen, coppersmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, sailmakers, etc., would be desirable. Consideration of the work to be done about aircraft (airplanes, seaplanes, balloons, and dirigibles) will indicate the quality of men desired. No man will be enrolled in a higher rating than petty officer, first class.

353. *Service.* Officers and men enrolled in accordance with these instructions will not be ordered to active duty until the proper facilities for their training are available.

#### MARINE CORPS RESERVE FLYING CORPS.

354. This corps is open only to men who are already qualified aviators. Other requirements are similar to those for the Marine Corps Reserve. (See under Marine Corps Reserve, paragraph 310.)

## AVIATION SECTIONS OF NAVAL MILITIA.

355. Requirements for enrollment in these sections are, in general, the same as those for enlistment in the Naval Militia. The sections are open only to officers and enlisted men of the Naval Militia, but enlistment can be made for aviation duty only. Apply to any local branch of the Naval Militia (for States see paragraph 318); or to the Division of Naval Militia Affairs, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

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## APPENDIX.

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### THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The Council of National Defense was created under an act of Congress, approved August 29, 1916; and in the same act authority was granted for the creation of an Advisory Commission of seven persons to act with, under, and by the authority of the Council. (For membership and organization see below.)

In the terms of the act the Council is, among other things, charged with the "coordination of industries and resources for the national security and welfare," and with the "creation of relations which will render possible in the time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the Nation."

In performing its functions the Council is further charged with the following duties:

1. To supervise and direct investigation, and make recommendations to the President and the heads of executive departments as to—

(a) The location of railroads with reference to the frontier of the United States, so as to render possible expeditious concentration of troops and supplies to points of defense.

(b) The coordination of military, industrial, and commercial purposes in the location of extensive highways and branch lines of railroads.

(c) The utilization of waterways.

(d) The mobilization of military and naval resources for defense.

(e) The increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and of the people during the interruption of foreign commerce.

(f) The development of seagoing transportation.

(g) Data as to amounts, location, method, and means of production and availability of military supplies.

(h) The giving of information to producers and manufacturers as to the class of supplies needed by the military and other services of the Government, the requirements relating thereto, and the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the Nation.

2. To report to the President or to the heads of executive departments upon special inquiries or subjects appropriate thereto.

3. To submit an annual report to Congress, through the President, giving as full a statement of the activities of the council and the agencies subordinate to it as is consistent with the public interest, including an itemized account of the expenditures made by the council, or authorized by it, in as full detail as the public interest will per-

mit, providing, however, that when deemed proper the President may authorize, in amounts stipulated by him, unvouchered expenditures and report the gross so authorized not itemized.

The Council of National Defense is composed as follows:

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, chairman.

Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels.

Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane.

Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston.

Secretary of Commerce William C. Redfield.

Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson.

The members of the Advisory Commission and the work of which they are in particular charge are as follows:

Daniel Willard, chairman, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad: Transportation and communication.

Howard E. Coffin, vice president of the Hudson Motor Co.: Munitions, manufacturing, including standardization and industrial relations.

Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.: Supplies, including clothing.

Bernard M. Baruch, financier: Raw materials, minerals, and metals.

Dr. Hollis Godfrey, president of the Drexel Institute: Engineering and education.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor: Labor, including conservation of health and welfare of workers.

Dr. Franklin Martin, secretary general of the American College of Surgeons: Medicine, surgery, and sanitation.

The Director of the Council and Advisory Commission is Walter S. Gifford, and the Secretary of the Council and Advisory Commission is Grosvenor B. Clarkson.

The work of the Advisory Commission is administered by seven distinct committees, with one of the commission members acting as chairman of each as indicated above.

In addition to this system, the following sections and boards of the Council may be considered as of primary importance and are closely correlated with the general committees, whose chairmen, in several cases, preside over the work of these boards.

The sections and board are:

The General Munitions Board.

The Munitions Standard Board.

The Aircraft Production Board.

The Medical Section.

The Commercial Economy Board.

The Interdepartmental Advisory Board.

The Cooperative Committees on the Purchase of Army Supplies  
(United States Chamber of Commerce).

The National Research Council.

The Committee on Shipping.

The Committee on Women's Defense Work.

The Committee on Coal Production.

The Section on Cooperation with States.

The Council of National Defense decided on July 28, with the approval of the President, to create a small body to be known as the War Industries Board. The War Industries Board, in addition to other duties, will assume those formerly discharged by the General Munitions Board. The new board will be composed of seven members, working under the direction and control of the Council of National Defense and responsible through it to the President. Its members will be direct representatives of the Government and of the public interests. It will be composed of F. A. Scott, chairman; Lieut. Col. Palmer E. Pierce, representing the Army; Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, representing the Navy; and Mr. Hugh Frayne, Mr. B. M. Baruch, Mr. Robert S. Brookings, and Mr. Robert S. Lovett.

The board will act as a clearing house for the war-industry needs of the Government, determine the most effective ways of meeting them, and the best means and methods of increasing production, including the creation or extension of industries demanded by the emergency; the sequence and relative urgency of the needs of the different Government services, and consider price factors, and, in the first instance, the industrial and labor aspects of problems involved, and the general questions affecting the purchase of commodities.

Of this board, Mr. Baruch will give his attention particularly to raw materials, Mr. Brookings to finished products, and Mr. Lovett to matters of priority. These three members, in association with Mr. Hoover, so far as foodstuffs are involved, will constitute a commission to arrange purchases in accordance with the general policies formulated and approved.

The Council of National Defense and the Advisory Commission will continue unchanged and will discharge the duties imposed upon them by law. The committees heretofore created immediately subordinate to the Council of National Defense, viz, labor, transportation and communication, shipping, medicine and surgery, women's defense work, cooperation with State councils, research and inventions, engineering and education, commercial economy, administrations and statistics, and inland transportation, will continue their activities under the direction and control of the council. Those whose work is related to the duties of the War Industries Board will cooperate with it. The subcommittees advising on particular industries and materials, both raw and finished, heretofore created will also continue in existence, and be available to furnish assistance to the War Industries Board.

The purpose of this action is to expedite the work of the Government, to furnish needed assistance to the departments engaged in making war purchases, to devolve clearly and definitely the important tasks indicated upon direct representatives of the Government not

interested in commercial and industrial activities with which they will be called upon to deal, and to make clear that there is total disassociation of the industrial committees from the actual arrangement of purchases on behalf of the Government. It will lodge responsibility for effective action as definitely as is possible under existing law. It does not minimize or dispense with the splendid service which representatives of industry and labor have so unselfishly placed at the disposal of the Government.

## STATE REGISTERS.

The following list, arranged alphabetically in the order of States, includes some of the more notable official organizations of peculiar interest or importance in war work, to whom an average citizen might well turn for aid or advice. Fuller descriptions of their activities will be found in appropriate sections of the text; in general, however, the name indicates the nature of the work.

### (1) ALABAMA.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. R. M. Hobbie, chairman executive committee, Council of State Defense, Montgomery, Ala.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Land Bank, New Orleans, La.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. James F. Hooper, Selma.

Labor Bureaus:

Birmingham, State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, Mr. George H. Denny, University.

Montgomery, Dr. William W. Dinsmore, Box 282.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. W. Nash Read, Montgomery, Ala.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Birmingham, Capt. John M. Lowrey, Medical Reserve Corps, 727 First National Bank Building.

Mobile, Capt. John O. Rush, Medical Reserve Corps, 412 Van Antwerp Building.

Montgomery, Maj. J. N. Barker, Medical Reserve Corps.

### (2) ARIZONA.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Dwight B. Heard, chairman State Council of Defense, Phoenix, Ariz.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

Naval District Headquarters, 417 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Civil Service District Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Dallas, Tex.

Federal Land Bank, Berkeley, Cal.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Eugene B. O'Neill, 701 North Central Avenue, Phoenix.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Labor Bureau. United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Lindley B. Orme, Phoenix, Ariz.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Douglas, the surgeon, United States troops.

Fort Huachuca, the surgeon.

Naco, the surgeon, United States troops.

(3) **ARKANSAS.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Durand Whipple, assistant director, State Council of Defense, 400 Scott Street, Little Rock, Ark.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Reserve Bank, St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Land Bank, St. Louis, Mo.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Joseph Frauenthal, Conway.

Labor Bureaus:

Little Rock—

Free Labor Bureau, W. G. Sprague, manager, 522 Pine Street, Pulaski Heights.

Bureau of Labor and Statistics, Ben. D. Brickhouse, commissioner.

Minimum Wage Commission, Miss Lula Scruggs, 2115 Arch Street, Argenta.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board, Hot Springs: Commanding Officer, Army and Navy General Hospital.

(4) **CALIFORNIA.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. A. H. Naftzger, vice chairman, State Council of Defense, Sacramento, Cal.

Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, 417 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Civil Service Distict Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Reserve Bank, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Land Bank, Berkeley, Cal.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Herbert A. Cable, 719 South Hill Street, Los Angeles.

Labor Bureaus:

San Francisco, Bureau of Labor Statistics, John P. McLaughlin, commissioner, 948 Market Street.

Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Francisco: Public Employment Offices, C. B. Sexton, superintendent of bureaus, 525 Market Place, San Francisco, Cal.

San Francisco, Industrial Welfare Commission, Hon. Frank J. Murasky, chairman, 525 Market Street.

## Labor Bureaus—Continued.

San Francisco, Industrial Accident Commission, A. J. Pillsbury, chairman, 525 Market Street.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Prof. B. H. Crocheron, University of California, Berkeley.

## Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Coronado, Maj. William L. Kneedler, United States Army (retired).

Los Angeles, Capt. John J. Kyle, Medical Reserve Corps, 702 Title Insurance Building.

San Francisco, Commanding Officer, Letterman General Hospital, Presidio, San Francisco.

## (5) COLORADO.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. H. W. Cornell, director, War Council, State Capitol, Denver, Colo.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, 417 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Civil Service District Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City, Kans.

Federal Land Bank, Wichita, Kans.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. W. H. Kistler, Room 39, State House, Denver.

## Labor Bureaus:

Colorado Springs, Denver, Pueblo, Public Employment Offices, Deputy Commissioner W. L. Morrissey, Denver, Colo.

Denver, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Deputy Commissioner W. L. Morrissey.

Denver, Industrial Commission, Hiram E. Hilts, chairman, Capitol Building.

## Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Denver, Capt. Cuthbert Powell, Medical Reserve Corps (president), Metropolitan Building.

Fort Logan, the surgeon.

Trinidad, Lieut. John R. Espey, Medical Reserve Corps, Main and Walnut Streets.

## (6) CONNECTICUT.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. R. M. Bissell, chairman, State Council of Defense, State Capitol, Hartford, Conn.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Naval Training Station, Newport, R. I.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Navy Yard, New York.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>2</sup> Boston, Mass.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>2</sup> New York, N. Y.

<sup>1</sup> See paragraph 295.

<sup>2</sup> See map, page 253.

Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.

Women's State Chairman: Miss Caroline Runtz-Rees, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich.

Labor Bureaus:

Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Norwich, Waterbury, Public Employment Offices, Commissioner William S. Hyde, Hartford, Conn.

Hartford, Department of Labor and Factory Inspection, Commissioner William S. Hyde.

New London, State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, Mr. Lucius E. Whiton.

Waterbury, Workmen's Compensation Commission, Mr. F. W. Williams, chairman, Lilly Building.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Prof. Charles L. Kirschner, New Haven High School, New Haven.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board, New Haven, Lieut. John W. Churchman, Medical Reserve Corps.

(7) **DELAWARE.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Thomas W. Miller, chairman, Wilmington Committee on National Defense, 812 Equitable Building, Wilmington, Del.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Philadelphia, Pa.

Federal Reserve Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.

Federal Land Bank, Baltimore, Md.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Charles R. Miller, Wilmington.

Labor Bureaus:

Wilmington, Labor Commission, Mr. Charles Warner, I. O. O. F. Building.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. William N. Barnard, jr., Wilmington, Del.

(8) **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. William H. Baldwin, chairman, District Council of Defense, District Building, Room 504, Washington, D. C.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Washington, D. C.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Federal Reserve Bank, Richmond, Va.

Federal Land Bank, Baltimore, Md.

Women's Chairman: Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, 1826 Massachusetts Avenue.

Labor Bureaus: United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Frank C. Daniel, Principal of McKinley Manual Training High School, Washington, D. C.

## Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Washington—

Commandant Army Medical School.

Maj. Abraham B. Hooe, Medical Reserve Corps, 1220 Sixteenth Street NW, president (local only).

## (9) FLORIDA.

"Food Preparedness" Commission, Prof. P. H. Rolfs, president, Gainesville, Fla.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Navy Yard, Charleston, S. C.Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Naval Station, Key West, Fla.Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Land Bank, Columbia, S. C.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. William Hooker, Ocala.

Labor Bureau, Jacksonville: State labor inspector, J. C. Privett, Room 6, Baldwin Building.

## Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort Barrancas, the surgeon.

Jacksonville, Capt. Graham E. Henson, Medical Reserve Corps, St. James Building.

Key West Barracks, the surgeon.

Tampa, Lieut. E. H. McRae, Medical Reserve Corps, American Bank Building.

## (10) GEORGIA.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Hon. N. E. Harris, chairman State Council of Defense, Atlanta, Ga.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Charleston, S. C.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Land Bank, Columbia, S. C.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Samuel M. Inman, 552 Peachtree Street, Atlanta.

## Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Augusta, Maj. Eugene E. Murphy, Medical Reserve Corps, 432 Telfair Street.

Fort McPherson, the surgeon.

Fort Oglethorpe, the surgeon.

Fort Screven, the surgeon.

## (11) IDAHO.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. Joseph Hansen, secretary Idaho Council of Defense, Boise, Idaho.

Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Puget Sound, Wash.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.

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<sup>1</sup> See paragraph 295.

Federal Reserve Bank, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Land Bank, Spokane, Wash.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Samuel N. Hays, 612 Franklin Street, Boise.

Labor Bureaus:

Boise—

Farm Markets Department, Harvey Alfred, director.

Labor Commission, W. J. A. McVety, commissioner.

Minimum-Wage Commission, Harry W. Fulton, chairman.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board, Boise, Lieut. Col. Marshall W. Wood, United States Army (retired).

(12) ILLINOIS.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. Samuel Insull, chairman State Council of Defense, 120 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Chicago Ill.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Chicago, Ill.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Land Bank, St. Louis, Mo.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, 120 West Adams Street, Chicago.

Labor Bureaus:

Chicago, State Board of Arbitration, Leo. J. Winiecki, chairman, 2142 Clybourne Avenue.

Springfield, Department of Labor, Barney Cohen, director.

Chicago, East St. Louis, Moline, Peoria, Rockford, Rock Island, and Springfield, Public Employment Bureaus, Luke D. McCoy, secretary, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Springfield, Ill.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Chicago, Maj. John A. Hornsby, Medical Reserve Corps, 111 West Washington Street (president).

Mount Vernon, Capt. William H. Gilmore, Medical Reserve Corps.

Springfield, Capt. George N. Kreider, Medical Reserve Corps, 522 Capitol Avenue.

Spring Valley, Lieut. J. H. Franklin, Medical Reserve Corps.

(13) INDIANA.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Will H. Hays, chairman, 83 State House, Indianapolis, Ind.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Chicago, Ill.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Land Bank, Louisville, Ky.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Carolyn Fairbanks, 310 West Berry Street, Fort Wayne.

Labor Bureaus:

Evansville, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, South Bend, and Terre Haute, Public Employment Bureaus; Henry A. Roberts, chief Indianapolis.

Indianapolis—

Bureau of Statistics, Henry A. Roberts, chief, Indianapolis. Industrial Board, Samuel R. Artman, chairman, Rooms 31-34 State Capitol, Indianapolis.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Isaac D. Strauss, Ligonier.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort Benjamin Harrison, the surgeon.

Indianapolis, Maj. George M. Wells, retired, Medical Corps, 622 Hume-Mansur Building (president).

(14) IOWA.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Guy E. Logan, secretary Iowa Council for Defense, Des Moines, Iowa.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Paul, Minn.

Federal Reserve Bank, Chicago, Ill.

Federal Land Banks, Omaha, Nebr.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Francis E. Whitley, Webster City.

Labor Bureaus:

Des Moines, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Mr. A. L. Urick, commissioner, Public Employment Bureau; Mr. John C. Nietzel, chief clerk.

Workmen's Compensation Service, Mr. A. B. Funk, commissioner.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board, Fort Des Moines, the surgeon.

(15) KANSAS.

Official representative, Kansas Council of Defense, Dr. H. J. Waters, chairman, Manhattan, Kans.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City, Kans.

Federal Land Bank, Wichita, Kans.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. David A. Mulvane, Topeka.

Labor Bureaus:

Topeka—

Department of Labor and Industry, Mr. P. J. McBride, commissioner, State House.

Free Employment Office, Mr. Charles H. Damer.

Industrial Welfare Commission, Mr. P. J. McBride, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. William L. Porter, city commissioner, Topeka, Kans.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

East Hutchinson, Lieut. Herbert L. Scales, 506 Avenue A.  
Fort Riley, the surgeon.

Leavenworth, Lieut. James R. Langworthy, Medical Reserve Corps, Ryan Building.

(16) **KENTUCKY.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Embry L. Swearingen, chairman, Kentucky State Council of Defense, care of First National Bank, Louisville, Ky.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Reserve Bank, Cleveland,<sup>1</sup> Ohio.

Federal Land Bank, Louisville, Ky.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Helm Bruce, Louisville.

Labor Bureaus:

Frankfort—

Department of Agriculture, Labor, and Statistics, Mr. Mat C. Cohen, commissioner.

Workmen's Compensation Board, Mr. Alexander Gilmour, secretary.

Louisville, Public Employment Bureau.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Ashland, Lieut. John W. Stephenson, Medical Reserve Corps.

Bowling Green, Maj. Arthur T. McCormick, Medical Reserve Corps.

Louisville, Capt. Frank T. Fort, Medical Reserve Corps, "The Atherton."

(17) **LOUISIANA.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Hon. R. G. Pleasant, Governor of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Civil Service District Headquarters, New Orleans, La.  
Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Atlanta, Ga.  
Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Dallas, Tex.  
Federal Land Bank, New Orleans, La.  
Women's State Chairman: Miss Hilda Phelps, New Orleans.  
Labor Bureau, Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, Mr. Frank E. Wood, Commissioner, 626 Anderson Building, New Orleans, La.  
Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:  
Baton Rouge, Capt. Charles McVea, Medical Reserve Corps.  
Jackson Barracks, the surgeon.  
New Orleans, Maj. Isadore Dyer, Medical Reserve Corps, 124 Baronne Street, president.  
Shreveport, Capt. T. P. Sloyd, Medical Reserve Corps.

(18) **MAINE.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Harold M. Sewall, chairman, committee on public safety, Augusta, Me.  
Departmental Army Headquarters, Boston, Mass.  
Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.  
Federal Reserve Bank, Boston, Mass.  
Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.  
Labor Bureaus:  
Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Frederick H. Abbott, Saco.  
Auburn, State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, Mr. Alden M. Flagg, secretary.  
Augusta—  
Department of Labor and Industry, Mr. Roscoe A. Eddy, commissioner.  
Industrial Accident Commission, Mr. Eben F. Littlefield, chairman.  
United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Jefferson C. Smith, director general of boy labor, Waterville, Me.  
Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:  
Brunswick, Lieut. F. N. Whittier, Medical Reserve Corps, Bowdoin College.  
Fort Williams, the surgeon.  
Portland, Dr. William L. Cousins, 231 Woodford Street.

(19) **MARYLAND.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Gen. Carl R. Gray, chairman Maryland Preparedness and Survey Commission, Baltimore, Md.  
Departmental Army Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.  
Naval District Headquarters, Citizens' Bank Building, Norfolk, Va.  
Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Richmond, Va.  
Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia, Pa.  
Federal Land Bank, Baltimore, Md.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Edward Shoemaker, 522 Park Avenue, Baltimore.

Labor Bureaus:

Baltimore, State Board of Labor and Statistics, Charles J. Fox, chairman, 300 Equitable Building.

State Industrial Accident Commissioner, J. Milton Reifsneider, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. F. W. Holden, Baltimore, Md.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Baltimore, Capt. John S. Davis, Medical Reserve Corps, 1200 Cathedral Street.

(20) MASSACHUSETTS.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. James J. Storrow, chairman Committee on Public Safety, Boston, Mass.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Federal Reserve Bank, Boston, Mass.

Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, State House, Boston.

Labor Bureaus:

Boston, Worcester, and Springfield, Free Employment Offices, Charles F. Gettemy, director Bureau of Statistics.

Boston—

State Board of Labor and Industries, Alfred W. Donovan, chairman, New Albion Building, 1 Beacon Street.

Industrial Accident Board, William W. Kennard, chairman.

State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, Bernard F. Supple, secretary, Room 128, State House.

Minimum Wage Commission, Edwin N. Bartlett, chairman, New Albion Building, 1 Beacon Street.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Boston, Maj. Horace D. Arnold, Medical Reserve Corps, Harvard University Graduate School of Medicine (president).

Fort Banks, the surgeon.

Springfield, Lieut. Charles F. Lynch, Medical Reserve Corps, 387 Main Street.

(21) MICHIGAN.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. R. C. Vandercrook, secretary War Preparedness Board, Lansing, Mich.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Chicago, Ill.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Minneapolis, Minn.

Federal Land Bank, St. Paul, Minn.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Caroline B. Crane, Kalamazoo.

Labor Bureaus:

Battle Creek, Bay City, Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, Jackson,  
Kalamazoo, Lansing, Muskegon, and Saginaw, Public Employment Bureaus, R. H. Fletcher, commissioner Department of Labor, Lansing, Mich.

Ionia, Herbert E. Powell, Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation.

Lansing, Industrial Accident Board, William M. Smith, chairman.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Ann Arbor, Lieut. Reuben Peterson, Medical Reserve Corps, University of Michigan Medical School, president.

Battle Creek, Capt. W. H. Haughey, Medical Reserve Corps.

Detroit, Capt. C. D. Brooks, Medical Reserve Corps, David Whitney Building.

Marquette, Lieut. A. W. Hornbogen, Medical Reserve Corps.

Sault Ste. Marie, Lieut. Hugh McGaughey.

**(22) MINNESOTA.**

Official representative State Council of Defense, Hon. J. A. A. Burnquist, chairman Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, State Capitol, St. Paul, Minn.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Paul, Minn.

Federal Reserve Bank, Minneapolis, Minn.

Federal Land Bank, St. Paul, Minn.

Labor Bureaus:

Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, Employment Bureaus, Mr. W. F. Houk, commissioner Department of Labor and Industries, St. Paul, Minn.

Minneapolis, State Board of Arbitration, Mr. H. M. Leighton, 127 Tenth Street.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. D. D. Lescohier, Public Employment Bureau, Minneapolis, Minn.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort Snelling, the surgeon.

Minneapolis, Lieut. James F. Corbett, Medical Reserve Corps, 4401 East Lake Harriett Boulevard, president.

Rochester, Maj. Charles H. Mayo, Mayo Clinic.

Winona, Lieut. Hugh McGaughey.

<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

## (23) MISSISSIPPI.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Hon. Theodore G. Bilbo, chairman, Jackson, Miss.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Land Bank, New Orleans, La.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Edward McGehee, Como.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Hattiesburgh, Capt. W. W. Crawford, Medical Reserve Corps.

Meridian, Lieut. I. W. Cooper, Medical Reserve Corps.

Vicksburg, Capt. J. S. Ewing, Medical Reserve Corps.

Winona, Maj. J. W. Barksdale, Medical Reserve Corps.

## (24) MISSOURI.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. F. B. Mumford, chairman, Missouri Council of Defense, Columbia, Mo.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Kansas City, Kans.

Federal Land Bank, St. Louis, Mo.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. B. F. Bush, 905 Locust Street, St. Louis, Mo.

Labor Bureaus:

Jefferson City, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and St. Louis, Employment Bureaus, William H. Lewis, commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Jefferson City.

Moberly, State Board of Mediation and Conciliation, C. B. Dysart, chairman.

St. Louis, Department of Factory Inspection, A. Sidney Johnson, chief inspector, Boatman's Bank Building.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. W. W. Lamkin, State Superintendent of Schools, Jefferson City.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Columbia, Maj. Mazyck H. Ravenel, Medical Reserve Corps, University of Missouri.

Fort Williams, the surgeon.

Jefferson Barracks, the surgeon.

Kansas City, Maj. J. F. Binnie, Medical Reserve Corps, Rialto Building.

Springfield, Capt. Joseph W. Love, Medical Reserve Corps.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board—Continued.

St. Charles, Dr. Frank J. Tainter.

St. Joseph, Dr. Daniel Morton.

St. Louis, Capt. William H. Lnedde, Medical Reserve Corps, president, 311 Metropolitan Building.

(25) MONTANA.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Hon. S. V. Stewart, chairman State Council of Defense, Helena, Mont.

Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, navy yard, Puget Sound, Wash.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.

Federal Reserve Bank, Minneapolis, Minn.

Federal Land Bank, Spokane, Wash.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Tyler B. Thompson, Missoula.

Labor Bureaus:

Helena—

Department of Labor and Industry, W. J. Swindlehurst, commissioner.

Industrial Accident Board, A. E. Spriggs, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. L. R. Foote, deputy State superintendent of public instruction, Helena, Mont.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort Missoula, the surgeon.

Helena, Maj. William C. Riddell, Medical Reserve Corps, 504 Dearborn Avenue.

(26) NEBRASKA.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. Robert M. Joyce, chairman Nebraska State Council of Defense, 308 Fraternity Building, Lincoln, Nebr.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Civil Service Headquarters District, St. Paul, Minn.

Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City, Kans.

Federal Land Bank, Omaha, Nebr.

Women's State Chairman: Miss Sarka B. Hrbkova, 105 M. Arts Hall, State University, Lincoln.

Labor Bureaus:

Lincoln—

Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, deputy commissioner, George E. Norman.

Minimum-Wage Commission, Mr. George E. Norman.

Omaha, Board of Mediation and Investigation, Mr. Robert B. Cowell.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Lincoln, Capt. L. B. Sturdevant, Medical Reserve Corps, 2757 Holdredge Street.

Omaha, Col. John M. Banister, United States Army, retired, 400 Brandeis Theater Building.

## (27) NEVADA.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Hon. Emmet D. Boyle, chairman Committee on Public Safety, Carson City, Nev. Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, 417 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Civil Service District Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Reserve Bank, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Land Bank, Berkeley, Cal.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. P. Buckner Ellis, Carson City.

Labor Bureaus:

Carson City—

Commissioner of Labor, Mr. William E. Wallace.

Industrial Commission, Mr. George D. Smith, chairman.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Reno, Lieut. Raymond St. Clair, Medical Reserve Corps, Nixon Building.

## (28) NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. John B. Jameson, chairman, Committee on Public Safety, Concord, N. H.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Federal Reserve Bank, Boston, Mass.

Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Mary I. Wood, Portsmouth.

Labor Bureaus:

Concord, Bureau of Labor, Commissioner John S. B. Davie.

Portsmouth, State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, Mr. John H. Neal, chairman.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Hanover, Capt. Percy Bartlett, Medical Reserve Corps.

Manchester, Capt. J. Franklin Robinson, Medical Reserve Corps.

Nashua, Lieut. A. W. Shea, Medical Reserve Corps.

## (29) NEW JERSEY.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Thomas L. Raymond, chairman, New Jersey Committee on Public Safety, Trenton, N. J.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Navy Yard, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Philadelphia, Pa.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>2</sup> New York, N. Y.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>2</sup> Philadelphia, Pa.

Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.

<sup>1</sup> See paragraph 295.

<sup>2</sup> See map, page 253.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Charles W. Stockton, Ridgewood.

Labor Bureaus:

East Orange, Jersey City, and Newark, Employment Bureaus,  
Mr. Joseph Spitz, director, No. 804 Ordway Building, Newark  
Trenton, Department of Labor, Col. Lewis T. Bryant, commis-  
sioner.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Col. Lewis T. Bryant,  
Commissioner of Labor, Trenton.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Atlantic City, Dr. Gurney Williamis, 3915 Atlantic Avenue.  
Newark, Capt. David A. Kraker, Medical Reserve Corps, 236  
Broad Street.

(30) NEW MEXICO.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Phil. H. LeNoir,  
general secretary, Council of Defense of State of New Mexico,  
Santa Fe, N. Mex.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

Naval District Headquarters, 417 Sheldon Building, San Francisco,  
Cal.

Civil Service District Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Dallas, Tex.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Kansas City, Kans.

Federal Land Bank, Wichita, Kans.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Washington E. Lindsey, Santa Fe.  
Labor Bureau, United States Boys' Working Reserve, Prof. J. H.  
Wagner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Santa Fe,  
N. Mex.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board, Fort Bayard, the Com-  
manding Officer.

(31) NEW YORK.

Official representative State Council of Defense, L. W. Stotesbury,  
the Adjutant General, Albany, N. Y.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>2</sup> Navy Yard, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>2</sup> Naval Training Station, Great Lakes,  
Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, New York, N. Y.

Federal Reserve Bank, New York, N. Y.

Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Wm. Grant Brown, Hotel Astor, New  
York.

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<sup>1</sup> See paragraph 295.

<sup>2</sup> See map, page 253.

**Labor Bureaus:**

Albany, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse, Bureau of Employment, Mr. Charles B. Barnes, director, 230 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Albany, State Industrial Commission, Mr. John Mitchell, chairman; State Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration, Mr. Frank B. Thorn, chief.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Dr. David Snedden, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

**Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:**

Albany, Maj. Henry L. M. Shaw, Medical Reserve Corps, 361 State Street, president.

Buffalo, Capt. Herbert A. Smith, Medical Reserve Corps, 566 Delaware Avenue.

Plattsburg, the Surgeon.

New York, Maj. Henry C. Coe, Medical Reserve Corps, Academy of Medicine, 17 West Forty-third Street.

New York, Simon Flexner, 150 East Sixty-first Street.

Rochester, Maj. John M. Swan, Medical Reserve Corps, 457 Park Avenue.

Syracuse, First Lieut. Brewster Donst, Medical Reserve Corps, 641 Park Avenue.

**(32) NORTH CAROLINA.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. W. S. Wilson, secretary, North Carolina Council of Defense, Raleigh, N. C.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Citizens Bank Building, Norfolk, Va.

Naval District Headquarters,<sup>1</sup> Navy Yard, Charleston, S. C.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Federal Reserve Bank, Richmond, Va.

Federal Land Bank, Columbia, S. C.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Eugene Reilly, Charlotte.

**Labor Bureau:**

Raleigh, Department of Labor and Printing, Commissioner M. L. Shipman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. T. E. Browne, Raleigh, N. C.

**Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:**

Fort Caswell, the Surgeon.

Greensboro, Maj. John W. Long, Medical Reserve Corps, 119 Church Street.

**(33) NORTH DAKOTA.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Dr. V. H. Stickney, chairman, State Council of Defense, Bismarck, N. Dak.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

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<sup>1</sup> See paragraph 295.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Paul, Minn.

Federal Reserve Bank, Minneapolis, Minn.

Federal Land Bank, St. Paul, Minn.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. H. G. Vick, Cavalier.

Labor Bureau:

Bismarck, Department of Agriculture and Labor, Commissioner  
J. N. Hagan.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Prof. E. F. Chandler,  
University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. Dak.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board, Bismarck, Lieut. Albert M.  
Fisher, Medical Reserve Corps.

(34) OHIO.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Hon. James M. Cox,  
governor of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes,  
Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Federal Reserve Bank, Cleveland, Ohio.

Federal Land Bank, Louisville, Ky.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. George Zimmerman, 224 Birchard  
Street, Fremont.

Labor Bureaus:

Akron, Athens, Canton, Chillicothe, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Co-  
lumbus, Dayton, Hamilton, Lima, Mansfield, Marietta,  
Marion, Portsmouth, Springfield, Steubenville, Tiffin, Toledo,  
Washington Courthouse, Youngstown, and Zanesville, Public  
Employment Bureaus, George G. Miles, Chief Statistician,  
Columbus, Ohio.

Columbus, Industrial Commission, Wallace D. Yapple, commis-  
sioner.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Cincinnati, Maj. Robert D. Maddox, Medical Reserve Corps,  
4 West Seventh Street.

Cleveland, Capt. Harry G. Sloan, Medical Reserve Corps, 1021  
Prospect Avenue SE.

Columbus Barracks, the surgeon.

(35) OKLAHOMA.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. J. M. Aydelotte,  
chairman, State Council of Defense, 218 Mercantile Building, Okla-  
homa City, Okla.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Kansas City, Kans.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Dallas, Tex.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Federal Land Bank, Wichita, Kans.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Eugene B. Lawson, Nowata.

Labor Bureaus:

Enid, Muskogee, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa, Employment Bureaus, W. O. Hudson, Statistician Department of Labor, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Oklahoma City, Department of Labor, W. G. Ashton, commissioner.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, Norman, Okla.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort Sill, the surgeon.

Oklahoma City, Lieut. Rex. G. Boland, Medical Reserve Corps, 1524 West Twenty-ninth Street.

#### (36) OREGON.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. Henry L. Corbett, chairman State Council of Defense, Portland, Oreg.

Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, navy yard, Puget Sound, Wash.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.

Federal Reserve Bank, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Land Bank, Spokane, Wash.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Charles H. Castner, Hood River, Oreg.

Labor Bureaus:

Portland, Board of Inspectors of Child Labor, Stephen G. Smith, chairman; Industrial Welfare Commission, E. B. McNaughton, chairman, 646-648 Court House.

Salem, Bureau of Labor, O. P. Hoff, commissioner; State Industrial Accident Commission, Harvey Beckwith, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. J. E. Brokway, Portland, Oreg.

#### (37) PENNSYLVANIA.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Mr. Sydney P. Clark, secretary Committee of Public Safety, Finance Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters, navy yard, Philadelphia, Pa.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Philadelphia, Pa.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia, Pa.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Cleveland, Ohio.

Federal Land Bank, Baltimore, Md.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. J. Willis Martin, Chestnut Hill.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

## Labor Bureaus:

Harrisburg, Department of Labor and Industry, John Price Jackson, commissioner; Workmen's Compensation Board, Harry A. Mackey, chairman; State Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration, Patrick Gilday, chief; Industrial Commission, John Price Jackson, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. John C. Frazee, public schools director of vocational work, Philadelphia, Pa.

## Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Harrisburg, Capt. Benjamin F. Royer, Medical Reserve Corps, Donaldson Apartments.

Philadelphia, Maj. Elijah H. Siter, Medical Reserve Corps, 1818 South Rittenhouse Square, president.

Pittsburgh, Maj. John W. Boyce, Medical Reserve Corps, Empire Building, president.

Scranton, Lieut. J. Mayhew Wainwright, 516 Spruce Street.

## (38) RHODE ISLAND.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. John E. Marshall, executive secretary, Rhode Island Council of Defense, Statehouse, Providence, R. I.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Newport, R. I.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Federal Reserve Bank, Boston, Mass.

Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Rush Sturges Greenwich, 110 Benevolent Street, Providence.

## Labor Bureaus:

Providence—

Public Employment Bureau, James Farley, superintendent, 524 Westminster Street.

Bureau of Industrial Statistics, G. H. Webb, commissioner.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Donald Worth, Providence, R. I.

## Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Newport, Lieut. Charles D. Easton, Medical Reserve Corps, 36 Atrault Street.

Pawtucket, Capt. James L. Wheaton, 210 Main Street.

Providence, Maj. John W. Keefe, 262 Blackstone Building.

## (39) SOUTH CAROLINA.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. David R. Coker, chairman, Council for Defense, Hartsville, S. C.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Charleston, S. C.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank, Richmond, Va.

Federal Land Bank, Columbia, S. C.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. F. Louise Mayes, Greenville.

Labor Bureaus:

Columbia, Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Col. E. J. Watson, commissioner.

Spartansburg, Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, John A. Law, chairman.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Charleston, Col. A. N. Stark, Marine Corps.

Columbia, Lieut. Francis A. Coward, Medical Reserve Corps.

Fort Moultrie, the Surgeon.

(40) SOUTH DAKOTA.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Charles H. Anderson, chairman, Pierre, S. Dak.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Civil Service District Headquarters, St. Paul, Minn.

Federal Reserve Bank, Minneapolis, Minn.

Federal Land Bank, Omaha, Nebr.

Women's State Chairman: Dr. Helen F. Peabody, Sioux Falls.

Labor Bureau:

Pierre, State industrial commissioner, Mr. Charles McCaffree.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Ward A. Ostrander,  
State farm help specialist, Pierre, S. Dak.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Aberdeen, Lieut. William E. Clark, 519 Seventh Avenue SE.

Sturgis, Capt. J. D. Brooks, Medical Reserve Corps.

(41) TENNESSEE.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Rutledge Smith, chairman, State Council of Defense, Nashville, Tenn.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Atlanta, Ga.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> St. Louis, Mo.

Federal Land Bank, Louisville, Ky.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. G. W. Denney, Knoxville.

Labor Bureau: Nashville, Department of Workshop and Factory Inspection, W. L. Mitchell, chief inspector.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Memphis, Maj. Frank D. Smythe, Medical Reserve Corps, 554 East Street.

Nashville, Maj. Lucius E. Burch, Eve Building.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

## (42) TEXAS.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Judge J. F. Carl, secretary, Texas State Council of Defense, 521 Bedell Building, San Antonio, Tex.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, New Orleans, La.

Civil Service District Headquarters, New Orleans, La.

Federal Reserve Bank, Dallas, Tex.

Federal Land Bank, Houston, Tex.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Fred Fleming, 1934 N. Carroll Avenue, Dallas.

Labor Bureau:

Austin—

Bureau of Labor Statistics, C. W. Woodman, commissioner.

Industrial Accident Board, T. H. McGregor, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. T. C. Jennings, Department of Labor, Austin, Tex.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Austin, Capt. Albert F. Beverly, 311 West Thirteenth Street.

Dallas, Capt. Edgar W. Loomis, Medical Reserve Corps, 236 Page Avenue.

Fort Bliss, commanding officer, base hospital.

Fort Crockett, the surgeon.

Fort Sam Houston, commanding officer, base hospital.

## (43) UTAH.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. W. C. Ebaugh, secretary, Council of Defense, 809 Kearns Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, 417 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Civil Service District Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Reserve Bank, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Land Bank, Berkeley, Cal.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. W. M. Williams, Bishop Building, Salt Lake City.

Labor Bureau:

Salt Lake City Industrial Commission, P. A. Thatcher, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. J. Edward Taylor, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board: Fort Douglas, the surgeon.

## (44) VERMONT.

Official representative State Council of Defense, Fred A. Howland, secretary Vermont Committee of Public Safety, Montpelier, Vt.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Boston, Mass.  
 Civil Service District Headquarters, Boston, Mass.  
 Federal Reserve Bank, Boston, Mass.  
 Federal Land Bank, Springfield, Mass.  
 Women's State Chairman: Mrs. Jno. E. Weeks, 93 Maple Street,  
 Middlebury.

Labor Bureaus:

Montpelier, commissioner of industries, Robert W. Simonds.  
 Rutland, State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, Henry  
 C. Brislis.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Clinton C. Barnes,  
 Northfield, Vt.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort Ethan Allen, the surgeon.

(45) **VIRGINIA.**

Official representative State Council of Defense, Col. W. M. Hunley,  
 secretary, Richmond, Va.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.

Naval District Headquarters, Citizen's Bank Building, Norfolk, Va.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Federal Reserve Bank, Richmond, Va.

Federal Land Bank, Baltimore, Md.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. B. B. Mumford, 503 E. Grace Street,  
 Richmond.

Labor Bureaus:

Richmond, Board of Labor and Industrial Statistics, J. B.  
 Doherty, commissioner.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Charles L. Weaver,  
 Richmond Council Boy Scouts of America, Richmond, Va.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort Monroe, the surgeon.

Norfolk, Lieut. Burnley Lankford, Medical Reserve Corps, 530  
 Shirley Avenue.

Richmond, Maj. Stuart McGuire, Medical Reserve Corps, 512  
 Grace Street East (president).

Roanoke, Lieut. H. J. Hagan, Medical Reserve Corps.

Washington, Maj. W. D. Webb, Marine Corps, 1803 Connecticut  
 Avenue NW. (University of Virginia).

(46) **WASHINGTON.**

Official representative State Council of Defense, Hon. Ernest Lister,  
 Governor of Washington, Olympia, Wash.

Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, navy yard, Puget Sound, Wash.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.

Federal Reserve Bank, San Francisco, Cal.

Federal Land Bank, Spokane, Wash.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. W. R. Smith, Cobb Building, Seattle.

Labor Bureaus:

Olympia—

Bureau of Labor, C. Y. Younger, commissioner.

Industrial Insurance Department, John M. Wilson, chairman.

Seattle, Industrial Welfare Commission, Mrs. Jackson Silbaugh, chairman, 1313 Sunset Avenue.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Fort George Wright, the surgeon.

Seattle, Capt. Ira A. Brown, Medical Reserve Corps, 901 Seventh Avenue.

Vancouver Barracks, the surgeon.

(47) **WEST VIRGINIA.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. H. D. Hatfield, chairman, Executive Committee State Council, Charleston, W. Va.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Citizen's Bank Building, Norfolk, Va.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Richmond, Va.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Cleveland, Ohio.

Federal Land Bank, Baltimore, Md.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. J. G. Cochran, 1016 Market Street, Parkersburg.

Labor Bureaus:

Charleston—

Bureau of Labor, Samuel B. Montgomery, commissioner.

State Compensation Commission, Lee Ott, commissioner.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Hon. Houston G. Young, Secretary of State, Charleston, W. Va.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Charleston, Maj. John E. Cannaday, Medical Reserve Corps. Capital City Bank.

Huntington, Capt. J. Ross Hunter, Medical Reserve Corps.

Wheeling, Lieut. William H. McClain, Medical Reserve Corps, 83 Twelfth Street.

(48) **WISCONSIN.**

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Magnus Swenson, chairman, State Council of Defense, Madison, Wis.

Departmental Army Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Naval District Headquarters, Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Chicago, Ill.

Federal Reserve Bank,<sup>1</sup> Minneapolis, Minn.

Federal Land Bank, St. Paul, Minn.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. H. H. Morgan, State House, Madison.

Labor Bureaus:

La Crosse, Madison, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, and Superior, Employment Bureaus, E. E. White, secretary, Madison.

Madison, Industrial Commission, J. D. Beck, chairman.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Dean Louis E. Reber, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Medical Reserve Corps Examining Board:

Milwaukee, Capt. C. V. I. Brown, Medical Reserve Corps, 349 Prospect Avenue, president.

Sheboygan, Maj. E. J. Barrett, Medical Reserve Corps.

(49) WYOMING.

Official representative, State Council of Defense, Mr. Henry G. Knight, chairman, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Departmental Army Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.

Naval District Headquarters, Navy Yard, Puget Sound, Wash.

Civil Service District Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.

Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City, Kans.

Federal Land Bank, Omaha, Nebr.

Women's State Chairman: Mrs. R. O. Morton, Cheyenne.

Labor Bureaus:

Cheyenne—

Bureau of Labor and Statistics, Commissioner Ed. P. Taylor.

Compensation Commission, Miss Eunice Anderson, secretary, box 617.

United States Boys' Working Reserve, Mr. Ed. P. Taylor, Cheyenne.

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<sup>1</sup> See map, page 253.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Numerous lists of books in connection with war activities or having particular interest in view of the war have been published. Some specific references to these lists are given below, and a very brief bibliography of military and naval publications is also appended. Particular attention is called to Government publications, and the price lists for them which may be obtained upon request, from the superintendent of documents (see below). A booklet compiled under the direction of Mr. Herman H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer of the Library of Congress, entitled "The United States at War; Organizations and Literature," not only gives references to general bibliographies, but also mentions the literature published by many unofficial voluntary organizations doing important war work.

### GENERAL LISTS.

The best statement of the war literature published in the United States will be found in the publications of the H. W. Wilson Co., "Cumulative book index" and "Readers' guide to periodical literature," 1914 to date.

General lists have appeared in the New York Times Book Review, April 15, 1917, pages 152-154, covering the past six months. Sheip's "Handbook of the European war," published by the H. W. Wilson Co., White Plains, N. Y., is a collection of essays, extracts from books, speeches, etc., of which a second volume by Bingham has appeared. Miss Corinne Bacon's list appears in the first volume and has been reprinted as "Best books on the war; an annotated list." (25 cents.) The most extensive general list in English is that edited by F. W. T. Lange and W. T. Berry, "Books on the great war; an annotated bibliography of literature issued during the European conflict," published by Grafton & Co., London. Five parts have so far appeared. Mention should also be made of "List of publications bearing on the war," published by the Central Committee for national patriotic organizations. Three of these, compiled by Mr. G. W. Prothero, have appeared, the third with the assistance of Mr. Alex. J. Philip.

A special bibliography has been issued by the Library of Congress on "Europe and international politics," dealing with the preliminaries leading up to the war and with various international questions incident to the war.

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Superintendent of Documents at Washington is the official with whom rests the distribution and sale of Government publications not otherwise provided for by law. He does not handle publications

which are not Government documents. In making remittances to him in payment for documents send a postal money order, express order, New York draft, or coupons. Currency may be sent at the sender's risk. Do not send postage stamps; he can not use them. Being a Government official, he uses the frank in sending material through the mail. He can not turn the stamps in to the post office, because, for sanitary reasons, stamps once sold are not sold again. The coupons mentioned above may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents in sets of 20 for \$1, good until used. They form a convenient and safe method of making remittances to those who have frequent occasion to send small amounts.

The only publications sent free by the Superintendent of Documents are his Price Lists, which are lists of Government publications giving both title and price. Those now in active stock are published under these names and numbers:

10. Laws. Federal, State, and international laws, legal decisions, and Court of Claims reports.
11. Foods and Cooking. Dietary studies, nutrition, preservatives, food inspection, recipes, canning, cold storage.
15. Geological Survey. Numerical list of works on geology, mineral resources, and water supply, with index.
16. Farmers' Bulletins, Agriculture Department Bulletins, Yearbooks. Journal of Agricultural Research. Numerical lists.
18. Engineering and Surveying. Rivers, harbors, tides, and terrestrial magnetism.
19. Army and Organized Militia. Military policy, drill books, soldiers' pensions, aviation, preparedness.
20. Public Domain. Land laws, conservation, homesteading, boundaries, railroad land grants.
21. Fishes. Includes fish industries and arbitrations, lobsters, oysters, and sponges.
24. Indian. Anthropology, Indian Office reports. Ethnology Bureau publications, mounds and antiquities.
25. Transportation. Railroads, merchant marine, Postal Service and Parcel Post, waterways, navigation, seamen.
28. Finance. Federal reserve banks, income tax, postal savings, emergency revenue, and foreign banking.
31. Education. American and foreign school systems, libraries, playgrounds, agricultural and vocational schools.
32. Insular Possessions. Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam, Samoa, and Cuban affairs.
33. Labor. Arbitration, cost of living, employers' liability, old-age and civil-service pensions, eight-hour law, insurance, strikes.
35. Geography and Explorations. Descriptions of various States, countries, and their inhabitants.
36. Government periodicals for which subscriptions are taken.
37. Tariff. Compilations of tariff acts and Treasury Decisions, and speeches on the tariff issue and reciprocity.

38. Animal Industry. Domestic animals, poultry, dairying, meat inspection, milk, cattle ticks, etc.
39. Birds and Wild Animals. Biological Survey publications, North American Fauna, game, and mice.
40. Chemistry. Investigations on foods, alcohol, drugs, and preservatives, etc.
41. Insects. Entomological works on household pests and insects injurious to plants and animals; includes also bees and honey.
42. Agricultural Experiment Stations. Irrigation, drainage, farmers' institutes, water power.
43. Forestry. Tree planting, wood tests, lumber, national forests, forest products, and descriptions of trees.
44. Plants. Fruits, vegetables, cereals, orchards, grasses, herbs, seed selection and importation.
45. Roads. Experiments in making and maintaining good roads.
46. Soils and Fertilizers. Soil surveys of various counties, soil analysis, and use of fertilizers, potash, etc.
48. Weather. Scientific studies in climate, local records, floods, earthquakes, use of kites and other instruments.
49. Proceedings of Congress. Numerical list of the bound volumes of the Congressional Record, Congressional Globe, and Annals of Congress.
50. American History and Biography. Rebellion Records, memorial addresses.
51. Health, Disease, and Sanitation. Care of infants, use of disinfectants, dangers from mosquitoes, rats, and water pollution.
53. Maps. List of Government maps by various bureaus, with directions for obtaining them.
54. Political Science. Initiative, referendum, recall, elections, prohibition, woman suffrage, and District of Columbia.
55. National Museum and National Academy of Sciences, reports, bulletins, and proceedings.
57. Astronomical Papers of Naval Observatory and Nautical Almanac Office.
58. Mines and Mining. Issues of Mines Bureau on fuel testing, oil, and explosives.
59. Interstate Commerce Commission. Reports, decisions, and regulations relative to transportation, accidents, freight rates, and valuation of railroads.
60. Alaska. Mineral and agricultural resources, coal lands, seal fisheries, reindeer, and Eskimos.
61. Panama Canal and Canal Zone. Descriptions of the canal, the country, debates on the tolls issue, and canal treaties.
62. Commerce and Manufactures. Industries, patents, trusts, census.
63. Navy. Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Revenue-Cutter Service, armor plate, battleships.
64. Standards of Weight and Measure. Light, cement and concrete, iron and steel, electricity, radiotelegraphy.
65. Foreign Relations. Diplomacy, international law, Mexico, European War.

67. Immigration. Naturalization, citizenship, Europeans, Chinese, Japanese, Negroes.  
 68. Farm Management. Agricultural statistics, farm accounts, credits, marketing, and conveniences for farm homes.

In ordering any of the above the number should be given and the title mentioned in full.

The superintendent of documents also publishes a monthly catalogue of United States documents covering all Government publications. Subscription, \$1.10 per year, including index.

The laws of the United States are printed as soon as possible after their approval by the President and distributed to subscribers by the superintendent of documents. Single laws, unless unusually long, are 5 cents per copy. Subscriptions for laws passed at each session of Congress, \$1. The separate laws in the first form in which they are printed are known as "slip laws"; a collection of all the laws for a single session of Congress are known as "session laws."

At the close of the final session of each Congress the "session laws" are reedited, their indexes consolidated and published in bound volumes under the title "Statutes at Large." The price of these varies from \$2 to \$3.25, depending upon the size.

Congressional Record will be furnished by mail to subscribers free of postage for \$1.50 per month, payable in advance; single copies of 24 pages or less, 3 cents each; each additional 8 pages, 1 cent extra.

#### THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION.

The Committee on Public Information, Mr. George Creel, chairman, has published daily, except Sunday, from May 10, The Official Bulletin, a paper in which official announcements of all kinds are printed (See paragraphs 38-40.)

In addition the following booklets have been issued:

The War Message and the Facts Behind It.

How the War Came to America. (Published also in foreign languages.)

The National Service Handbook (present volume).

The Battle Line of Democracy: Prose and Poetry of the Great War (in press).

War Information Series. (See paragraph 39.)

#### FLAGS OF THE WORLD.

The National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C., will issue within the next three months in its official organ, the National Geographic Magazine, the only complete story of the flags of the world ever published. It has been prepared by Lieut. Commander Byron McCandless, personal aid to the Secretary of the Navy. This flag "anthology" will be illustrated with a remarkable series of fully twelve hundred flags in accurate colors, also with the seals of the various States in colors. The ensigns, merchant flags, standards, pennants, United States military and naval insignia, and flags of rulers of every nation in the world will be shown, together with some of the most historic banners of American history.

**MILITARY BIBLIOGRAPHY.**

The United States Military Academy at West Point has published a "Classified list of works on military and professional subjects recommended to the graduating class, United States Military Academy by a board of officers, revised 1916." This may be had by libraries on request.

The list is arranged under the headings "Administration," "Tactics," "Horses and horsemanship," "Art of war," "Transportation and supply," "Signaling," "Military topography," "Military engineering," "Fortifications," "Military hygiene," "Ordnance," "Coast Artillery," "Law," "Civil engineering," "River and harbor work," "Military history and biography," "Periodicals."

The Engineering and Mining Journal for May 12, 1917, contains a list of books stated to have the authority of the Secretary of War. It consists of 62 items under the headings "Military policy," "Conduct of war," "Military history," "Permanent fortifications," "Field engineering," "Periodicals."

The Government Printing Office has recently issued an important series of lectures by Maj. Gen. Henry G. Sharpe on the Quartermaster Corps.

The War College Division, General Staff, United States Army, has published since October, 1915, "A monthly list of military information carded from books, periodicals, etc." This is now being sent to a limited list of libraries.

The "International Military Digest," a monthly review (with quarterly and annual cumulations) of the current literature of military science is published by the Cumulative Digest Corporation, 241 West Thirty-seventh Street, New York, at \$3.50 per year, with the annual cumulation \$5. This is more than a bibliography, as it digests the articles in over 80 periodicals, mostly military.

A price list (No. 19) of Government publications on the "Army and Militia, Aviation and Pensions" is distributed free on request by the superintendent of documents, Washington, D. C. (See above.)

The following is a brief selected list of military books of general interest:

**GENERAL HANDBOOKS FOR OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN.**

Lake, Basil Charles: Knowledge for war, every officer's handbook for the front.

Harrison & Sons, London, 1916, 1 vol., octavo.

Parker. Capt. R. M.: An officer's notes.

G. U. Harvey, New York, 1917, 1 vol., octavo.

Moss, James A.: Manual of military training.

Menasha, Wis., 1914, 1 vol., octavo.

United States War Department: Manual for noncommissioned officers and privates of Infantry of the Organized Militia and Volunteers of the United States.

Washington, 1914, 1 vol., octavo.

Guild, George R.: *Militia field manual. A manual designed for the use of the Militia and volunteer troops in the field.*

Geo. C. Banta Co., Menasha, Wis., 1915, 1 vol., octavo.

Andrews, Lincoln Clarke: *Fundamentals of military service.*

J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1916, 1 vol., octavo.

Sutherland, Capt. S. J.: *The Reserve Officers' Handbook.*

Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.

#### **INFANTRY TRAINING.**

Army Service Schools—Department of Military Art. *Problems in troop leading. An Infantry division.*

Fort Leavenworth, Kans., 1916, 1 vol., octavo.

Hunt, Elvid: *A manual of intensive training of the Infantry soldier, the Infantry noncommissioned officer, the Infantry squad.*

Honolulu, 1916, 1 vol. octavo, pp. 48.

Caldwell, Vernon Avondale: *Catechism of uniform tactical training.*

George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wis., 1916, 1 vol. octavo.

Bjorstad, Alfred William: *Small problems for Infantry.*

Army Service Press, Fort Leavenworth, Kans., 1916, 1 vol., octavo.

Ellis, O. O., and Garey, E. B.: *The Plattsburg Manual. A handbook for Federal training camps.*

New York, 1917, 1 vol., octavo, pp. 303.

#### **ARTILLERY TRAINING.**

Moretti, Capt. Onorio: *Notes on training Field Artillery details.*

Yale University Press, New Haven, 1917, 1 vol., octavo.

#### **FRENCH-ENGLISH VOCABULARY.**

Plumon, Eugène: *Vade-mecum for the use of officers and interpreters in the present campaign. French and English technical and military terms.*

Brentano's, New York, 1917, 1 vol. octavo.

#### **IMPERIAL ARMY SERIES (BRITISH ARMY).**

Solano, Capt. E. J., editor.

London, 1916, 9 vols., octavo.

This series contains the following-named volumes: Camps, billets, cooking; Drill and field training; Field entrenchments; Infantry scouting; Machine-gun training; Physical training, junior course; Physical training, senior course; Musketry; Signaling.

#### **TRENCH WARFARE.**

Vickers, Capt. Leslie: *Training for the trenches. A practical handbook based upon personal experience.*

G. H. Doran Co., New York, 1917, 1 vol., octavo.

Smith, J. S.: *Trench warfare. A manual for officers and men.*

New York, 1917, 1 vol., octavo.

Moss, Maj. James A.: *Trench warfare.*

George Banta Publishing Co.

## FIRST AID.

Wood, R. C.: The soldier's first aid. A simple treatise on how to treat a sick or wounded comrade.

Toronto, 1917, 1 vol., octavo, pp. 92.

## COOKING.

United States War Department. Manual for Army Cooks.

Washington, 1917, 1 vol., octavo, pp. 270.

## NAVAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A price list (No. 63) of Government publications on the "Navy of the United States of America: Publications relating to Appropriations, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Revenue-Cutter Service, Armor-Plate Manufacture, and Battleships" is distributed free on request by the superintendent of documents, Washington, D. C. (See above.)

The following is a brief selected list of naval books of general interest:

## DRILL BOOKS.

McLean, R. The Bluejacket's Manual. United States Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md.

Fullam, W. F. The Landing Force and Small-Arms Instructions: United States Naval Institute.

Fullam, W. F. Petty Officers' Drill Book. United States Naval Institute.

Fullam, W. F. Handbook for Infantry and Artillery, United States Navy. United States Naval Institute.

Ship and Gun Drills. United States Naval Institute.

Deck and Boat Book. United States Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

Manual of Physical Drill. United States Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

## BOOKS OF PROFESSIONAL INTEREST.

Attwood, E. L. Warships. Longmans, Green. London.

Bandry, A. E. The Naval Battle. Hugh Rees, London.

Bernotti, R. Fundamentals of Naval Tactics. United States Naval Institute

Beyer, Thomas. The American Battleship and Life in the Navy. Laird & Lee, Chicago.

Bishop, F. The Story of the Submarine. Century.

Brassey, T. A. The Naval Annual. Clowes, London.

Bridge, Admiral Sir C. Sea Power and Other Studies. Smith Elder & Co., London.

Chatterton, E. K. Ships and Ways of Other Days. Lippincott.

- Chatterton, E. K. Story of the British Navy. Mills & Boon, London.
- Colomb, P. H. Essays on Naval Defense. W. H. Allen & Co., London.
- Colomb, P. H. Naval Warfare. W. H. Allen & Co., London.
- Corbett. Some Principles of Maritime Strategy. Longmans, Green.
- Cradock, C. Whispers from the Fleet. J. Griffin & Co., London.
- Custance, R. The Ship of the Line in Battle. Blackwood.
- Darrieus, G. War on the Sea. United States Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md.
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# COLOR LEGEND

BELGIUM—Black, yellow and red in stripes.

CUBA—Triangle red with white star, blue and white stripes.

FRANCE—Blue, white and red in stripes.

GREAT BRITAIN—Flag of the British Empire; blue ground, red cross, and red diagonals flanked by white.

ITALY—Green, white and red in stripes; crown and shield in white stripe.

JAPAN—Red circle in white ground.

MONTENEGRO—Badge on red ground with white border.

PANAMA—Upper left quarter, white with blue star; upper right quarter, red; lower left quarter, blue; lower right quarter, white with red star.

PORTUGAL—Green and red in stripes, escutcheon and sphere left of center.

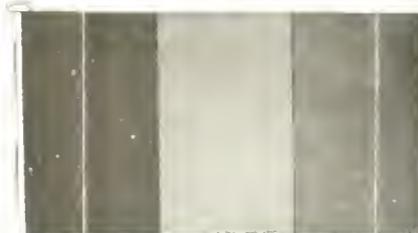
ROUMANIA—Blue, yellow and red in stripes.

RUSSIA—White, blue and red in stripes.

SAN MARINO—Blue and white in stripes, badge in center.

SERBIA—Red, blue and white in stripes.

# The Flags of the Nations at War with Germany or Her Allies



BELGIUM



CUBA



FRANCE



ITALY



THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



MONTENEGRO



PORTUGAL



ROUMANIA



RUSSIA

COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE SEVERED DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS WITH GERMANY

China (March 14)	Brazil (April 10)
Djibouti (April 11)	

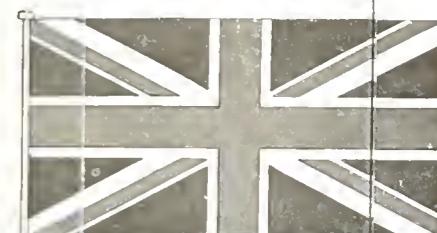


SERBIA

COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE SEVERED DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS WITH GERMANY

Guatemala (April 27)	Honduras (May 17)
Nicaragua (May 19)	Haiti (June 17)

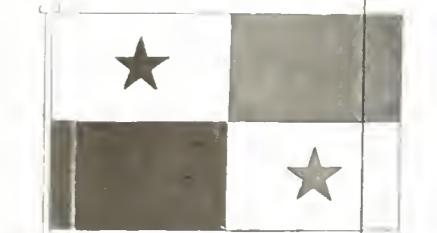
CORRECTED TO JUNE 27, 1917



GREAT BRITAIN



JAPAN



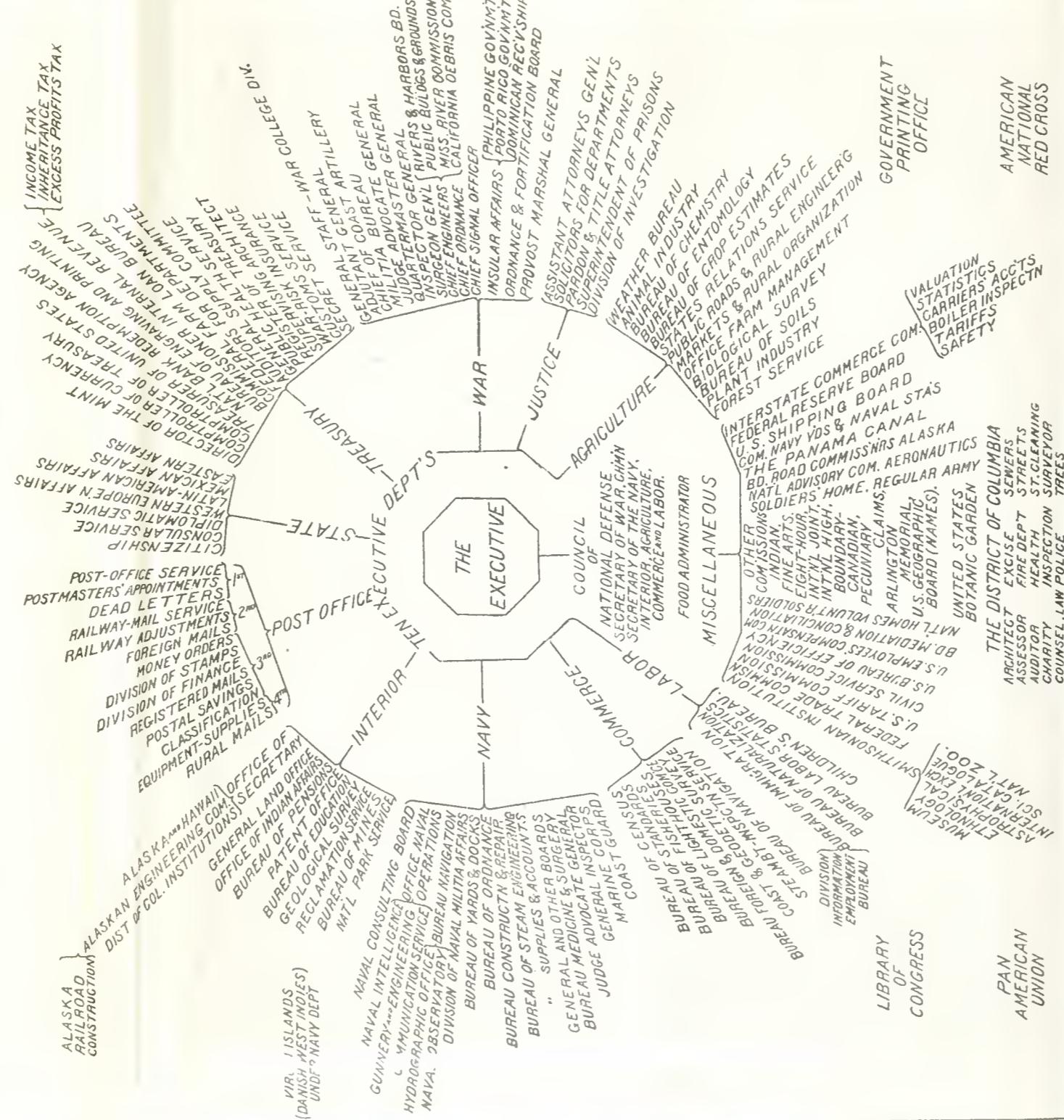
PANAMA



SAN MARINO



# THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE.



**COMMISSIONED BY THE CHARTERED SOCIETY OF  
PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSIONERS**

This chart indicates the relations and organization existing within the various divisions of the Federal Executive.



## SERVICE ARM AND RANK IN THE ARMY.

The following letters, plain for officers and enlisted men, dress uniform, as buttons for enlisted men, service uniform, are worn on collar of coat, or on the collar of the shirt if the coat is not worn:

**U.S.**

REGULAR ARMY.

**U.S.R.**

RESERVE CORPS.

**N.Y.**

NATIONAL GUARD (State letters).

The arms of the service are indicated by service hat cords and by collar insignia.

HAT



CORDS.

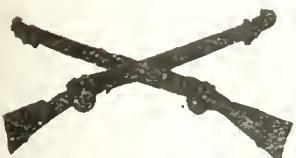
ENLISTED MEN.  
Infantry - - - Light blue.  
Cavalry - - - Yellow.

ENLISTED MEN.  
Artillery (F. and C.) - - - Scarlet.  
Medical Department - - - Maroon.

GENERAL OFFICERS - - - Gold.  
ALL OTHER OFFICERS - - Gold and black.

ENLISTED MEN,  
Quartermaster Corps - - - Buff.  
Corps of Engineers - - - Scarlet and white.

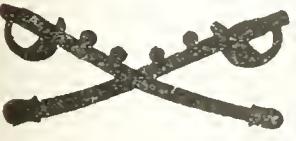
ENLISTED MEN.  
Ordnance Department - - - Black and scarlet.  
Signal Corps - - - - - Orange and white.



INFANTRY.



FIELD ARTILLERY.



CAVALRY.



MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.



COAST ARTILLERY.



ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.



JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S  
DEPARTMENT.



INSPECTOR GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.



QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S  
DEPARTMENT.



ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.



SIGNAL CORPS.

GENERAL.  
Coat of arms of the United States  
and two silver stars.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL.  
One large silver star and two small silver stars.

CAPTAIN - Two silver bars.

FIRST SERGEANT.



SERGEANT.



CORPORAL.



PRIVATE, 1st Class.  
Insignia of color  
of arm of service.

### COMMISSIONED OFFICERS—INSIGNIA ON SHOULDER LOOPS.

MAJOR GENERAL.  
Two silver stars.

BRIGADIER GENERAL.  
One silver star.

COLONEL.  
Silver spread eagle.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL.  
A silver leaf.

MAJOR.  
A gold leaf.

FIRST LIEUTENANT - One silver bar.

SECOND LIEUTENANT - No loop insignia.

CHAPLAIN - Latin cross.

### CHEVRONS AND SPECIALTY MARKS.

The more frequent chevrons, only, are given.  
The colors of the hat cords are used in the chevrons.  
A few of the specialty marks are given to the right...

GUNNER.



ELECTRICIAN.



MECHANIC.



BANDSMAN.



COOK.





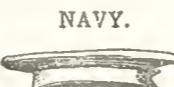
# RANK AND DISTINGUISHING MARKS IN THE NAVY AND MARINES.



MARINES.



NAVY, COMMISSIONED OFFICER.

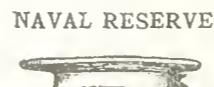


On ribbon.

U. S. S. AND NAME OF VESSEL.

## CAP DEVICES.

### ENLISTED MEN.



On ribbon.

NAVAL RESERVE FORCE.



On ribbon.

NAVAL MILITIA.



NAVY, WARRANT OFFICER.



NAVY, CHIEF PETTY OFFICER.

(Service Coat) COLLAR DEVICES—NAVY. (Also used on shoulder devices for ranks through Commodore.)  
(Marines show rank on shoulder loop as in Army.)



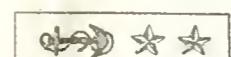
ADMIRAL OF THE NAVY.



ADMIRAL.



VICE ADMIRAL.



REAR ADMIRAL.



COMMODORE.



CAPTAIN.



COMMANDER.



LIEUTENANT COMMANDER.



LIEUTENANT.



LIEUT., JUNIOR GRADE.



ENSIGN.

## STAFF OFFICERS.

Same as equal rank of line officers, but corps devices appear in place of anchors.

## CORPS DEVICES.



MEDICAL.



PAY.



PROF. MATH.



NAVAL CONSTRUCTOR.



CIVIL ENGINEER.



DENTAL OFFICER.



CHAPLAIN.



CHIEF BOATSWAIN,  
BOATSWAIN.



CHIEF GUNNER,  
GUNNER.



CHIEF MACHINIST,  
MACHINIST.



CHIEF CARPENTER,  
CARPENTER.



CHIEF SAILMAKER,  
SAILMAKER.



CHIEF PHARMACIST,  
PHARMACIST.



CHIEF PAY CLERK,  
PAYMASTER'S CLERK.



MIDSHIPMAN.



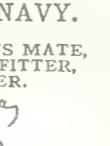
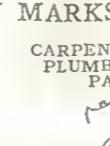
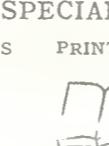
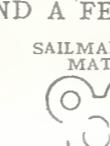
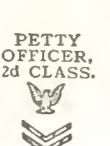
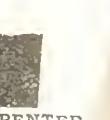
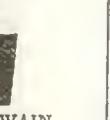
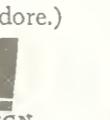
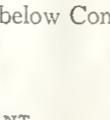
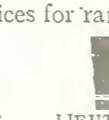
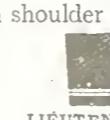
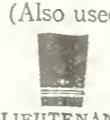
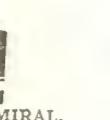
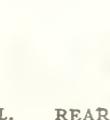
MATE.

## SLEEVE MARKS OF COMMISSIONED AND WARRANT OFFICERS—NAVY.

Corps colors: Medical, maroon; Pay, white; Prof. Math., olive green.—Staff officers same stripes, but instead of stars, corps colors are used with stripes.—Corps colors: Civil Eng., blue; Med. Res., crimson; Dental, orange.

## LINE OFFICERS.

(Also used on shoulder devices for ranks below Commodore.)



## RATINGS AND A FEW SPECIALTY MARKS—NAVY.







# UNITED STATES NAVY MAP

CORRECTED TO JUNE 30, 1917

STATES ONLY

## NAVY MAP LEGEND

- 1 Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
- 2 Naval Coal Depot, Newport, R. I.
- 3 Naval Home, Philadelphia, Pa.
- 4 Naval Hospital, Las Animas, Colo.
- 5 Naval Hospital, Washington, D. C.
- 6 Naval Proving Grounds, Indian Head, Md.

## NAVY YARDS

- 18 Boston, Mass.
- 19 Charleston, S. C.
- 14 Mare Island, Cal.
- 15 Brooklyn, N. Y.
- 13 Norfolk, Va.
- 17 Pensacola, Fla.
- 3 Philadelphia, Pa.
- 20 Portsmouth, N. H.
- 21 Puget Sound, Wash.
- 5 Washington, D. C.

## NAVAL STATIONS

- 7 Key West, Fla.
- 8 Narragansett Bay, R. I.
- 9 New London, Conn.
- 10 New Orleans, La.
- 11 Port Royal, S. C.

## NAVAL TRAINING STATIONS

- 12 Great Lakes, Ill.
- 2 Newport, R. I.
- 13 Norfolk, Va.
- 14 San Francisco, Cal.

## NAVAL TRADE SCHOOLS

- 13 Norfolk, Va.
- 2 Newport, R. I.
- 14 San Francisco, Cal.
- 15 Brooklyn, N. Y.
- 14 Mare Island, Cal.
- 17 Pensacola, Fla.

## NEW NAVAL TRAINING CAMPS

- 3 Philadelphia, Pa.
- 2 Newport, R. I.
- 25 Cape May, N. J.
- 19 Charleston, S. C.
- 17 Pensacola, Fla.
- 7 Key West, Fla.
- 14 Mare Island, Cal.
- 21 Puget Sound, Wash.
- 26 Hingham, Mass.
- 10 New Orleans, La.
- 24 San Diego, Cal.
- 12 Great Lakes, Ill.
- 15 Brooklyn, N. Y.
- 15 Pelham, N. Y.
- 27 Gulfport, Miss.
- 29 Hampton Roads Naval Operating Base

## TORPEDO STATION

- 2 Newport, R. I.

## SUBMARINE BASE

- 9 New London, Conn.

## COAST GUARD ACADEMY

- 9 New London, Conn.

## MARINE CORPS TRAINING STATIONS

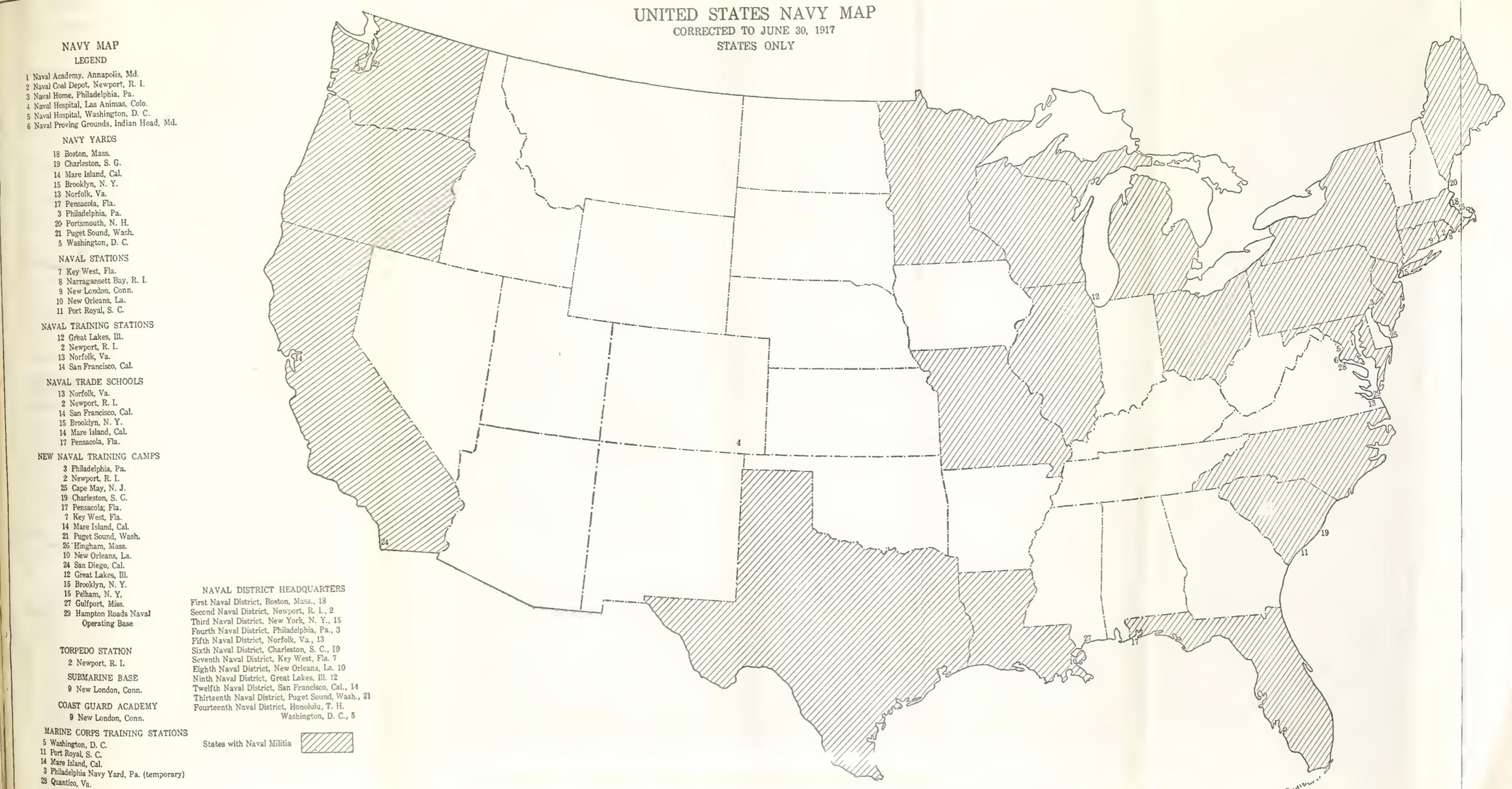
- 5 Washington, D. C.
- 11 Port Royal, S. C.
- 14 Mare Island, Cal.
- 3 Philadelphia Navy Yard, Pa. (temporary)
- 28 Quantico, Va.

States with Naval Militia



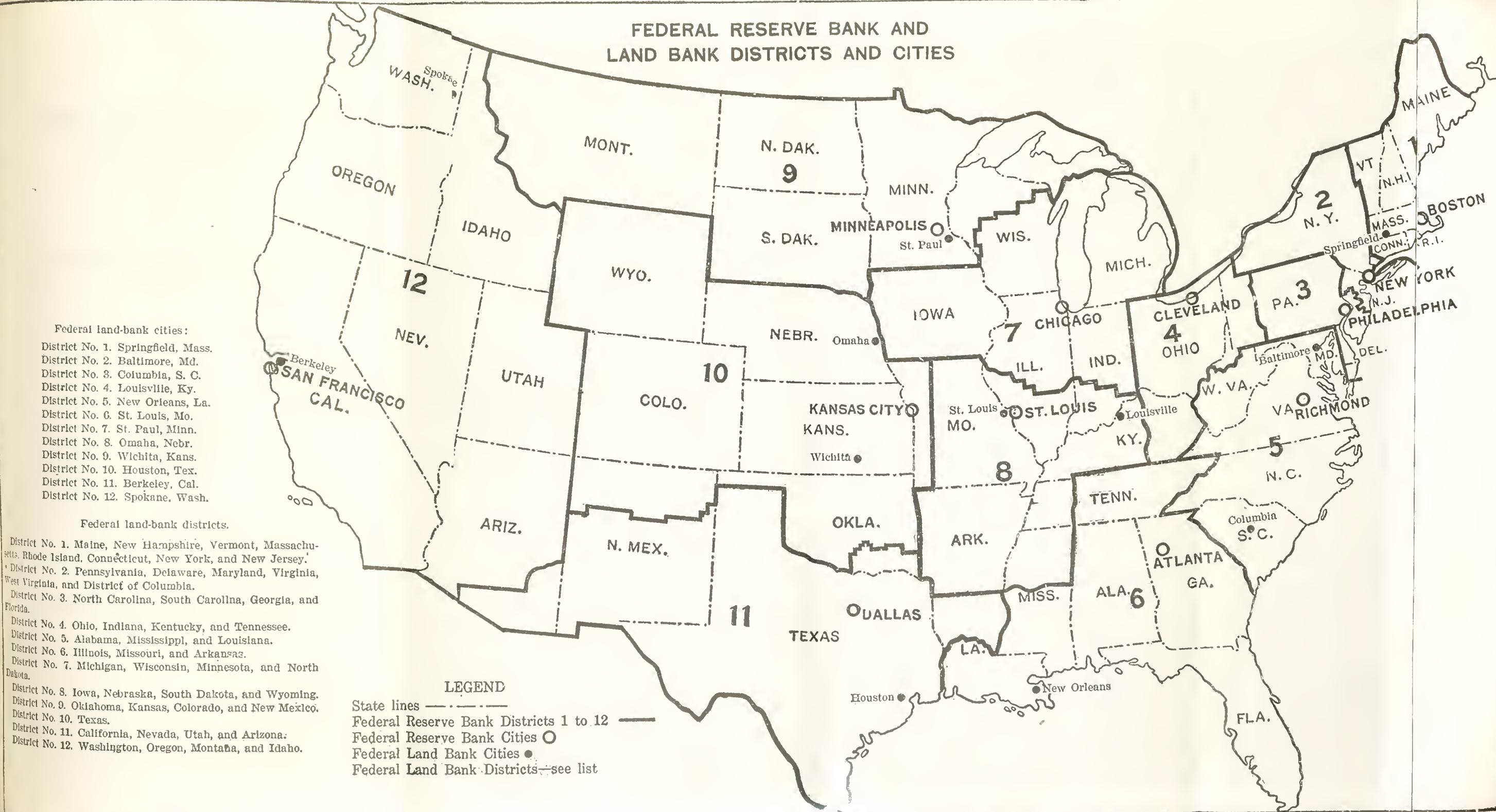
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- Fourth Naval District, Philadelphia, Pa., 3
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- Seventh Naval District, Key West, Fla., 7
- Eighth Naval District, New Orleans, La., 10
- Ninth Naval District, Great Lakes, Ill., 12
- Twelfth Naval District, San Francisco, Cal., 14
- Thirteenth Naval District, Puget Sound, Wash., 21
- Fourteenth Naval District, Honolulu, T. H., 10
- Washington, D. C., 5





# FEDERAL RESERVE BANK AND LAND BANK DISTRICTS AND CITIES





# THE BATTLE LINE OF DEMOCRACY

PROSE AND POETRY OF THE  
WORLD WAR



PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION  
GEORGE CREEL, CHAIRMAN



## Dedication to the Children of America

THESE selections of prose and poetry are dedicated to you, the children of America. They have been gathered in days when the world was at war. They speak sometimes of war. They must, because your life will be touched by the sacrifices war may ask of your home. They speak oftener of love of country. They should, for this country, created by the love and labors of your fathers, is your heritage. You will receive it from their hands as a legacy made richer by their efforts. You will think of it as they have thought of it, love it as they have loved it. You will make it serve, as they are making it serve today in a brotherhood of arms, that tomorrow there may be a brotherhood of peace.

The peoples whose cause is our cause have their place in these pages. America is now shoulder to shoulder with them holding the battle line of democracy. They speak one thought with us in different tongues. It is that come what may, your world must be a better world, a larger world, a saner world—a world where you may sail the seas in safety and dwell on the land in peace under the government of your choice.

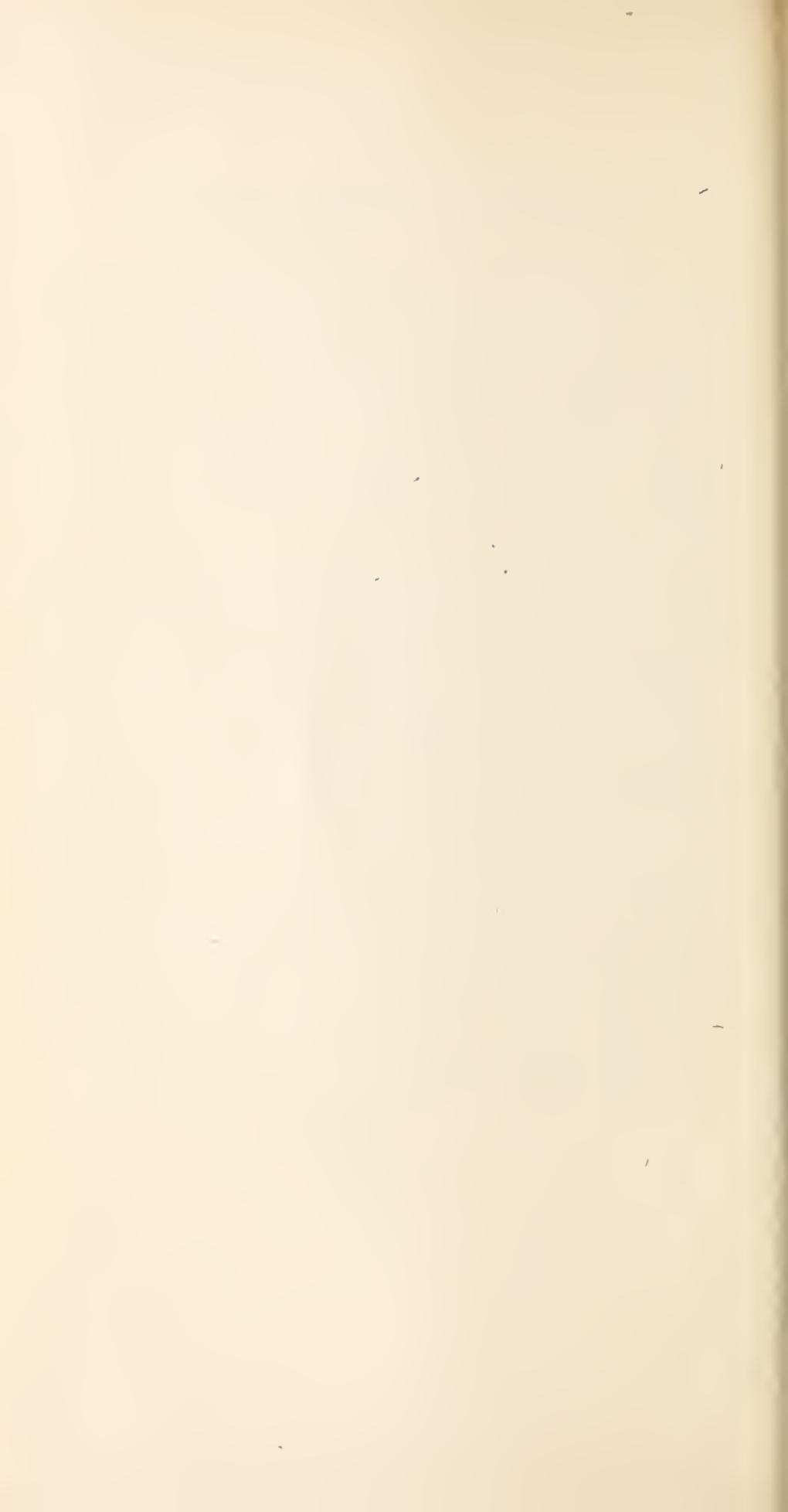
If this collection helps to quicken your thought about the meaning of your country in this the hour of her trial, it will have served well its purpose.

\* \* \* \* \*

The idea of making this anthology is due to Honorable FRANKLIN K. LANE, Secretary of the Interior. He had gathered a considerable part of the material before Mr. GUY STANTON FORD of the Committee on Public Information took over the editorial work. The Committee is indebted to the National Board for Historical Service for suggestions and to Miss FRANCES DAVENPORT and Miss ELIZABETH DONNAN, of Washington, D. C., for time generously given to the labor of putting the collection in its present form. Publishers and authors have cordially granted us the right to use any material bearing their imprint or signature.

GEORGE CREEL,

*Chairman.*



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## An Invocation

THAT little children may in safety ride  
The strong, clean waters of Thy splendid seas;  
That Anti-Christ be no more glorified,

Nor mock Thy justice with his blasphemies,  
We come—but not with threats or braggart boasts.

Hear us, Lord God of Hosts!

That Liberty be not betrayed and sold,  
And that her sons prove worthy of the breed;

That Freedom's flag may shelter as of old,

Nor decorate the shrines of Gold and Greed,  
We come; and on our consecrated sword

We ask Thy blessing, Lord.

That honor be among those priceless things  
Without which life shall seem of little worth;

That covenants be not the sport of kings;

That freedom shall not perish from the earth,  
We come; across a scarred and bloodstained sod,

Lead us, Almighty God!

BEATRICE BARRY.



WITH malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(9)



## *The Call*



## **Long, Too Long, America**

**L**ONG, too long, America,  
Traveling roads all even and peaceful you learn'd from  
joys and prosperity only,  
But now, ah now, to learn' from crises of anguish, advancing,  
grappling with direst fate and recoiling not,  
And now to conceive and show to the world what your children  
en masse really are.

WALT WHITMAN.



## **The Torch Bearers**

Here has the battle its last vantage ground;  
Here all is won, or here must all be lost,  
Here freedom's trumpets one last rally sound;  
Here to the breeze its blood-stained flag is tossed.  
America last hope of man and truth,  
Thy name must through all the coming ages be  
The badge unspeakable of shame and ruth,  
Or glorious pledge that man through truth is free.  
This is thy destiny; the choice is thine  
To lead all nations and outshine them all;—  
But if thou failest, deeper shame is thine,  
And none shall spare to mock thee in thy fall.

ARLO BATES.

(13)

# The President's War Message

(April 2, 1917)

*Gentlemen of the Congress:*

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, echoes of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean.

That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats.

The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business; but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents.

Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the prescribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of domination and where lay the free highways of the world.

By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except those which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be.

The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it.

The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put

excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks, as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity, indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be.

Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents.

There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making—we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the

United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may, so far as possible, be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.

It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects; but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation, because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain

only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them.

I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances.

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interests of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions.

Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression carried, it may be, from generation to generation can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow, privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life.

The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not, in fact, Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to

the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce.

Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them, we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world.

We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the

world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon tested foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless, lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has, therefore, not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the ambassador recently accredited to this government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts.

We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test.

They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose.

If there should be disloyalty it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but if it lifts its head at all it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war—into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

WOODROW WILSON.

## Stand by the President

LET me say a word about our great President, for he is entitled at every step to the applause and support of every American citizen, man, woman, and child, and I believe he has it.

Some of us in the past have criticized the President. Some of us long hesitated and doubted; some of us thought that watchful waiting would never cease. But now we see what the President was waiting for and how wisely he waited. He was waiting to see how fast and how far the American people would keep pace with him and stand up to any action that he proposed.

From the day the President appeared before Congress and made that wonderful address of his—one of the greatest state papers in the affairs of the United States since the formation of the Government—from that moment all doubt, all hesitation, all unwillingness was banished from the minds of all the people, and he is now our chosen leader for this great contest.

By no possibility can we have any other or think of any other. And we must uphold him through thick and thin from now until the end of the war.

JOSEPH CHOATE.

## Battle Hymn of the Republic

MINE eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:  
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath  
are stored;  
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword;  
His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch fires of a hundred circling camps:  
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;  
I can see His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:  
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel:  
“As ye deal with My contemners, so with you My grace shall  
deal;  
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,  
Since God is marching on.”

He hath sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;  
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat;  
Oh! be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!  
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,  
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;  
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,  
While God is marching on.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

(24)

## Beat! Beat! Drums!

BEAT! beat! drums!—blow! bugles! blow!  
Through the windows—through doors—burst like a ruthless  
force,  
Into the solemn church, and scatter the congregation,  
Into the school where the scholar is studying;  
Leave not the bridegroom quiet—no happiness must he have  
now with his bride,  
Nor the peaceful farmer any peace, ploughing his field or  
gathering his grain,  
So fierce you whir and pound you drums—so shrill you bugles  
blow.

Beat! beat! drums!—blow! bugles! blow!  
Over the traffic of cities—over the rumble of wheels in the  
streets;  
Are beds prepared for sleepers at night in the houses? No  
sleepers must sleep in those beds,  
No bargainers' bargain by day—no brokers or speculators—  
would they continue?  
Would the talkers be talking? Would the singer attempt to  
sing?  
Would the lawyer rise in the court to state his case before the  
judge?  
Then rattle quicker, heavier, drums—you bugles wilder blow.

Beat! beat! drums!—blow! bugles! blow!  
Make no parley—stop for no expostulation,  
Mind not the timid—mind not the weeper or prayer,  
Mind not the old man beseeching the young man,  
Let not the child's voice be heard, nor the mother's entreaties.

\* \* \* \* \*

So strong you thump, oh terrible drums—so loud you bugles  
blow.

WALT WHITMAN.

## The Bugle Call

YEARS ago, in a foreign city, long after midnight, a bugle rang out clear and penetrating in the darkness that comes before dawn. It pierced the deepest recesses of sleep and sounded the great note of action and adventure. To what duty it summoned and whither it led they only knew to whom it was a command; but a great company of those who came out of their dreams to hear it were shaken by its imperative call, and must remember it as an impersonal symbol of that divine voice which from time to time rings in the innermost courts of a man's soul with the music of great deeds on noble fields. Hosts of men are paralyzed because they hear no voices save those that weaken and betray them—the voices of their weariness, indecision, skepticism, weakness. They sleep on their arms as if no fight was to be won, no soul to be saved from its baser passions, its cowardly moods. If they rouse themselves it is to take account of their discomfort; to note that the night is dark, the air cold, the ground hard. They lie bound hand and foot in a stupor of uncertainty and discouragement. They complain of their hardships, repine at their inaction, waste their courage and strength in hollow excuses and evasions. So intent are they on their deprivations that they forget the cause which they set out to serve and curse the leaders whom they no longer follow. Again and again the bugle rings out on the night, but they sleep on and take their rest even while the Master is betrayed into the hands of his enemies.

There are times when a man must say to his own spirit, "Up, thou sluggard, and away; the bugle calls; the day of battle dawns." Let no man be deceived; the fortunes of his soul are in his own hands. He may beguile himself for a time with the dream of fatalism, but even while he dreams he knows in his heart that he is deceiving himself. He may talk of his limitations, his difficulties, his conditions, his temperament; but in his heart he knows that these are mere subterfuges; that he has bound himself with imaginary fetters, and that if he will arise and stand erect these illusive bonds will fall from him.

He may not be able to do the work of some other man, but he can do his own work, and that is all that is required. Every man has the strength to do his duty if he chooses to put it forth, to be a man and not a dumb, driven creature, the mere shape of a man driven like a cloud of dust across the field of life by the wind of destiny. He may go to suffering, hardness, and death; but these things are mere incidents; the great thing is that he shall strive and not sleep. The prodigal slept long, but he heard the call at last, awoke, and became a man once more when he turned from the beasts and said, "I will go to my father."

HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE.

## False Peace and True

THERE is a peace wherein man's mood is tame—

Like clouds upon a windless summer day  
The hours float by; the people take no shame

In alien mocks; like children are they gay.  
Such peace is craven-bought, the cost is great;  
Not so is nourished a puissant state.

There is a peace amidst the shock of arms

That satisfies the soul, though all the air  
Hurtles with horror and is rude with harms;

Life's gray gleams into golden deeds, and where,  
The while swords slept, unrighteousness was done,  
Wrong takes her death-blow, and from sun to sun  
That clarion cry *My Country!* makes men one.

RICHARD BURTON.

(28)

## The Reveille

HARK ! I hear the tramp of thousands  
And of armèd men the hum;  
Lo ! a nation's hosts have gathered  
Round the quick alarming drum—  
Saying “Come,  
Freemen, come!

Ere your heritage be wasted,” said the quick alarming drum

“Let me of my heart take counsel:  
War is not of life the sum;  
Who shall stay and reap the harvest  
When the autumn days shall come?”

But the drum  
Echoed “Come!

Death shall reap the braver harvest,” said the solemn-sounding  
drum.

“But when won the coming battle,  
What of profit springs therefrom?

What if conquest, subjugation,  
Even greater ills become?”

But the drum  
Answered, “Come!

You must do the sum to prove it,” said the Yankee answering  
drum.

“What if, 'mid the cannon's thunder,  
Whistling shot and bursting bomb,  
When my brothers fall around me,  
Should my heart grow cold and numb?”

But the drum  
Answered “Come!

Better there in death united than in life a recreant.—Come!”

Thus they answered—hoping, fearing,  
Some in faith and doubting some,  
Till a trumpet-voice, proclaiming,  
Said, “My chosen people, come!”

Then the drum,  
Lo ! was dumb,

For the great heart of the nation, throbbing, answered,  
“Lord, we come!”

BRET HARTE.

## Song of the Banner at Day-Break

I HEAR and see not strips of cloth alone,  
I hear the tramp of armies, I hear the challenging sentry,  
I hear the jubilant shouts of millions of men, I hear Liberty!  
I hear the drums beat and the trumpets blowing,  
I myself move abroad swift-rising flying then,  
I use the wings of the land-bird and use the wings of the sea-  
bird, and look down as from a height,  
I do not deny the precious results of peace, I see populous cities  
with wealth incalculable,  
I see numberless farms, I see the farmers working in their fields  
or barns,  
I see mechanics working, I see buildings everywhere founded,  
going up, or finish'd.  
I see trains of cars swiftly speeding along railroad tracks drawn  
by the locomotives,  
I see the stores, depots, of Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, New  
Orleans,  
I see far in the West the immense area of grain, I dwell awhile  
hovering,  
I pass to the lumber forests of the North, and again to the  
Southern plantation, and again to California;  
Sweeping the whole I see the countless profit, the busy gather-  
ings, earn'd wages,  
See the Identity formed out of thirty-eight spacious and  
haughty States (and many more to come),  
See forts on the shores of harbors, see ships sailing in and out;  
Then over all (aye! aye!), my little and lengthen'd pennant  
shaped like a sword,  
Runs swiftly up indicating war and defiance—and now the  
halyards have rais'd it,  
Side of my banner broad and blue, side of my starry banner,  
Discarding peace over all the sea and land.

WALT WHITMAN

## The National Flag

A THOUGHTFUL mind, when it sees a nation's flag, sees not the flag, but the nation itself. And whatever may be its symbols, its insignia, he reads chiefly in the flag the government, the principles, the truths, the history, that belong to the nation that sets it forth. When the French tricolor rolls out to the wind we see France. When the new-found Italian flag is unfurled, we see resurrected Italy. . . . When the united crosses of St. Andrew and St. George, on a fiery ground, set forth the banner of Old England, we see not the cloth merely; there rises up before the mind the idea of that great monarchy.

This nation has a banner, too; and until recently wherever it streamed abroad men saw day-break bursting on their eyes. For until lately the American flag has been a symbol of Liberty, and men rejoiced in it. Not another flag on the globe had such an errand, or went forth upon the sea carrying everywhere, the world around, such hope to the captive and such glorious tidings. The stars upon it were to the pining nations like the bright morning stars of God, and the stripes upon it were beams of morning light. As at early dawn the stars shine forth even while it grows light, and then as the sun advances that light breaks into banks and streaming lines of color, the glowing red and intense white striving together, and ribbing the horizon with bars effulgent, so, on the American flag, stars and beams of many-colored light shine out together. And wherever this flag comes and men behold it they see in its sacred emblazonry no ramping lion and no fierce eagle; no embattled castles or insignia of imperial authority; they see the symbols of light. It is the banner of Dawn.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

## War-Music

BREAK off! Dance no more!

Danger is at the door.

Music is in arms

To signal war's alarms.

Hark, a sudden trumpet calling

Over the hill!

Why are you calling, trumpet, calling?

What is your will?

Men, men, men!

Men who are ready to fight

For their country's life, and the right

Of a liberty-loving land to be

Free, free, free!

Free from a tyrant's chain,

Free from dishonor's stain,

Free to guard and maintain

All that her fathers fought for,

All that her sons have wrought for,

Resolute, brave, and free!

Call again, trumpet, call again,

Call up the men!

Do you hear the storm of cheers

Mingled with the women's tears

And the tramp, tramp, tramp of marching feet?

Do you hear the throbbing drum

As the hosts of battle come

Keeping time, time, time to its beat?

O Music, give a song

To make their spirit strong

For the fury of the tempest they must meet.

The hoarse roar  
 Of the monster guns;  
 And the sharp bark  
 Of the lesser guns;  
 The whine of the shells,  
 The rifles' clatter  
 Where the bullets patter,  
 The rattle, rattle, rattle  
 Of the mitrailleuse in battle,  
 And the yells  
 Of the men who charge through hells  
 Where the poison gas descends,  
 And the bursting shrapnel rends  
 Limb from limb  
 In the dim  
 Chaos and clamor of the strife,  
 Where no man thinks of his life  
 But only of fighting through,  
 Blindi<sup>l</sup> fighting through, through!

'Tis done  
 At last!  
 The victory won,  
 The dissonance of warfare past!

O Music mourn the dead  
 Whose loyal blood was shed,  
 And sound the taps for every hero slain;  
 Then lead into the song  
 That made their spirit strong,  
 And tell the world they did not die in vain.

Thank God we can see, in the glory of morn,  
 The invincible flag that our fathers defended;  
 And our hearts can repeat what the heroes have sworn,  
 That war shall not end till the war-lust is ended.  
 Then the bloodthirsty sword shall no longer be lord  
 Of the nations oppressed by the conqueror's horde,  
 But the banners of freedom shall peacefully wave  
 O'er the world of the free and the lands of the brave.

HENRY VAN DYKE.

## Follow the Flag

*Follow the flag!*

BY EVERY fireside where live the love of country and the love of justice is heard a sigh of relief that our flag is not, after all, to be trampled in the mire. Now that it has been raised aloft, follow it. Follow it even to the battle front.

*Follow the flag!*

It goes on a *high* mission. The land over which it flies inherited its spirit of freedom from a race which had practiced liberty for a thousand years. And the daughter paid back the debt to the mother. Her successful practice of free institutions caused the civic stature of the citizen in the motherland to grow. It lit the torch of liberty in France. Then, moving abreast, these three lands of democracy imparted to it impetus so resistless that freedom is sweeping victorious around the globe. Today constitutional government is the rule, not the exception, in the world. Once more these three nations are together leading a great cause and this time as brothers in arms.

*Follow the flag!*

It goes on a *world* mission. If the high hope of our President is fulfilled, that flag will have new meaning. Just as the stars and stripes in it symbolized the union of free states in America, so now they may come to symbolize the beginnings of a union of nations, self-governing, and because they are self-governing making for good will and for justice.

*Follow the flag!*

It goes on a *stern* mission. Follow it, not for revenge, yet in anger—righteous anger against the bloody crew who, with criminal intent, have brought upon the world the greatest sum of human misery it has ever known in all its history. Follow it till that ugly company is put down and the very people themselves whom they so grievously deceived and misled, by coming into liberty, will come to bless that flag and kiss its gleaming folds.

*Follow the flag!*

Too long it has been absent from that line in France where once again an Attila has been stopped. It has been needed there, God knows! And yet, though not visible to the eye, it is and has been there from the beginning. It is there in the hearts of those fifty thousand American boys who saw their duty clear and moved up to it. Now at last it may be flung to the breeze in the front line, to be visible by day, and to remain at nightfall, like the blessings of a prayer fulfilled, in the consciousness of men. Follow it and take your stand beside the fifty thousand.

*Follow the flag!*

THEODORE MARBURG.

## The Flag Goes By

HATS off !

Along the street there comes  
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,  
A flash of colour beneath the sky:  
Hats off !

The flag is passing by !

Blue and crimson and white it shines,  
Over the steel-tipped, ordered lines.

Hats off !

The colours before us fly;  
But more than the flag is passing by :

Sea-fights and land-fights, grim and great,  
Fought to make and to save the State:  
Weary marches and sinking ships;  
Cheers of victory on dying lips;

Days of plenty and years of peace;  
March of a strong land's swift increase;  
Equal justice, right and law,  
Stately honour and reverend awe;

Sign of a nation great and strong  
To ward her people from foreign wrong:  
Pride and glory and honour,—all  
Live in the colours to stand or fall.

Hats off !

Along the street there comes  
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums;  
And loyal hearts are beating high:  
Hats off !

The flag is passing by !

HENRY HOLCOMB BENNETT.

## The Meaning of the Flag

**F**RIENTS and fellow citizens: I know of nothing more difficult than to render an adequate tribute to the emblem of our nation. For those of us who have shared that nation's life and felt the beat of its pulse it must be considered a matter of impossibility to express the great things which that emblem embodies. I venture to say that a great many things are said about the flag which very few people stop to analyze. For me the flag does not express a mere body of vague sentiment. The flag of the United States has not been created by rhetorical sentences in declarations of independence and in bills of rights. It has been created by the experience of a great people, and nothing is written upon it that has not been written by their life. It is the embodiment, not of a sentiment, but of a history, and no man can rightly serve under that flag who has not caught some of the meaning of that history.

Experience, ladies and gentlemen, is made by men and women. National experience is the product of those who do the living under that flag. It is their living that has created its significance. You do not create the meaning of a national life by any literary exposition of it, but by the actual daily endeavors of a great people to do the tasks of the day and live up to the ideals of honesty and righteousness and just conduct. And as we think of these things, our tribute is to those men who have created this experience. Many of them are known by name to all the world—statesmen, soldiers, merchants, masters of industry, men of letters and of thought who have coined our hearts into action or into words. Of these men we feel that they have shown us the way. They have not been afraid to go before. They have known that they were speaking the thoughts of a great people when they led that great people along the paths of achievement. There was not a single swashbuckler among them. They were men of sober, quiet thought, the more effective because there was no bluster in it. They were men who thought along the lines of duty, not along the lines of self-aggrandizement. They were men, in short, who thought of the people whom they served and not of themselves.

But while we think of these men and do honor to them as to those who have shown us the way, let us not forget that the real experience and life of a nation lies with the great multitude of unknown men. It lies with those men whose names are never in the headlines of newspapers, those men who know the heat and pain and desperate loss of hope that sometimes comes in the great struggle of daily life; not the men who stand on the side and comment, not the men who merely try to interpret the great struggle, but the men who are engaged in the struggle. They constitute the body of the nation. This flag is the essence of their daily endeavors. This flag does not express any more than what they are and what they desire to be.

As I think of the life of this great nation it seems to me that we sometimes look to the wrong places for its sources. We look to the noisy places, where men are talking in the market place; we look to where men are expressing their individual opinions; we look to where partisans are expressing passions; instead of trying to attune our ears to that voiceless mass of men who merely go about their daily tasks, try to be honorable, try to serve the people they love, try to live worthy of the great communities to which they belong. These are the breath of the nation's nostrils; these are the sinews of its might.

How can any man presume to interpret the emblem of the United States, the emblem of what we would fain be among the family of nations, and find it incumbent upon us to be in the daily round of routine duty? This is Flag Day, but that only means that it is a day when we are to recall the things which we should do every day of our lives. There are no days of special patriotism. There are no days when we should be more patriotic than on other days. We celebrate the Fourth of July merely because the great enterprise of liberty was started on the fourth of July in America, but the great enterprise of liberty was not begun in America. It is illustrated by the blood of thousands of martyrs who lived and died before the great experiment on this side of the water. The Fourth of July merely marks the day when we consecrated ourselves as a nation to this high thing which we pretend to serve. The benefit of a day like this is merely in turning away from the things that distract us, turning away from the things that touch us personally and absorb our interest in the hours of daily work. We remind ourselves of those things that are greater

than we are, of those principles by which we believe our hearts to be elevated, of the more difficult things that we must undertake in these days of perplexity when a man's judgment is safest only when it follows the line of principle.

I am solemnized in the presence of such a day. I would not undertake to speak your thoughts. You must interpret them for me. But I do feel that back, not only of every public official, but of every man and woman of the United States, there marches that great host which has brought us to the present day; the host that has never forgotten the vision which it saw at the birth of the nation; the host which always responds to the dictates of humanity and of liberty; the host that will always constitute the strength and the great body of friends of every man who does his duty to the United States.

I am sorry that you do not wear a little flag of the Union every day instead of some days. I can only ask you, if you lose the physical emblem, to be sure that you wear it in your heart, and the heart of America shall interpret the heart of the world.

WOODROW WILSON.



*America*

## America

THE hope of all who suffer,  
The dread of all who wrong.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.



THESE are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

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

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

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

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

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

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety.—*From President Wilson's Second Inaugural Address.*



ONCE to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,  
    In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil  
        side;  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom  
    or blight,  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the  
    right;  
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that  
    light.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

## America First

THERE is a very great thrill to be had from the memories of the American Revolution, but the American Revolution was a beginning, not a consummation, and the duty laid upon us by that beginning is the duty of bringing the things then begun to a noble triumph of completion. For it seems to me that the peculiarity of patriotism in America is that it is not a mere sentiment. It is an active principle of conduct. It is something that was born into the world, not to please it but to regenerate it. It is something that was born into the world to replace systems that had preceded it and to bring men out upon a new plane of privilege. The glory of the men whose memories you honor and perpetuate is that they saw this vision, and it was a vision of the future. It was a vision of great days to come when a little handful of three million people upon the borders of a single sea should have become a great multitude of free men and women spreading across a great continent, dominating the shores of two oceans, and sending West as well as East the influences of individual freedom. These things were consciously in their minds as they framed the great Government which was born out of the American Revolution; and every time we gather to perpetuate their memories it is incumbent upon us that we should be worthy of recalling them and that we should endeavor by every means in our power to emulate their example.

The American Revolution was the birth of a nation; it was the creation of a great free republic based upon traditions of personal liberty which theretofore had been confined to a single little island, but which it was purposed should spread to all mankind. And the singular fascination of American history is that it has been a process of constant re-creation, of making over again in each generation the thing which was conceived at first. You know how peculiarly necessary that has been in our case, because America has not grown by the mere multiplication of the original stock. It is easy to preserve tradition with continuity of blood; it is easy in a single family to remember the

origins of the race and the purposes of its organization; but it is not so easy when that race is constantly being renewed and augmented from other sources, from stocks that did not carry or originate the same principles.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now we have come to a time of special stress and test. There never was a time when we needed more clearly to conserve the principles of our own patriotism than this present time. . . . Every political action, every social action, should have for its object in America at this time to challenge the spirit of America; to ask that every man and woman who thinks first of America should rally to the standards of our life. . . .

America has a great cause which is not confined to the American continent. It is the cause of humanity itself. I do not mean in anything that I say even to imply a judgment upon any nation or upon any policy, for my object here this afternoon is not to sit in judgment upon anybody but ourselves and to challenge you to assist all of us who are trying to make America more than ever conscious of her own principles and her own duty. I look forward to the necessity in every political agitation in the years which are immediately at hand of calling upon every man to declare himself, where he stands. Is it America first, or is it not?

\* \* \* \* \*

Some of the best stuff of America has come out of foreign lands, and some of the best stuff in America is in the men who are naturalized citizens of the United States. I would not be afraid upon the test of "America first" to take a census of all the foreign-born citizens of the United States, for I know that the vast majority of them came here because they believed in America; and their belief in America has made them better citizens than some people who were born in America. . . . I am not deceived as to the balance of opinion among the foreign-born citizens of the United States, but I am in a hurry for an opportunity to have a line-up and let the men who are thinking first of other countries stand on one side and all those that are for America first, last, and all the time on the other side.

\* \* \* \* \*

So it has seemed to me that my privilege was not merely a privilege of courtesy, but the real privilege of reminding you—for I am sure I am doing nothing more—of the great principles

which we stand associated to promote. I for my part rejoice that we belong to a country in which the whole business of government is so difficult. We do not take orders from anybody; it is a universal communication of conviction, the most subtle, delicate, and difficult of processes. There is not a single individual's opinion that is not of some consequence in making up the grand total, and to be in this great cooperative effort is the most stimulating thing in the world. A man standing alone may well misdoubt his own judgment. He may mistrust his own intellectual processes; he may even wonder if his own heart leads him right in matters of public conduct; but if he finds his heart part of the great throb of a national life, there can be no doubt about it. If that is his happy circumstance, then he may know that he is part of one of the great forces of the world.

I would not feel any exhilaration in belonging to America if I did not feel that she was something more than a rich and powerful nation. I should not feel proud to be in some respects and for a little while her spokesman if I did not believe that there was something else than physical force behind her. I believe that the glory of America is that she is a great spiritual conception, and in the spirit of her institutions dwells not only her distinction but her power. The one thing that the world can not permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions.

WOODROW WILSON.

## America the Beautiful

O BEAUTIFUL for spacious skies,  
For amber waves of grain,  
For purple mountain majesties  
Above the fruited plain!  
America! America!  
God shed His grace on thee  
And crown thy good with brotherhood  
From sea to shining sea!

O beautiful for pilgrim feet,  
Whose stern, impassioned stress  
A thoroughfare for freedom beat  
Across the wilderness!  
America! America!  
God mend thine every flaw,  
Confirm thy soul in self-control,  
Thy liberty in law!

O beautiful for heroes proved  
In liberating strife,  
Who more than self their country loved,  
And mercy more than life!  
America! America!  
May God thy gold refine,  
Till all success be nobleness,  
And every gain divine!

O beautiful for patriot dream  
That sees beyond the years  
Thine alabaster cities gleam  
Undimmed by human tears!  
America! America!  
God shed his grace on thee  
And crown thy good with brotherhood  
From sea to shining sea!

KATHARINE LEE BATES.

## The Building of the Ship

\*     \*     \*     \*

THOU, too, sail on, O Ship of State!  
Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!  
Humanity with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!  
We know what Master laid thy keel,  
What Workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what a forge and what a heat  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!  
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,  
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;  
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,  
And not a rent made by the gale!  
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,  
In spite of false lights on the shore,  
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!  
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,  
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
Are all with thee,—are all with thee!

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

## **Our Noble Inheritance**

**L**E<sup>T</sup> the American youth never forget that they possess a noble inheritance, bought by the toils and sufferings and blood of their ancestors; and capable, if wisely improved and faithfully guarded, of transmitting to their latest posterity all the substantial blessings of life, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty, property, religion, and independence. The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity; its foundations are solid; its compartments are beautiful as well as useful; its arrangements are full of wisdom and order; and its defences are impregnable from without. It has been reared for immortality, if the work of man may justly aspire to such a title. It may, nevertheless, perish in an hour by the folly or corruption or negligence of its only keepers, THE PEOPLE. Republics are created by the virtue, public spirit, and intelligence of the citizens. They fall when the wise are banished from the public councils because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded because they flatter the people in order to betray them.

JOSEPH STORY.

(48)

## Ode, July 4

O TENDERLY the haughty day  
    Fills his blue urn with fire;  
One morn is in the mighty heaven,  
    And one in our desire.

The cannon booms from town to town,  
    Our pulses beat not less,  
The joy-bells chime their tidings down,  
    Which children's voices bless.

For He that flung the broad blue fold  
    O'er-mantling land and sea,  
One third part of the sky unrolled  
    For the banner of the free.

The men are ripe of Saxon kind  
    To build an equal state—  
To take the statute from the mind,  
    And make of duty fate.

United States! the ages plead—  
    Present and Past in under-song—  
Go put your creed into your deed,  
    Nor speak with double tongue.

For sea and land don't understand,  
    Nor skies without a frown  
See rights for which the one hand fights  
    By the other cloven down.

Be just at home; then write your scroll  
    Of honor o'er the sea,  
And bid the broad Atlantic roll,  
    A ferry of the free.

And, henceforth, there shall be no chain,  
Save underneath the sea  
The wires shall murmur through the main  
Sweet songs of LIBERTY.

The conscious stars accord above,  
The waters wild below,  
And under, through the cable wove,  
Her fiery errands go.

For He that worketh high and wise,  
Nor pauses in His plan,  
Will take the sun out of the skies  
Ere freedom out of man.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

## The Efficiency of Free Governments

THE United States owe to the world a great example, and, by means thereof, to the cause of liberty and humanity a generous support. They have so far succeeded to the satisfaction of the virtuous and enlightened of every country. There is no reason to doubt that their whole movement will be regulated by a sacred regard to principle, all our institutions being founded on that basis. The ability to support our own cause under any trial to which it may be exposed is the great point on which the public solicitude rests. It has been often charged against free governments that they have neither the foresight nor the virtue to provide at the proper season for great emergencies; that their course is improvident and expensive; that war will always find them unprepared, and, whatever may be its calamities, that its terrible warnings will be disregarded and forgotten as soon as peace returns. I have full confidence that this charge so far as it relates to the United States will be shewn to be utterly destitute of truth.

JAMES MONROE.

(51)

## Boston Hymn

THE word of the Lord by night  
To the watching Pilgrims came,  
As they sat by the seaside,  
And filled their hearts with flame.

God said, I am tired of kings,  
I suffer them no more;  
Up to my ear the morning brings  
The outrage of the poor.

Think ye I made this ball  
A field of havoc and war,  
Where tyrants great and tyrants small  
Might harry the weak and poor?

My angel—his name is Freedom—  
Choose him to be your king;  
He shall cut pathways east and west,  
And fend you with his wing.

Lo! I uncover the land  
Which I hid of old time in the West,  
As the sculptor uncovers the statue  
When he has wrought his best.

I show Columbia, of the rocks  
Which dip their foot in the seas,  
And soar to the air-borne flocks  
Of clouds, and the boreal fleece.

I will divide my goods;  
Call in the wretch and slave:  
None shall rule but the humble,  
And none but Toil shall have.

I will have never a noble,  
No lineage counted great;  
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen  
Shall constitute a state.

Go, cut down trees in the forest,  
     And trim the straightest boughs;  
 Cut down trees in the forest,  
     And build me a wooden house.

Call the people together,  
     The young men and the sires,  
 The digger in the harvest field,  
     Hireling, and him that hires;  
  
 And here in a pine state-house  
     They shall choose men to rule  
 In every needful faculty,  
     In church, and state, and school.

Lo, now! if these poor men  
     Can govern the land and sea,  
 And make just laws below the sun,  
     As planets faithful be.

And ye shall succor men;  
     'Tis nobleness to serve;  
 Help them who can not help again:  
     Beware from right to swerve.

I break your bonds and masterships,  
     And I unchain the slave:  
 Free be his heart and hand henceforth  
     As wind and wandering wave.

Come, East and West and North,  
     By races, as snowflakes,  
 And carry my purpose forth,  
     Which neither halts nor shakes.

My will fulfilled shall be,  
     For, in daylight or in dark,  
 My thunderbolt has eyes to see  
     His way home to the mark.

R. W. EMERSON.

## Gettysburg Address

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(54)

## O Captain! My Captain!

(Written in 1865, at the close of the Civil War and just after the assassination of Lincoln.)

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done;  
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is  
won;

The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,  
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;  
But O heart! heart! heart!

O the bleeding drops of red,  
Where on the deck my Captain lies,  
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;  
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills;  
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores  
a-crowding;

For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;  
Here Captain! dear father!

This arm beneath your head!

It is some dream that on the deck,  
You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,  
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will;  
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done;  
From fearful trip, the victor ship comes in with object won:  
Exult, O shores, and ring O bells!  
But I, with mournful tread,  
Walk the deck my captain lies,  
Fallen cold and dead.

WALT WHITMAN.

## Good Citizenship

OUR country is infinitely more than a domain affording to those who dwell upon it immense material advantages and opportunities. In such a country we live. But I love to think of a glorious nation built upon the will of free men, set apart for the propagation and cultivation of humanity's best ideal of a free government, and made ready for the growth and fruitage of the highest aspirations of patriotism. This is the country that lives in us. I indulge in no mere figure of speech when I say that our nation, the immortal spirit of our domain, lives in us—in our hearts and minds and consciences. There it must find its nutriment or die. This thought more than any other presents to our minds the impressiveness and responsibility of American citizenship. The land we live in seems to be strong and active. But how fares the land that lives in us? Are we sure that we are doing all we ought to keep it in vigor and health? Are we keeping its roots well surrounded by the fertile soil of loving allegiance, and are we furnishing them the invigorating moisture of unselfish fidelity? Are we as diligent as we ought to be to protect this precious growth against the poison that must arise from the decay of harmony and honesty and industry and frugality; and are we sufficiently watchful against the deadly, burrowing pests of consuming greed and cankerous cupidity? Our answers to these questions make up the account of our stewardship as keepers of a sacred trust.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

(56)

## Ballad of Lieutenant Miles

WHEN you speak of dauntless deeds,  
When you tell of stirring scenes,  
Tell this story of the isles  
Where the endless summer smiles,—  
Tell of young Lieutenant Miles  
In the far-off Philippines!

'Twas the Santa Ana fight!—  
All along the Tagal line  
From the thickets dense and dire  
Gushed the fountains of their fire;  
You could mark their rifles' ire,  
You could hark their bullets whine.

Little wonder there was pause!  
Some were wounded, some were dead;  
“Call Lieutenant Miles!” He came,  
In his eyes a fearless flame.  
“Yonder block-house is our aim!”  
The battalion leader said.

“You must take it—how you will;  
You must break this dainned spell!”  
“Volunteers!” cried Miles. ’Twas vain,  
For that narrow tropic lane  
'Twixt the bamboo and the cane  
Was a very lane of hell.

There were five stood forth at last;  
God above, but they were men!  
“Come!”—exultantly he saith!  
Did they falter? Not a breath!  
Down the path of hurtling death  
The Lieutenant led them then.

Two have fallen—now a third!  
Forward dash the other three;  
In the onrush of that race  
Ne'er a swerve nor stay of pace.  
And the Tagals—dare they face  
Such a desperate company?

Panic gripped them by the throat,—  
Every Tagal rifleman;  
And as though they seemed to see  
In those charging foemen three  
An avenging destiny,  
Fierce and fast and far they ran.

So a salvo for the six!  
So a round of ringing cheers!  
Heroes of the distant isles  
Where the endless summer smiles,—  
Gallant young Lieutenant Miles  
And his valiant volunteers!

CLINTON SCOLARD.

## A Ballad of Manila Bay

YOUR threats how vain, Corregidor;  
Your rampired batteries, feared no more;  
Your frowning guard at Manila gate,—  
When our Captain went before!

Lights out. Into the unknown gloom  
From the windy, glimmering, wide sea-room,  
Challenging fate in that dark strait  
We dared the hidden doom.

But the death in the deep awoke not then;  
Mine and torpedo they spoke not then;  
From the heights that loomed on our passing line  
The thunders broke not then.

Safe through the perilous dark we sped,  
Quiet each ship as the quiet dead,  
Till the guns of El Fraile roared—too late,  
And the steel prows forged ahead.

Mute each ship as the mute-mouth grave,  
A ghost leviathan cleaving the wave;  
But deep in its heart the great fires throb,  
The travailing engines rave,

The ponderous pistons urge like fate,  
The red-throat furnaces roar elate,  
And the sweating stokers stagger and swoon  
In a heat more fierce than hate.

So through the dark we stole our way  
Past the grim warders and into the bay,  
Past Kalibuyo, and past Salinas,—  
And came at the break of day

Where strong Cavité stood to oppose,—  
 Where, from a sheen of silver and rose,  
 A thronging of masts, a soaring of towers,  
 The beautiful city arose.

How fine and fair! But the shining air  
 With a thousand shattering thunders there  
 Flapped and reeled. For the fighting foe—  
 We had caught him in his lair.

Surprised, unready, his proud ships lay  
 Idly at anchor in Bakor Bay;—  
 Unready, surprised, but proudly bold,  
 Which was ever the Spaniard's way.

Then soon on his pride the dread doom fell,  
 Red doom,—for the ruin of shot and shell  
 Lit every vomiting, bursting hulk  
 With a crimson reek of hell.

But to the brave though beaten, hail!  
 All hail to them that dare and fail!  
 To the dauntless boat that charged our fleet  
 And sank in the iron hail!

Manila Bay! Manila Bay!  
 How proud the song on our lips to-day!  
 A brave old song of the true and strong,  
 And the will that has its way;

Of the blood that told in the days of Drake  
 When the fight was good for the fighting's sake!  
 For the blood that fathered Farragut  
 Is the blood that fathered Blake;

And the pride of the blood will not be undone  
 While war's in the world and a fight to be won.  
 For the master now, as the master of old,  
 Is "the man behind the gun."

The dominant blood that daunts the foe,  
 That laughs at odds, and leaps to the blow,—  
 It is Dewey's glory to-day, as Nelson's  
 A hundred years ago!

CHARLES GEORGE DOUGLAS ROBERTS.

## A Tribute to Our Sailor Dead

(March 21, 1898)

NO HUMAN speech can add anything to the silent gratitude, the speechless reverence, already given by a great and grateful Nation to its dead defenders and to their living kin. No act of Congress providing for their needs can make a restitution for their sacrifice. Human nature does, in human ways, its best, and still feels deep in debt.

Expressions of condolence have come from every country and from every clime, and every nerve of steel and ocean cable has carried on electric breath the sweetest, tenderest words of sympathy for that gallant crew who manned the *Maine*. But no human recompense can reach them. Humanity and time remain their everlasting debtors.

It was a brave and strong and splendid crew. They were a part of the blood and bone and sinew of our land. Two of them were from my native state of Iowa. Some were only recently at the United States Naval Academy, where they had so often heard the morning and the evening salutation to the flag—that flag which had been interwoven with the dearest memories of their lives, that had colored all their friendships with the lasting blue of true fidelity. But whether they came from naval school or civil life, from one state or another, they called each other comrade—that gem of human language which sometimes means but a little less than love and a little more than friendship, that gentle salutation of the human heart which lives in all the languages of man, that winds and turns and runs through all the joys and sorrows of the human race, through deed and thought and dream, through song and toil and battlefield.

No foe had ever challenged them. The world can never know how brave they were. They never knew defeat; they never shall. While at their posts of duty, sleep lured them into the abyss; then death unlocked their slumbering eyes but for an instant to behold its dreadful carnival, most of them just when

life was full of hope, and all its tides were at their highest, grandest flow; just when the early sunbeams were falling on the steeps of fame and flooding all life's landscape far out into the dreamy, distant horizon; just at that age when all the nymphs were making diadems and garlands, waving laurel wreaths before the eyes of young and eager nature—just then, when death seemed most unnatural.

Hovering above the dark waters of that mysterious harbor of Havana, the black-winged vulture watches for the dead, while over it, and over all, there is the eagle's piercing eye sternly watching for the truth.

Whether the appropriation carried by this resolution shall be ultimately charged to fate or to some foe shall soon appear. Meanwhile a patient and a patriotic people, enlightened by the lessons of our history, remembering the woes of war, both to the vanquished and victorious, are ready for the truth and ready for their duty.

“The tumult and the shouting dies—  
The captains and the kings depart—  
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,  
An humble and a contrite heart.  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget.”

ROBERT G. COUSINS.

## America for Me

'TIS fine to see the Old World, and travel up and down  
Among the famous palaces and cities of renown,  
To admire the crumbly castles and the statues of the kings—  
But now I think I've had enough of antiquated things.

So it's home again, and home again, America for me!  
My heart is turning home again, and there I long to be,  
In the land of youth and freedom beyond the ocean bars,  
Where the air is full of sunlight and the flag is full of stars.

Oh, London is a man's town, there's power in the air;  
And Paris is a woman's town, with flowers in her hair;  
And it's sweet to dream in Venice, and it's great to study Rome;  
But when it comes to living, there is no place like home.

I like the German fir-woods, in green battalions drilled;  
I like the gardens of Versailles with flashing fountains filled;  
But, oh, to take your hand, my dear, and ramble for a day  
In the friendly western woodland where Nature has her way!

I know that Europe's wonderful, yet something seems to lack:  
The Past is too much with her, and the people looking back.  
But the glory of the Present is to make the Future free—  
We love our land for what she is and what she is to be.

Oh, it's home again, and home again, America for me!  
I want a ship that's westward bound to plough the rolling sea,  
To the blessed Land of Room Enough beyond the ocean bars,  
Where the air is full of sunlight and the flag is full of stars.

HENRY VAN DYKE.

## The Duty and Value of Patriotism

PATRIOTISM is love of country and loyalty to its life and weal; love tender and strong, tender as the affection of son for mother, strong as the pillars of death; loyalty generous and disinterested, shrinking from no sacrifice, seeking no reward save country's triumph.

Patriotism! There is magic in the word. It is bliss to repeat it. Through the ages humanity has burnt the incense of admiration and reverence at the shrines of patriotism. The most beautiful pages of history are those which recount its deeds. Fireside tales, the outpourings of the memories of peoples, borrow from it their warmest glow. Poets are sweetest when they echo its whisperings; orators most potent when they attune their speech to its inspirations.

Pagan nations were wrong in making gods of their noblest patriots. But their error was the excess of the great truth: that heaven unites with earth in approving and blessing patriotism; that patriotism is one of earth's most exalted virtues, worthy to have come down from the atmosphere of the skies.

\* \* \* \* \*

The human race pays homage to patriotism because of its supreme value. The value of patriotism to a people is above gold and precious stones, above commerce and industry, above citadels and warships. Patriotism is the vital spark of the nation's honor, the living fount of the nation's prosperity, the strong shield of the nation's safety.

The human race pays homage to patriotism because of its supreme loveliness. Patriotism goes out to what is, among earth's possessions, the most precious, the first and best and dearest—country; and its effusion is the fragrant flowering of the purest and noblest sentiments of the heart.

Patriotism is innate in man—the absence of it betokens a perversion of human nature; but it attains its full force and beauty only where minds are elevated and hearts are generous.

Next to God is country, and next to religion is patriotism. No praise goes beyond the deserts of patriotism. It is sublime

in its heroic oblation upon the field of battle: "Oh, glorious is he who for his country falls!" exclaims the Trojan warrior, Hector. It is sublime in the oft-repeated toil of dutiful citizenship. "Of all human doings," writes Cicero, "none is more honorable, none more estimable, than to deserve well of the commonwealth."

\* \* \* \* \*

The Lord is the God of nations because He is the God of men. Without His bidding no nation springs into life or vanishes back into nothingness. I believe in the providence of God over countries even as I believe in His wisdom and His love, and my allegiance to my country rises before my soul encircled with the halo of my loyalty to my God.

A century ago a transatlantic poet and philosopher, reading the signs of the times, wrote:

"Westward the star of empire takes its way;  
The four first acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;  
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Berkeley's prophetic eye had descried America. What shall I say in a brief discourse of my country's value and beauty, of her claims to my love and fealty? I will pass by in silence her fields and forests, her rivers and seas, her boundless riches of soil and of mountain, her pure and health-giving air, her transcendent wealth of nature's fairest and most precious gifts. I will not speak of the noble qualities and robust deeds of her sons, prosperous in peace, valorous in war, gifted in mind and heart, skilled in commerce and industry. Be this my theme in praise of America: She is, as none other, the land of human dignity and of human liberty!

America, rising into the family of nations in these latter times, is the highest billow in humanity's evolution, the crowning effort of ages in the aggrandizement of man. Unless we view her in this altitude, we do not comprehend her; we belittle her towering stature, and hide from ourselves the singular design of Providence in creating her.

When the fathers of the Republic declared: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," a principle was enunciated

which, in its truth, was as old as the race, but in practical realization was almost unknown.

Slowly and laboriously, amid suffering and revolution, humanity had been reaching out toward a reign of the rights of man. Paganism utterly denied such rights. It allowed nothing to man as man; man was what wealth, or place, or power made him. Even the wise Aristotle taught that nature intended some men to be slaves and chattels. The sweet religion of Christ proclaimed aloud the doctrine of the common fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man.

Eighteen hundred years, however, went by, and the civilized world had not yet put its civil and political institutions into accord with its spiritual faith. . . . This came at last, and it came in America. It came in a first manifestation through the Declaration of Independence; it came in a second and final manifestation through President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation.

In America all men are civilly and politically equal; all have the same rights; all wield the same arm of defense and of conquest—the suffrage; and the sole condition of rights and of power is simple manhood.

. . . The divine gift of liberty is God's recognition of man's greatness and man's dignity. In liberty lie the sweetness of life and the power of growth. The loss of liberty is the loss of light and sunshine, the loss of life's best portion. Under the spell of heavenly memories, humanity never has ceased to dream of liberty, and to aspire to its possession. Now and then, here and there, liberty had for a moment caressed humanity's brow. But not until the Republic of the West was born, not until the Star-Spangled Banner rose toward the skies, was liberty caught up in humanity's embrace and embodied in a great and abiding nation.

In America the government takes from the liberty of the citizen only so much as is necessary for the weal of the nation. In America there are no masters who govern in their own right, for their own interest, or at their own will. We have over us no Bourbon saying: "*L'état, c'est moi*"; no Hohenzollern proclaiming that in his acts as sovereign he is responsible only to his consciencie and to God. Ours is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Our Government is our own organized will.

In America, rights begin with and go upward from the people. In other countries, even in those which are apparently the most free, rights begin with and come downward from the state; the rights of citizens, the rights of the people, are concessions which have been wrested from the governing powers.

In America, whenever the government does not prove its grant, the liberty of the individual citizen remains intact. Elsewhere there are governments called republics; there, too, universal suffrage establishes the state: but once established, the state is tyrannous and arbitrary; invades at will private rights and curtails at will individual liberty. One republic only is liberty's native home—America.

JOHN IRELAND,  
*Archbishop of St. Paul.*

# Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight

(In Springfield, Illinois)

IT IS portentous, and a thing of state  
That here at midnight, in our little town  
A mourning figure walks, and will not rest,  
Near the old courthouse pacing up and down.

Or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards  
He lingers where his children used to play,  
Or through the market, on the well-worn stones  
He stalks until the dawn-stars burn away.

A bronzed, lank man! His suit of ancient black,  
A famous high top-hat and plain worn shawl  
Make him the quaint great figure that men love,  
The prairie-lawyer, master of us all.

He can not sleep upon his hillside now.  
He is among us:—as in times before!  
And we who toss and lie awake for long  
Breathe deep, and start, to see him pass the door.

His head is bowed. He thinks on men and kings.  
Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?  
Too many peasants fight, they know not why,  
Too many homesteads in black terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn his heart.  
He sees the dreadnaughts scouring every main.  
He carries on his shawl-wrapped shoulders now  
The bitterness, the folly and the pain.

He can not rest until a spirit-dawn  
Shall come;—the shining hope of Europe free:  
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth  
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,  
That all his hours of travail here for men  
Seen yet in vain. And who will bring white peace  
That he may sleep upon his hill again?

VACHEL LINDSAY.

## Democracy

THERE can be no doubt that the spectacle of a great and prosperous Democracy on the other side of the Atlantic must react powerfully on the aspirations and political theories of men in the Old World who do not find things to their mind; but, whether for good or evil, it should not be overlooked that the acorn from which it sprang was ripened on the British oak. Every successive swarm that has gone out from this *officina gentium* has, when left to its own instincts—may I not call them hereditary instincts?—assumed a more or less thoroughly democratic form. This would seem to show, what I believe to be the fact, that the British Constitution, under whatever disguises of prudence or decorum, is essentially democratic. . . . People are continually saying that America is in the air, and I am glad to think it is, since this means only that a clearer conception of human claims and human duties is beginning to be prevalent. The discontent with the existing order of things, however, pervaded the atmosphere wherever the conditions were favorable, long before Columbus, seeking the back door of Asia, found himself knocking at the front door of America. . . . . The sentiment which lies at the root of Democracy is nothing new. I am speaking always of a sentiment, a spirit, and not of a form of government; for this was but the out-growth of the other and not its cause. This sentiment is merely an expression of the natural wish of people to have a hand, if need be a controlling hand, in the management of their own affairs. What is new is that they are more and more gaining that control, and learning more and more how to be worthy of it. What we used to call the tendency or drift—what we are being taught to call more wisely the evolution of things—has for some time been setting steadily in this direction. . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

We hear it said sometimes that this is an age of transition, as if that made matters clearer; but can any one point us to an age that was not? If he could, he would show us an age of

stagnation. The question for us, as it has been for all before us, is to make the transition gradual and easy, to see that our points are right so that the train may not come to grief. For we should remember that nothing is more natural for people whose education has been neglected than to spell evolution with an initial "r." A great man struggling with the storms of fate has been called a sublime spectacle; but surely a great man wrestling with these new forces that have come into the world, mastering them and controlling them to beneficent ends, would be a yet sublimer. Here is not a danger, and if there were it would be only a better school of manhood, a nobler scope for ambition. I have hinted that what people are afraid of in Democracy is less the thing itself than what they conceive to be its necessary adjuncts and consequences. It is supposed to reduce all mankind to a dead level of mediocrity in character and culture, to vulgarize men's conceptions of life, and therefore their code of morals, manners, and conduct—to endanger the rights of property and possession. But I believe that the real gravamen of the charges lies in the habit it has of making itself generally disagreeable by asking the Powers that Be at the most inconvenient moment whether they are the powers that ought to be. If the Powers that Be are in a condition to give a satisfactory answer to this inevitable question, they need feel in no way discomfited by it.

Few people take the trouble of trying to find out what democracy really is. Yet this would be a great help, for it is our lawless and uncertain thoughts, it is the indefiniteness of our impressions, that fill darkness, whether mental or physical, with specters and hobgoblins. Democracy is nothing more than an experiment in government, more likely to succeed in a new soil, but likely to be tried in all soils, which must stand or fall on its own merits as others have done before it. For there is no trick of perpetual motion in politics any more than in mechanics. President Lincoln defined democracy to be "the government of the people, by the people, for the people." This is a sufficiently compact statement of it as a political arrangement. Theodore Parker said that "Democracy meant not 'I'm as good as you are,' but 'You're as good as I am.' " And this is the ethical conception of it, necessary as a complement of the other; a conception which, could it be made actual and practical, would easily solve all the riddles that the old

sphinx of political and social economy who sits by the roadside has been proposing to mankind from the beginning, and which mankind have shown such a singular talent for answering wrongly. In this sense Christ was the first true democrat that ever breathed, as the old dramatist Dekker said he was the first true gentleman. The characters may be easily doubled, so strong is the likeness between them. A beautiful and profound parable of the Persian poet Jellaladeen tells us that "One knocked at the Beloved's door, and a voice asked from within 'Who is there?' and he answered 'It is I.' Then the voice said, 'This house will not hold me and thee'; and the door was not opened. Then went the lover into the desert and fasted and prayed in solitude, and after a year he returned and knocked again at the door; and again the voice asked, 'Who is there?' and he said 'It is thyself'; and the door was opened to him."

But that is idealism, you will say, and this is an only too practical world. I grant it; but I am one of those who believe that the real will never find an irremovable basis till it rests on the ideal.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

## Makers of the Flag

THIS morning, as I passed into the Land Office, The Flag dropped me a most cordial salutation, and from its rippling folds I heard it say: "Good morning, Mr. Flag Maker."

"I beg your pardon, Old Glory," I said, "aren't you mistaken? I am not the President of the United States, nor a member of Congress, nor even a general in the army. I am only a Government clerk."

"I greet you again, Mr. Flag Maker," replied the gay voice, "I know you well. You are the man who worked in the swelter of yesterday straightening out the tangle of that farmer's homestead in Idaho, or perhaps you found the mistake in that Indian contract in Oklahoma, or helped to clear that patent for the hopeful inventor in New York, or pushed the opening of that new ditch in Colorado, or made that mine in Illinois more safe, or brought relief to the old soldier in Wyoming. No matter; whichever one of these beneficent individuals you may happen to be, I give you greeting, Mr. Flag Maker."

I was about to pass on, when The Flag stopped me with these words:

"Yesterday the President spoke a word that made happier the future of ten million peons in Mexico; but that act looms no larger on the flag than the struggle which the boy in Georgia is making to win the Corn Club prize this summer.

"Yesterday the Congress spoke a word which will open the door of Alaska; but a mother in Michigan worked from sunrise until far into the night, to give her boy an education. She, too, is making the flag.

"Yesterday we made a new law to prevent financial panics, and yesterday, maybe, a school teacher in Ohio taught his first letters to a boy who will one day write a song that will give cheer to the millions of our race. We are all making the flag."

"But," I said impatiently, "these people were only working!"

Then came a great shout from The Flag:

"The work that we do is the making of the flag.

"I am not the flag; not at all. I am but its shadow.

"I am whatever you make me, nothing more.

"I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a People may become.

"I live a changing life, a life of moods and passions, of heart breaks and tired muscles.

"Sometimes I am strong with pride, when men do an honest work, fitting the rails together truly.

"Sometimes I droop, for then purpose has gone from me, and cynically I play the coward.

"Sometimes I am loud, garish, and full of that ego that blasts judgment.

"But always, I am all that you hope to be, and have the courage to try for.

"I am song and fear, struggle and panic, and ennobling hope.

"I am the day's work of the weakest man, and the largest dream of the most daring.

"I am the Constitution and the courts, statutes and the statute makers, soldier and dreadnaught, drayman and street sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk.

"I am the battle of yesterday, and the mistake of tomorrow.

"I am the mystery of the men who do without knowing why.

"I am the clutch of an idea, and the reasoned purpose of resolution.

"I am no more than what you believe me to be and I am all that you believe I can be.

· "I am what you make me, nothing more.

"I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself, the pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this nation. My stars and my stripes are your dream and your labors. They are bright with cheer, brilliant with courage, firm with faith, because you have made them so out of your hearts. · For you are the makers of the flag and it is well that you glory in the making."

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

## The New Banner

O FELLOW-CITIZENS of storm-tossed Lands,  
War weary! Sound the bugle-note! Arise!  
New steadfast standards wait your eager hands,  
The Star of Promise orbs to meet your eyes.

Great Kings must pass, that mankind may be free,  
Beneath the banner of Democracy!

The Mighty Ruler of this mortal life  
Has wisdom, not by mortals understood:  
The seeds of blood, the deeds of wanton strife  
Shall some day harvest unexpected good.  
Great Kings shall pass and every nation be  
Ruled by the people—for the people, free.

When the mad anguish of this stricken world—  
Where valiant heroes daily fight and fall—  
Has passed and Freedom's banners are unfurled,  
Then shall we know the reason for it all!  
Then every waiting, heart-sick land shall see  
The ultimate design of Destiny!

Brave men and women, laboring in toil—  
Who, faithful, fight with willing sword or pen,  
Who work to break the rock or till the soil—  
Shall wear the high insignia of men.  
All Kings must pass, that every man may be  
A monarch in his manhood, strong and free!

Beyond the present, unimagined woe,  
A glorious Day is breaking o'er the earth:  
As Spring flowers blossom, after ice-bound snow,  
The God of Gods shall bring new things to birth.  
It is the dawn! Great forces are set free!  
All Hail the Day! World-wide Democracy!

KATRINA TRASK.

## The New Crusade

LIFE is a trifle;  
Honor is all;  
Shoulder the rifle;  
Answer the call.  
*“A nation of traders”!*  
*We'll show what we are,*  
*Freedom's crusaders*  
*Who war against war.*

Battle is tragic;  
Battle shall cease;  
Ours is the magic  
Mission of Peace.

Gladly we barter  
Gold of our youth  
For Liberty's charter  
Blood-sealed in truth.  
*“A nation of traders”!*  
*We'll show what we are,*  
*Freedom's crusaders*  
*Who war against war.*

Sons of the granite,  
Strong be our stroke,  
Making this planet  
Safe for the folk.

Life is but passion,  
Sunshine on dew.  
Forward to fashion  
The old world anew!  
*“A nation of traders”!*  
*We'll show what we are,*  
*Freedom's crusaders*  
*Who war against war.*

KATHARINE LEE BATES.

## The Medical Corps

THEIR country's need is more to them than personal demands;

There is no law to send these men to serve in war-torn lands;  
They freely go, they gladly go, with healing in their hands.

What is the sacrifice they make? A life's achievements lost;  
The barriers that blocked success by weary stages crossed,  
They cast the hard-won prize aside, nor stop to count the cost.

I think the surgeons, more than most, are truly great of soul;  
Their many charities, if told, would fill a lengthy scroll—  
Their daily, countless kindnesses make more than bodies whole.

God speed the ships that bear the food we hasten overseas;  
God bless the men who fight to save our threatened liberties—  
God knows the surgeons who enlist are not the least of these.

BEATRICE BARRY.

(76)

## The Red Cross Spirit Speaks

### I

WHEREVER war, with its red woes,  
Or flood, or fire, or famine goes,  
There, too, go I;  
If earth in any quarter quakes  
Or pestilence its ravage makes,  
Thither I fly.

### II

I kneel behind the soldier's trench.  
I walk 'mid shambles' smear and stench,  
The dead I mourn;  
I bear the stretcher and I bend  
O'er Fritz and Pierre and Jack to mend  
What shells have torn.

### III

I go wherever men may dare,  
I go wherever woman's care  
And love can live,  
Wherever strength and skill can bring  
Surcease to human suffering,  
Or solace give.

### IV

I helped upon Haldora's shore;  
With Hospitaller Knights I bore  
The first red cross;  
I was the Lady of the Lamp;  
I saw in Solferino's camp  
The crimson loss.

I am your pennies and your pounds;  
 I am your bodies on their rounds  
     Of pain afar;  
 I am *you*, doing what you would  
 If you were only where you could—  
     Your avatar.

The cross which on my arm I wear,  
 The flag which o'er my breast I bear,  
     Is but the sign  
 Of what you'd sacrifice for him  
 Who suffers on the hellish rim  
     Of war's red line.

JOHN FINLEY.

## German-American Loyalty

MY EMOTIONS tell me one thing at this awful time, but my reason tells me another. As a German by birth it is a horrible calamity that I may have to fight Germans. That is natural, is it not so? But as an American, by preference, I can see no other course open.

\* \* \* \* \*

For twenty-five years Germany has shown dislike for the United States—the Samoan affair, the Hongkong contretemps, the Manila Bay incident, the unguarded words of the Kaiser himself, and, lastly, the Haitian controversy in 1914 . . . . And it has not been from mere commercial or diplomatic friction. It is because their ideals of government are absolutely opposite. One or the other must go down. It is for us to say now which it shall be.

Because of my birth and feelings beyond my control I have no particular love for the French and less for the British. But by a strange irony of fate I see those nations giving their blood for principles which I hold dear, against the wrong principles of people I individually love. It is a very unhappy paradox, but one I can not escape. I do not want to see the allies triumph over the land of my birth. But I very much want to see the triumph of the ideas they fight for.

It sickens my soul to think of this nation going forth to help destroy people many of whom are bound to me by ties of blood and friendship. But it must be so. It is like a dreadful surgical operation. The militaristic, undemocratic demon which rules Germany must be cast out. It is for us to do it—now. I have tried to tell myself that it is not our affair; that we should have contented ourselves with measures of defense and armed neutrality. But I know that is not so. The mailed fist has been shaken under our nose before. If Prussianism triumphs in this war, the fist will continue to shake. We shall be in real peril and those ideas for which so much of the world's best blood has been spilled through the centuries will be in danger of

extinction. It seems to me common sense that we begin our defense by immediate attack when the demon is occupied and when we can command assistance.

There is much talk of what people like me will do, and fear of the hyphen. No such thing exists. The German-American is as staunch as the American of adoption of any other land and perhaps more so. Let us make war upon Germany, not from revenge, not to uphold her splitting quibbles of international law. But let us make war with our whole heart and with all our strength because Germany worships one God and we another and because the lion and the lamb can not lie down together. One or the other must perish.

Let us make war upon the Germany of the *Junkerthum*, the Germany of frightfulness, the Germany of arrogance and selfishness, and let us swear not to make peace until the imperial German Government is the sovereign German people.

C. KOTZENABE.

## A Message to the German Born

A CENTURY and a half ago Americans of English birth rose to free this country from the oppression of the rulers of England. To-day Americans of German birth are called upon to rise, together with their fellow-citizens of all races, to free not only this country but the whole world from the oppression of the rulers of Germany, an oppression far less capable of being endured and of far graver portent.

Speaking as one born of German parents, I do not hesitate to state it as my deep conviction that the greatest service which men of German birth or antecedents can render to the country of their origin is to proclaim and to stand up for those great and fine ideals and national qualities and traditions which they inherited from their ancestors, and to set their faces like flint against the monstrous doctrines and acts of a rulership which have robbed them of the Germany which they loved and in which they took just pride, the Germany which had the good will, respect, and admiration of the entire world.

I do not hesitate to state it as my solemn conviction that the more unmistakably and whole-heartedly Americans of German origin throw themselves into the struggle which this country has entered in order to rescue Germany, no less than America and the rest of the world, from those sinister forces that are, in President Wilson's language, the enemy of all mankind, the better they protect and serve the repute of the old German name and the true advantage of the German people.

I measure my words. They are borne out all too emphatically by the hideous eloquence of deeds which have appalled the conscience of the civilized world. They are borne out by numberless expressions, written and spoken, of German professors employed by the State to teach its youth.

The burden of teaching is that might makes right, and that the German nation has been chosen to exercise, morally, mentally, and actually, the overlordship of the world, and must and will

accomplish that task and that destiny whatever the cost in bloodshed, misery, and ruin.

\* \* \* \* \*

I speak in sorrow, for I am speaking of the country of my origin, and I have not forgotten what I owe to it.

I speak in bitter disappointment, for I am thinking of the Germany of former days, the Germany which has contributed its full share to the store of the world's imperishable assets and which, in not a few fields of human endeavor and achievement, held the leading place among the nations of the earth.

And I speak in the firm faith that, after its people shall have shaken off and made atonement for the dreadful spell which an evil fate has cast upon them, that former Germany is bound to arise again and, in due course of time, will again deserve and attain the good will and the high respect of the world and the affectionate loyalty of all those of German blood in foreign lands.

But I know that neither Germany nor this country nor the rest of the world can return to happiness and peace and fruitful labor until it shall have been made manifest, bitterly and unmistakably manifest, to the rulers who bear the blood-guilt for this wanton war and to their misinformed and misguided peoples that the spirit which unchained it can not prevail, that the hateful doctrines and methods in pursuance of which and in compliance with which it is conducted are rejected with abhorrence by the civilized world, and that the overweening ambitions which it was meant to serve can never be achieved.

The fight for civilization which we all fondly believed had been won many years ago must be fought over again. In this sacred struggle it is now our privilege to take no mean part and our glory to bring sacrifices.

OTTO H. KAHN.

*Belgium*

## Liberty's Champions

IT IS one of the best qualities of human nature that makes us, as we enjoy the blessings of freedom of intellect, freedom of religion, freedom of action, look back with gratitude to the men who sacrificed themselves in the long struggle of the ages for these things. Whether they be martyrs at the stake, or Cameronians in the Highlands of Scotland, or Huguenots in the Gvennés, or lawyers pleading for justice against popular clamor and disapproval, or brave men fighting in the defense of their country's liberty, we are all grateful to them because our blessings came from their noble sacrifice.

My friends, so sure am I that liberty and security in this land of ours depend upon the destruction and abandonment of the hated principle of national aggrandisement and immorality, and the enthronement of the principles of national responsibility and morality, that for all the countless generations to come after us in our dear land, I am grateful with all my heart to those men who are fighting in the trenches in France and Belgium and Russia and Italy and the Balkans today for the liberty and peace of my children's children.

ELIHU ROOT.

(84)

## **Belgium**

**S**HE is not dead! Although the spoiler's hand  
Lies heavy as death upon her; though the smart  
Of his accursed steel is at her heart,  
And scarred upon her breast his shameful brand;  
Though yet the torches of the vandal band  
Smoke on her ruined fields, her trampled lanes,  
Her ravaged homes and desolated fanes,  
She is not dead, but sleeping, that wronged land.

O little nation, valorous and free,  
Thou shalt o'erlive the terror and the pain;  
Call back thy scattered children unto thee,  
Strong with the memory of their brothers slain,  
And rise from out thy charnel-house, to be  
Thine own immortal, radiant Self again.

SIDNEY LOW.

(85)

## The Flag in Belgium

WE STOOD on Belgium's tortured soil,  
War-scarred it was—blood red,  
While Hunger stalked the smitten land  
And widows mourned their dead;  
And there was nowhere sign of hope,  
And nowhere help was nigh,  
Save in that spot where flew our flag,  
The Stars and Stripes, on high.

Beneath it, safe protected, lay  
The food by Pity sent,  
And where it waved, Compassion stood  
With succor for the spent.  
The little children blessed the flag,  
And women kissed its bars,  
And men looked up, again with hope  
To gaze upon its stars.

Go, trace its glories to their source  
In fights by land or sea,  
And tell of all that made this flag  
The emblem of the free,  
But nobler fight was never waged  
Nor higher honour gained  
Than where this flag 'gainst Famine's force  
God's mercy still maintained.

WILLIAM C. EDGAR.

## Pastoral Letter, Christmas, 1914

I SPEAK to you simply and directly of what is your duty, and of what may be your hope. That duty I shall express in two words: Patriotism and Endurance.

\* \* \* \* \*

When, immediately on my return from Rome, I went to Havre to greet our Belgian, French, and English wounded; when, later at Malines, at Louvain, at Antwerp, it was given to me to take the hands of those brave men who carried a bullet in their flesh, a wound on their forehead, because they had marched to the attack of the enemy, or borne the shock of his onslaught, it was a word of gratitude to them that rose to my lips. "O valiant friends," I said, "it was for us, it was for each one of us, it was for me, that you risked your lives and are now in pain. I am moved to tell you of my respect, of my thankfulness, to assure you that the whole nation knows how much she is in debt to you."

For in truth our soldiers are our saviours.

A first time, at Liege, they saved France; a second time, in Flanders, they arrested the advance of the enemy upon Calais. France and England know it; and Belgium stands before them both, and before the entire world, as a nation of heroes.

\* \* \* \* \*

If any man had rescued you from shipwreck, or from a fire, you would assuredly hold yourself bound to him by a debt of everlasting thankfulness. But it is not one man, it is two hundred and fifty thousand men who fought, who suffered, who fell for you so that you might be free, so that Belgium might keep her independence, her dynasty, her patriotic unity; so that after the vicissitudes of battle she might rise nobler, purer, more erect, and more glorious than before.

Pray daily, my brethren, for these two hundred and fifty thousand, and for their leaders to victory; pray for our brothers

in arms; pray for the fallen; pray for those who are still engaged;  
pray for the recruits who are making ready for the fight to come

\* \* \* \* \*

These last four months have seemed to me age-long. By thousands have our brave ones been mown down; wives, mothers, are weeping for those they shall not see again; hearths are desolate; dire poverty spreads, anguish increases. . . . The ruins I beheld, and the ashes, were more dreadful than I, prepared by the saddest of forebodings, could have imagined.

\* \* \* \* \*

In this dear city of Louvain, perpetually in my thoughts, the magnificent church of St. Peter will never recover its former splendour. The ancient college of St. Ives, the art schools, the consular and commercial schools of the University, the old markets, our rich library, with its collections, its unique and unpublished manuscripts, its gallery of great portraits, . . . which preserved . . . a noble tradition—all this accumulation of intellectual, of historic, and of artistic riches, the fruits of the labours of five centuries—all is in the dust.

\* \* \* \* \*

And there where lives were not taken, and there where the stones of buildings were not thrown down, what anguish unrevealed! Families hitherto living at ease, now in bitter want; all commerce at an end, all careers ruined; industry at a standstill; thousands upon thousands of working-men without employment; working-women, shop-girls, humble servant-girls without the means of earning their bread; and poor souls forlorn on the bed of sickness and fever crying, “Oh Lord, how long, how long?”

There is nothing to reply. The reply remains the secret of God.

\* \* \* \* \*

Many are the thoughts that throng the breast of man to-day, and the chief of them all is this: God reveals Himself as the Master. The nations that made the attack, and the nations that are warring in self-defence, alike confess themselves to be in the hand of Him without whom nothing is made, nothing is done. Men long unaccustomed to prayer are turning again to God. . . . Nor is their prayer today a word learned by rote, uttered lightly by the lip; it surges from the troubled heart, it takes the form, at the feet of God, of the very sacrifice

of life. The kind of man is a whole offering to God. This is worship.

\* \* \* \* \*

Shall we not confess that we have indeed something to expiate? He who has received much, from him shall much be required. Now, dare we say that the moral and religious standard of our people has risen as its economic prosperity has risen?

\* \* \* \* \*

God will save Belgium, my brethren, you can not doubt it,

Nay rather, He is saving her. . . . Which of us would have the heart to cancel this last page of our national history? Which of us does not exult in the brightness of the glory of this shattered nation? When in her throes she brings forth heroes, our Mother Country gives her own energy to the blood of those sons of hers. Let us acknowledge that we needed a lesson in patriotism. . . . For down within us all is something deeper than personal interests, than personal kinships, than party feeling, and this is the need and the will to devote ourselves to that more general interest which Rome termed the public thing, *Res publica*. And this profound will within us is Patriotism.

Our country is not a mere concourse of persons or of families inhabiting the same soil, having amongst themselves relations . . . of business, of neighborhood, of a community of memories, happy or unhappy. Not so; it is an association of living souls subject to a social organization to be defended and safeguarded at all costs, even the cost of blood, under the leadership of those presiding over its fortunes. And it is because of this general spirit that the people of a country live a common life in the present, through the past, through the aspirations, the hopes, the confidence in a life to come, which they share together. . . .

And the religion of Christ makes of patriotism a positive law; there is no perfect Christian who is not also a perfect patriot.

CARDINAL MERCIER.

## The Bells of Malines

(August 17, 1914.)

THE gabled roofs of old Malines  
Are russet-red and gray and green,  
And o'er them in the sunset hour  
Looms, dark and huge, St. Rombold's tower.  
High in that rugged nest concealed,  
The sweetest bells that ever pealed,  
The deepest bells that ever rung,  
The lightest bells that ever sung,  
Are waiting for the master's hand  
To fling their music o'er the land.

And shall they ring to-night, Malines?  
In nineteen hundred and fourteen,  
The frightful year, the year of woe,  
When fire and blood and rapine flow  
Across the land from lost Liège,  
Storm-driven by the German rage?  
The other earillons have eased:  
Fallen is Hasselt, fallen Diest,  
From Ghent and Bruges no voiees come,  
Antwerp is silent, Brussels dumb.

But in thy belfry, O Malines,  
The master of the bells unseen  
Has climbed to where the keyboard stands—  
To-night his heart is in his hands!  
Once more, before invasion's hell  
Breaks round the tower he loves so well,  
Once more he strikes the well-worn keys,  
And sends aerial harmonies  
Far floating through the twilight dim  
In patriot song and holy hymn.

O listen, burghers of Malines!  
 Soldier and workman, pale bégotine,  
 And mother with a trembling flock  
 Of children clinging to thy frock—  
 Look up and listen, listen all!  
 What tunes are these that gently fall  
 Around you like a benison?  
 “The Flemish Lion,” “Brabançonne,”  
 “O brave Liège,” and all the airs  
 That Belgium in her bosom bears.

Ring up, ye silvery octaves high,  
 Whose notes like circling swallows fly;  
 And ring, each old sonorous bell—  
 “Jesu,” “Maria,” “Michael”!  
 Weave in and out, and high and low,  
 The magic music that you know,  
 And let it float and flutter down  
 To cheer the heart of the troubled town.  
 Ring out, “Salvator,” lord of all—  
 “Roland” in Ghent may hear thee call!

O brave bell-music of Malines,  
 In this dark hour how much you mean!  
 The dreadful night of blood and tears  
 Sweeps down on Belgium, but she hears  
 Deep in her heart the melody  
 Of songs she learned when she was free.  
 She will not falter, faint, nor fail,  
 But fight until her rights prevail,  
 And all her ancient belfries ring  
 “The Flemish Lion,” “God save the King”!

HENRY VAN DYKE.

## Pro Patria

I NEED not here recall the events that hurled Belgium into the depths of distress most glorious where she is struggling today. She has been punished as never nation was punished for doing her duty as never nation did before. She saved the world while knowing that she could not be saved. She saved it by flinging herself in the path of the oncoming barbarians, by allowing herself to be trampled to death in order to give the defenders of justice time, not to rescue her, for she was well aware that rescue could not come in time, but to collect the forces needed to save our Latin civilization from the greatest danger that has ever threatened it. She has thus done this civilization, which is the only one whereunder the majority of men are willing or able to live, a service exactly similar to that which Greece, at the time of the great Asiatic invasions, rendered to the mother of this civilization. But, while the service is similar, the act surpasses all comparison. We may ransack history in vain for aught to approach it in grandeur. The magnificent sacrifice at Thermopylae, which is perhaps the noblest action in the annals of war, is illumined with an equally heroic but less ideal light, for it was less disinterested and more material. Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans were in fact defending their homes, their wives, their children, all the realities which they had left behind them. King Albert and his Belgians, on the other hand, knew full well that, in barring the invader's road, they were inevitably sacrificing their homes, their wives, and their children. Unlike the heroes of Sparta, instead of possessing an imperative and vital interest in fighting, they had everything to gain by not fighting and nothing to lose—save honor. In the one scale were fire and the sword, ruin, massacre, the infinite disaster which we see; in the other was that little word honor, which also represents infinite things, but things which we do not see, or which we must be very pure and very great to see quite clearly. It has happened now and

again in history that a man standing higher than his fellows perceives what this word represents and sacrifices his life and the life of those whom he loves to what he perceives; and we have not without reason devoted to such men a sort of cult that places them almost on a level with the gods. But what had never yet happened—and I say this without fear of contradiction from whosoever cares to search the memory of man—is that a whole people, great and small, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, deliberately immolated itself thus for the sake of an unseen thing.

\* \* \* \*

They have done what had never before been done; and it is to be hoped for the happiness of mankind that no nation will ever again be called upon for a like sacrifice. But this wonderful example will not be lost, even though there be no longer any occasion to imitate it. At a time when the universal conscience seemed about to bend under the weight of long prosperity and selfish materialism, suddenly it raised by several degrees what we may term the political morality of the world and lifted it all at once to a height which it had not yet reached and from which it will never again be able to descend, for there are actions so glorious, actions which fill so great a place in our memory, that they found a sort of new religion and definitely fix the limits of the human conscience and of human loyalty and courage.

They have really, as I have already said and as history will one day establish with greater eloquence and authority than mine, they have really saved Latin civilization.

MAURICE MAETERLINCK.

## In Flanders Fields

IN FLANDERS fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place, and in the sky,  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly,  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the dead; short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe!  
To you from failing hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high!  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.

JOHN MCRAE.

(94)

*France*

## The Marseillaise

YE SONS of freedom, wake to glory!  
Hark! Hark! what myriads bid you rise!  
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary,  
Behold their tears and hear their cries!  
Shall hateful tyrants, mischiefs breeding,  
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,  
Affright and desolate the land,  
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?  
To arms! to arms, ye brave!  
The avenging sword unsheathe;  
March on! march on! all hearts resolved  
On victory or death.

Now, now the dangerous storm is rolling,  
Which treacherous kings, confederate, raise;  
The dogs of war, let loose, are howling,  
And lo! our fields and cities blaze;  
And shall we basely view the ruin,  
While lawless force, with guilty stride,  
Spreads desolation far and wide,  
With crimes and blood his hands imbruining!  
To arms! to arms, ye brave!  
The avenging sword unsheathe;  
March on! march on! all hearts resolved  
On victory or death.

With luxury and pride surrounded,  
The vile, insatiate despots dare,  
Their thirst of power and gold unbounded,  
To meet and vend the light and air;  
Like beasts of burden would they load us,  
Like gods would bid their slaves adore;  
But man is man, and who is more?  
Then, shall they longer lash and goad us?  
To arms! to arms, ye brave!  
The avenging sword unsheathe;  
March on! march on! all hearts resolved  
On victory or death.

O Liberty! can man resign thee,  
Once having felt thy generous flaine?  
Can dungeons, bolts or bars confine thee?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Too long the world has wept, bewailing  
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield,  
But freedom is our sword and shield,  
And all their arts are unavailing.  
To arms! to arms, ye brave!  
The avenging sword unsheathe;  
March on! march on! all hearts resolved  
On victory or death.

## Vive la France

THE land of sunshine and of song!  
Her name your hearts divine;  
To her the banquet's vows belong  
Whose breasts have poured its wine;  
Our trusty friend, our true ally  
Through varied change and chance:  
So, fill your flashing goblets high—  
I give you, VIVE LA FRANCE!

Above our hosts in triple folds  
The selfsame colors spread,  
Where Valor's faithful arm upholds  
The blue, the white, the red;  
Alike each nation's glittering crest  
Reflects the morning's glanee—  
Twin eagles, soaring east and west:  
Once more, then, VIVE LA FRANCE!

Sister in trial! who shall eount  
Thy generous friendship's claim,  
Whose blood ran mingling in the fount  
That gave our land its name,  
Till Yorktown saw in blended line  
Our conquerin' arms advancee,  
And victory's double garlands twine  
Our banners? VIVE LA FRANCE!

O land of heroes! in our need  
One gift from Heaven we erave  
To staneh these wounds that vainly bleed—  
The wise to lead the brave!  
Call back one Captain of thy past  
From glory's marble tranee,  
Whose name shall be a bugle-blast  
To rouse us! VIVE LA FRANCE!

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

## The Soul of Jeanne D'Arc

*SHE came not into the Presence as a martyred saint might come,  
Crowned, white-robed and adoring, with very reverence dumb,—  
She stood as a straight, young soldier, confident, gallant, strong,  
Who asks a boon of his captain in the sudden hush of the drum.*

She said: "Now have I stayed too long in this my place of bliss,  
With these glad dead that, comforted, forgot what sorrow is  
Upon that world whose stony stairs they climbed to come to  
this.

"But lo, a cry hath torn the peace wherein so long I stayed,  
Like a trumpet's call at Heaven's wall from a herald unafeard,—  
A million voices in one cry, '*Where is the Maid, the Maid?*'

"I had forgot from too much joy that olden task of mine,  
But I have heard a certain word shatter the chant divine,  
Have watched a banner glow and grow before mine eyes for  
sign.

"I would return to that my land flung in the teeth of war,  
I would cast down my robe and crown that pleasure me no more,  
And don the armor that I knew, the valiant sword I bore.

"And angels militant shall fling the gates of Heaven wide,  
And souls new-dead whose lives were shed like leaves on war's  
red tide

Shall cross their swords above our heads and cheer us as we  
ride.

"For with me goes that soldier saint, Saint Michael of the  
sword,

And I shall ride on his right side, a page beside his lord.  
And men shall follow like swift blades to reap a sure reward.

"Grant that I answer this my call, yea, though the end may be  
The naked shame, the biting flame, the last, long agony;  
I would go singing down that road where fagots wait for me,

"Mine be the fire about my feet, the smoke above my head;  
So might I glow, a torch to show the path my heroes tread;  
*My Captain! Oh, my Captain, let me go back!*" she said.

THEODOSIA GARRISON.

## The Victor of the Marne

Inscribed to Joseph Jacques Cesaire Joffre, Marshal of France

COME, May, thou darling of the year,  
In every land adored,  
Bring us a draught of Nature's cheer  
In brimming chalice poured;  
Lift high our welcome, while with flowers we wreath a stainless sword.

Give us the spirit's wine to pledge  
To him, the soul of France,  
Who stood before disaster's edge,  
Master of circumstance,  
And faced, unfaltering, and won that hour's portentous chance.

Grant us a halcyon day of blue,  
With light and life aflame,  
That, like the Spring, we may renew  
The laurels of his fame,  
Since now to think of Liberty is but to breathe his name.

Adown the bright and fluttering street  
Let serried thousands throng,  
And children march with eager feet  
In phalanxes of song,  
That Memory to their latest heirs his glorious deed prolong.

If, for a breath, we crave relief  
From War's transcendent woe,  
Not less for France's noble grief  
Our kindred tears shall flow.  
We keep for timelier days the dirge our hearts too keenly know.

Now, our thanksgiving to the Lord—  
 Who, through the ages' round,  
 Doth choose the humble for his sword  
 The mighty to confound—  
 That still the doom of Jericho the horns of Israel sound.

Thanks for the soul that on that field  
 Of lasting good or ill  
 Gave to the land that would not yield  
 His wisdom and his will,  
 Till Fate, confirming man's resolve, once more was Freedom's  
 shield.

And thanks of solemn joy be made  
 For those of every sky,  
 Who, building up our barricade,  
 Our bitter cup put by,  
 Till at their side we now have earned the privilege to die.

Rejoice that, deaf to every lure,  
 At last we gladly stand  
 With those who make the Right secure,  
 Comrades in heart and hand,  
 Like them, Crusaders, sworn to save the greater Holy Land.

Graves of the Marne! Oh, not in vain  
 Your broadcast seed was sown!  
 Already nations love as men;  
 Through you, forgot or known,  
 In spite of frontiers and of flags the world shall be as one.

ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON.

## Vive la France!

FRANCELINe rose in the dawning gray,  
And her heart would dance though she knelt to pray,  
For her man Michel had holiday,  
Fighting for France.

She offered her prayer by the cradle-side,  
And with baby palms folded in hers she cried:  
“If I have but one prayer, dear, crucified  
Christ—save France!

“But if I have two, then, by Mary’s grace,  
Carry me safe to the meeting-place,  
Let me look once again on my dear love’s face,  
Save him for France!”

She crooned to her boy: “Oh, how glad he’ll be,  
Little three-months old, to set eyes on thee!  
For, ‘Rather than gold, would I give,’ wrote he,  
‘A son to France.’

“Come, now, be good, little stray *sauterelle*,  
For we’re going by-by to thy papa Michel,  
But I’ll not say where for fear thou wilt tell,  
Little pigeon of France!

“Six days’ leave and a year between!  
But what would you have? In six days clean,  
Heaven was made,” said Franceline,  
“Heaven and France.”

She came to the town of the nameless name,  
To the marching troops in the street she came,  
And she held high her boy like a taper flame  
Burning for France.

Fresh from the trenches and gray with grime,  
Silent they march like a pantomime;  
“But what need of music? My heart beats time—  
Vive la Franee!”

His regiment comes. Oh, then where is he?  
“There is dust in my eyes, for I cannot see,—  
Is that my Miehel to the right of thee,  
    Soldier of France?

Then out of the ranks a comrade fell—  
“Yesterday—’twas a splinter of shell—  
And he whispered thy name, did thy poor Miehel,  
    Dying for Franee.”

The tread of the troops on the pavement throbbed  
Like a woman’s heart of its last joy robbed,  
As she lifted her boy to the flag, and sobbed:  
    “Vive la Franee!”

CHARLOTTE HOLMES CRAWFORD.

## Above the Battle

AMONG the many crimes of this infamous war which are all odious to us, why have we chosen for protest the crimes against things and not against men, the destruction of works and not of lives?

Many are surprised by this, and have even reproached us for it—as if we have not as much pity as they for the bodies and hearts of the thousands of victims who are crucified! Yet over the armies which fall, there flies the vision of their love, and of *la Patrie*, to which they sacrifice themselves—over these lives now yielded up passes the holy Ark of the art and thought of centuries, borne on their shoulders. The bearers can change. May the Ark be saved! To the élite of the world falls the task of guarding it. And since the common treasure is threatened, may they rise to protect it!

I am glad to think that in the Latin countries this sacred duty has always been regarded as paramount. Our France which bleeds with so many other wounds has suffered nothing more cruel than the attack against her Parthenon, the Cathedral of Rheims, “Our Lady of France.” Letters which I have received from sorely tried families, and from soldiers who for two months have borne every hardship, show me (and I am proud of it for them and for my people) that there was no burden heavier for them to bear. It is because we put spirit above flesh. Very different is the case of the German intellectuals, who, to my reproaches for the sacrilegious acts of their devastating armies, have all replied with one voice, “Perish every masterpiece rather than one German soldier!”

A piece of architecture like Rheims is much more than one life; it is a people—whose centuries vibrate like a symphony in this organ of stone. It is their memories of joy, of glory, and of grief; their meditations, ironies, dreams. It is the tree of the race whose roots plunge to the profoundest depths of its soil, and whose branches stretch with a sublime outreaching towards the sky. It is still more: its beauty which soars above the struggles of nations is the harmonious response made by the human race to the riddle of the world—this light of the spirit more necessary to souls than that of the sun.

Whoever destroys this work murders more than a man; he murders the purest soul of a race.

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

## An American Soldier Slain in France

YOU, who sought the great adventure  
That the blind fates hold in store,  
Have beyond our mortal censure  
Passed forever, evermore;  
Passed beyond all joy or sighing,  
Blush of eve or flush of dawn,  
Who beneath the sod are lying  
In the forest of Argonne.

What it was that lured and led you  
Who shall venture, who shall say?  
From the valley of the dead you  
Speak not, question as we may;  
Yet somehow our thoughts have flowed to  
The remembrance of the debt  
That our land has so long owed to  
Rochambeau and Lafayette.

You, bereft of earthly raiment,  
Brave as they and theirs were brave,  
Have made sacrificial payment  
For whate'er their valor gave.  
As they came, with aid unsparing,  
When both fears and foes were rife,  
So you went with dreams of daring  
And the offering of your life.

We, who cling to freedom, hail you,  
Son of never vanquished sires,  
Knowing courage did not fail you  
When you faced the battle fires;  
Knowing that no vaunt of Vandal  
Daunted your determined aim,  
Though your breath failed as a candle  
• 'Neath a flash of morning flaine.

All the brown Atlantic beaches  
From far Fundy to the Keys,  
All the billowy prairie reaches  
Sweeping westward toward the seas;  
Mount Katahdin and Mount Rainier,  
Lake and river great of girth,  
Greet your spirit, bold disdainer  
Of the tyrannies of earth!

Thrones shall crumble, kings shall perish,  
Howsoe'er their legions strive,  
But the liberties men cherish,  
They shall triumph and survive.  
You, blithe wraith, shall be beholder  
Of the flowering of that dawn,  
Though your pulseless clay may moulder  
In the forest of Argonne!

CLINTON SCOLLARD.

*Britain*

## **Britons and Guests!**

**W**E FOUGHT you once—but that was long ago!  
We fought you once, O Briton hearts of oak;  
Away from you—from parent stock—we broke.  
Be glad we did! Because from every blow  
We hurled in that old day a force did grow  
That now shall steady you, level stroke by stroke—  
So Heaven help us, who but late awoke,  
The charge upon our common race to know!

And we will stand with you, the world to save—  
To make it safe for Freedom (as we free have been).  
Have you not seen our mutual banners wave  
As one upon the wind—a sight most brave! . . .  
We once did fight you—ev'n as next of kin  
May cleave apart, at end to closer win!

EDITH M. THOMAS.

(108)

## Together

WHO say we cherish far-off feud,  
Still nurse the ancient grudges?  
Show me the title of this brood  
Of self-appointed judges;  
Their name, their race, their nation, clan,  
And we will teach them whether  
We do not, as none others can,  
Feel, think, and work together!

Both speak the tongue that Milton spoke,  
Shakespeare and Chatham wielded,  
And Washington and all his folk  
When their just claim was yielded.  
In it both lisp, both learn, both pray,  
Dirge death, and thus the tether  
Grows tighter, tenderer, every day,  
That binds the two together.

Our ways are one, and one our aim,  
And one will be our story,  
Who fight for Freedom, not for fame,  
From Duty, not for glory;  
Both stock of the old Home, where blow  
Shamrock, and rose, and heather,  
And every year link arms and go  
Through its loved haunts together.

Should envious aliens plan and plot  
'Gainst one and now the other,  
They swift would learn how strong the knot  
Binds brother unto brother.  
How quickly they would change their tack  
And show the recreant feather,  
Should Star-and-Stripe and Union Jack  
But float mast-high together.

Now let us give one hearty grip,  
As by true men is given,  
And vow fraternal fellowship  
That never shall be riven;  
And with our peaceful flags unfurled,  
Be fair or foul the weather,  
Should need arise, face all the world,  
And stand or fall together.

ALFRED AUSTIN.

## A Reply to England

ON WINGS of a wind that sweeps  
The wild northeastern sea,  
Sounding over the vibrant deeps  
Where the great swift ships ride free,  
We have heard the song of a wakening hope, a glory that yet  
may be.

We have challenged the welcome voice,  
And this is the word we hear:  
“Because you have made the nobler choice  
To all free peoples dear,  
To break the force of a tyrant grasp, and end the rule of fear:  
“Because you have risen at length,  
In your old heroic guise,  
And thrown the shield of your love and strength  
Over a race that dies,  
Striving and bleeding before your gates, under your pitying  
eyes;  
“For this brave passion, we—  
Who alone can understand,  
Because we are kindred souls and free—  
‘We stretch you a brother’s hand !  
And who shall face us, together, nor bend to our high com-  
mand ?’”

This is the voice that calls  
O’er the track of the flying ships,  
Set to the tune of a song that falls  
Sweetly from poet-lips,  
The song of a living love and faith, long darkened by strange  
eclipse.

And the heart within us leaps  
 Till a burning word takes flight:  
 Waken, O giant power that sleeps!  
 O Star of Hope, give light!  
 For the day when we two stand as one is a day that finds no  
 night.

Away with the "ancient wrong"—  
 With the "worn-out tale" of hate!  
 We have felt the touch, we have heard the song,  
 For which the ages wait;  
 We have read the rune of a royal dream on the shining roll of  
 Fate.

And we trace the message plain  
 Which the Hand of God hath lined—  
 Never for lust of power or gain  
 Be our splendid strength combined;  
 Only for right, for law, and light, and the Soul that guides  
 mankind.

Oh, song on the wind that sweeps  
 The wild northeastern sea,  
 Sound once more o'er the vibrant deeps  
 For a truth that yet shall be—  
 For the day when we two stand as one, guarding a world  
 set free!

MARION COUTHOUY SMITH.

## “Of Old Sat Freedom on the Heights”

OF OLD sat Freedom on the heights,  
The thunders breaking at her feet:  
Above her shook the starry lights:  
She heard the torrents meet.

There in her place she did rejoice,  
Self-gather'd in her prophet-mind,  
But fragments of her mighty voice  
Came rolling on the wind.

Then stept she down thro' town and field  
To mingle with the human race,  
And part by part to men reveal'd  
The fullness of her face—

Grave mother of majestic works,  
From her isle-altar gazing down,  
Who, Godlike, grasps the triple forks,  
And, king-like, wears the crown.

Her open eyes desire the truth.  
The wisdom of a thousand years  
Is in them. May perpetual youth  
Keep dry their light from tears;

That her fair form may stand and shine,  
Make bright our days and light our dreams,  
Turning to scorn with lips divine  
The falsehood of extremes!

ALFRED TENNYSON.

## England, My England

WHAT have I done for you,  
England, my England?  
What is there I would not do,  
England, my own?  
With your glorious eyes austere,  
As the Lord were walking near,  
Whispering terrible things and dear  
As the song on your bugles blown,  
England—  
Round the world on your bugles blown!

Where shall the watchful Sun,  
England, my England,  
Match the master-work you've done,  
England, my own?  
When shall he rejoice again  
Such a breed of mighty men  
As come forward, one to ten,  
To the Song on your bugles blown,  
England—  
Down the years on your bugles blown?

Ever the faith endures,  
England, my England—  
“Take and break us: we are yours,  
England, my own!  
Life is good, and joy runs high  
Between English earth and sky:  
Death is death; but we shall die  
To the Song on your bugles blown,  
England—  
To the stars on your bugles blown!”

They call you proud and hard,  
England, my England:  
You with worlds to watch and ward,  
England, my own!  
You whose mailed hand keeps the keys  
Of such teeming destinies,  
You could know nor dread nor ease,  
Were the Song on your bugles blown,  
England—  
Round the Pit on your bugles blown!

Mother of Ships whose might,  
England, my England,  
Is the fierce old Sea's delight,  
England, my own!  
Chosen daughter of the Lord,  
Spouse-in-Chief of the ancient Sword,  
There's the menace of the Word  
In the Song on your bugles blown,  
England—  
Out of heaven on your bugles blown!

W. E. HENLEY.

## The Glory of Ships

THE glory of ships is an old, old song,  
since the day when sea-rovers ran  
In their open boats through the roaring surf,  
and the spread of the world began;  
The glory of ships is a light on the sea,  
and a star in the story of man

When Homer sang of the galleys of Greece  
that conquered the Trojan shore,  
And Solomon lauded the barques of Tyre  
that brought great wealth to his door,  
'Twas little they knew, those ancient men,  
what would come of the sail and the oar.

The Greek ships rescued the West from the East,  
when they harried the Persians home;  
And the Roman ships were the wings of strength  
that bore up the empire, Rome;  
And the ships of Spain found a wide new world,  
far over the fields of foam.

Then the tribes of courage at last saw clear  
that the ocean was not a bound,  
But a broad highway, and a challenge to seek  
for treasure as yet unfound;  
So the fearless ships fared forth to the search,  
in joy that the globe was round.

Their hulls were heightened, their sails spread out,  
they grew with the growth of their quest;  
They opened the secret doors of the East,  
and the golden gates of the West;  
And many a city of high renown  
was proud of a ship on its crest.

The fleets of England and Holland and France  
 were at strife with each other and Spain;  
 And battle and storm sent a myriad ships  
 to sleep in the depths of the main;  
 But the sea-faring spirit could never be drowned,  
 and it filled up the fleets again.

They greated and grew, with the aid of steam,  
 to a wonderful vast array,  
 That carries the thoughts and the traffic of men  
 into every harbor and bay;  
 And now in the world-wide work of the ships  
 'tis England that leads the way.

O well for the leading that follows the law  
 of a common right on the sea!  
 But ill for the leader who tries to hold  
 what belongs to mankind in fee!  
 The way of the ships is an open way,  
 and the ocean must ever be free.

Remember, O first of the maritime folk,  
 how the rise of your greatness began.  
 It will live if you safeguard the round-the-world road  
 from the shame of a selfish ban;  
 For the glory of ships is a light on the sea,  
 and a star in the story of man!

HENRY VAN DYKE.

## The Call

LAND, with the merry smile and the eyes  
  Quick as a hawk's and clear as the day,  
You, who have counted the game the prize,

  Here is the game of games to play.

  Never a goal—the captains say—  
Matches the one that's needed now:

  Put the old blazer and cap away—  
England's colours await your brow.

MAN, with the square-set jaws and chin,

  Always, it seems, you have moved to your end  
Sure of yourself, intent to win

  Fame and wealth and the power to bend—

  All that you've made you're called to spend,  
All that you've sought you're asked to miss—

  What's ambition compared with this  
That a man lay down his life for his friend?

DREAMER, oft in your glancing mind

  Brave with drinking the faerie brew,  
You have smitten the ogres blind

  When the fair Princess cried out to you.

  Dreamer, what if your dreams are true?  
Yonder's a bayonet, magical, since

  Him whom it strikes, the blade sinks through—  
Take it and strike for England, Prince!

FRIEND with the face so hard and worn,

  The Devil and you have sometime met,  
And now you curse the day you were born

  And want one boon of God—to forget.

  Ah, but I know, and yet—and yet—  
I think, out there in the shrapnel spray,

  You shall stand up and not regret  
The Life that gave so splendid a day.

Lover of ease, you've lolled and forgot  
All the things that you meant to right;  
Life has been soft for you, has it not?  
What offer does England make to-night?  
This—to toil and to march and to fight  
As never you've dreamed since your life began;  
This—to carry the steel-swept height,  
This—to know that you've played the man!

Brothers, brothers, the time is short,  
Nor soon again shall it so betide  
That a man may pass from the common sort  
Sudden and stand by the heroes' side.  
Are there some that being named yet bide?  
Hark once more to the clarion call—  
Sounded by him who deathless died—  
"This day England expects you all."

R. E. VERNEDE.

## The Search-Lights

"Political morality differs from individual morality because there is no power above the State."

**S**HADOW by shadow, stripped for fight,  
The lean black cruisers search the sea.

Night-long their level shafts of light

Revolve, and find no enemy.

Only they know each leaping wave

May hide the lightning, and their grave.

And in the land they guard so well

Is there no silent watch to keep?

An age is dying, and the bell

Rings midnight on a vaster deep.

But over all its waves, once more,

The search-lights move, from shore to shore.

And captains that we thought were dead,

And dreamers that we thought were dumb,

And voices that we thought were fled,

Arise, and call us, and we come;

And "Search in thine own soul," they cry;

"For there, too, lurks thine enemy."

Search for the foe in thine own soul,

The sloth, the intellectual pride,

The trivial jest that veils the goal

For which our fathers lived and died;

The lawless dreams, the cynic Art,

That rend thy nobler self apart.

Not far, not far into the night

These level swords of light can pierce;

Yet for her faith does England fight,

Her faith in this our universe,

Believing Truth and Justice draw

From founts of everlasting law;

Therefore a Power above the State,

The unconquerable Power returns.

The fire, the fire that made her great

Once more upon her altar burns.

Once more, redeemed and healed and whole,

She moves to the Eternal Goal.

ALFRED NOYES.

## A Man 's a Man for a' That

IS THERE for honest poverty  
That hings his head, an' a' that?  
The coward slave, we pass him by—  
We dare be poor for a' that!  
For a' that, an' a' that,  
Our toils obscure, an' a' that,  
The rank is but the guinea's stamp,  
The man 's the gowd for a' that.

What though on hamely fare we dine,  
Wear hoddin grey, an' a' that?  
Gie fools their silks, and knaves their wine—  
A man 's a man for a' that.  
For a' that, an' a' that,  
Their tinsel show, an' a' that,  
The honest man. tho' e'er sae poor,  
Is king o' men for a' that.

Ye see yon birkie ca'd "a lord,"  
Wha struts, an' stares, an' a' that?  
Tho' hundreds worship at his word,  
He 's but a cuif for a' that.  
For a' that, an' a' that,  
His ribband, star, an' a' that,  
The man o' independent mind,  
He looks an' laughs at a' that.

A prince can mak a belted knight,  
A marquis, duke, an' a' that!  
But an honest man 's aboon his might—  
Guid faith, he mauna fa' that!  
For a' that, an' a' that,  
Their dignities, an' a' that,  
The pith o' sense an' pride o' worth  
Are highe rank than a' that.

Then let us pray that come it may  
(As come it will for a' that)  
That Sense and Worth o'er a' the earth  
Shall bear the gree an' a' that!  
For a' that, an' a' that,  
It's comin yet for a' that,  
That man to man the world o'er  
Shall brithers be for a' that.

ROBERT BURNS.

## The Minstrel-Boy

The Minstrel-Boy to the war has gone,  
In the ranks of death you'll find him;  
His father's sword he has girded on,  
And his wild harp slung behind him.

“Land of song!” said the warrior bard,  
“Though all the world betrays thee,  
*One* sword, at least, thy rights shall guard,  
*One* faithful harp shall praise thee!”

The Minstrel fell!—but the foeman's chain  
Could not bring his proud soul under;  
The harp he loved ne'er spoke again,  
For he tore its chords asunder;

And said, “No chains shall sully thee,  
Thou soul of love and bravery!  
Thy songs were made for the pure and free,  
They shall never sound in slavery.”

THOMAS MOORE.

## To Canada

OUR neighbor of the undefended bound,  
Friend of the hundred years of peace, our kin,  
Fellow adventurer on the enchanted ground

Of the New World, must not the pain within  
Our hearts for this vast anguish of the war  
Be keenest for your pain? Is not our grief,  
That aches with all bereavement, tenderest for  
The tragic crimson on your maple-leaf?

Bitter our lot, in this world-clash of faiths,  
To stand aloof and bide our hour to serve;  
The glorious dead are living; we are wraiths,  
Dim watchers of the conflict's changing curve,  
Yet proud for human valor, spirit true  
In scorn of body, manhood on the crest  
Of consecration, dearly proud for you,  
Who sped to arms like knighthood to the quest.

From quaint Quebec to stately Montreal,  
Along the rich St. Lawrence, o'er the steep  
Roofs of the Rockies rang the bugle-call,  
And east and west, deep answering to deep,  
Your sons surged forth, the simple, stooping folk  
Of shop and wheatfield sprung to hero size  
Swiftly as e'er your northern lights awoke  
To streaming splendor quiet evening skies.

Seek not your lost beneath the tortured sod  
Of France and Flanders, where in desperate strife  
They battled greatly for the cause of God;  
But when above the snow your heavens are rife  
With those upleaping lustres, find them there.  
Ardors of sacrifice, celestial sign,  
Aureole your angel shall forever wear,  
Praising the irresistible Divine.

KATHERINE LEE BATES.

## England—A Canadian Tribute

ENGLAND, England, England,  
Girdled by ocean and skies,  
And the power of a world and the heart of a race,  
And a hope that never dies!

England, England, England,  
Wherever a true heart beats,  
Wherever the armies of commerce flow,  
Wherever the bugles of conquest blow,  
Wherever the glories of liberty grow,  
'Tis the name that the world repeats.

North and South and East and West,  
Wherever their triumphs be,  
Their glory goes home to the ocean-girt Isle  
Where the heather blooms and the roses smile,  
With the green Isle under her lee.  
And if ever the smoke of an alien gun  
Should threaten her iron repose,  
Shoulder to shoulder against the world,  
Face to face with her foes,  
Scot and Celt and Saxon are one,  
Where the glory of England goes.

\* \* \*

Till the last great freedom is found,  
And the last great truth be taught,  
Till the last great deed be done,  
And the last great battle is fought;  
Till the last great fighter is slain in the last great fight,  
And the war-wolf is dead in his den,  
England, breeder of hope and valour and might,  
Iron mother of men!

Yea, England, England, England,  
Till honour and valour are dead,  
Till the world's great cannons rust,  
Till the world's great hopes are dust,  
Till faith and freedom be fled;  
Till wisdom and justice have passed  
To sleep with those who sleep in the many-chambered vast,  
Till glory and knowledge are charnelled, dust in dust;  
To all that is best in the world's unrest  
In heart and mind you are wed:—

While out from the Indian jungle  
To the far Canadian snows,  
Over the east and over the west,  
Over the worst and over the best,  
The flag of the world to its winds unfurled,  
The blood-red ensign blows.

WILFRED CAMPBELL.

## Australia to England

BY ALL the deeds to Thy dear glory done,  
By all the life blood spilt to serve Thy need,  
By all the fettered lives Thy touch hath freed,  
By all Thy dream in us anew begun;  
By all the guerdon English sire to son  
Hath given of highest vision, kingliest deed,  
By all Thine agony, of God decreed  
For trial and strength, our fate with Thine is one.

Still dwells Thy spirit in our hearts and lips,  
Honor and life we hold from none but Thee,  
And if we live Thy pensioners no more  
But seek a nation's might of men and ships,  
'Tis but that when the world is black with war  
Thy sons may stand beside Thee strong and free.

ARCHIBALD T. STRONG.

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## India to England

O ENGLAND! in thine hour of need,  
When Faith's reward and valor's meed  
Is death or glory,  
When Faith indites, with biting brand,  
Clasped in each warrior's stiffening hand,  
A nation's story;

Though weak our hands, which fain would clasp  
The warrior's sword with warrior's grasp  
On victory's field;  
Yet turn, O mighty Mother! turn  
Unto the million hearts that burn  
To be thy shield.

Thine equal justice, mercy, grace  
Have made a distant alien race  
A part of thee.  
'Twas thine to bid their souls rejoice  
When first they heard the living voice  
Of Liberty.

Unmindful of their ancient name,  
And lost to honor—glory—fame,  
And sunk in strife,  
Thou found them, whom thy touch hath made  
Men, and to whom thy breath conveyed  
A nobler life.

They, whom thy love hath guarded long;  
They, whom thy care hath rendered strong  
In love and faith,  
Their heartstrings round thy heart entwine,  
They are, they ever will be, thine  
In life—in death.

NIZAMAT JUNG

(*Native Judge of the High Court of Hyderabad*).

## Hymn Before Action

THE earth is full of anger,  
The seas are dark with wrath,  
The Nations in their harness  
Go up against our path:  
Ere yet we loose the legions,  
Ere yet we draw the blade,  
Jehovah of the Thunders,  
Lord God of Battles, aid!

High lust and foward bearing,  
Proud heart, rebellious brow,  
Deaf ear and soul uncaring,  
We seek thy mercy now!  
The sinner that forswore Thee,  
The fool that passed Thee by,  
Our times are known before Thee—  
Lord, grant us strength to die!

From panic, pride, and terror,  
Revenge that knows no rein,  
Light haste and lawless error,  
Protect us yet again.  
Cloak Thou our undeserving,  
Make firm the shuddering breath,  
In silence and unswerving  
To taste Thy lesser death!

E'en now their vanguard gathers,  
E'en now we face the fray—  
As Thou didst help our fathers,  
Help Thou our host to-day!  
Fulfilled of signs and wonders,  
In life, in death made clear—  
Jehovah of the Thunders,  
Lord God of Battles, hear!

RUDYARD KIPLING.

# *Russia*

42504°—18——9

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# Hymn of Free Russia

GIMN SVOBODNOI ROSSII

## I

YOUNG Russia, hail, victorious !  
All praise we chant to thee.  
Amid the nations, glorious  
Thou standest, proud and free.

## II

No tyrant shall enslave thee,  
Thy sun arises bright !  
All hail to those who gave thee  
New Freedom's sacred light !

## III

Young Russia, hail, victorious !  
All praise we chant to thee.  
Amid the nations, glorious  
Thou standest, proud and free.

## IV

A song of countless voices  
Resounds from shore to shore,  
The Russian folk rejoices  
With Freedom evermore !

## V

Young Russia, hail, victorious !  
All praise we chant to thee.  
Amid the nations, glorious  
Thou standest, proud and free.

KONSTANTIN BALMONT.

Moscow, March, 1917.

English version by Vera and Kurt Schindler.

*Italy*

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## To the Young Men of Italy

THE Italian movement, my countrymen, is, by decree of Providence, that of Europe. We arise to give a pledge of moral progress to the European world. But neither political fictions, nor dynastic aggrandizements, nor theories of expediency, can transform or renovate the life of the peoples. Humanity lives and moves through faith; great principles are the guiding stars that lead Europe toward the future. Let us turn to the graves of our martyrs, and ask inspiration of those who died for us all, and we shall find the secret of victory in the adoration of a faith. The angel of martyrdom and the angel of victory are brothers; but the one looks up to heaven, and the other looks down to earth; and it is when, from epoch to epoch, their glance meets between earth and heaven, that creation is embellished with a new life and a people arises from the cradle or the tomb, evangelist or prophet. . . .

Love your country. Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart, blushing, whispered the first word of love; it is the home that God has given you, that, by striving to perfect yourselves therein, you may prepare to ascend to Him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. Give to it your thoughts, your counsels, your blood. Raise it up, great and beautiful as it was foretold by our great men, and see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood or of servitude; unprofaned by dismemberment. Let it be one, as the thought of God. You are twenty-five millions of men, endowed with active, splendid faculties; possessing a tradition of glory the envy of the nations of Europe. An immense future is before you; you lift your eyes to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe; you are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries traced out by the finger of God for a people of giants—you are bound to be such, or nothing. . . .

Love humanity. You can only ascertain your own mission from the aim set by God before humanity at large. God has

given you your country as cradle and humanity as mother; you can not rightly love your brethren of the cradle if you love not the common mother. Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples now fighting or preparing to fight the holy fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty; other peoples striving by different routes to reach the same goal—improvement, association, and the foundation of an authority which shall put an end to moral anarchy and relink the earth to heaven; an authority which mankind may love and obey without remorse or shame. Unite with them; they will unite with you. Do not invoke their aid where your single arm can suffice to conquer; but say to them that the hour will shortly sound for a terrible struggle between right and blind force, and that in that hour you will ever be found with those who have raised the same banner as yourselves.

And love, young men, love and venerate the ideal. The ideal is the Word of God. High above every country, high above humanity, is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul, in which all are brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought and in the dignity of our immortal soul; and the baptism of this fraternity is martyrdom. From that high sphere spring the principles which alone can redeem the peoples. Arise for the sake of these, and not from impatience of suffering or dread of evil. Anger, pride, ambition, and the desire of material prosperity are arms common alike to the peoples and their oppressors, and even should you conquer with these today, you would fall again tomorrow; but principles belong to the peoples alone, and their oppressors can find no arms to oppose them. Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul and the visions of early youth, for they are a perfume of paradise which the soul retains in issuing from the hands of its Creator. Respect above all things your conscience; have upon your lips the truth implanted by God in your hearts, and while laboring in harmony, even with those who differ from you, in all that tends to the emancipation of our soil, yet ever bear your own banner erect and boldly promulgate your own faith. . . .

God be with you, and bless Italy!

GUISEPPI MAZZINI.





# THE PRESIDENT'S FLAG DAY ADDRESS\*

WITH EVIDENCE OF  
GERMANY'S PLANS.

## MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

We meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the Nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battle field upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve

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\* Delivered June 14, 1917, in Washington. The annotations were prepared by Professors Wallace Notestein, Elmer Stoll, August C. Krey and William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, and Professor Guernsey Joues of the University of Nebraska.

her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

#### GERMAN INTRIGUE AND AGGRESSION.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign Government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition amongst us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance; and some of those agents were men connected with the official embassy of the German Government itself here in our own Capital.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As for espionage, König, the head of the Hamburg-American secret service, who was active in passport frauds, who induced Gustave Stahl to perjure himself and declare the *Lusitania* armed, and who plotted the destruction of the Welland Canal, has, in his work as a spy, passed under 13 aliases in this country and Canada. As for the corruption of public opinion, it has proceeded both openly and under cover. Dr. Dernburg was the official missionary, and he and others went up and down the land. Newspapers have been started with German money and others have received secret subsidies from the German Government. A check for \$5,000 was discovered which Count von Bernstorff had sent to Mr. Marcus Braun, editor of *Fair Play*. And a letter was discovered which Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, editor of the *Fatherland*, had sent to Privy Councilor Albert, the German agent, arranging for a monthly subsidy of \$1,750, to be delivered to him through the hands of intermediaries—women whose names he abbreviates “to prevent any possible inquiry.” There is a record of \$3,000 paid through the German Embassy to finance the lecture tour of Miss Ray Beveridge, an American artist, who was further to be supplied with German war pictures. Efforts were made by German sympathizers to get control of one at least of the great New York dailies, and about half a dozen weeklies have been devoted to German propaganda and little else. Most important of all, in a telegram, dated January 22, 1917, but just made public by the Secretary of State, Von Bernstorff asked his Government for authority to expend \$50,000 “in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of.”

As for conspiracy in our midst, it has taken various forms under the fostering and munificent hand of Capts. Boy-Ed, Von Papen, Von Rintelen,

They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce.<sup>2</sup> They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her; and that, not by indirection, but by direct sug-

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Tauscher, and Von Igel, all directly connected with the German Government. There is now in the possession of the United States Government a check made out to König and signed by Von Papen, identified by number in a secret report of the German bureau of investigation as being used to procure \$150 for the payment of a bomb maker who was to plant explosives disguised as coal in the bunkers of the merchant vessels clearing from the port of New York. Tauscher, agent for Krupps, furnished supplies and equipment; Boy-Ed, Dr. Buenz, the German ex-minister to Mexico, the German consulate at San Francisco, and officials of the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd steamship lines, evaded customs regulations and coaled and victualed German raiders at sea; Von Papen and Von Igel supervised the making of the incendiary bombs on the *Friedrich der Grosse*, then in New York Harbor, and stowed them away on outgoing ships; Von Rintelen financed Labor's National Peace Council, which tried to corrupt legislators and labor leaders. Through John Devoy, an old anti-British agitator in New York City, relations were maintained with the Irish revolutionaries and money paid to Sir Roger Casement, since executed in London for treason. This is shown by certain of the Von Igel papers. In others there is the implication that the German diplomats in America were involved in the Separatist movement in the Province of Quebec. The German agents spent \$600,000 on Huerta's abortive attempt in this country to start a revolution in Mexico (1915). For the whole subject see files of *New York World* and *New York Times Index* under "German and Austro-Hungarian conspirators," "German plots, etc., for 1914-1917," and *Congressional Record*. April 5, 1917, pp. 192, 193.

<sup>2</sup> They have sought to destroy our industries by bringing about strikes and inducing men to quit work. Labor's National Peace Council attempted to bring about a strike among 23,000 longshoremen (Gomper's statement, *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1915), and that was not the only attempt. Ambassador Dumba and Consul General von Nuber ran advertisements in various papers calling upon all loyal Austrians to quit work in munitions factories. German official documents, seized in Capt. von Igel's office, present as an argument against Austro-Hungary's cutting off the subsidy to a pretended employment bureau, which was in reality a branch of the German Secret Service, that this "Liebau Bureau" had been highly successful in fomenting strikes and disturbances at munition factories. (Cf. letter of Mar. 24, 1916, to Ambassador von Bernstorff.) Dumba's letter, reporting his plans to bring about disturbances in the Bethlehem Steel Works, was seized by the British among the belongings of Mr. Archibald, an American correspondent, and Dumba's recall was thereupon demanded by our Department of State.

The Germans have sought to arrest our commerce, not by submarines alone, but by blowing up ships in harbor and at sea. They have put

gestion from the foreign office in Berlin.<sup>3</sup> They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe.<sup>4</sup>

And many of our own people were corrupted.<sup>5</sup> Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and

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bombs in coal bunkers and tied them to rudder posts. Models of Robert Fay's contrivances for this latter purpose were exhibited at his trial, and he spared passenger ships only because twin screws baffled him. By Fay's own confession and that of his partner the money for this combination of treachery and murder came from the German secret police. (For Von Papen and Von Igel's bomb making on the *Friedrich der Grosse* see above.) The extraordinary number of explosions in munition factories so far exceeds the normal number even in this dangerous industry as to justify suspicion and investigation.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the note sent by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, foreign secretary, to Von Eckhart, German minister to Mexico, requesting him to seek an alliance against us with Mexico and Japan. Mexico was to have Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. It was written January 19, on the eve of the Germans' unlimited submarine warfare, and while we were at peace with Germany. The minister was to act as soon as it was "certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States." The note was intercepted, and when in March its contents were made known it set popular feeling aflame and more than any other act of aggression on the part of Germany aroused the American public.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the most glaring instance of German official effrontery was the permission to regular American passenger steamers to continue their sailings undisturbed after February 1, 1917, if—

"(a) The port of destination is Falmouth.

"(b) Sailing to or coming from that port course is taken via the Scilly Islands and a point 50° N. 20° W.

"(c) The steamers are marked in the following way, which must not be allowed to other vessels in American ports: On ship's hull and superstructure three vertical stripes, 1 meter wide, each to be painted alternately white and red. Each mast should show a large flag checkered white and red and the stern the American national flag. Care should be taken that, during dark, national flag and painted marks are easily recognizable from a distance, and that the boats are well lighted throughout.

"(d) One steamer a week sails in each direction with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

"(e) The United States Government guarantees that no contraband (according to German contraband list) is carried by those steamers."

The German ambassador to the Secretary of State, January 31, 1917.

<sup>5</sup> Among these were David Lamar and Henry Martin, who, in the pay of Capt. von Rintelen, organized and managed Labor's National Peace Council, which sought to bring about strikes, an embargo on munitions, and a boycott of banks which subscribed to the Anglo-French loan. A

to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

#### IRRESPONSIBLE MILITARISM.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own.<sup>6</sup>

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check for \$5,000 to J. F. J. Archibald for "propaganda work," and a receipt from Edwin Emerson, the war correspondent, for \$1,000 "traveling expenses" were among the documents found in Von Igel's possession. Many persons in places of influence and authority were approached.

Others likewise bearing English names have been persuaded to take leading places in similar organizations which concealed their origin and real purpose. The American Embargo Conference arose out of the ashes of Labor's Peace Council, and its president was American, though the funds were not. Still others tampered with were journalists who lent themselves to the German propaganda, and who went so far as to serve as couriers between the Teutonic embassies and Vienna and Berlin.

<sup>6</sup> The German people had no chance to influence the policy of the Berlin Government during the critical days when that Government, sanctioning the purpose of Austria to have her will of Serbia, made European war inevitable. They had not even the chance to express opinion or to learn at the time what the Government was doing. Germany was declared "in danger of war" (*Kriegsgefahrzustand*) at noon, July 31, a step almost, if not altogether, equivalent to mobilization. The country was "in danger of war," but of a war made by its own militaristic rulers and not, as they pretended, by Russia. Early in the afternoon of this same day the Kaiser, in telegraphing to the Czar, made no mention of Russian mobilization. A little later in the afternoon, at about 4, he telegraphed to King George, and this time said that he had just heard from the chancellor that the Czar had "this evening" ordered mobilization of the Russian Army. The claim made afterwards by the German Government that the *Kriegsgefahrzustand* was in reply to the Russian mobilization is disproved by their own White Book. (See also *Le Mensonge du 3 Août*, Paris, 1917; *Nineteenth Century and After*, issue for June, 1917; Stephen Lansanne, *The Kaiser Contradicts Himself*, in *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 11, 1917.) At midnight July 31, an ultimatum was sent to Russia demanding demobili-

They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us.<sup>7</sup>

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zation within 12 hours. At 5 p. m., Aug. 1, the German Army was formally mobilized, although there is much evidence that it has been mobilized for days, and at 7 p. m., war was declared against Russia. On Aug. 4 the Reichstag, the representative body of the German Nation, met, and for the first time learned officially what had been done. Between July 23 and August 4 the German Government had put itself in the posture of war against Russia, France, Great Britain, and Belgium, and had violated Luxemburg, and yet had asked no advice or consent of the German people. That is why it is proper to say that the German people did not begin the war, or the mass of the people originate it. Perhaps the most conclusive proof of this lies in the efforts made by the Government to convince the people that the war was strictly a defensive one. "Envious people everywhere are compelling us to our just defense," said the Kaiser on July 31; and again, "The sword is being forced into our hand." By such speeches and by the circulation of a report (since acknowledged by high German officials to be false) that France had already attacked Germany, the German people were aroused. Even the invasion of Belgium was represented to be a defensive measure, and it was declared by the Chancellor in the Reichstag and by everybody else in authority to have been due to certain knowledge that France herself was about to invade Belgium. Lieut. Gen. Freytag-Loringhoven, Chief of the Supplementary Staff, has recently made it clear that this was not true. He admits that the initial success of the German arms was largely owing to the French expecting the German advance elsewhere. (*N. Y. Times*, Aug. 12, 1917.)

The French ambassador in Berlin writing a year before the war on the peace groups in Germany concludes despondently, "but they are only a sort of makeweight in political matters, with limited influence on public opinion, or they are silent social forces, passive and defenseless against the infection of a wave of warlike feeling." (*French Yellow Book*, No. 5.)

<sup>7</sup> The present German Empire and its constitution was formed not by the people but by the 25 kings and princes of Germany, headed by the King of Prussia. Bismarck wrote the constitution and regarded it as adopted when the German princes and kings approved it. It was never submitted to a vote of the people. It is clear at once how perfect this constitution is. It is perfect from the standpoint of the kings and princes, especially of the Kaiser, who, as King of Prussia, controls two-thirds of the people and two-thirds of the land of Germany.

Bismarck did not choose to leave the people out entirely; thus the German constitution provides for an elected house, called the Reichstag. It is chosen by manhood suffrage of those over 25 years of age. The districts established in 1871 are unchanged to-day. This means that the large cities which have grown up since 1871 and contain the laboring vote are but partially represented, and the German Government dares not change

**PLANS FOR POWER.**

The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

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these districts, because it would mean an increased vote for the laboring classes and the Socialist Party. It need not be so fearful, for, under the constitution, the popular house is merely a great debating club, which may talk and go through the forms of considering legislation, but is not a real factor in the German Government. It is little more than a convenient piece of political scene-painting, and the room where it meets has been well called by one of the members the "Hall of Echoes."

The real power in the German Parliament lies with the *Bundesrat*, a body of 61 members, which meets in secret. It is composed of diplomats appointed by the kings and princes of Germany, Prussia having the largest number. These ambassadors vote at the direction of their sovereigns, and as the King of Prussia is the most powerful and appoints the chancellor, who presides over the *Bundesrat*, he has enough votes to veto any measure. The *Bundesrat* is not only safe from democracy but it is the body through which the Emperor, as King of Prussia, can really control Germany. Here are originated almost all bills, and all legislation must be approved by the *Bundesrat*; this means, in other words, by Prussia and its King, the present Emperor William II. It is thus that Germany has been Prussianized in its government and filled with the political ambitions and military ideals of a State whose best models of a ruler are still, in the twentieth century, Frederick the Great and his brutal father.

It is the Emperor who declares war and makes peace, nominally with the approval of the *Bundesrat*. Even this body is not consulted if the war is defensive. Whether a war is defensive or offensive is a matter for William II to determine, and he so determined when he declared the present war and only officially informed the *Bundesrat* of the fact three days later. It is this Government, comprised of a group of kings and princes led by the King of Prussia, that the pro-Germans praise as the most democratic in the world. What they mean is that for the sake of keeping the people quiet and submissive to their military aims the autoocracy grants them old-age pensions and clean streets, and in return expects them to send their sons to any war and to commit any act for the sake of a State where irresponsible medieval-minded sovereigns still believe in this twentieth century that they rule by divine grace and are accountable only to God. But the god that they have in mind is a war god whom they have created in their own image.

This pictures but half of what we mean by autoocracy, for it leaves out of account the government of the most powerful State in Germany, that of Prussia itself. When one knows that in Prussia the voters are divided into three classes according to their wealth, and one nobleman's or rich man's vote may be equal to that of 10,000 laborers, and that actually 4 per cent of the wealthy people count for as much as 82 per cent of the

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller States, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination.<sup>8</sup> Their purpose has long been avowed. The

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laboring and poor class, some may think that this is efficient government; but the only people they can get to agree with them are the Prussian nobles, landowners, and capitalists. This explains why the German people have no real power in Germany and why two-thirds of them in Prussia have the merest shadow of voting rights which they must exercise by word of mouth in the presence of their employer or landowner. See Hazen, *The German Government*, published and distributed by the Committee on Public Information.

The militaristic group which started the war without consulting the people's representatives have been equally contemptuous of public opinion in conducting it. In England there have been two sweeping changes in the cabinet in response to popular demand, and in France both cabinet ministers and army leaders have been changed; but in Germany even when, after three years of war, popular discontent led to the fall of Bethmann-Hollweg, the first secret conferences concerning his successor were evidently with the army generals and then with the crown council at which the Crown Prince was present. The new chancellor, Michaelis, was so far from being the choice of the people that even the most hostile groups in the Reichstag did not know what to make of him. How little the new chancellor was the choice of the people, how little he himself now intends that the people shall rule appears from the following speech since he took office (on July 19):

"I also consider it desirable that the relations of confidence between Parliament and the Government should be made closer by calling to the leading executive positions men, who, in addition to their conciliatory character, possess the confidence of the great parties in the popular representative body. All this is, of course, possible only on the assumption that the other side recognizes that the constitutional right of the imperial administration to conduct our policy must not be narrowed. I am not willing to permit the conduct of affairs to be taken from my hands."

<sup>8</sup> As this goes to press, the dispatches from Petrograd carry new evidence from the secret Russian archives of the Kaiser's intrigues against small states. In telegrams signed "Nicky" and "Willy," the Czar and the German Emperor are shown to have been arranging in 1905 for a secret alliance endangering Denmark. In case of war with England, Denmark

statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible,<sup>9</sup> paid little attention; regarded what German pro-

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was to be treated as Belgium has been in the present war, except that a preliminary effort was to be made to make the Danes see and accept the inevitable. The German Emperor telegraphed on August 2, 1905, from Copenhagen, where he had gone to break ground for the nefarious scheme:

"Considering great number of channels leading from Copenhagen to London and proverbial want of discretion of the Danish court, I was afraid to let anything be known about our alliance, as it would immediately have been communicated to London, a most impossible thing so long as treaty is to remain secret for the present."

"By long conversation with Isvolsky, however, I was able to gather that actual Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Raben, and a number of persons of influence have already come to the conviction that in case of war and impending attack on Baltic from foreign power Danes expect—their inability and helplessness to uphold even shadow of neutrality against invasion being evident—that **Russia and Germany will immediately take steps to safeguard their interests by laying hands on Denmark and occupying it during the war.**

"As this would at the same time guarantee territory and future existence of dynasty and country, the Danes are slowly resigning themselves to this alternative and making up their minds accordingly. **This being exactly what you wished and hoped for, I thought it better not to touch on the subject with Danes and refrained from making any allusions.**

"**It is better to let the idea develop and ripen in their heads and let them draw final conclusions themselves, so that they will of their own accord be moved to lean upon us and fall in line with our two countries. Tout vient à qui sait attendre.** ['All things come to him who waits.']

\* \* \* \* \*

"WILLY."

<sup>9</sup> Some of the German conceptions and plans are indicated in the quotations that follow. These quotations are necessarily brief, and for that reason they may seem somewhat sharp, but they are none the less typical of the spirit that is to be found in scores of German pamphlets and books, in a wide range of newspapers, and, indeed, in the conversation of a large number of intelligent Germans. It must not be supposed, of course, that all Germans knew the bitter logic of such notions. Probably a majority did not. But unfortunately a powerful and increasing minority, a clamorous minority, were in favor of the policy of military aggression. By 1908 they were able to criticize the Kaiser openly for the indiscretion of having talked better relations with Britain; by 1911 they were strong enough to voice widespread censure of the Government for its failure to fight on the issue of Morocco; by 1914 they found suitable occasion to rush the country into war. To-day (September, 1917) they are holding out for the policy of annexation and indemnities.

These quotations explain not only Mr Wilson's words but why the world is in arms against the German menace.

fessors expounded in their classrooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy as rather

"In the good old times it happened that a strong people thrust a weak one out of its ancestral abode by wars of extermination. To-day such deeds of violence no longer occur. To-day everything goes on peaceably on this wretched earth, and it is those who have profited who are for peace. The little peoples and the remnants of a people have invented a new word—that is, international law. In reality it is nothing else than their reckoning on our good-natured stupidity \* \* \*."

"Room—they must make room. The western and southern Slavs—or we. Since we are the stronger, the choice will not be difficult. We must quit our modest waiting at the door. Only by growth can a people save itself." (Otto R. Tannenberg, *Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts* (1911), pp. 74-75.)

"We are of the race of the Thunderer;  
We will possess the earth.  
That is the old right of the Germans—  
To win land with the hammer.

"This right of the Germans arises, let it be said once more, out of German civilization, the best on earth. \* \* \* Forward, then, into the fight for German aims, and 'far as the hammer is hurled, let the earth be ours.' " (Bley, *Die Weltstellung des Deutschtums*, 1897, pp. 27-29.)

"In order to live and to lead a healthy and joyous life we need a vast extent of fresh arable land. This is what imperialism must give us; at least there would be its chief justification. \* \* \* No doubt such winnings of fresh soil cannot be made without war. Was ever a world power founded without a bloody struggle? Nor are we afraid of going down in the fight; no, rather are we fearful that we should be open to the charge made by the Carthaginian cavalry general against Hannibal: 'Victoria uti nescis' (Thou knowest not how to profit by victory)." (Albrecht Wirth, *Volkstum und Weltmacht in der Geschichte*, 1901, p. 235.)

"Our fathers have left us much to do. The German people is so situated in Europe that it need only run and take whatever it requires. \* \* \* To-day \* \* \* it is for Germany to rise from a European to a world power. \* \* \* Humanitarian dreams are imbecility. Diplomatic charity begins at home. Statesmanship is business. Right and wrong are notions indispensable in private life. The German people are right because they number 87,000,000 souls. Our fathers have left us much to do." (O. R. Tannenberg, *Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts*, 1911, pp. 230-31.)

"Since Bismarck retired there has been a complete change of public opinion. It is no longer proper to say 'Germany is satisfied.' Our historical development and our economic needs show that we are once more hungry for territory, and this situation compels Germany to follow paths unforeseen by Bismarck." (Daniel Frymann, *Wenn Ich der Kaiser wäre*, 1911, 21 ed., 1914, p. 9. Frymann's work has been widely read in Germany, much more widely indeed than Bernhardi.)

the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers.

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"It is our sacred duty to sharpen the sword that has been put into our hands and to hold it ready for defense as well as for offense. We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French. We must accustom them to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity, in order to combat the provocations of our adversaries. We must act with prudence so as not to arouse suspicion and to avoid the crises which might injure our economic existence. We must so manage matters that under the heavy weight of powerful armaments, considerable sacrifices, and strained political relations the precipitation of war (*Losschlagen*) should be considered as a relief, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity, as after 1870." (Memorandum of the German Government on the strengthening of the German Army, Berlin, Mar. 19, 1913; *French Yellow Book*, Carnegie edition, 1915, I, p. 542.)

"Do not let us forget the civilizing task which the decrees of Providence have assigned to us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the regenerated Germany shall be the nucleus of a future empire of the west. And in order that no one shall be left in doubt, we proclaim from henceforth that our continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea but to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Hence we intend to absorb one after another all the provinces which neighbor on Prussia. We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, northern Switzerland, then Trieste and Venice, finally northern France, from the Sambre to the Loire. This programme we fearlessly pronounce. It is not the work of a madman. The empire we intend to found will be no Utopia. We have ready to hand the means of founding it and no coalition in the world can stop us." (Bronsart von Schellendorf, quoted by H. A. L. Fisher in *The War, its Causes and Issues*, 1914, p. 16.)

"The strongest Germanic State on the continent must take over the hegemony; the smaller ones must sacrifice as much of their independence and their language as is necessary to the permanent insurance of a new imperial unity. The question of whether military force would become requisite is secondary; but it is essential that the State which aspires to the hegemony should have at its disposal sufficient intellectual, economic, and military power to reach this end and hold it fast. Which State would it be? It can be only the German Empire, which is now in search of more territory

\* \* \*. The natural pressure of this new German Empire will be so great that, willy-nilly, the surrounding little Germanic States will have to attach themselves to it under conditions which we set." (Joseph L. Reimer, *Ein pangermanisches Deutschland*, 1905, pp. 119-120.)

"Now, people of Germany, ye shall be masters of Europe (*nun, deutsches Volk, wirst du Europa's Meister*).'" (Conclusion of a poem, "Der Krieg bricht los," by the excellent German poet, Hermann Stehr, in the first number of the *Neue Rundschau* after the war broke out, 1914, p. 1186.)

### GERMAN PENETRATION IN THE EAST.

But the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested,<sup>10</sup> filling the thrones of Balkan

"Formerly German thought was shut up in her corner, but now the world shall have its coat cut according to German measure, and as far as our swords flash and German blood flows, the circle of the earth shall come under the tutelage of German activity." (From a poem by Fritz Philippi entitled "World-Germany," quoted by J. P. Bang, *Hurrah and Hallelujah*, 1917, p. 47.)

<sup>10</sup> In his published speeches the Kaiser never makes a downright assertion of a wish to conquer other peoples. But he is continually "sharpening" his "sword," glorifying war and the military deeds of his ancestors, and urging his army to be ready for its great work. In much that he says this notion of aggression is implicit. The following excerpts show the dangerous drift of his mind, and that of his son and heir and of the ruler of the second kingdom in the Empire:

"The German people is of one mind with its princes and its Emperor in the feeling that in its powerful development it must set up a new boundary post and create a great fleet which will correspond to its needs." (Kaiser's speech, Berlin, Feb. 13, 1900. Christian Gauss, *The German Emperor as Shown by His Public Utterances*, 1913, p. 158.)

"I hope it [Germany] will be granted, through the harmonious coöperation of princes and peoples, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world empire was, and that, just as in the old times they said 'Civis romanus sum,' hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say, 'I am a German citizen.'" (Kaiser's speech of Oct. 11, 1900, Christian Gauss, p. 169.)

"At the declaration of war Russia followed France, and then the English also fell upon us. \* \* \* I am glad of it, and I am glad because we can now have a reckoning with our enemies and because now at length \* \* \* we can get a direct outlet from the Rhine to the sea. Ten months have gone by since that time. Much precious blood has been shed. It has not, however, been shed for nothing. A strengthening of the German Empire and an expansion outward beyond its boundaries as far as this is necessary—an expansion by which we shall be protected against further attacks—that will be the gain (*Frucht*) of this war." Speech by the King of Bavaria, June 7, 1915, at the banquet of the Bavarian Canal Association. Quoted by Grumbach, *Das annexionistische Deutschland*, 1917, p. 5.

"It is only by relying on our good German sword that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us, and which the world does not seem willing to accord us \* \* \* till the world comes to an end, the ultimate decision must rest with the sword." (Extract from the Crown Prince's introduction to *Germany in Arms*, issued in 1913.)

The Crown Prince's utterance met with different receptions in different quarters. Pan-Germans hailed it with enthusiasm, and such papers as *Die Post* (Conservative) and *Die Tageszeitung* (Agrarian) acclaimed the "military ardor" of the heir apparent. Said the *Reichsbote* (Conservative): "Refreshing as a breeze, but only for a manful German breast that sees a better time dawning; as the Crown Prince, so, heaven be praised, thinks the whole youth of Germany." (*Literary Digest*, 1913, p. 1170.)

"The person addressed by the Emperor had thought up till then, as did all the world, that William II, whose personal influence had been exerted on many critical occasions in support of peace, was still in the same state of mind. He found him this time completely changed. The German Emperor is no longer in his [own] eyes the champion of peace against the warlike tendencies of certain parties in Germany. William II has come to think that war with France is inevitable, and that it must come sooner or later. Naturally he believes in the crushing superiority of the German Army and in its certain success.

"Gen. von Moltke, chief of staff at the opening of the war, spoke exactly in the same strain as his sovereign. He, too, declared war to be necessary and inevitable, but he showed himself still more assured of success, "For," he said to the King, "this time the matter must be settled, and your Majesty can have no conception of the irresistible enthusiasm with which the whole German people will be carried away when that day comes." (Jules Cambon, French ambassador at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, minister for foreign affairs, Berlin, Nov. 22, 1913. *The French Yellow Book*, No. 6.)

"War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity. For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No; war is beautiful. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palaces above sit the heroes Frederick the Great and Blücher, and all the men of action—the great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck—are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam lance corporal will call the guard to the door, and 'old Fritz,' springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. That is the heaven of young Germany." (*Jung Deutschland*, the official organ of the "Young German League," October, 1913. Quoted by J. P. Bang, *Hurrah and Hallelujah*, 1917, p. 212.)

The following is the testimony of Otfried Nippold, professor of church history at Jena. On his return from a residence of several years in Japan he was shocked to observe the extraordinary growth of jingoism in Germany. He gathered in most careful fashion a collection of statements advocating war and conquest, made in the years 1912-1913 by prominent men, by well-known associations, and by leading newspapers. At the end of his book of more than a hundred pages this German scholar made the following careful statement of the situation:

"The evidence submitted in this book amounts to an irrefutable proof that a systematic stimulation of the war spirit is going on, based on the one

hand on the wishes of the Pan-German League and on the other on the agitation of the Defense Association (*Wehrverein*). One cannot but feel deep regret in discovering that in Germany, as well as in other countries, ill-feeling against other States and Nations is being stirred up so unjustifiably and that people are being so unscrupulously incited to war. \* \* \*

"But apart from these chauvinists of a more harmless kind, who indulge only occasionally in chauvinistic utterances, we have come across other speakers and writers—and they are decidedly in the majority, so far as the passages quoted in these pages are concerned—who deal with the matter in a different, that is to say, in a much more thoroughgoing, way. These men do not only occasionally incite people to war, but they systematically inculcate a desire for war in the minds of the German people. Not only in the sense that they ought to be prepared for war and ready for all eventualities, but in the much more far-reaching sense that they want war. War is represented not merely as a possibility that might arise, but as a necessity that must come about, and the sooner the better. In the opinion of these instigators, the German Nation needs a war: a long-continued peace seems regrettable to them just because it is a peace, no matter whether there is any reason for war or not, and therefore, in case of need, one must simply strive to bring it about. \* \* \*

"From this dogma (that war must come) it is only a step to the next chauvinistic principle, so dear to the heart of our soldier politicians who are languishing for war—the fundamental principle of the aggressive or preventive war. If it be true that war is to come, then let it come at the moment which is most favorable to ourselves. In other words do not wait until there is a reason for war, but strike when it is most convenient. \* \* \* And above all as soon as possible. \* \* \*

"We have already described the motive forces—the nationalist press, organizations like the Pan-German League and the Defense Association, soldier politicians like Generals Keim, Liebert, Bernhardi, Eichhorn, Wrochem, etc., and politicians such as Maximilian Harden, Bassermann and their like. \* \* \*

"The desire of the political visionaries in the Pan-German camp for the conquest of colonies suits the purpose of our warlike generals very well; but to them this is not an end, but only a means. War as such is what really matters to them. For if their theory holds good, Germany, even if she conquered ever so many colonies, would again be in need of war after a few decades, since otherwise the German Nation would again be in danger of moral degeneration. The truth is that, to them, war is quite a normal institution of international intercourse and not in any way a means of settling great international conflicts—not a means to be resorted to only in case of great necessity." (*Der deutsche Chauvinismus*, 1913, pp. 113-117.)

The following protest in the Reichstag against the jingoism manifested at the time of the Morocco crisis of 1911, when the war-like groups in Germany were incensed at the failure of the Government to get a slice of Morocco, was voiced by no less a man than the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg. Better evidence could not be asked for.

"For months past we have been living and are living now in an atmosphere of passion, such as we have never before experienced in Germany.

\* \* \* To bring national passions to the boiling point for the sake of Utopian schemes of conquest and for party purposes—that, gentlemen, is to compromise patriotism and to squander precious treasure." (Reichstag debates, Nov. 10, 1911.)

The powerful forces exciting the war mania were analyzed again and again by leading Social Democrats in the Reichstag. Their views confirm the following statement made by the French minister of foreign affairs in his report (July 30, 1913):

"Some want war because, in the present circumstances, they think it inevitable; and, as far as Germany is concerned, the sooner the better. Others regard war as necessary for economic reasons, based on overpopulation, overproduction, and the need for markets and outlets, and also for social reasons. \* \* \* Others, uneasy for the safety of the Empire and believing that time is on the side of France, think that events should be brought to an immediate head. \* \* \* Others are bellicose from 'Bismarckism,' as it may be termed. They feel themselves humiliated at having to enter into discussions with France. \* \* \* Angry disappointment is the unifying force of the *Wehrvereine* and other associations of young Germany. \* \* \* Others again want war from a mystic hatred of revolutionary France \* \* \* [The writer goes on to say that the country squires, the aristocracy, which is military in character, the higher bourgeoisie, the manufacturers, big merchants, and bankers are in favor of war]. The universities, if we except a few distinguished spirits, develop a warlike philosophy. \* \* \* Historians, philosophers, political pamphleteers, and other apologists of German Kultur, wish to impose upon the world a way of thinking and feeling specifically German. \* \* \* We come finally to those whose support of the war policy is inspired by rancour and resentment. \* \* \*'" (*French Yellow Book*, Doc. No. 5. *Diplomatic Documents*, Carnegie edition, 1916, I, pp. 551-553.)

It will not escape the reader's attention that these three statements from widely differing sources were made from one to three years before Germany plunged the world into the war she wanted.

The opinion of Maximilian Harden, editor of the *Zukunft*, as to the causes of the war:

"Not as weak-willed blunderers have we undertaken the fearful risk of this war. We wanted it; because we had to wish it and could wish it. May the Teuton devil throttle those whiners whose pleas for excuses make us ludicrous in these hours of lofty experience. We do not stand, and shall not place ourselves, before the court of Europe. \* \* \* Germany strikes. If it conquers new realms for its genius, the priesthood of all the gods will sing songs of praise to the good war. \* \* \* We are waging this war not in order to punish those who have sinned, nor in order to free enslaved peoples, and thereafter to comfort ourselves with the unselfish and useless consciousness of our own righteousness. We wage it from the lofty point of view and with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements, and in proportion to them, is justified in asking, and must obtain, wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. The powers from whom she forced her ascendancy, in spite of themselves,

states with German princes,<sup>11</sup> putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies<sup>12</sup> and make interest with

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still live, and some of them have recovered from the weakening she gave them. \* \* \* Now strikes the hour for Germany's rising power." (Article by Harden translated in the *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1914. Also in *New York Times Current History*, III, p. 130.)

Even now (September, 1917) the rulers of Germany cannot abandon their schemes for annexation. Recently the Reichstag, impelled probably by the growing peril of Germany's situation, voted against annexations and indemnities. Alarmed by this vote, the Pan-Germans have been conducting a campaign of mass meetings and telegrams. They sent a wire to the new chancellor, Michaelis, urging that peace without indemnities and extensions of territory was impossible. To this the chancellor answered: "I am firmly confident that the splendid military situation will help us to a peace which will guarantee permanently the German Empire's condition of existence (*sic*) on the Continent and overseas." (*New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1917.) Michaelis's phrases are those commonly used by the Germans who wish extension of territory, but who express their wishes agreeably. He was indicating in a polite and guarded way that the Pan-Germans should understand that their plans of conquest had not been given up.

<sup>11</sup> In Roumania the house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen; in Bulgaria the house of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; in Albania the inglorious house of Wied. What the late Queen of Greece, the Kaiser's sister, accomplished for the German cause is sufficiently known. In Montenegro the heir apparent is married to a German princess. Only the Serbian royal house is without German connections.

<sup>12</sup> Not long after the treaty of Berlin (1878), German officers, one of whom was General von der Goltz, set about reorganizing the Turkish Army. In 1888 German financiers, depending upon the Deutsche Bank, asked for a railway concession. In the next year the Kaiser, William II, visited Abdul Hamid. By 1891 German influence at Constantinople became evident. Germans in Turkey were directing the building of railways and Germans at home were urging the necessity of German railways to the Persian Gulf. In 1898 the Kaiser went to Constantinople and on to Palestine, where he declared himself the friend of 300,000,000 Moslems. In 1899 Dr. Siemens, a Berlin capitalist, signed the Bagdad Railway convention with Turkey. By 1900 the route was sketched, and in 1903 the Turkish decree was issued constituting the company. Although capitalists of other nations were allowed to share in financing the road, German interests maintained control over it. Since that time German officers have been going to Turkey in numbers, drilling the Turkish troops, teaching them modern warfare, equipping the army with the best new artillery, and thoroughly fortifying strategic points. Meanwhile German diplomats were studiously indifferent to Armenian atrocities perpetrated by the Turks. When the Young Turk movement culminated in the revolution of 1908 the Kaiser's government was quick to show favor to the new government. German officers assisted the Turks in their two Balkan wars,

her government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia.<sup>13</sup>

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1912-13. These different moves have all been part of a general plan. For two decades German policy has been to create in Turkey a strong but subordinated military ally and to bring her within the German economic system. Rich territories in Asia Minor and the Mesopotamian valley might thus be developed, an all-German route to the East assured, and Britain's routes to India and her position in Egypt brought within striking distance.

<sup>13</sup> See the *French Yellow Book (Diplomatic Documents, Carnegie edition)*, for a secret German document bearing date of March 19, 1913, obtained from a reliable source and communicated to M. Jonnart, minister for foreign affairs, by M. Étieune, minister of war, April 2, 1913. The German writer discusses plans for increase of armament, and for war, particularly against France (pp. 542-3): "We must not be anxious about the fate of our colonies. The final result in Europe will settle their position. On the other hand, we must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. It is a means of keeping the forces of the enemy engaged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, *by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco*, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war. Of course, in case of war we would openly recognize these secret allies, and on the conclusion of peace we would secure to them the advantages which they had gained. These aims are capable of realization. The first attempt, which was made some years ago, opened up for us the desired relations. Unfortunately these relations were not sufficiently consolidated. Risings provoked in time of war by political agents need to be carefully prepared and by material means. They must break out simultaneously with the destruction of the means of communication; they must have a controlling head to be found among the influential leaders, religious or political. The Egyptian school is particularly suited to this purpose; more and more it serves as a bond between the intellectuals of the Mohammedan world."

For the detailed story of the activity in Egypt after this and before see *Times* (London), *History of the War*, III (1917), pp. 292-295. Von Berustorff was then consular agent, and after him Prince von Hatzfeldt, and they conducted themselves somewhat as both have done since in America.

On July 7, 1917, indictments were brought in the Federal court at San Francisco against 98 persons, including German consuls and consuls general. At the same time the following statement was made by the Federal district attorney, Mr. John W. Preston:

"For more than a year prior to the outbreak of the European war certain Hindus in San Francisco and certain Germans were preparing openly for war with England. At the outbreak of the war Hindu leaders, members of the German consulate here and attachés of the German Government, began to form plans to foment revolution in India for the purpose of freeing India and aiding Germans in their military operations.

"Hindus on the Pacific coast were canvassed and those willing to take part in the revolution were registered. Emissaries were financed by the

The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step<sup>14</sup> in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia,

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German agents here and immediately dispatched to Germany. Shortly thereafter what is known as the India committee, an adjunct of the German foreign office, was created in Berlin. This India committee had the personal attention of Alfred Zimmermann, German Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

"Thereafter the operations of the plotters in the United States were directed from Berlin. The conspiracy took the form of various military enterprises. Arms and ammunition in large quantities were purchased with German money. Men were recruited and sent to India."

<sup>14</sup> On June 28, 1914, there took place at Serajevo, Bosnia (Austrian territory since 1909), the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and his wife. Serbians undoubtedly aided and abetted the criminals. The Austrian Government asserts that it traced the source of the deed to Serbian territory, and even, it maintains, to government and court circles in Belgrade, the Serbian capital.

For nearly a month nothing occurred. Then, on July 23, almost without warning, Austria-Hungary made known her demands upon Serbia. Their main purpose seemed to be the complete extirpation of the Pan-Serbian movement and the punishment of all Serbians implicated in the crime at Serajevo. The demands involved a practical denial of the sovereignty of Serbia. A reply was, furthermore, demanded by 6 o'clock on July 25, or within exactly 48 hours.

Serbia made a reply covering every point in the demands. It yielded to most of the demands and showed an extremely conciliatory spirit. On the question of allowing Austrian officers to enter Serbian territory in order to take part in the inquiries or judicial proceedings concerning the Serajevo murders, the Serbian Government declared that it would "admit such collaboration as agrees with the principle of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighborly relations." It added finally that if the Austro-Hungarian Government were "not satisfied with this reply, the Serbian Government, considering that it is not to the common interest to take precipitate action in the solution of this question, is ready, as always, to accept a pacific understanding, either by referring this question to the decision of the international tribunal at the Hague, or to the Great Powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Serbian Government on the 18/31 of March, 1909."

A number of the Powers pleaded the Serbian cause, asking at least an extension of the time limit or a delay in making war, but the Austrian Government would abate not a jot or tittle of its demands. Its unyielding attitude and brusqueness startled the world, and have justified the suspicion that Austria-Hungary did not desire a satisfactory reply.

As if to lend color to this suspicion it has since come to light that in August, 1913, Austria-Hungary had already formed the plan to attack Serbia. Italy, though at that time in alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, refused to support such an aggression. (Declaration of Signor Giolitti to the Italian Parliament, Dec. 5, 1914.)

from Berlin to Bagdad.<sup>15</sup> They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

### MIDDLE EUROPE.

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very center of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else.<sup>16</sup>

Dr. Rohrbach, in his *Deutschland unter den Weltvölkern*, characterized the development of Germany toward Constantinople as "the greatest political end which the present or the next generation can desire." The *Alldeutsche Blätter*, the organ of the Pan-Germans, said on December 8, 1895, that the German interests demanded as a minimum that Asiatic Turkey should be placed under German suzerainty. The most advantageous way would be to connect Mesopotamia and Syria and place the whole of the Sultan's dominion under German protection. (Summarized by the author of the *Pan-Germanic Doctrine*, 1904, p. 216.) "The Bagdad line," said the *Alldeutsche Blätter*, December 17, 1899, "can become of vast political importance" to Germany.

"The establishment of a sphere of economic influence from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf has been for nearly two decades the silent unspoken aim of German foreign policy. Our diplomacy in recent years \* \* \* only becomes intelligible when regarded as part of a consistent Eastern design \* \* \*. A secure future for Germany is to be reached along this line and no other." (Prof. Spiethoff, of the German University at Prague, as quoted in the *Round Table*, March, 1917.)

<sup>15</sup> Across the path of this railway to Bagdad lay Serbia—an independent country whose sovereign alone among those of southeastern Europe had no marriage connection with Berlin, a Serbia that looked toward Russia. That is why Europe was nearly driven into war in 1913; that is why Germany stood so determinedly behind Austria's demands in 1914 and forced war. She must have her "corridor" to the southeast; she must have political domination all along the route of the great economic empire she planned. She was unwilling to await the process of "peaceful penetration."

<sup>16</sup> "Imagine a few firm, rigid, incorruptible officials at the head of a territory like Palestine, scouring the country on horseback with European promptitude. They would be as much abused as Satan, but as useful as

It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force — Czechs, Magyars,

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angels. A sort of amicable dictatorship would be set up, which would often address Turkey as the bird of the proverb was addressed, 'Eat or die' \* \* \*. Meanwhile Germans would be settling upon all the shores of the Mediterranean. Good luck to you, my brethren. Work hard. Bestir yourselves. This old sea will yet behold many things. You hold in your hands a morsel of Germany's future life. (Quoted by Ch. Andler, *Pan-Germanism*, pp. 41-42, from Friedrich Naumann, *Asia* (1889), pp. 145-148-162-163.)

"We must create a central Europe which will guarantee the peace of the entire continent from the moment when it shall have driven the Russians from the Black Sea and the Slavs from the south, and shall have conquered large tracts to the east of our frontiers for German colonization. We cannot let loose *ex abrupto* the war which will create this central Europe. All we can do is to accustom our people to the thought that this war must come." (Quoted by Ch. Andler, pp. 21, '22, from Paul de Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften*, 4th ed., 1903, p. 83.)

"It is necessary to strengthen the agricultural basis of our national economy; to secure room for the expansion of a great German agricultural settlement; to restore to our Empire the German peasants living in a foreign land, particularly in Russia, who are now actually without the protection of the law; finally, we must increase considerably the number of our fellow countrymen able to bear arms. All these matters require an important extension of the frontiers of the Empire and of Prussia toward the East through the annexation of at least some parts of the Baltic Provinces and of territories to the south of them, while keeping in view the necessity of a military defense of the eastern German frontier." (From the manifesto of the Six [German] Industrial Associations, May 20, 1915.)

The projected Middle Europe would, through its hold on Constantinople, close the chief outlet for the exports of the Russian Republic. It would, through the erection of a kingdom of Poland, united to Middle Europe, take away from Russia almost its entire manufacturing area. Such an Empire would do little less than bring the Russian Republic into economic dependence upon the Teutonic Powers. And this economic dependence could be used as a club to bring political dependence as well. The results of this for the future of Russia are easy to see.

"All Morocco in the hands of Germany; German cannon on the routes to Egypt and India; German troops on the Algerian frontier—this would be a goal worthy of great sacrifices \* \* \*. When we can put 5,000,000 German soldiers into the field we shall be able to dictate to France the conditions upon which she may preserve the empire of Northern Africa, 'New France' \* \* \*. We do not desire 'compensation' either in Suez or on the Congo. We have entered upon a struggle in which the stake is the power and future of the German Empire." (Maximilian Harden, *Die Zukunft*, July 29, 1911.)

Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East.<sup>17</sup>

These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "I think that I have made it clear that he [Bismarck] laid the foundation of Mid-Europe. It rests with us to carry on the work. All the cares which perplexed him have been amply justified by the great war. Shall not his hopes also bear fruit?" (F. Naumann, *Central Europe*, 1916, p. 60.)

"And over all these; over the Germans, French, Danes, and Poles in the German Empire; over the Magyars, Germans, Roumanians, Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs in Hungary; over the Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and southern Slavs in Austria, let us imagine once again the controlling concept of Mid-Europe. Mid-Europe will have a German nucleus, will voluntarily use the German language, which is known all over the world and is already the language of intercourse within Central Europe, but must from the outset display toleration and flexibility in regard to all the neighboring languages that are associated with it." (*Idem*, pp. 108 109.)

<sup>18</sup> The German government of Alsace-Lorraine is typical of what may be expected if Germany annexes more territory as a result of this war. Belgium, Luxemburg, and Russian Poland have no more wish to be forcibly joined to Germany to-day than had Alsace-Lorraine in 1870; and if they suffer that fate only the threat of arms will keep them in submission. In the more than 40 years since its annexation by Germany, Alsace-Lorraine has been largely Germanized, yet in 1914 it was still bitterly opposed to a Prussianized Government.

Since 1911, the Alsatians have looked more than ever toward France. In that year public demonstrations against the Prussian rule became more pronounced and continued intermittently down to the beginning of the war in 1914. In 1912 the Emperor threatened the discontented Alsatians with complete suppression of their constitution unless they ceased their agitations. At the same time noticeable increases were made in the garrisons of the leading cities, and work upon the fortifications was rushed. In 1913 occurred the historic Zabern incident which showed the complete dominance of the military power over civilian government and rights. "Lieutenant von Forstner, of the garrison, one day remarked in the street that he would give ten marks to any soldier who would run his bayonet through an Alsatian blackguard. In spite of popular indignation he was upheld by his superiors, \* \* \* but he was afraid to appear in the

But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution! Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but can not have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single Power. Serbia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Roumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from

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streets without a corporal's guard. He still further earned the hatred of the town by striking with his sword a lame shoemaker who had laughed at him." Among the unmilitaristic classes in Germany there was great indignation; but in the Reichstag, the ministry, by order of the Emperor, upheld the army, without compromise or apology.

Prussian Poland and North Schleswig fare little if any better. The three and a half million Poles in Prussia have been subjected in recent years to more severe persecutions than their compatriots in autocratic Russia. They have, of course, been deprived of their own laws since 1815. More recently, their religious liberty has been restricted, and the Polish language forbidden in education, in public business, and (with certain temporary exceptions) in public meetings, though the great majority of the Polish people understand no other language. As a supreme effort at assimilation the Prussian Government has been trying, partly by vast expenditure of money and partly by force, to compel the Poles to sell their lands and to introduce German colonists to take their places. This interference with the Polish laws, religion, language, and property was not provoked in the first instance by disloyalty, though the Poles have become disloyal in consequence of it. Nor have the 150,000 Danes in North Schleswig been saved by their inoffensive obscurity, their Lutheran religion, or even their Teutonic blood, from similar persecutions, with similar results. If left in German hands Belgium may expect to be another Schleswig, another Poland.

In Austria-Hungary the situation is even worse. The South Slavs and the Roumanians in Hungary have been deprived of the right to vote (although guaranteed to them in 1867); their educational institutions have been hampered or closed, their economic development interfered with. And this is the work of the Hungarian Government which has Germany's warmest approval in all such measures.

Berlin.<sup>19</sup> From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The German cruisers, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, took refuge in the Dardanelles at the outbreak of the war. Instead of interning these fugitive ships in accordance with international law, the Turkish Government, already under German influence, pretended to buy them. In this manner the German Government became master of the situation and Turkey lost whatever independence it may still have had; for the German admiral and crews remained on board and a German element was introduced into the remainder of the Turkish fleet. It was this Tureo-German fleet, under effective German control, that forced Turkey's reluctant entrance into the war. By order of the German admiral, it bombarded Russian Black Sea ports, without provocation, without warning, without previous authorization of the Ottoman Government, and contrary to the desires of a majority of its members. (*Diplomatic Documents*, Carnegie edition, part ii, pp. 1057-1205 and 1385-1437.)

<sup>20</sup> The Stockholm Congress after frequent postponements may meet in September. The German socialists have skillfully classified the delegates with a view to getting the men and groups desired by the German Government, and the present outlook is that of the 202 delegates they hoped to have present the pro-German group may count on controlling 155. The American labor unions, with a membership of 3,000,000, are given 4 members; the American socialist parties, with 100,000 members, 16. Kerensky's labor party group in Russia, although undeniably socialist and so recognized at other congresses, is excluded. Similar devices for packing the conference have been used in regard to the French and English delegations. In neutral countries where the control is in the hands of pro-German leaders the delegations are disproportionately large; where the socialist groups might be against Germany the representation is small. (See article by William English Walling in the daily papers Sept. 10, 1917, and by John Spargo in *New York Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1917. Both writers are well-known socialists.) The Stockholm Conference is closely connected with the governments of Germany and of her satellites. The Dutch pro-German socialist leader, Troelstra, who arranged the preliminary meeting at Stockholm, was granted an interview with Zimmermann, the German

That government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable

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secretary for foreign affairs; and the autocratic German Government, which has fought the socialists, gave its ready consent to the attendance of the German socialists. In Hungary the socialists were so sure of the eagerness of their Government to have them go that they threatened to stay away if the Government did not heed socialist demands for certain internal reforms. The prime minister of Bulgaria not only had a long interview with the leader of the socialist party bound for the first conference at Stockholm but saw the party off at the railway station.

Interest in this packed Stockholm conference is justified only because there are at present indications that the dominant military group is playing with the slogan, first used by the socialists, of "no annexations and no indemnities." For obvious reasons they omit the phrase added by the Russians, "the right of all nations to determine their own destiny." What is left, "no annexations and no indemnities," serves two purposes of German propaganda. At home it enables the military group to command socialist coöperation, direct the Stockholm conference, bolster up the self-defense theory of the war, and hold their shaken position until in time of peace they can again consolidate it. Abroad it gives socialist, pacifist, and pro-German groups an effective and seemingly guileless phrase with which to divide public sentiment and divert the unthinking. Such groups, often honest and well intentioned, think they are reaching out a hand to a real and powerful opposition within Germany. If accepted without any definition and without the Russian addition the program of "No annexations and no indemnities" *seemingly* restores the conditions before the war. Such conditions mean the German military group triumphant, Germany unliberalized, Belgium, Serbia, Poland, and Roumania ravished and as fast in the German net as are Turkey, Austria, and Bulgaria; France weakened; Italy threatened; Russia disorganized; and the theory and practice of German warfare unrebuted. So Germany would be free to organize central Europe and plot for another empire, beyond seas patrolled by her submarines in a world overawed for generations by the triumph of "frightfulness."

The Imperial Government will continue to manoeuvre for peace, but, in its present spirit, for a peace to be arranged in conference at a "green table," with Germany holding as trumps the overrun territories now in her possession, and not for a peace guaranteed "by the major force of mankind." When the Reichstag voted for peace without annexations, the new chancellor, Michaelis, spoke vaguely at first, but then hastened to reassure the alarmed Pan-Germans. When the Pope's proposals were brought forward, the chancellor welcomed them, but remained hopelessly indefinite as to whether Germany would assent to the details. The German Government has not yet given up the hope of making a peace with plunder. The long cherished purposes of expansion are not easily relinquished. It will continue to offer baits for peace—a peace that means "rectification of frontiers" in her favor and "security for her future development," i. e., such extensions of territory as may afford her "room."

part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It can not go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.<sup>21</sup>

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they

<sup>21</sup> The rapid industrial development of Germany after the war of 1870, though due to economic causes, greatly enhanced the prestige of the military classes, who assumed the credit for it. Their present position on the war map is highly advantageous to them from an economic point of view, for they now control the chief centers of European industry outside Great Britain. They hold the greater part of Belgium, one of the most highly developed industrial centers of the world. They are exploiting the chief mining and manufacturing part of France, the oil and wheat fields of Rumania and one of the few important manufacturing districts of Russia. They have secured the Balkan corridor to the Near East, with its boundless possibilities of commercial exploitation and of further political aggression in the direction of Egypt and India. If they can retain these conquests they will be permanently enriched at the expense of their impoverished neighbors. If they can capitalize their present advantageous positions on the war map, whether by annexations or otherwise, this war also, like that of 1870, will appear in the light of a profitable business adventure. War itself will indeed have become one of the greatest of national industries, with the military caste necessarily in supreme political control. In such an atmosphere democracy cannot develop. Nor can the triumph of democracy be expected in Germany till the prestige of the military caste has been destroyed. The celebrated Prof. Hans Delbrück, of the University of Berlin, wrote early in 1914: "Anyone who has any familiarity at all with our officers and generals knows that it would take another Sedan, inflicted on us instead of by us, before they would acquiesce in the control of the army by the German Parliament."

promised to gain by it; an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.<sup>22</sup>

Do you not now understand the new intrigue,<sup>23</sup> the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have

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<sup>22</sup> America no longer occupies a position of charmed isolation. In this war, navies have transported great armies thousands of miles. The wireless has kept Germany informed almost constantly of developments in the United States. German submarines have appeared in our ports and have sunk ships off our coasts. Already we are within the menace. Let disaster come to the British and American navies and the war may be brought within our borders.

To-day more than ever before we face the problem of defending with a real force or with adequate guarantees our traditional policy—the Monroe doctrine. The facilities of the entire Holy Alliance in 1823 for the violation of American territory were small as compared with the power of Germany alone to-day. If Germany emerges from this war victorious and unreformed, then we, like France, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland during the past decades, must prepare indeed for self-defense. We must shoulder a burden of military preparedness in time of peace such as America has never known.

<sup>23</sup> See note 20.

hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction—Socialists,<sup>24</sup> the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or cooperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom; and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That Government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the polities of

<sup>24</sup> The terrifying bitterness of the struggle between the Imperial Government and the Social Democratic Party came to light in a speech by the Kaiser to the army recruits in 1891, in which he referred to his political opponents as “the internal foe,” and said: “\* \* \* It may come to pass that you will have to shoot down and stab your own relations and brothers.” Upon another occasion he said: “\* \* \* To me every Social Democrat is synonymous with an enemy of the realm and of the Fatherland.”

At the outbreak of the war the Socialists abandoned their opposition to the Government and the Kaiser announced that there were no longer any parties in Germany. “In time of peace this or that party has attacked me; I forgive them now with all my heart.” Nevertheless some Socialists who subsequently adopted an independent tone are now in jail. The majority seem content to be the cat’s-paw of the military authorities in working upon the Russian Socialists for a separate peace. The hollowness of the reconciliation and the Government’s insincerity in permitting the use of Socialist peace formulas (see note 20) may be inferred from a passage in Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg’s speech of July 7, 1917, in which he is reported to have said that it was impossible to accept the socialist propositions in behalf of peace “because they had proved unsuccessful in Russia.”

# WHY GERMANY



## THE SECRET OF GERMANY'S PEACE OFFER

### The Central Powers

Population (in round figures)

Germany.....	68,000,000
Austria-Hungary.....	52,000,000
Bulgaria.....	5,500,000
Turkey.....	21,000,000
	<hr/>
	146,500,000

### The Occupied Territory

Belgium.....	6,500,000
Northern France .....	6,000,000
Poland, Lithuania, Courland.....	18,000,000
Serbia, Montenegro.....	5,000,000
Roumania.....	<hr/> 5,000,000
	<hr/> 40,500,000

TO-DAY GERMANY CONTROLS 187,000,000 People

THAT IS WHY SHE WANTS PEACE

Courtesy of "The New Europe" January 11, 1917.

ANTS PEACE NOW

# THE PANGERMAN PLAN

as realised by War  
IN EUROPE AND IN ASIA

"Central Europe" and its Annexe in the Near East  
(Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey)

The Entente Powers

Territory occupied by Central Powers

Territory occupied by Entente Powers

**GERMANY'S MAIN ROUTE TO THE EAST**

(Berlin-Bagdad, Berlin-Hodeida, Berlin-Cairo-Cape)

Supplementary Routes

(Berlin-Trieste, Berlin-Salonica-Athens, Berlin-Constantza-Constantinople)

Uncompleted sectors





# CONQUEST AND KULTUR

## AIMS OF THE GERMANS IN THEIR OWN WORDS

COMPILED BY  
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*and*  
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## FOREWORD.

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The present war is in the last analysis distinctly a war between ideals and thus between the peoples who uphold them. On the one hand are the peoples who have faith in themselves and in each other and in the ordered ways of law and justice by which they have sought in the past to regulate both their domestic and their international relations. Upon the other hand are those whose ideals have been fixed for them by dynastic aims and ambitions which could only be translated into reality through subservience to authority and by the unrestricted use of force. The first group has long had a unity in its fundamental attitudes which it did not realize until the war endangered and revealed them.

The great self-governing nations, England and France, long ago passed on to America the best of what they had established or dreamed of establishing in the way of popular government. Our war for independence left our institutions and ways of thinking and acting distinctly English, and it aided the English in their own struggle to bring monarchy and political aristocracy into subordination to the will of the great English nation. It also revealed to us how much we had in common in our newer world ideals with the liberalism of that France which had already found its thought about human rights and relations in advance of the Bourbon institutions and ideas that governed it politically. It should never be forgotten that Burke and Chatham and Fox and Barré in England and Lafayette and Turgot and Beaumarchais in France held political ideas which made them the supporters of the American colonies and the intellectual comrades of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson. Here in this America they saw their ideals molded into realities and recognized that we were fighting their battles and that a blow struck at autocracy's effort to rule America would shake its weakening hold upon both France and England. Together these three great nations have climbed upward toward the same sunlit heights. Their band has now become a goodly one, as the South American Republics, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Japan, China, and at last Russia have caught the vision.

In varied ways and in different tongues these peoples have

sought to realize and express their idea that government is an instrument devised by men for the benefit of human beings. They have held that liberty and law spring from the same soil, that reason is the only conqueror that does not rule slaves, that the state is an agency, not an end or an entity, and is something larger and better than any man only when it helps every man to be something larger and better, in some way more just, more humane, more enlightened, more thoughtless of self and more thoughtful of his fellow men. They have not permanently sought to restrict to one class as privilege what is the common property of all nor to deny to any nation because it is small that opportunity for self-realization which is the easy heritage of the more favored.

The democracy they have won for themselves, that has made citizens where before there were subjects, they have almost unconsciously come to feel must touch hands with other self-governing peoples and all must uphold an international law that expresses for all nations the ideals which each has found for itself.

In all these things America has allied its better thought with the better thought of the nations which have taken their place in this unorganized league of liberty, this enlarging commonwealth of justice, this newer polity of a common humanity. Its ideals, from the days of Otis and Adams and Henry and Washington through Monroe and Webster and Lincoln, have been interpreted to it over and over again and have echoed back to us in the language of Bright and Gladstone and Morley and Bryce, of Mazzini and Cavour, of Lamartine and Thiers and Gambetta. We in America have seen these other peoples rallying in this war to the defense of these ideals, the liberal world's common property. And now the call has come to us anew voiced in measured words that those who in the past have toiled and striven, have fought and fallen, would know as the spoken message of their silent sacrifice. This America of ours has heard the call and stands embattled for the ideals that represent a heritage, an achievement, a hope.

America knows what it is defending. Does it as clearly understand what it is fighting against? Does it realize that other peoples have had imposed upon them ways of thinking between which and our thought and the thought of all forward-looking people there can be no compromise? Does it know that the ideals of government which it struck down in its farthest

past, bringing new liberties to all English-speaking peoples—the ideals which France banished with the Bourbons and the Bonapartes, and Italy drove out with the Hapsburgs, ideals that crashed to earth in Russia but yesterday with the fall of the Romanoffs—does it know that these ideals now dominate the Teutonic powers and make them the fitting allies of the Turk in thought and purpose and method?

Three years of war as conducted by Prussian militarism have done much to acquaint us with the purposes and methods of the mediievally minded group which controls the Central Powers. Yet a full and convincing proof of the distortion of the purposes of a whole nation can come only from the utterances of those who planned and promoted the war. One may not draw an indictment against a whole nation, but it is at least permissible to allow its responsible leaders, intellectual and political, to define the creed according to which they have shaped the thought and action of the German people in the past generation. That is all this pamphlet does. Against such a confession the guilty can not enter a plea in abatement or avoidance, neither now nor hereafter. The pied pipers of Prussianism who have led the German people to conquest and to ignominy and to infamy are here given their unending day before the court of public opinion. It is a motley throng who are here heard in praise of war and international suspicion and conquest and intrigue and devastation—emperors, kings, princes, poets, philosophers, educators, journalists, legislators, manufacturers, militarists, statesmen. Line upon line, precept upon precept, they have written this ritual of envy and broken faith and rapine. Before them is the war god to whom they have offered up their reason and their humanity, behind them the misshapen image they have made of the German people, leering with bloodstained visage over the ruins of civilization.

There is no thinking human being who would not gladly blot out the whole ugly record of these pages both because of what it advocates and because of the untold anguish its translation into deeds has caused. But it can never be done.

Only its full and fair presentation can enable the American people to know what it is from which they are defending their land, their institutions and their very lives. Only from such a carefully documented self-revelation of German ideals can they fully know what they must overcome—not only they but the German people themselves, for no peace, no matter when it

may come nor what may be its terms, can ever make of Germany "a fit partner for a league of honor" until the German people have driven out the spirit which inspired these utterances made in their name.

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There has been no dearth of material for this collection. The compilers collected three times as much as has been used and could find new passages of similar import as long as they had library facilities. It is hoped that this collection is sufficiently representative to convince the reader of the prevalence of some of the more dangerous German conceptions. It is in some respects unique, for many passages reproduced have not been used before for this purpose, at least not in English. Not the least interesting of them are the quotations from the Social-Democratic leaders in the Reichstag, who, before the war, stated the case against the German Government quite as plainly as it has been stated by the outside world since then.

It goes without saying that the compilers have availed themselves of other collections, notably of the four volumes of Andler's Pan-Germanism, of that scholarly compilation, Germany's War Mania, of William Archer's carefully edited Gems of German Thought, of Bang's Hurrah and Hallelujah, and of that little known but excellent anonymous work, The Pan-Germanic Doctrine. A collection recently made in this country, Out of Their Own Mouths, came to hand too late to use. The two collections, however, of which most use has been made are Nippold's Der Deutsche Chauvinismus, a collection of jingo utterances compiled by a German professor at Jena before the war (see p. 127), and Grumbach's Das Annexionistische Deutschland (see p. 136).

The compilers have tried as far as possible to get back to originals, although helping themselves freely to translations they could verify. Other collections are acknowledged only where original citations could not be given. It is hoped that all citations are accurate and all passages correctly transcribed. We have to acknowledge the help received from the Minnesota, Harvard, Yale, and Columbia libraries, as well as from the Library of Congress. The rich collection of the New York Public Library has been of the greatest help.

Some pains and space have been used to include contexts, and to see that words were not wrested from their meanings.

It goes without saying that the most quotable passages have been taken. But it may be added that there are scores of German works where, though a brief quotable passage could not be found, the whole teaching is the necessity of aggression against other peoples.<sup>\*\*</sup>

The German writers whom the compilers have read have sought again and again to fan the flame of German hatred by quoting English utterances of a similar character, *three English utterances in all*, and only one of them comparable to the passages in this collection. Of French jingoistic utterances German writers have much to say and little to quote. They talk with greater vagueness of the ambitions of America. It is the unenviable distinction of the small dynastic, feudal, capitalistic, and intellectual groups in Germany, to which these ideas owe their origin, that they have made them nation-wide, systematic, and dominant.

Professors Notestein and Stoll, to whose labors and scholarship the form and content of this collection are due, desire to acknowledge the aid they have had in the work of collection, translation, and annotation from Professors William Anderson, Rupert Lodge, and Dr. Mason Tyler, of the University of Minnesota; Dr. James Wallace, of St. Paul; Professors D. C. Munro, of Princeton; George C. Sellery, of the University of Wisconsin; C. H. Hull, of Cornell; and Guernsey Jones, of the University of Nebraska.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Director,  
Division of Civic and Educational Co-operation.*

\* \* \* The press edition of this publication bore date of November 15, 1917, and was released on December 3. A few minor selections and the Index are added in this edition.

*“And they fight, not simply because they are forced to, but because, curiously enough, they believe much of their talk. That is one of the dangers of the Germans to which the world is exposed; they really believe much of what they say.”*

Vernon Kellogg in Atlantic Monthly, August, 1917.

# CONQUEST AND KULTUR

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## SECTION I.

### THE MISSION OF GERMANY.

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**“We are the salt of the earth.”**

Kaiser's speech, Bremen, March 22, 1905. Christian Gauss, The German Emperor as Shown in His Public Utterances, 1915, p. 239.

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“If you ask me ‘How shall I build up the Kingdom of God?’ my answer is: ‘Be a good German.’ Stand fast by the Fatherland. Do your duty and fulfill your mission. Seek to submerge yourself in German spirit, in German mind. Be German in piety and will, which simply means be true, faithful, and valiant. Help as best you can toward our victory: help to make our Fatherland grow and wax mighty.”

Protestantenblatt, No. 13, 1915. [B., p. 134.]

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“Germany’s mission is to rejuvenate the exhausted members of Europe by a diffusion of Germanic blood.”

A. Hummel, Handbuch der Erdkunde, 1876 (a text for school children), quoted by Guillard, Modern Germany and her Historians, 1915, p. 154.

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“We Germans have a far greater and more urgent duty toward civilization to perform than the great Asiatic power.  
\* \* \* We \* \* \* can only fulfill it by the sword.”

F. von Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War (1911), trans. 1914, p. 258.

General Bernhardi is a German cavalry general who, after his retirement, turned to writing. Germans claim that his books had little circulation. His “Deutschland und der nächste Krieg,” however, had gone into its sixth edition by February, 1913. Die Post, reviewing it in 1912, said that it “engaged the serious attention of our own political and—it need hardly be added—military circles. The great length of his book and its consequent high price prevented it from becoming a really popular book; but it was meant to be a book for the people.” The book has frequently been referred to in the Reichstag debates and in the newspapers. There can be no doubt that Bernhardi expressed the feeling of a large part of the influential classes in Germany.

"Cease the pitiful attempts to excuse Germany's action. No longer wail to strangers, who do not care to hear you, telling them how dear to us were the smiles of peace we had smeared like rouge upon our lips and how deeply we regret in our hearts that the treachery of conspirators dragged us unwillingly into a forced war. \* \* \* That national selfishness does not seem a duty to you, but a sin, is something you must conceal from foreign eyes. \* \* \* Not as weak-willed blunderers have we undertaken the fearful risk of this war. We wanted it. Because we had to wish it and could wish it. May the Teuton devil throttle those whiners whose pleas for excuses make us ludicrous in these hours of lofty experience. We do not stand, and shall not place ourselves, before the court of Europe. Germany strikes. If it conquers new realms for its genius the priesthood of all the gods will sing songs of praise to the good war. \* \* \* We are waging this war not in order to punish those who have sinned, nor in order to free enslaved peoples and thereafter to comfort ourselves with the unselfish and useless consciousness of our own righteousness. We wage it from the lofty point of view and with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements and in proportion to them, is justified in asking and must obtain wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. The powers from whom she forced her ascendancy, in spite of themselves, still live and some of them have recovered from the weakening she gave them. \* \* \* Now strikes the hour of Germany's rising power.

"Not only for the territories that are to feed their children and grandchildren is this warrior host now battling, but also for the conquering triumph of the German genius. \* \* \* Now we know what the war is for: Not for French, Polish, Ruthenian, Lettish territories; not for billions of money; not in order to dive headlong after the war into the pool of emotions and then allow the chilled body to rust in the twilight dust of the Deliverer of Races. No! To hoist the storm flag of the Empire on the narrow channel that opens and locks the road into the ocean."

Translation from Maximilian Harden in New York Times, Dec. 6, 1914. Harden is a German free lance, editor of Die Zukunft. He says in a keen and incisive manner what many Germans are thinking.

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"Its [the war's] meaning and aim is the unification and purification of Germany in order that it may be qualified for its historical

**task, to be the heart of Europe** and to prepare for a realization of the hopes of European humanity. We are fighting the fight of light against darkness. We are not all good, but our will is bent toward the good. And to the upright of spirit God will allot success." This was his main idea as to the purpose of the war, and it was as if one could hear the clear voices of children singing: "**O Germany, high in honor, thou holy land of faith!"**

The Kaiser as reported by A. Fendrich, *Mit dem Auto an der Front*, 1915, pp. 142-143.

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"The more it [German kultur] remains faithful to itself, the better will it be able to enlighten the understanding of foreign races absorbed or incorporated into the Empire, and to make them see that **only from German kultur can they derive those treasures which they need for the fertilizing of their own particular life** [And what glorious results will not victory bring to Germany herself?] \* \* \* A victorious peace will mean the release of world-conquering energy for our industrial life \* \* \* the losses suffered in the war, whatever they may come to, shall be made up, \* \* \* the black-white-and-red flag shall wave over all seas, our countrymen will hold highly respected posts in all parts of the world, and we will maintain and extend our colonies. The whole world shall stand open to us, so that, in untrammelled rivalry we shall unfold the energy of the German nature."

Otto von Gierke, "War and Culture," in *Deutsche Reden in Schwerer Zeit* (1914). I, 93-96. The author is a most distinguished professor of law in the University of Berlin.

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"**For we are proud of it [German kultur] and know what it means for mankind.** When our fatherland lay shattered on the ground Johann Gottlieb Fichte in his memorable Addresses to the German People, here in Berlin more than a hundred years ago, held up the Germans as the one people in Europe which had preserved its original racial purity and as a result its capability of taking on culture; and he found the transition from its former spirit of cosmopolitanism to flaming national enthusiasm in the thought that as this people is called to be the minister of universal culture it is in duty bound to preserve itself. And a half century later (1861), in the midst of the twilight which preceded our great dawn, Emanuel Geibel closed his fine poem, *Germany's Mission*, with the prophetic lines:

And German culture may bring healing to the nations.

"So think we. So may it come to pass."

*Idem*, pp. 99-100.

Since the time of Fiechte the Germans have clung with growing pride to this notion that they are an original, uncontaminated race. This conception readily united with their philosophical and mystical conception of the State—or rather the Prussian or German State—not as a piece of machinery (after the American fashion, say, or the English) but as something living, almost divine. From this point of view it was only a step to the conception that they were a chosen people. They were chosen to create a new type of culture, they think, and impose it even on an unwilling world.

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[Speaking of Belgium:] "The destinies of the immortal great nations stand so high that they can not but have the right in case of need to stride over existences that can not defend themselves, but support themselves shamelessly upon the rivalries of the great."

Hermann Oncken (Heidelberg), *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, September, 1914. Oncken is an eminent professor of modern history at Heidelberg.

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**"We feel ourselves to be the bearers of a superior kultur.** We have no doubt that a defeat of our people would retard by centuries the development of mankind. On the other hand, we hope, by the victory of our arms, to bring about a new efflorescence of humanity through the German nature, which will thus prove itself fruitful of blessings for other nations as well."

Dr. Paul Conrad, Stark in dem Herrn, 1915, p. 41. Dr. Conrad is pastor of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin.

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"Germany is now about to become, mentally and morally, the first nation in the world. **The German nation leads in the domains of kultur, science, intelligence, morality, art, and religion, in the entire domain of the inner life.** \* \* \* The world shall once again be healed by the German spirit; that shall be no empty phrase for us. All the deep things—courage, patriotism, faithfulness, moral purity, conscience, the sense of duty, activity on a moral basis, inward riches, intellect, industry, and so forth—no other nation possesses all these things in such high perfection as we do. And because it is so, because **Germany is the leader in the entire domain of intellect, character, and soul**—and in the end the world's judgment depends on these—because Germany is thus more and more becoming

the center of the world, therefore our neighbors look upon it askance and with envy. Thus this war is a war of envy and jealousy of Germany's leadership. It is a fight of hounds against a noble quarry."

Pastor W. Lehmann, *Vom deutschen Gott*, 1915. Sermon, August 9. [B., 73, 74.]

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"Take heed that ye be counted amongst the blessed, who show declining England, corrupt Belgium, licentious France, uncouth Russia, the unconquerable youthful power and manhood of the German people in a manner never to be forgotten. \* \* \* Brethren, make an end of this generation of vipers with German blows and German thrusts."

Pastor J. Rump, *Kriegsbetstunden*, 1914, II, 75.

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"We have become a nation of wrath; we think only of the war. \* \* \* We execute God Almighty's will, and the edicts of His justice we will fulfill, imbued with holy rage, in vengeance upon the ungodly. God calls us to murderous battles, even if worlds should thereby fall to ruins. \* \* \* We are woven together like the chastening lash of war; we flame aloft like the lightning; like gardens of roses our wounds blossom at the gate of Heaven. We thank Thee, Lord God. Thy wrathful call obliterates our sinful nature; with Thine iron rod we smite all our enemies in the face."

Poem by Fritz Philippi. [B., pp. 54-55.]

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"Fichte was right in calling us the people of the soul. \* \* \* [In the sense that] the depth of feeling common to us Germans has become a power controlling our activity and permeating our history, to a degree unknown to any other people. In this sense we have a right to say that we form the soul of humanity, and that the destruction of the German nature would rob world-history of its deepest meaning."

Professor R. Eucken, *Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des deutschen Geistes*, 1914, p. 23. Eucken is professor of philosophy at Jena. He is perhaps best known in this country as the author of "Can We Still be Christians?"

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"In the midst of the world war Germany lies like a peaceful garden of God behind the wall of her armies. Then the poet

hears the giant strides of the new armor-clad Germany; the earth trembles, the nations shriek, the old era sinks into ruin. Formerly German thought was shut up in her corner, but now **the world shall have its coat cut according to German measure**, and as far as our swords flash and German blood flows, the circle of the earth shall come under the tutelage of German activity."

Poem by Fritz Philippi, entitled "World-Germany." [B., p. 47.]

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"There are races which are incapable of attaining a high humanity, incapable of influencing the world. Such nations are destined to hew wood and draw water for dominant nations. If they can not fill this inferior office, they must perish.

"To a far greater extent than the French and English—races continually talking of freedom—we Germans have made such progress in social equalization that we may consider ourselves far beyond the Romans; and this in spite of the hostile Western powers.

"We notice with anger and horror how the British Nation in its entirety has shown itself false, cruel, and criminal, just as the French have proved themselves in the treatment of their prisoners, barbarians.

"I for my part am convinced that the French are doomed to perdition, and I feel myself free of every emotion of regret. Politically, France may still exist for centuries, but the nation is so dependent for its life on admixture that after the life of a few generations it will be no more."

Professor Rudolph Hueh, in *Tägliche Rundschau*, of Berlin. Quoted by Professor R. L. Sanderson and by the *Daily Chronicle*, of London. [N. Y. Times, Feb. 28, Mar. 4, 1917.]

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"The whole history of the world is neither more nor less than a preparation for the time when it shall please God to allow the affairs of the universe to be in German hands."

From a speech by "an educational authority in East Prussia." Quoted by the *Dagens Nyheter* [Swedish daily], July 21, 1917.

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*"One can not rest neutral in relationship to Germany and the German people. Either one must consider Germany as the most perfect political creation that history has known, or must approve her destruction, her extermination. A man who is not a German knows nothing of Germany. We are morally and intellectually*

*superior to all, without peers. It is the same with our organizations and with our institutions."*

*"The European conspiracy has woven around us a web of lies and slander. As for us we are truthful, our characteristics are humanity, gentleness, conscientiousness, the virtues of Christ. In a world of wickedness we represent love, and God is with us."*

Adolf Lasson, in two letters to a friend in Holland September, 1914.

Bernadotte Schmitt, England and Germany, 1916, pp. 93-94. Lasson is a distinguished professor of philosophy in the University of Berlin. See also New York Times, October 29, 1914.

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*"Not to live and let live, but to live and direct the lives of others, that is power. To bring peoples under our rational influence in order to put their affairs on a better footing, that is more refined power."*

Dr. Carl Peters, Not und Weg, 1915, pp. 13-14 [G. p. 343]. Dr. Peters is an eminent German traveler and writer on colonial matters, one of the founders of the Pan-German League, and an ardent advocate of colonial expansion.

Passages such as the above serve to answer Friedreich Naumann's naïve inquiry, "Why is it that we Germans of the Empire are during this war so little liked by the rest of the world?"

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*"The German race is called to bind the earth under its control, to exploit the natural resources and the physical powers of man, to use the passive races in subordinate capacity for the development of its Kultur."*

Ludwig Woltmann, Politische Anthropologie, 1903. Quoted by Andler, Le Pan-Germanisme philosophique, 1917, p. 273. Woltmann was a socialist and publicist.

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*"With the help of Turkey, India and China may be conquered. Having conquered these Germany should civilize and Germanize the world, and the German language would become the world language."*

Theodore Springman (a manufacturer) in Deutschland und der Orient, 1915 [G. p. 308].

## SECTION II.

### WORLD POWER OR DOWNFALL.

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*"Now, people of Germany, ye shall be masters of Europe."*  
(Nun deutsches Volk wirst du Europa's Meister.)

The German poet, Hermann Stehr, in the first number of the Neue Rundschau after the war broke out, 1914, p. 1186.

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"Our next war will be fought for the highest interests of our country and of mankind. This will invest it with importance in the world's history. '**World power or downfall!**' will be our rallying cry.

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

F. von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* (1911), trans., 1914, p. 154.

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"Neither ridiculous shriekings for revenge by French chauvinists, nor the Englishmen's gnashing of teeth, nor the wild gestures of the Slavs will turn us from our aim of protecting and extending Deutschutum (German influence) all the world over."

Inclosure to letter No. 2, M. Étienne, minister of war, to M. Jonnart, minister for foreign affairs, Paris, Apr. 2, 1913. The French Yellow Book. From a Memorandum on the strengthening of the German Army, Berlin, Mar. 19, 1913, an official secret report, which fell into the hands of the French minister of war.

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"Our fathers have left us much to do. **The German people** is so situated in Europe that it **needs only to run and take whatever it requires**. The German people finds itself to-day in a plight similar to that of Prussia at the accession of Frederick the Great, who raised his country to the status of a European power. **To-day it is for Germany to rise from a European to a world power.**

"\* \* \* Public policy prompted by the emotions [*Gefühlspolitik*] is stupidity. Humanitarian dreams are imbecility. Diplomatic charity begins at home. Statesmanship is business. Right and wrong are notions indispensable in private life. The

**German people are always right because they number 87,000,000 souls. Our fathers have left us much to do."**

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts, 1911, pp. 230-231. Tannenberg is probably a pseudonym. This work has been called "fantastic" by one Pan-German. It was more extreme than many of the Pan-German works only because it embodied all the various schemes of aggression.

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**"We are indubitably the most martial nation in the world. For two centuries German vigor upheld the decadent Roman Empire. Only Germans were able to combat the primitive might of Germans. In seven battles of the nations, in the forest of Teutoburg, in the Catalonian plains, at Tours, and at Poitiers, on the Lechfeld near Liegnitz, before Vienna against the Turks, and at Waterloo<sup>1</sup> we saved the civilization (Gesittung) of Europe.**

**"We are the most gifted of nations in all the domains of science and art. We are the best colonists, the best sailors, and even the best traders! And yet we have not up to now secured our due share in the heritage of the world, because we will not learn to draw salutary lessons from history. \* \* \* That the German Empire is not the end but the beginning of our national development is an obvious truth which as yet is by no means the common property of Germans. It is recognized only by a few cultivated men."**

Fritz Bley, Die Weltstellung des Deutschtums, 1897, pp. 21-22. Bley is editor of the "Zeit-Fragen" of Berlin. He has had experience in German colonial government.

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**"No more to be called the people of poets and thinkers in the contemptuous sense in which foreigners have given us the name—as if a timid tribe of irresolute dreamers, caught in the cobwebs of our brains—but to be again what our ancestors were, a people of deeds, that is the thought which thrills through all our more recent popular verse.**

We are of the race of the Thunderer;  
We will possess the earth;  
That is the old right of the Germans—  
To win land with the hammer.

**"This right of the Germans arises, let it be said once more, out of German civilization, the best on earth. \* \* \* For-**

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<sup>1</sup> The Germans claim the honors in this battle for themselves.

ward, then, into the fight for German aims and ‘far as the hammer is hurled let the earth be ours.’”

*Idem*, pp. 27-29.

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“Our German Fatherland, [to] which I hope it will be granted, through the harmonious co-operation of princes and peoples, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world-empire was, and that, just as in the old times they said ‘*Civis romanus sum,*’ hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say ‘I am a German citizen.’”

Kaiser’s speech, Imperial Limes Museum, Saalburg, October 11, 1900. Gauss, p. 169.

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“But any political community not in a position to assert its native strength as against any given group of neighbors will always be on the verge of losing its characteristics as a State. This has always been the case. Great changes in the art of war have destroyed numberless States. It is because an army of 20,000 men can only be reckoned to-day as a weak army corps that in the long run the small States of central Europe can not maintain themselves.”

Treitschke, *Politics* (1897), trans., 1916, I, 32. Von Treitschke was one of the most influential of Germany’s historical and political thinkers; “Our great national historian,” the Kaiser has called him. His lectures at the University of Berlin were crowded with students, students destined to be the thinkers and leaders of Germany; his pronouncements on German policy in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* determined opinion. He wrote history that glorifies the rise of Prussia, he acclaimed the union of Germany and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine as he saw it realized through the Franco-Prussian War, he insisted upon the concentration of power in the German State, and on the dominant position of that state in Europe. He pinned his faith to the great state; its rights were paramount. Wars which molded separate fragments into one great political unit, even if wars of conquest, were justifiable. His works became encyclopedias of patriotism, and, because vigorously and entertainingly written, were and are widely read. Their aphorisms have become a part of German political scripture, their philosophy has been the text-book of German statesmen. Bernhardi quotes Treitschke with the same reverence with which he quotes Bismarck and Machiavelli.

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“At the start the interests of commerce and of oversea politics go hand in hand; but it becomes a question which of the two will use the other for its ends. Whatever may happen, then,

*this is certain: Nationality, culture, world power, and the German Empire itself stand and fall together."*

Georg Fuchs, *Der Kaiser, die Kultur, und die Kunst*, 1904, p. 65.

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"Your Royal Highness [Prince Ruprecht] has been able to convince himself how powerfully the wave beat of the ocean knocks at the door of our people and forces it to demand its place in the world as a great nation; drives it on, in short, to world politics.

"Germany's greatness makes it impossible for her to do without the ocean, but the ocean also proves that even in the distance, and on its farther side, without Germany and the German Emperor no great decision dare henceforth be taken.

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

Kaiser's speech, Kiel, July 3, 1900. Gauss, pp. 162, 163.

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"We must not forget that, fighting and conquering, we must on to the ever distant pinnacle or down into the abyss. In the crush and scramble of the peoples there is no standing still. The face of the earth is ever changing. \* \* \* Peoples which once proudly sailed the high seas now only hug the shores, soon to disappear."

Klaus Wagner, *Krieg*, 1906, pp. 248-49. Klaus Wagner is a Bavarian magistrate. His writings have been much used by the newspapers.

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"Are we again on the point of a new partition of the earth, as the poet dreamed a hundred years ago? I believe not. I do not particularly wish to believe it. But at the same time we can not suffer any foreign power whatsoever—any strange Jupiter—to say to us, 'What are you going to do about it? All the room in the world has been taken!' We do not want to walk too close to any other power, neither do we want any other

power to trample on us, and we are unwilling to be shoved aside by any foreign power whether in a political or in an economic sphere."

Von Bülow, in the Reichstag, December 11, 1899, Reden, 1907, I, p. 90. Von Bülow was Minister of Foreign Affairs 1897-1900, Chancellor 1900-09.

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"Like all nations with interests at sea, we are by our need of coaling privileges—a need most clearly indicated at the time of the Spanish-American War and like other needs at the time of the Spanish-American War written large—we are, I say, driven to the acquisition of bases and stations. \* \* \* The range and extent of our oversea interests—here lies the kernel of the question—have been developed much more rapidly and much more intensively than the material means for protecting and advancing those interests, as this becomes necessary. *If ever the course of world history hastened to bestow upon an undertaking what I might call the historical seal of approval, then this was the case when, directly after the voting of the naval budget, first the Spanish-American War, then the disturbances in Samoa, and then the war in South Africa put our oversea interests at such different points in serious embarrassment, and fate proved it all before our eyes. You will understand, gentlemen, that in my official and responsible position I can not say much, and that I can not dot all my i's. You will all understand me if I say that fate showed us at more than one point on this globe how urgently necessary was the increase of our navy which took place two years ago, and how wise and patriotic it was of this high assembly to assent to the Government bill of that time [1898].*"

Von Bülow, in the Reichstag, December 11, 1899, Reden, 1907, I, 92-94. This address was delivered before the Reichstag upon the introduction of the second naval bill. It is easy to imagine what Von Bülow would have said had he been dotting all his i's. He would have told the Reichstag that, had Germany possessed a navy large enough America would not have been allowed to aid Cuba and acquire the Philippines. It will be recalled how reluctantly Admiral von Diedrichs kept hands off at Manila. The agreement with the United States concerning the partition of the Samoan Islands was made nine days before the delivery of this speech. It had been a distinct disappointment to the German jingoes.

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"Gentlemen, in spite of our old history, we are the youngest nation among the peoples of western Europe. We have come

late, very late into the arena. Now that we have come, there is need of haste."

Von Bülow in the Reichstag, November 19, 1908. Von Bülow's Reden, 1907-1909, III, pp. 142-143.

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"A timorous people, which knows not how to use its elbows, may of course put a stop to the increase in its population—it might find things too narrow at home. The superfluity of population might find no economic existence. A people happy in its future, however, knows nothing of an artificial limitation; its only care can be to find room on the globe for a livelihood for other members of its own race."

Arthur Dix, Deutschland auf den Hochstrassen des Weltwirtschaftsverkehrs, 1901, p. 28. Dix, like other German writers on foreign policy and economics, laments that the mouths of the Rhine and the Danube, "German rivers," are in foreign territory (pp. 32, 33). The Danube, flowing east, seems to him to beckon German influence on, not only into eastern Europe but to Asia.

Dix is editor of the "Deutsche Bote" and the "Weltpolitik," two journals of Berlin. In internal politics he is a National Liberal, and he bases his arguments on the fact that imperialism will benefit the working classes.

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"But can such a state of things continue forever? Can a great and rapidly increasing people like the Germans forever forego further progress and a further extension of its political power? Can we be satisfied forever with our present scanty colonies and with our endangered position in the center of Europe? Is it right for us to run the risk that the increase of our population may be lost again to our own country, as it used to be in former years, and perhaps serve to enhance the power of those States which are hostile to us? **Is it not our duty to open up new spheres of work which further the interests of our fatherland,** to all those intellectual forces of which there is a surplus in Germany, forces which so often strive in vain to find an outlet for their energy?

"It is not only our sacred duty as a nation to strive for the realization and accomplishment of all these purposes, but it will soon be found to be a necessity which will assert itself with elemental force. We shall then be compelled by the pressure exerted by the national will to exchange the policy of resignation and renunciation to which we have adhered all these years for a **policy pursuing positive aims**—the strengthening of our position

in the center of Europe; the final reckoning with France and England; the extension of our colonial possessions, in order to find new dwelling places under the German flag for the surplus of our population; the vigorous protection of Germans abroad; the acquisition of stations for our navy; the further development of our effective forces in proportion to the increase of the forces of our enemies. These are the tasks which we shall have to face in the near future."

Die Post, April 25, 1913. [N., p. 14.]

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"We might say that the hostile arrogance of the western powers releases us from all our treaty obligations, throws open the doors of our verbal prison house, and forces the German Empire, resolutely defending her vital rights, to revive the ancient Prussian policy of conquest. \* \* \*

*"All Morocco in the hands of Germany; German cannon on the routes to Egypt and India; German troops on the Algerian frontier; this would be a goal worthy of great sacrifices. \* \* \**

"When we can put 5,000,000 German soldiers into the field we shall be able to dictate to France the conditions upon which she may preserve the empire of northern Africa—'New France'—with her brown Algerian troops. \* \* \* We have entered upon a struggle in which the stake is the power and future of the German Empire."

Maximilian Harden, *Zukunft*, July 29, 1911, p. 151. Here is the principle of the "scrap of paper," before the phrase. It is an old Prussian principle. The Great Frederick when he marched into Silesia cried, "I take first; I shall always find pedants enough to explain the matter afterwards." "When Prussia's power is in question," said Bismarck, "I know no law." "All treaties," wrote Treitschke, the Prussian political theorist, "are concluded on the tacit understanding *rebus sic stantibus* [until conditions change] (New York, 1916, vol. II, p. 596). That is, to quote Hegel, Treitschke's great teacher, "the fundamental proposition of international law remains a good intention, while in the actual situation the relation established by the treaty is being continually shifted or abrogated." With the spirit of these words Prussian policy has generally been in accord.

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"The war which seems approaching will decide our whole future. As far as we are concerned, the question is whether we are to maintain our present position in the political world and become a world power or whether we are to be pushed back and become a purely continental state of second rank. I trust that every German may bear that alternative in mind, and that it

may be quite clear to our Government how much is at stake. **All other considerations must recede into the background when the will to power and to victory is concerned.** Every individual German ought to be governed by the determination to win that victory, no matter how difficult this may prove to be."

From an article by General Bernhardi on "Unsere Zukunft" in Hannoversches Tageblatt, Dec. 28, 1912. [N., pp. 98-99.]

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"If a permanent understanding [between England and Germany] is to be reached, Germany's interests must be safeguarded in every respect. \* \* \*

"England would have to grant us an absolutely free hand in the domain of European politics and would have to approve in advance any increase of Germany's power on the Continent, as, for example, by a central European federation or by a war against France. She would have to cease throwing diplomatic obstacles in our way when we are engaged in the extension of our colonial policy, so long as we do not seek to further it at her expense. She would have to consent to any territorial readjustments in north Africa in favor of Italy and Germany. She would have to pledge her word not to obstruct Austria's interests in the Balkans nor to thwart Germany's economic aspirations in western Asia, and she would have to make up her mind to refrain from opposing, as she has done hitherto, the expansion of our naval power and the acquisition of coaling stations by the German Empire."

General von Bernhardi in Die Post, Dec. 23, 1912. [N., pp. 97-98.]

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"So be it, and when the German Emperor is crowned with victory, then what he promised us in his youthful days will stand forth as a great accomplished fact. '*I am leading you to days of glory.*' Let us forget all our discontent of former times, and let us thank our fate, which has guided us through darkness into light. *Henceforth the German shall be the proudest and best man on earth*—that is the only spirit which is worthy of the great times in which it has been granted us to see and to create."

Karl von Winterstetten, Nordkap-Bagdad, das politische Programm des Kriegs, 1914, p. 40. Winterstetten is a pseudonym for Dr. Albrecht Ritter. His pamphlet Berlin-Bagdad: Neue Ziele, etc., has gone through 14 editions.

"From this it appears that, for Germany, this war is the decisive step toward a real world policy, which she was compelled to take because the Triple Entente, that syndicate of great land monopolists, prevented her from peaceful expansion, from obtaining the elbow room which she requires by peaceful means. *We must therefore look upon this war as necessary for two reasons—it is not only a question of finally repelling the advance of Pan-Slavism, but also of opening up a way for the German people to ascend to the rank of a world power. 'How can we obtain this second object of the war?'"*

Karl von Winterstetten, Nordkap-Bagdad, das politische Programm des Kriegs, 1914, p. 17.

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"We await in complete unity, calm determination, and confidence in God the hour that will render possible peace negotiations whereby the military, economic, financial, and political interests of the German Empire in all its extent, including the extension of territory which is necessary for all this, are secure forever."

Dr. Spahn, former leader of the Centre Party, in the Reichstag, December 8 or 9, 1915. [London Times, Dec. 11, 1915.] The Centre (the Clericals) is the largest party in the Reichstag. Under the leadership of Erzberger it very recently (July, 1917) declared against the policy of annexation, though not unanimously.

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"It is on the soil of Europe which has been fertilized by blood that there is growing up for us a German crop, and we shall still the tears of those who have given their dear ones if we can say to them: 'Thy son, thy husband has fallen for this greater and stronger Germany—**bloody sacrifices** have been offered, and more will fall; they **must provide the foundation for a territorial expansion of our country**, for boundaries in the East and West which will secure us peace for a generation.'"

The Deutsche Kurier of Aug. 4, 1915 [G. pp. 76-77.]

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"We know it; the German eagle will victoriously unfold his pinions and ascend to a prouder height than ever. And we shall also know how to keep a firm hold for all time to come on the countries which are fertilized with German blood. Our ardent love for our German Fatherland makes us strong to make the greatest sacrifices. *But let us therefore also keep a firm hold on what we have won, and acquire in addition what we*

*need.* Beyond bloody war is splendid victory—let that be the watchword of this great time."

Deputy Bassermann at a farewell gathering of the National Liberal Party, of the Central Committee of which he was president, quoted in *Vorwärts*, December 5, 1914.

"In reality, our imperialists are seeking to achieve something quite different. They also know, even if they do not say so to the stupid people (and Bernhardi's book proves that this is so), that we have indeed the place in the sun, that no one seeks to dispute it, and that if anyone were to seek to do so, he would necessarily fail. But it is something else that they want. *They want the exclusive place in the sun; they are striving for the world dominion of Germany*, and that at any rate, is what the others are not prepared to yield to them.

"The German Defense Association<sup>1</sup> (*Wehrverein*) has quite recently expressed this with all the lucidity that can be desired. In this manifesto we find the following words: 'We need room and air for the further development of our German nationality. **The time for moderation is past.** Relentlessly thinking only of our interests, we must and we will dictate peace. **Only one peace can be thought of, a peace which assures the permanent leading world position of Germany.** \* \* \* The criminal breakers of the peace, England, France, and Russia, must be so weakened that in future they will cease to be a danger to the peace of the world.'"

I Accuse! by a German, 1915, p. 70. See note, p. 131.

"For all who have eyes to see and a mind alive to the world around them the great war has made clear our true situation. **We must insist on being a world power, or we cease to be a great power at all. There is no other alternative.** \* \* \* Let no one here say that small States, too, can have a national life of their own. True, so long as the great States around them allow them to exist. But any day may see the end of their existence, in spite of all treaties to the contrary, and every day brings ~~us~~ fresh evidence how little assured is the existence of small States. \* \* \* Anyone who still retains belief in such things [treaties] is past all argument. A man who has not learned wisdom from the events of the last two years is incapable of learning anything. \* \* \* We can not do without alliances,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 90-91, 92.

but we can only reckon upon them as promoting our own security so long as they are cemented by the greatest possible sense of common interest. **Alliances by themselves are worthless.** \* \* \*

"If the war has done no more than awake the German people out of love's young dream—that is, out of its reliance on the good will and honest dealing of peoples and States—it will have done us a great service. There are no ethical friendships between States in our day. There are only friendships of convenience. And friendships of convenience last just so long as the convenience itself.

"That is the sheet anchor of all foreign policy. What we desire for our future therefore is a strong, self-dependent Germany, strong enough to secure, that Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey shall find their greatest safety and prosperity through the German connection—and only through Germany."

Die Zukunft Deutschlands, by Oberstudienrat Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner, member of the Reichstag, in the Europäische Staats- und Wirtschaftszeitung, December 16, 1916. [Round Table, March, 1917.]

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"We have become a flourishing, powerful empire, blessed with material possessions, and we have now won the right with sword in hand to make even greater demands. \* \* \* Ever forward must be our watchword in the struggle of the peoples. We stand on the great divide. *World power for Greater Germany or downfall.*"

Benedikt Haag, Die Weltkommission Deutschlands im gegenwärtigen europäischen Krieg, 1914, pp. 65-66.

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*"Our forceful policy gets what it wants. And to-morrow Europe will learn to admire us."<sup>1</sup>*

Maximilian Harden in Die Zukunft, July 29, 1911, p. 149.

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"If people should ask us whether we intend to become a world power that overtops the other world powers so greatly that Germany would be the only real World Power, the reply must be that the will to world power has no limit."

Adolf Grabowsky in Das neue Deutschland, Oct. 28, 1914 [G. 213].

Grabowsky is editor of several periodicals and author of many books on political subjects.

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<sup>1</sup> This was written at the time of the Moroccan crisis. See pp. 112-13.

## SECTION III.

### THE WORSHIP OF POWER.

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"To compel men to a state of right, to put them under the yoke of right by force, is not only the right but the sacred duty of every man who has the knowledge and the power. In case of need one single man has the right and duty to compel the whole of mankind; for to that which is contrary to right they have, as against him, no right and no freedom.

"He may compel them to right. For right is an idea, absolute, definite, of universal validity; an idea which they all ought to have, and which they all will have as soon as they are raised to his level. This idea, in the meantime, he has in the name of them all, as their representative, by virtue of the grace of God which works in him. The truth of this idea he must take upon his own conscience. **He is the master, armed with compulsion and appointed by God.**"

Staatslehre: Fichte's Werke, 1845, I, iv, p. 436. Fichte (1762-1814), "the patriot philosopher," wrote the Addresses to the German People, which are very familiar to Germans to-day. He was an apostle of German unity.

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*"Life is essentially appropriation, injury, conquest of the strange and weak, suppression, severity, obtrusion of its own forms, incorporation at the least, and in its mildest form exploitation."*

Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, section 259. Nietzsche (1844-1900) has been called the "prophet of the mailed fist." Really he was not a lover of Prussia and its ways, but his ethics were imbued with militarism. He preached the gospel of pride and might, and while his vivid ideas were cast in figures, there is no doubt that they have been as fuel to the militaristic flame. Every German student knows his Nietzsche. His phrase, "the will to power," has been and is a catchword of many German political writers and statesmen.

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"It is necessary, then, to choose between public and private morality, and, since the State is power, its duties must rank differently from those of the individual. Many which are incumbent upon him have no claim upon it. The injunc-

tion to assert itself remains always absolute. *Weakness must always be condemned as the most disastrous and despicable of crimes, the unforgivable sin of politics.*"

Treitschke, *Polities*, 1916, I, pp. 94, 95.

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"You must in ceaseless labor offer all the powers of body and soul to the building up and development of our troops, and, just as my grandfather labored for his land forces, so, undeterred, I shall carry through to its completion the work of reorganizing my navy in order that it may stand justified at the side of my army and that *through it the German Empire may also be in a position to win outwardly the place which she has not yet attained.*

"When both are united I hope to be in a position, firmly trusting in the leadership of God, to carry into effect the saying of Frederick William I: '*If one wishes to decide anything in the world, it cannot be done with the pen unless the pen is supported by the force of the sword.*'"

From the Kaiser's speech, Jan. 1, 1900. Gauss, pp. 156-157.

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"By what right, then, do the States nowadays exist? War has given Prussia, Silesia, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hanover—where did rights leave off and where might begin? Did the German Confederation and the sovereign powers which formed it exist by right? During the past 25 years [before 1899] the European powers have divided up Africa amongst themselves—by what right? In the next century they will partition Asia—by what right? What could a court of arbitration do in this case, where there is no law?"

Hans Delbrück, *Erinnerungen, Aufsätze, und Reden*, 1902, p. 515. Delbrück is professor of history at the University of Berlin and editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. On foreign policies he is accounted a moderate and is one of the most influential German publicists. See note, p. 71, and note, p. 55.

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**"I am going to pronounce a blessing on this war,** the blessing which is on all lips, for we Germans, no matter in what part of the world we are, all bless, bless, and bless again this world war."

Hermann Bahr, *Kriegssegen* 1915, p. 19. Bahr is a magazine writer, and stage manager of the Deutsches Theater in Berlin.

"Hence when we saw the miracle of this mobilization—all Germany's military manhood packed in railway trains rolling through the land, day by day and night after night, never a minute late, and never a question for which the right answer was not ready and waiting, \* \* \* when we saw all this, we were not astonished, because it was no miracle; it was nothing other than a natural result of a thousand years of work and preparation; it was the net profit of the whole of German history."

*Idem*, pp. 22-23.

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"[The Prussian State] is indeed like the woolen shirt, which irritates but furnishes warmth; it was forced to assume rough and harsh characteristics, created by bitter necessity. In constant pitiless discipline and fulfillment of duty, the people and their princes became great; the State remained long deprived of all that makes life rich, joyous, and beautiful. The peculiar marks of militarism which gave Prussia her individuality remain with her to-day, for the reason that the prerequisites for the existence of Germany as a State are more and more found to be the same as those which were once the deciding factors for Prussia."

Dr. Wilhelm Solf, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in *Modern Germany in Relation to the Great War*, translated by W. W. Whitelock, 1916.

## SECTION IV.

### WAR AS A PART OF THE DIVINE ORDER.

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*"Whoever cannot prevail upon himself to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the Lusitania, whoever can not conquer his sense of the gigantic cruelty to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims \* \* \* and give himself up to honest delight at this victorious exploit of German defensive power—him we judge to be no true German."*

Pastor B. Baumgarten, in the pamphlet series entitled "Deutsche Reden in Schwerer Zeit," 1914-15. [Archer, p. 186.]

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*"Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars, and the short peace better than the long. I do not advise you to work, but to fight. I do not advise you to compromise, and make peace, but to conquer. \* \* \* Let your labor be fighting and your peace victory. You say that a good cause hallows even war. I tell you that a good war hallows every cause."*

Friedrich Nietzsche, Also Sprach Zarathustra, the chapter "Of Wars and Warriors."

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*"But it is not worth while to speak further of these matters, for the God above us will see to it that war shall return again, a terrible medicine for mankind diseased."*

Treitschke, Polities, I, 69.

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*"The biological importance of war is due to the progressive development of humanity. It is evident that its mental and moral force gives the victory to a nation. That force can be found only among people possessed of a strong vitality and of a progressive civilization. Progress makes for victory. If it were not for war we should probably find that inferior and degenerated races would overcome healthy and youthful ones by their wealth and their numbers. The generative importance of war lies in this, that it causes selection, and thus war becomes a biological necessity. It becomes an indispensable*

*regulator, because without war there could neither be racial nor cultural progress."*

F. von Bernhardi, Britain as Germany's Vassal (1912), trans., 1914, pp. 110-111. The German title is *Unsere Zukunft: ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk.*

"\* \* \* We Germans and Christians are also taught by honor and duty that there can be no peace for the souls of the dead or the living until a conflict is settled by the victory and triumph of our arms. \* \* \* Pagan belief and Christian faith alike teach us that we should give our lives for our brothers, for our fatherland, for our Kaiser and his Empire, for the victory of our arms, in order that there may be peace for the living and rest for the dead. Therefore war is the most sublime and most holy expression of human activity."

Jungdeutschland-Post, a weekly paper for juvenile readers, Jan. 25, 1913. [N., p. 1.]

"**War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity.** For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No; **war is beautiful.** Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes, Frederick the Great, and Blücher, and all the men of action—the Great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck, are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam lance corporal will call the guard to the door and 'Old Fritz' [Frederick the Great], springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. **That is the heaven of Young Germany.**"

Jung-Deutschland, official organ of Young Germany, October, 1913. [B., p. 212.] Such are the doctrines taught to young boys of about the same age as our Boy Scouts.

"If the 'Twilight of the gods,' which has been brooding so long over the European race and 'kultur,' is to disappear at last and to give way to the dawn of day, we Germans, above all others, must cease to look upon war as our destroyer. The

enemies of our race have dinned this doctrine into our ears until we have almost come to believe it ourselves. *We must bring ourselves at last to see in war our savior again*, a physician who may not be able to deliver us from all the ills of body and mind, but without whom such relief is absolutely impossible of accomplishment."

Tägliche Rundschau, Nov. 12, 1912. [N., p. 23.]

"It is the soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities and votes, that have welded the German Empire together. My confidence rests upon the army."

The German Emperor, in connection with laying the corner stone of a church in Berlin. [G. W. M., p. 93.]

"The most important heritage which my noble grandfather and father left me is the army, and I received it with pride and joy. To it I addressed the first decree when I mounted the throne. \* \* \* And leaning upon it, trusting our old guard, I took up my heavy charge, knowing well that the army was the main support of my country, the main support of the Prussian throne, to which the decision of God has called me."

Speech of the Kaiser to the Royal Guard, 1898. Gauss, pp. 121-23.

"Because only in war all the virtues which militarism regards highly are given a chance to unfold, because only in war the truly heroic comes into play, for the realization of which on earth militarism is above all concerned; therefore it seems to us who are filled with the spirit of militarism that war is a holy thing, the holiest thing on earth; and this high estimate of war in its turn makes an essential ingredient of the military spirit. There is nothing that tradespeople complain of so much as that we regard it as holy."

Werner Sombart, Händler und Helden, 1915, p. 88. Sombart is professor in the Handelshochschule in Berlin, and one of the leading German economists.

"One single highly cultivated German warrior of those who are, alas, falling in thousands represents a higher intellectual and moral life value than hundreds of the raw children of nature whom England and France, Russia and Italy oppose to them."

Professor Haeckel (Jena), Ewigkeit: Weltkriegsgedanken, p. 36. Haeckel is one of the best known zoologists in the world.

**"What they call barbarism, history will call primitive strength.**

\* \* \*

**"We proclaim—no, we do not proclaim, but it reveals itself—the religion of strength."**

Adolph Deissmann, Deutsche Reden in Schwerer Zeit, I, p. 305.  
Deissmann is a professor of New Testament exegesis in the University of Berlin.

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**"Must kultur rear its domes over mountains of corpses, oceans of tears, and the death rattle of the conquered? Yes; it must. \* \* \* The might of the conqueror is the highest law before which the conquered must bow."**

Karl A. Kuhn (of Charlottenburg), Dic wahren Ursachen des Kriegs, 1914, p. 11.

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*"\* \* \* The sharper we make our good sword, the more obstinately we insist on our demands once they are made, and the more foreign nations see that a determined people stands behind our Government, the better is the outlook for the preservation of peace. That is apparent in the recent occurrences in the Balkans.<sup>1</sup> Why did not Russia strike at Austria? Only because Germany stood firmly behind her ally. Then, let us make an end of trying to buy peace by toadying. It is of no use, and it lowers our standing abroad."*

W. Eisenhart, Deutschland Erwache! 1913, pp. 51–52. The author proceeds to complain of the German's generosity in relieving the victims of flood or famine in other countries, as another species of toadying. There is need enough at home; and, besides, Germans get no thanks. In Norway, where the Kaiser and the Germans did much to relieve the distress incident to the burning of Alesund, the summer resort much frequented by Germans, the English, he complains, are really more welcome. Throughout the book the author insists on the necessity of Germans being more German and more independent in attitude toward foreigners. In the last twenty years there has been much of this in German books, newspapers, and conversation. Like Eisenhart, they complain in particular of the German giving up his language and customs when he travels or emigrates.

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*"On the contrary, an intense longing for a foremost place among the powers and for manly action fills our nation.*

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the situation at the end of the first Balkan War when Austria insisted on the formation of an independent Albania out of a part of the territories won by the Balkan allies in order to shut Servia away from the sea and keep her dependent on Germany. Russia, supported by the liberal sentiment of Europe, protested, but Germany and Austria threatened war if their wishes were not carried out.

Every vigorous utterance, every bold political step of the Government, finds in the soul of the people a deeply felt echo, and loosens the bonds which fetter all their forces. In a great part of the national press this feeling has again and again found noble expression. But the statesman who could satisfy this yearning, which slumbers in the heart of our people undisturbed by the clamor of parties and the party press, would carry all spirits with him."

F. von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* (1911), trans., 1914,  
p. 257.

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"Our claim to a great position in the world may certainly lead to a war similar to the Seven Years' War. Still, we shall be as victorious as was Prussia's hero king. That is my absolute and joyous conviction. A great war will unify and elevate the people and destroy the diseases which threaten the national health. The latent forces within our armies require arousing. They will make it unconquerable in hard times. \* \* \*

"Our future lies in our own hands. Small men will talk finance and whine that we can not afford it. We can find the necessary funds easily, in case of need, by loan. \* \* \* Germany does not lack money. What we want is a firm will to greatness. Then only shall we obtain greatness. Everyone must do his best. All true Germans must gather round the Emperor, ready to give their blood and their treasure for the honor, the greatness, and the future of the German nation. 'Through war to victory.'"

F. von Bernhardi, *Britain as Germany's Vassal* (1912), trans., 1914,  
pp. 233, 234. For German title, see above p. 33.

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"Each of us must keep himself fit for arms and also prepared in his mind for the great solemn hour when the Emperor calls us to the standard—the hour when we no longer belong to ourselves, but to the fatherland with all the forces of our mind and our body; for all these faculties must be brought to the highest exertion, to that 'will to victory' which has never been without success in history."

The Crown Prince, in *Deutschland in Waffen*, May, 1913.

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"A wholesome alternation of appropriate periods of real war and real peace is what the author [Dr. Schmidt-Gibichenfels, *War as a Factor of Kultur*], looks upon as an indispensable

condition for the creation and preservation of all that is good and beautiful and great and sublime in nature as well as in the domain of true and genuine kultur."

Review in *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, December 24, 1912.  
[N., p. 20.]

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"The old churchmen preached of war as of a just judgment of God; the modern natural philosopher sees in war the favorable means of selection. They speak with different tongues but they mean the same thing."

Klaus Wagner, *Krieg*, 1906, p. 145.

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"As a matter of fact, the struggle between the different social classes of one and the same people is nothing but a fever, a process of decomposition within the national organism, whereas a fight against foreign enemies enhances the sound constitution of that organism and endows it with fresh vigor. It is not possible for any people to forego the fight—or at least the readiness to fight against foreign enemies—and at the same time to preserve peace within. *The so-called world-peace does not mean order, but chaos.* It implies, in the first place, an autocracy of the financial powers and the proletarians, directed against the productive classes, and, in the end, in the shape of the 'war of all against all,' a return to those prehistoric conditions which, in the opinion of our cosmopolites themselves, formed the starting point of the whole development of 'kultur' in every form."

Der Reichsbote, Jan. 7, 1913. [N., p. 26.]

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[Speaking of Britain:] "Our just hate is too deep, too universal. Every German, every warrior abroad, the boy in his play, the gray-haired man sitting at home in quiet thought, *all are afame for the reckoning with England.* That for them is victory, and whether they get it or not—we can not tell yet—*hate will further devour, it will be passed on to our children and children's children.*"

Wilhelm Kahl, professor and one time rector at the University of Berlin, *Deutsche Reden in Schwerer Zeit*, 1914, I, pp. 182-83.

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"We are compelled to carry on this war with a cruelty, a ruthlessness, an employment of every imaginable device unknown in any previous war."

Pastor Baumgarten, in *Deutsche Reden in Schwerer Zeit*. 1914-15.  
[Archer, p. 86.]

## SECTION V.

### WAR AS THE SOLE ARBITER.

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*"We have already seen that war is both justifiable and moral, and that the ideal of perpetual peace is not only impossible but immoral as well."*

Treitschke, Politics, 1916, II, 599.

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"To-day, indeed, we live in a time which points with special satisfaction to the proud height of its culture, which is only too willing to boast of its international cosmopolitanism, and flatters itself with visionary dreams of the possibility of an everlasting peace throughout the world. This view of life is un-German and does not become us."

The Crown Prince, in Deutschland in Waffen, 1913.

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**"We must not look for permanent peace as a result of this war. Heaven defend Germany from that."**

Oskar A. H. Schmitz, in Das wirkliche Deutschland, 1914, p. 19.  
Schmitz is a writer on politics and literature.

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"Arbitration treaties must be peculiarly detrimental to an aspiring people which has not yet reached its political and national zenith and is bent on expanding its power in order to play its part honorably in the civilized world. Every arbitration court must originate in a certain political status; it must regard this as legally constituted, and must treat any alterations, however necessary, to which the whole of the contracting parties do not agree as an encroachment. In this way every progressive change is arrested, and a legal position created which may easily conflict with the actual turn of affairs and may check the expansion of the young and vigorous State in favor of one which is sinking in the scale of civilization."

F. von Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War (1911), trans. 1914,  
p. 32.

"Between States regarded as intelligent beings disputes can be settled only by material force. War is therefore associated with the notion of a State. If you suppress war you must therefore remove the State, or what amounts to the same thing, the plurality of States; you must set up universal despotism, universal slavery."

Lasson, *Das Kulturideal und der Krieg*, 1868, pp. 15-16. A popular edition has been published recently. Lasson is professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin, and one of the leading philosophers of Germany.

"A State organized only for peace is really no State. A State is really manifest only in its preparation for war."

*Idem.*, p. 17.

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"War is the fundamental phenomenon in the life of a State, and preparation for it assumes a preponderant place in the national life."

*Idem.*, p. 18.

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"It is not alone that which it already has that a State defends by war; it is even more that which, as yet, it has not, but regards as a necessary gain from the war. It is absurd to inveigh against wars of conquest; the sole point of interest is the object of the conquest."

*Idem.*, p. 32.

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"The State (which realizes the highest form of the culture of the race) can realize itself only by the destruction of other States, which, logically, can only be brought about by violence."

*Idem.*, p. 35.

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"Only the fear of an outside power can impose limits on the territorial expansion of the State. Any intervention [in the affairs of other States] not encouraged by favorable auspices ought to be abandoned; but if success is assured, it is not merely justified, it becomes actually a duty of the State toward itself."

*Idem.*, p. 43. Lasson, writing after the Austro-Prussian War and two years before the Franco-Prussian, manifests a spirit which as an octogenarian he has not lost (see p. 17); it is the same as that of Bernhardi below.

**"We must strenuously combat the peace propaganda.** . . . must regain its moral justification and its political significance in the eyes of the public. It is necessary that its high significance as a powerful promoter of civilization should become generally recognized. \* \* \* In short, we must become convinced that a war fought for an ideal or fought with the intention of maintaining one's position in the world is not a barbaric act but the highest expression of true civilization; that war is a political necessity, and that it is fought in the interest of biological, social, and moral progress."

F. von Bernhardi, *Britain as Germany's Vassal* (1912), trans. London, 1914, p. 105. For German title see above p. 33.

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"Our position in the world is happily such that if certain sacrifices must be made in the cause of peace, other nations must first be called upon to make them; they must be demanded from Germany only in the last resort."

Friedrich Lange, *Reines Deutschtum*, 1904, p. 214. [A., p. 54.] Lange is the founder and president of the Deutschbund, a society formed in 1894 to push German colonization in Poland and Hungary.

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**"The will to war must go hand in hand with the resolution to act on the offensive without any scruples,** just because the offensive is the only way of insuring victory. It is and always will be the most effective method of translating the political will into military deeds. That is the reason why we can only deplore the fact that in Germany, which 'enjoys the safest place in the whole world,' as I recently saw it stated quite properly, it has become official and parliamentary usage to speak exclusively of Germany's 'defense,' for which she ought to be prepared. **No; Germany ought to be armed for attack, exactly as in 1870,** and therefore this military preparedness ought to be of sufficient strength to enable us to give military expression, if need be, to the will to war by the use of vastly preponderant forces, as we did in 1870."

General Keim in *Der Tag*, October 16, 1912. [N., pp. 89-90.]

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"But there is another lesson to be drawn from the events in the Balkans, namely this, that all questions of high politics must be reduced, in the end, to questions of military force, and not to formulas of international law or closet politics or court diplomacy."

General Keim in *Der Tag*, Nov. 8, 1912. [N., p. 90.]

*"When a State recognizes that the existing treaties no longer express the actual political conditions, and when it cannot persuade the other powers to give way by peaceful negotiations, the moment has come when the nations proceed to the ordeal by battle. A State thus situated is conscious when it declares war that it is performing an inevitable duty. The combatant countries are moved by no incentives of personal greed, but they feel that the real position of power is not expressed by existing treaties and that they must be determined afresh by the judgment of the nations, since no peaceful agreement can be reached. The righteousness of war depends simply and solely upon the consciousness of a moral necessity. War is justified because the great national personalities can suffer no compelling force superior to themselves, and because history must always be in constant flux; war, therefore, must be taken as part of the divinely appointed order."*

Treitschke, Politics. Trans., 1916, II, pp. 597-98.

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*"Our country is obliged more than any other country to place all its confidence in its good weapons. Set in the center of Europe, it is badly protected by its unfavorable geographic frontiers, and is regarded by many nations without affection. Upon the German Empire, therefore, is imposed more emphatically than upon any other peoples of the earth the sacred duty of watching carefully that its army and its navy be always prepared to meet any attack from the outside. It is only by reliance upon our brave sword that we shall be able to maintain that place in the sun which belongs to us, and which the world does not seem very willing to accord us."*

Crown Prince, in Deutschland in Waffen, 1913.

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#### GERMANY OPPOSES ARBITRATION AT THE HAGUE.

The peaceful settlement of international disputes is largely a gift of the English-speaking peoples to the modern world. It was introduced in the practice of nations by the Jay Treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain, negotiated by John Jay on special mission in London. Articles 5, 6, and 7 of the treaty, which fitly bears his name, submitted the disputes outstanding between the United States and Great Britain to arbitration, and the success of the Commission organized under article 7 caused nations little by little to try the method and, having tried it, to elevate it to a custom. The

peaceful settlement of international disputes, largely by means of arbitration, may properly be called the traditional policy of the United States, and it has been, with one exception, the policy of the United States and Great Britain in the settlement of disputes sure to arise between nations in their mutual intercourse.

Peaceful settlement has not been the policy of Prussia, and where diplomacy has failed, the sword has been drawn. Some of its most thoughtful subjects have indeed been strongly in favor of peaceful settlement, and no one was more devoted to the cause than the great philosopher, Kant, whose tractate on perpetual peace is a classic on the subject. The views of Kant and of his enlightened countrymen have not, however, prevailed. To mention but a number of instances, the war with Denmark of 1848 and 1864 about the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the war of 1866 with Austria, the war of 1870 with France. At the second Hague Conference the German delegate admitted the feasibility of arbitration, but blocked the adoption of any general arbitration treaty, as the Imperial German Government favored negotiations and treaties with individual nations or nations in pairs. It has steadily refused the offers of the United States, first made by Mr. Root and renewed by Mr. Bryan, to conclude a general arbitration treaty between this country and Germany. The German's fundamental faith in force, evident throughout this pamphlet, finds expression in the hostility to international law and contempt for treaty obligations revealed in the following section.<sup>1</sup>

[May 24, 1899.] "Meeting Count Münster [chairman of the German delegation] who, after M. de Staal, is very generally considered the most important personage here, we discussed the subject of arbitration. To my great regret, I found him entirely opposed to it; or, at least, entirely opposed to any well-developed plan. He did not say that he would oppose a moderate plan for voluntary arbitration, but he insisted that arbitration must be injurious to Germany; that *Germany is prepared for war as no other country is or can be; that she can mobilize her army in ten days;* and that neither France, Russia nor any other power can do this. Arbitration, he said, would simply give rival powers time to put themselves in readiness, and would therefore be a great disadvantage to Germany."

Autobiography of Andrew D. White, 1905, II, p. 265.

[June 9, 1899.] "At 6 o'clock Dr. Holls [secretary of the American legation at the Peace Conference], who represents us upon the subcommittee on arbitration, came in with most discouraging news. It now appears that the German Emperor is determined to oppose the whole scheme of arbitration, and will have nothing to do with any plan for a regular tribunal,

<sup>1</sup>We are indebted to Dr. James Brown Scott for this note and the suggestion of the passages from Mr. White.

whether as given in the British or the American scheme. This news comes from various sources, and is confirmed by the fact that, in the subcommittee one of the German delegates, Professor Zorn of Königsberg, who had become very earnest in behalf of arbitration, now says that he may not be able to vote for it. There are also signs that the German Emperor is influencing the minds of his allies—the sovereigns of Austria, Italy, Turkey, and Roumania—leading them to oppose it."

*Idem.*, II, p. 293.

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[June 15.] "Early this morning Count Münster called, wishing to see me especially, and at once plunged into the question of the immunity of private property from seizure on the high seas. He said that he had just received instructions from his Government to join us heartily in bringing the question before the conference; that his Government, much as it inclines to favor the principle, could not yet see its way to commit itself fully; that its action must, of course, depend upon the conduct of other powers in the matter, as foreshadowed by discussions in the conference, but that he was to aid us in bringing it up.

"I told him I was now preparing a draft of a memorial to the conference giving the reason why the subject ought to be submitted, and that he should have it as soon as completed.

"This matter being for the time disposed of, we took up the state of the arbitration question, and the consequences of opposition by Germany and her two allies to every feasible plan.

"He was very much in earnest, and declared especially against compulsory arbitration. To this I answered that the plan thus far adopted contemplated entirely voluntary arbitration, with the exception that an obligatory system was agreed upon as regards sundry petty matters in which arbitration would assist all the States concerned; and that if he disliked this latter feature, but would agree to the others, we would go with him in striking it out, though we should vastly prefer to retain it.

"He said, 'Yes; you have already stricken out part of it in the interest of the United States,' referring to the features concerning the Monroe Doctrine, the regulation of canals, rivers etc.

"'Very true,' I answered; 'and if there are any special features which affect unfavorably German policy or interests, move to strike them out, and we will heartily support you.'

"He then dwelt in his usual manner on his special hobby, which is that modern nations are taking an entirely false route in preventing the settlement of their difficulties by trained diplomatists, and intrusting them to arbitration by men inexperienced in international matters, who really can not be unprejudiced or uninfluenced; and he spoke with especial contempt of the plan for creating a bureau, composed, as he said, of university professors and the like, to carry on the machinery of the tribunal.

"Here I happened to have a trump card. I showed him Sir Julian Pauncefote's [English delegate] plan to substitute a council composed of all the ministers of the signatory powers residing at The Hague, with my amendment making the Dutch minister of foreign affairs its president. This he read and said he liked it; in fact, it seemed to remove a mass of prejudice from his mind."

*Idem.*, II, pp. 301-302.

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[June 16.] "This morning Count Munster called and seemed much excited by the fact that he had received a dispatch from Berlin in which the German Government—which, of course, means the Emperor—had strongly and finally declared against everything like an arbitration tribunal. He was clearly disconcerted by this too literal acceptance of his own earlier views, and said that he had sent to M. de Staal insisting that the meeting of the subcommittee on arbitration, which had been appointed for this day (Friday), should be adjourned on some pretext until next Monday; 'for,' said he, 'if the session takes place to-day, Zorn *must* make the declaration in behalf of Germany which these new instructions order him to make, and that would be a misfortune.' I was very glad to see this evidence of change of heart in the count, and immediately joined him in securing the adjournment he desired."

*Idem.*, II, p. 308.

It should be added that the exertions of Ambassador White and Mr. Holls of the American delegation *apparently* won von Bülow and Prince Hohenlohe to the American arbitration plan. However, at the conclusion, Baron Marshall von Bieberstein, of the German delegation, while approving arbitration

in principle, voted against its compulsory application. Germany would, he said, continue to negotiate individual treaties. The reason is evident from von Bülow's speech below.

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"Germany has not found any formula that will meet the great diversity which characterizes the geographical, the economic, the military, and the political positions of the various countries, or which would be calculated to put an end to the diversities and at the same time to furnish a basis for an agreement [hence she could not take part in discussions on disarmament at The Hague]."

Prince von Bülow, Reichstag, Apr. 30, 1907. Reden, 1907-09, III.  
p. 33.

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"Here we have, gentlemen, the results of our naval agitation. For what England is doing now, we have to thank the advocates of this naval policy. \* \* \* It is altogether the fault of the German Government that this has come about. This can not be denied. The Liberal Government in England announced from the very first, when it came into power in the beginning of 1906, that it was going to tackle the question of the limitation of armaments. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman announced this at once in the House of Commons. Afterwards Mr. Vivian, an English Labor member, brought in a motion advocating the limitation of armaments. This motion was accepted by the Government and carried in both Houses of Parliament in May. 1906. Indeed, the Liberal Government went so far at that time as to reduce subsequently the naval budget for 1906. A very considerable amount was struck off the naval budget, and the English ministers gave as a reason for this reduction that England meant to take the lead [in disarmament] by practical measures, because each country had always thought that the other ought to take the lead.

"After that, gentlemen, at the interparliamentary conference in London in 1906, in which, as you know, members of this house took part, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman once more set forth the whole matter, and that conference resolved unanimously to submit the question of the limitation of armaments to the second conference at The Hague. And after all this—these words are meant for those gentlemen who formed that resolution—you ranged yourselves on the side of Bülow's policy,

which amounted to this, that the question of the limitation of armaments was prevented from being discussed, and that the British Government was disavowed. On April 30, 1907—perhaps you are by this time sorry for it yourselves—you backed up Prince Bülow in this house, when he carried this policy against the Liberal English Government. Nevertheless, the Liberal English Government persevered in its efforts to further the matter. I need only remind you that Mr. Lloyd George and others, as we were told last year, tried once more to take the matter up with the German Government—not, it is true, in a formal way, but still with sufficient competence in the matter.

"You will have to bear these facts in mind in order to understand what has happened in England. The Liberal Government had taken a stand on this question during all these years, had pledged its authority, and had taken the lead by practical proposals. It was disavowed by Germany. The outcome is to be seen in the result of the general elections—a gain of the English jingoes and Conservatives which is almost decisive. And now the Liberal Party finds itself compelled, in order not to be swept out of power under the influence of the 'German terror,' to make this tremendous increase of the navy a plank of its own platform. This is what we have achieved."

Dr. David in the Reichstag, Mar. 16, 1910. Eduard David is one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party in Germany.

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"Gentlemen, if the great powers wish to come to an understanding in regard to a general international disarmament, they will first have to come to an agreement in regard to the respective rank to which the different nations may lay claim, as compared with each other. An order of precedence, so to speak, would have to be drawn up, and each single nation would have to be entered according to its allotted number, together with the sphere of influence that is to be accorded to it, in some such way, perhaps, as in the case of the industrial syndicates. I must decline, gentlemen, to draw up such a list or to submit it to an international tribunal. \* \* \* Gentlemen, whoever considers the question of a general disarmament objectively and seriously and follows it up to its last consequences must come to the conviction that it can not be solved as long as human beings are human beings, and as long as states are states."

Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag, Mar. 30, 1911.

## SECTION VI.

### ECONOMIC NECESSITY OF EXPANSION.

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*"The first prerequisites for world power are extensive territory and population, together with a powerful tendency toward expansion. A world power needs extensive territory, \* \* \* not only for food and the raw materials necessary to manufacture but also as a market for these manufactures. Besides, it needs a population bound together by customs, speech and blood. The size of the possessions will not do it of itself—the possessions must be in safe hands, the possessors must be linked together by a strong and inseparable tie. Only that State can be a world power and remain such which disposes of sufficient forces to rule and hold its wide territory and corresponding share of world trade."*

Arthur Dix, Deutschland auf den Hochstrassen des Weltwirtschaftsverkehrs, 1901, p. 26.

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"Economic superiority, which is the result of a more extensive territory, must in time lead to political superiority and predominance. In other words, great kingdoms keen for conquest are in a position finally to make the little ones subject to them; or, vice versa, an economic mastery which is exerted only by possession of capital and by exports to foreign markets, without equivalent political power and territorial mastery, rests on feet of clay. It is the territory which stands at their disposal for their independent development that determines the future of peoples otherwise gifted quite equally."

Max Sering, in Handels- und Machtpolitik, 1900, II. pp. 33-34.  
Sering is professor of political economy in the University of Berlin.

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"Because the German people nowadays increase at the rate of 800,000 inhabitants a year they need both room and nourishment for the surplus. \* \* \* If we had limited ourselves to the territory formerly in our possession we should have lost the larger part of our increase to foreign countries and the rest would have been without work. The increase in population would soon have come to an end, and our effectiveness in labor

and in war, the dissemination of German speech, German thought and productivity over the world would not have been able to continue. The increase of population would have passed into the curse of overpopulation—a superfluity of those without work and in misery. That, however, must never be. \* \* \* The rapid growth of the German people must continue to give it room, light, and air. As a world power in the world market, we must assert our place and make it secure in order that the younger hands may find room and opportunity for employment."

Arthur Dix, Deutschland auf den Hochstrassen des Weltwirtschaftsverkehrs, 1901, p. 14.

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*"In order to live and to lead a healthy and joyous life we need a vast extent of fresh arable land. This is what imperialism must give us. Germany may reap the fruits of Russian policy, if she has sufficient courage. \* \* \* What would be the use of a Germanism flourishing in Brazil or in South Africa? It would further the expansion of the German race very greatly, but it would contribute very little to the might of the German Empire. \* \* \* On the other hand, the continental expansion of German territory, the multiplication on the continent of the German peasantry, whose activities and capacities are so immeasurably superior to the obtuse nonchalance of the moujiks, would form a sure barrier against the advance of our enemies, and a secure basis for our growing power."*

Albrecht Wirth, Volkstum und Weltmacht in der Geschichte, 1901, p. 235. Albrecht Wirth is privat-docent in the Technische Hochschule at Munich and writer of many books and innumerable articles.

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*"In the good old times it happened that a strong people thrust a weak one out of its ancestral abode by wars of extermination. To-day such deeds of violence no longer occur. To-day everything goes on peaceably on this wretched earth, and it is those who have profited who are for peace. The little peoples and the remnants of a people have invented a new word—that is, international law. In reality, it is nothing else than their reckoning on our good-natured stupidity. \* \* \**

**"Room; they must make room.** The western and southern Slavs—or we! Since we are the stronger, the choice will not be difficult. We must quit our modest waiting at the door. Only by growth can a people save itself. England has its Greater Britain and America its 'America for the Ameri-

cans.' If England has succeeded in getting 4,000,000 Irishmen out of Ireland without stirring up any of the great powers against her, it is possible for us to bring about peace and order in middle Europe as a basis for the further development of the German people."

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts, 1911, pp. 74-75.

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On pages 99-107, Tannenberg makes it clear that Switzerland, Luxembourg, Belgium, and Holland and their colonies must be incorporated in the Empire, if for no other reason because these little countries have profited by German protection gratis, and in the case of Switzerland in particular have profited by German inventions and then undersold the Germans.

"Conquering and occupying the country [western Russia], however, is not enough of itself. What annoyance we have had with this bit of Alsace-Lorraine, with its trifling 15,000 square kilometers! The honor of entering the German Empire and its customs union must be paid for. *Alsace-Lorraine brought us 4 milliard marks for a dowry. That was a tidy sum, but 25 milliards would have been better.*"

In the following paragraph he dwells with satisfaction on the natural richness of the Baltic provinces of Russia, which the German Empire may be expected to seize.

*Idem.*, p. 143.

He speaks apprehensively of the development of the United States, and declares that there is a party in the country which may expand the Monroe Doctrine "America for the Americans" into "The World for America."

As for Spain, he laments the fact that her lost colonies did not fall into German hands. "Fate meant well by us when she bestowed upon us the favor of the quarrel about the Caroline Islands, but unfortunately it turned out otherwise." And he regrets the opportunity, then let slip, to seize "Cuba, the Pearl of the Antilles," and the Philippines.

*Idem*, p. 215.

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"Since Bismarck retired there has been a complete change of public opinion. It is no longer proper to say 'Germany is satisfied.' *Our historical development and our economic needs show that we are once more hungry for territory*, and this situation compels Germany to follow paths unforeseen by Bismarck."

Daniel Frymann, Wenn Ich der Kaiser wäre, 1911, 21st ed., 1914, p. 9. Frymann's work has been widely read in Germany, much more widely, indeed, than Bernhardi.

"Our national development calls for recognition. A natural right is growing up in that respect. This is not a policy of prestige or of adventure.

*"Moreover, we are not an institute for the artificial preservation of dying nations."*

Leipziger Tageblatt, Jan. 24, 1913. [N., p. 51.]

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"Strong, healthy, and flourishing nations increase in numbers. From a given moment they require a continual expansion of their frontiers, they require new territory for the accommodation of their surplus population. *Since almost every part of the globe is inhabited, new territory must, as a rule, be obtained at the cost of its possessors—that is to say, by conquest, which thus becomes a law of necessity.*

"The right of conquest is universally acknowledged. At first the procedure is pacific. Overpopulated countries pour a stream of emigrants into other states and territories. These submit to the legislature of the new country, but try to obtain favorable conditions of existence for themselves at the cost of the original inhabitants, with whom they compete. This amounts to conquest."

F. von Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War (1911), trans. 1914, pp. 21-22.

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"Gentlemen, the craving for expansion makes itself felt most strongly in those countries where a rapid capitalistic development obtains, in those countries where the monopolization of industry by syndicates, trusts, and dominating banking interests has reached the highest degree. To this must be added certain differences which have to be accounted for by historic development; and in regard to Germany, it is of special significance that, notwithstanding her enormous industrial progress, she is not a colonial empire of any account. We can not compare our colonies to those of France or England nor even to those of small countries like Belgium and Holland. In view of the efforts of our imperialists and in view of the efforts of our capitalists to monopolize the economically profitable areas, this craving for expansion is, no doubt, a source of great danger."

Deputy Scheidemann, in the Reichstag, Mar. 30, 1911. Philip Scheidemann is leader of the majority Socialist group in the Reichstag and has lately been a leader in the movement for the Stockholm conference.

"\* \* \* Germany, in the interest of her foreign trade and pushed by iron necessity, will, after this war, be driven into 'world-economic' expansion to an extent such as even the boldest advocates of world trade hardly regarded as necessary before the war. The degree to which the treaties of peace create the preliminary conditions for this will decide the verdict on the success of German arms and on the wisdom of German diplomacy."

Bernhard Harms, Deutschlands Anteil an Welthandel und Welt-politik, 1916, p. 215. Harms is professor of political economy at the University of Kiel.

## SECTION VII.

### GERMANY THE RULER OF MIDDLE EUROPE.

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The significance of a Middle Europe as planned by the Germans is not easy to grasp. The scheme appears innocent, but let no one be deceived. If realized, what is there in the world to oppose this new Roman Empire? England, with its widely scattered empire, of whose population over one-half is in India; the nonmilitary Republic of the United States; Russia divided by internal dissensions and relatively weakened abroad? Nor should we be deceived as to the final purposes concealed in this plan. Take its relation to Russia. By the inclusion of Poland, Germany would take from Russia its principal manufacturing area. By its ability to close the Dardanelles, Russia's great outlet, it would hold a club over Russia's export trade. Russia is not to-day and will not probably for some years be in a position to rectify this situation. And economic dependence is very likely in these days to lead to political dependence as well. The effect of Middle Europe on the other parts of Europe can be judged from two sentences of the most moderate of its advocates, Naumann and Von Liszt: "Middle Europe will be German at the core; it will use the German language in its official communications;" and, conversely, "Serbia and Montenegro will have to obey; they will have to do as they are told." This is no commercial scheme—it is a world empire taking shape before our eyes.

*"Greater Germany is the goal of the twentieth century. We shall fill Middle Europe with an empire of racial vigor. We shall then be in a position to meet the further duties and demands that are in store for us."*

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts, 1911, p. 87.

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"Only a Germany that reaches from the Ems to the Danube, from Memel to Trieste, to about the Bug, can compel peace in Europe without imposing a lasting burden on her inhabitants. For only such a Germany can feed herself, only such a Germany can defeat France and Russia. \* \* \* Since, then, all the world desires peace, all the world must desire such a Germany," etc.

Lagarde, Deutsche Schriften (1878), 1891, pp. 113-14. Paul de Lagarde (1827-91), whose real name was Boetticher, was a theologian and professor at Göttingen.

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*"The strongest Germanic State on the Continent must take over the hegemony; the smaller ones must sacrifice as much of their*

independence and their language as is necessary to the permanent insurance of a new imperial unity.

"The question whether military force would become requisite is secondary; but it is essential that the state which aspires to the hegemony should have at its disposal sufficient intellectual, economic, and military power to reach this end and hold it fast. Which state would it be? It can be only the German Empire, which is now in search of more territory. No one can doubt it after the above dissertation on the other great powers. The moral situation, however, is so far favorable to the little Germanic<sup>1</sup> states that a military, fratricidal attack upon them will not be at all necessary. *All depends upon Germany's obtaining the hegemony in middle and western Europe by the subjection of France and the incorporation, at the same time or afterwards, of the German Provinces of Austria in any form that may suit our racial purposes.* The natural pressure of this new German Empire will be so great that, willy-nilly, the surrounding little Germanic States will have to attach themselves to it under conditions which we set."

Joseph L. Reimer, *Ein pangermanisches Deutschland*, 1905, pp. 119-120. Reimer is one of the young liberal-imperialists. His fame rests on this book.

**"Let no man say every people has a right to its existence, its speech, etc.** With this saying in one's mouth one can easily appear civilized, but only so long as the respective peoples remain separated from one another, are viewed by themselves, and do not stand in the way of a mightier one. \* \* \* When the little nations clash with the great and mighty, then their worth is tried. Duty within and necessity without require that so we should treat them. In this respect there are two possibilities:

"1. The peoples in question have Germanic blood in their veins, belong therefore by nature in part to us, or they have none, are therefore altogether alien.

"2. They are politically or geographically in our way, or they are not.

"In the first case it is our double duty to draw the Germanic blood to us—a duty to ourselves not to let this kindred blood be lost, but to preserve it from further mixture and treasure it

<sup>1</sup> Germanie is not the same as German—it means people who speak a Teutonic language, as the Dutch, Danish, Swedish, or English, and who, as the Pan-Germans love to think, are of Teutonic blood. Actually there is much less of this in the inhabitants of the smaller Teutonic nations and of the German Empire itself than the latter like to acknowledge.

up for the strengthening of our Germanic stock; and a duty to the Germanic blood in these peoples itself to free it of obstructive mixture and let it have a part in the loftier destinies of a greater Pan-Germanic Germany.

"If the peoples in question have nothing Germanic about them, and are essentially alien to our culture, then the second question is in place: Are they in the way of our expansion or not? If not, let them develop even as their nature bids them; if they are, to spare them would be folly. Those whom we spared would be a thorn in our flesh which we did not extract—for the thorn's sake."

*Idem*, pp. 129-130.

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"Do not let us forget the civilizing task which the decrees of Providence have assigned to us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the regenerated Germany shall be the nucleus of a future empire of the West. And in order that no one shall be left in doubt we proclaim from henceforth that our continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea, but to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. *Hence we intend to absorb one after another all the provinces which neighbor on Prussia. We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Northern Switzerland, then Trieste and Venice, finally northern France, from the Sambre to the Loire.* This program we fearlessly pronounce. It is not the work of a madman. The empire we intend to found will be no Utopia. We have ready to hand the means of founding it and no coalition in the world can stop us."

Bronsart von Schellendorf, quoted by H. A. L. Fisher in *The War, its Causes and Issues*, 1914, p. 16.

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"*The future territory of German expansion*, situated between the territories of the eastern and western powers, must absorb all the intermediate regions; it must stretch from the North Sea and the Baltic through the Netherlands, taking in Luxemburg and Switzerland, down to the lands of the Danube and the Balkan peninsula, and will include Asia Minor as far as the Persian Gulf. The influence of other world powers must be eliminated from this great territory."

Ernst Hasse, *Weltpolitik, Imperialismus und Kolonialpolitik*, 1906, p. 65. Hasse was professor of colonial polities at Leipzig, and a municipal official. He was one of the most active leaders of the Pan-German League and its president.

[Franz von Liszt advocates the inclusion of Austria-Hungary, Holland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms, Switzerland, and Italy.] "Apart from an independent Polish state to be formed, the Balkan peninsula, including European Turkey, would form a portion of Middle Europe. We may further count on the inclusion of Bulgaria and Roumania after their territorial wishes have been satisfied, but it remains to be seen what attitude Greece would adopt. Serbia and Montenegro will have to accept the situation and do as they are told. I think the inclusion of Turkey is particularly important, for Turkey connects the Middle European union of states with Asia and Africa, particularly with Egypt and the Suez Canal. By attaching Turkey, a large and fruitful field will be opened for the promotion of peaceful industry and for carrying out the imperial program sketched out at Damascus in 1898. Middle Europe would be connected with the world of Islam.

"If we add up we find that the territories to be included in the Middle European union would extend to 8,000,000 square kilometers. They are inhabited by about 200,000,000 people. In extent the union would rank after the British Empire, Russia, and the United States. In number of population it would rank only after the British Empire. The economic independence of the union would be secured by the colonial possessions of the allied states."

Franz von Liszt, *Ein mitteleuropäischer Staatenverband*, 1914, pp. 32-33. Von Liszt is professor of criminal law at Berlin. Von Liszt signed in 1915 the Delbrück-Dernburg petition against incorporating in Germany independent peoples. But "strategie needs" and "economie" were recognized. Among the 143 signers were men who prefer southeastern expansion, or colonial—as Delbrück—to the annexation of neighbors.

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"A glance at the map shows us that our bulwark against Russia will have to extend from the North Cape to the Black Sea and from hence to the Caucasus and to the Persian Gulf. The Scandinavian countries, the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Turkey ought to form one community; for every single one of these states would be lost if Russia should gain control over one of them, and thus be able to exert pressure on the others. \* \* \* At any rate, it may be said that, within these frontiers, the Middle European community approximately comes up to the mark of equality with our eastern neighbors in

regard to the number of its population." [Winterstetten reckons up over 161,000,000 in the new Middle Europe.]

Karl von Winterstetten, Nordkap-Bagdad, das politische Programm des Krieges, 1914, pp. 8-9.

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"The establishment of a sphere of economic influence from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf has been for nearly two decades the silent unspoken aim of German foreign policy. Our diplomacy in recent years, which has seemed to the great mass of all Germans vacillating and little conscious of its aim, only becomes intelligible when regarded as part of a consistent eastern design. It is to the credit of Rohrbach to have shown in his writings how the single incidents fit into the general scheme of our policy. It is indeed in this region, and in this region alone, that Germany can break out of her isolation in the center of Europe, into the fresh air beyond, and win a compact sphere of economic activity which will remain open to her independently of the favor and the jealousy of the great powers. Apart from the defense of hearth and home, no other success could compensate Germany for the enormous sacrifices of the war if she did not secure a really free hand, politically speaking, to pursue this economic goal. \* \* \* A secure future for Germany is to be reached along this road and no other, and Germany would be missing the greatest opportunity ever offered her in the history of her foreign relations if she were not now to go forward with vigor and decision to its realization.

From an essay by Dr. Spiethoff in Die wirtschaftliche Annäherung zwischen dem Deutschen Reiche und seinen Verbündeten, 1916. I, p. 24. [Round Table, March, 1917.] Arthur Spiethoff is professor of political economy at the University of Prague, Austria.

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"Somebody coined the phrase 'Berlin-Bagdad.' Why shall we not say 'Antwerp-Bagdad'? I consider it utterly impossible that we should ever hand back Antwerp to the mad ministers of King Albert. Why should not Antwerp be connected with the Rhine? What we still have to do is to prolong the great waterway into Austria-Hungary and the Balkans. Mackensen has seen to it that the guns of Belgrade and Semendria can never again menace our Danube shipping. As for Roumania, that criminal State will never recover the position which she had before."

Dr. Sigmund Günther, Radical, in the Bavarian Diet, quoted in the London Times, Mar. 6, 1917.

"And over all these, over the Germans, French, Danes, and Poles in the German Empire, over the Magyars, Germans, Roumanians, Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs in Hungary, over the Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Southern Slavs in Austria, let us imagine once again the controlling concept of Mid-Europe. *Mid-Europe will have a German nucleus; will voluntarily use the German language*, which is known all over the world and is already the language of intercourse within central Europe, but must from the outset display toleration and flexibility in regard to all the neighboring languages that are associated with it. \* \* \* In this respect much has been lacking before the war. \* \* \*

"In this respect the new generation growing up after the war will do better than the old people, so that a type of Mid-European may be worked out including all elements of culture and strength, the bearer of a civilization of rich and varied content, growing up around the German nationality."

F. Naumann, Central Europe, 1916, pp. 108-109. Naumann was a German clergyman and is editor of *Die Hilfe*. He has written many books on social-economic questions, and is a radical in the Reichstag.

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"Of the territory Germany now holds in the west she should retain what is necessary to strengthen the security of the Empire by land and sea. This territory, \* \* \* should be annexed 'politically, militarily, and economically.' In the east \* \* \* such territory should be held as would not only improve Germany's position strategically but would afford new territory for colonization."

Resolution adopted unanimously by a committee of members of the National Liberal party of Germany at a meeting held in Berlin, as reported by the *Kölnische Zeitung* and summarized in Amsterdam for the New York Times, June 4, 1915.

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"The course of the history of the world serves as a warning to the states of Middle Europe to join together by close economic ties and to put aside separate political interests for the great purpose of upholding completely the independence and spiritual culture of that kingdom which has won the leading position in Europe among the world powers."

J. Partsch, *Mitteleuropa*, 1914, p. 6. Josef Partsch is a professor of geography at Leipzig. This work set forth the geographic basis for a Middle Europe and prepared the way for those who advocated a Middle Europe on economic and political grounds.

"Such a league [between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Holland] is a matter purely for the contracting States, and does not concern France or England or anyone else in the world."

"Should France, with or without England, make such a league the occasion for a declaration of war, it would render the Pan-German movement the same service it did the solution of the German question in 1870. A second Waterloo would suit us. We must keep our powder dry. [If war comes] no peace should be concluded without the acquisition by the German Empire of the French part of Flanders in Belgium and all of Luxemburg."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Holland needs our settlers and our might for its overseas possessions, which of itself it can not protect and develop. *We need these new Dutch territories, already fertilized by German blood, for the indispensable expansion of our economic dominions.* We need free traffic on a German Rhine to its mouth, a traffic which the silent resistance of Holland now keeps from us."

"\* \* \* If Holland were merely a continental power, this alliance would only come about when Germany was ready to impose her just claims by force. But as the vast transoceanic possessions of Holland are daily crumbling away under a growing menace, the merchant princes of the Amstel and the Meuse are impelled by considerations of personal interest to make common cause with us."

Fritz Bley, Die alddeutsche Bewegung und die Niederlande, 1897,  
pp. 6-7.

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"If Middle Europe wishes to become a world power it will have to find its way to the shores of the Indian Ocean, and that way is through Bagdad. Once it has gained a footing on that sea\* *it will also be able to defend those precious possessions which Holland, in order not to lose them, will have to intrust to the protection of Middle Europe—the Dutch Indies.* Holland has no longer any choice in this new era, when the map of the world is being remade, and when states are being gathered together into vast empires. Either she will have to save her colonies and her independence by joining the Middle European federation (which does not mean the German Empire), or she will lose both. This war will do away with the small neutral states, and at the end of this whole development, for the accomplishment of which more wars than one may prove necessary, there will be only large

federated states left, which is in accordance with the character and tendencies of our times, and is also demanded by the fact that the small countries can only maintain themselves alongside of those gigantic states by joining forces."

Karl von Winterstetten, *Nordkap-Bagdad: das politische Programm des Kriegs*, 1914, p. 23.

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In telegrams which have recently been brought to light from the Russian archives the Czar and the German Emperor are shown to have been arranging in 1905 for a secret alliance endangering Denmark. In case of war with England, Denmark was to be treated as Belgium has been in the present war, except that a preliminary effort was to be made to make the Danes see and accept the inevitable. The German Emperor telegraphed on August 2, 1905, from Copenhagen, where he had gone to break ground for several nefarious schemes.

"Considering great number of channels leading from Copenhagen to London and proverbial want of discretion of the Danish court, I was afraid to let anything be known about our alliance, as it would immediately have been communicated to London, a most impossible thing so long as treaty is to remain secret for the present.

"By long conversation with Isvolsky, however, I was able to gather that actual Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Raben, and a number of persons of influence have already come to the conviction that in case of war and impending attack on Baltic from foreign power Danes expect—their inability and helplessness to uphold even shadow of neutrality against invasion being evident—that Russia and Germany will immediately take steps to safeguard their interests by laying hands on Denmark and occupying it during the war.

"As this would at the same time guarantee territory and future existence of dynasty and country, the Danes are slowly resigning themselves to this alternative and making up their minds accordingly. This being exactly what you wished and hoped for, I thought it better not to touch on the subject with Danes and refrained from making any allusions.

"It is better to let the idea develop and ripen in their heads and let them draw final conclusions themselves, so that they will of their own accord be moved to lean upon us and fall into line with our two countries. *Tout vient à qui sait attendre.* [All things come to him who waits.]

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"WILLY."

"There is no other solution for Austria than that of becoming a colonial State of Germany."

Paul de Lagarde, Deutsche Schriften (1878), 1891, p. 111. See note, 52.

"Austria lacks a ruling race. Only the Germans can rule in Austria."

*Idem*, p. 397.

"With regard to the east, the following consideration must guide us: For the great increase in industrial power which we expect in the west we must secure a counterpoise by the annexation of an agricultural territory of equal value in the east.

\* \* \* It is necessary to strengthen the agricultural basis of our national economy; to secure room for the expansion of a great German agricultural settlement; to restore to our empire the German peasants living in a foreign land, particularly in Russia, who are now actually without the protection of the law; finally, we must increase considerably the number of our fellow countrymen able to bear arms; all these matters require an important extension of the frontier of the empire and of Prussia toward the east through the annexation of at least some parts of the Baltic provinces and of territories to the south of them, while keeping in view the necessity of a military defense of the eastern German frontier.

\* \* \*

"As to what political rights to give to the inhabitants of the new territories and as to what guaranties are necessary to further German influence and industrial life, we will merely refer to what we have said about France. *The war indemnity to be exacted from Russia should, to a large extent, consist in the surrender of territory.*"

Petition of the Six Industrial Associations to the Imperial Chancellor, May 20, 1915. [G. 126-27.] These associations were the League of Agriculturists, the German Peasant League, The Committee of the Christian German Peasant Union, The Central Association of German Industrialists, the League of the Industrialist and the Conservative Middle Class Association. The influence of these great business and farming organizations can hardly be overestimated.

"The lands we shall demand from Russia must be extensive enough to maintain permanently all Roumanians, even those of Austria and Turkey, in Bessarabia and to the northeast of Bessarabia, \* \* \* as subjects of King Charles. *This policy*

*is somewhat Assyrian, but there is no other way.* The Germans are a peaceful people, but they are convinced that they have a right to live as Germans and that they have a mission for all nations of the earth."

Paul de Lagarde, Deutsche Schriften (1878), 1891, p. 391.

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"*So long, then, as the sun still shines on us it must be our purpose to enter the first class of the economic world group powers. This involves the adhesion of the other Central European States and nations.* Except to our comrades of German race living in Austria and Hungary, *it is indeed of no special direct interest to these peoples that we Germans should sit in the upper council of universal history.* It is not to be expected of them that they should share our historical sentiments, since there beats within them a heart of another race and of different stuff. They will put the question to themselves from their own point of view, whether in the choice of German, Russian, or English leadership they wish to belong to the German world union or not. \* \* \* Hence sooner or later they must decide with which union they will or can range themselves, according to geographical position, production, or mental leanings. This is a harsh necessity, a heavy fate, but it is the overpowering tendency of the age, the categorical imperative of human evolution."

F. Naumann, Central Europe, 1916, p. 194.

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"**A vital Mid-Europe needs agrarian territories on its boundaries and must make the accession easy and desirable to them.** It needs, if possible, an extension of its northern and southern seacoasts; it needs its share in over-sea colonial possessions. But how can all this be talked of now without getting involved in inconclusive discussions of neutrality or in the coming negotiations at the peace congress? \* \* \*

"**And who is prepared to say where the future Central European trench-made boundaries will run?** Whether they will pass on the inner or the outer side of Roumania, or on this or that side of Bessarabia? Whether they will follow the Vistula or not? Whether Bulgaria is to be included in the Central European sphere of interest or not? Whether or not we shall secure a line of railways to Constantinople in the trusty hands of allies? What Mediterranean seaports will come into consideration as the starting point of Central European railway lines? What will

become of Antwerp? How the Baltic Sea will appear after the war? Thus there are a hundred questions which will still remain to be answered. \* \* \* Their answer will be essentially affected according to whether the German-Austrian union is at bottom something that is desired and determined upon or not. Here and here only is the birthplace of Mid-Europe."

Naumann, Central Europe, 1916, pp. 198-199.

## SECTION VIII.

### EXPANSION TO THE SOUTHEAST.

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"In this nineteenth century, when Germany has become the first power in the world, are we incapable of doing what our ancestors did? *Germany must lay her mighty grasp upon Asia Minor.* \* \* \*

"The Turk has lost his rights, not only from the moral but also from the strictly legal point of view. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 he gave undertakings, not one of which he has kept. His claims are nullified.

[All Europe may be set ablaze.] "But if the health and life of Germany require this mortal and terrible remedy, let us not hesitate to apply it; so be it. God is the judge. I accept the awful responsibility. \* \* \* God never forsakes a good German."

"*Amicus Patriae,*" Armenien und Kreta, eine Lebensfrage für Deutschland, 1896, pp. 13, 15, 16. [A., p. 39.] These words regarding the present ally of Germany make strange reading now.

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"The right and left banks of the Danube from Presburg to its mouth, the northern Provinces of Turkey, and the west coast of the Black Sea, do they not offer large tracts of land, naturally fertile and as yet unexploited, to German emigrants?"

F. List, Sämmtliche Schriften 1850, II, 209. List was a German economist (1789-1846). He advocated in his writings nationalism, protectionism, and a commercial union with Austria. His writings are much quoted to-day by Pan-Germans and by the advocates of Middle Europe, many of whom look upon him as the founder of the movement.

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"All weakening of German national energy by pacifist associations or analogous activities reinforces the formidably increasing power of those who rule to-day from the Cape to Cairo, from Ceylon to the Polar Sea. \* \* \* No truce with England. Let our policy be a national policy.

"This must be the mainspring of our action in the eastern question. This is the fundamental reason which necessitates our political indifference to the sufferings of Christians in the Turkish Empire, painful as these must be to our private feelings. If

Turkey were disintegrated to-day, the fragments of her empire would become the sport of the great powers, and we should be left with nothing, as has happened so often in the past. We must retard the catastrophe. **Let Turkey have any constitution she likes, so long as she can keep herself afloat a while longer.**

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

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

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

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

Friedrich Naumann, Asia, 1899, pp. 145, 148, 162, 163. [A., pp. 41-42.] The force of this doctrine of political indifference to Turkish atrocities is more evident when we recall that Naumann was a pastor of the German church.

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"If, notwithstanding Damascus and Tangier, we abandon Morocco we lose at one blow our position in Turkey, and with it the advantages and prospects for the future which we have acquired painfully by years of toil."

Marschall von Bieberstein, German Ambassador to Turkey, to von Bülow, quoted in von Bülow, Imperial Germany (1913), 1914, pp. 84-85. Von Bülow declared that it was upon his advice that the Emperor went to Tangier in 1906.

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"New lands for our peasants, the preservation of Germanism within the Danubian monarchy itself, the unification of the whole German race, an open door in the southeast and an open road

for Germanism to pursue its paths as of old, protection of the non-Slav peoples of the southeast against pan-Slavism—in short, ‘Berlin-Bagdad’; this phrase in which all those things are included must be our watchword.”

Karl von Winterstetten, Berlin-Bagdad, Neue Ziele mitteleuropäischer Politik, 1913, p. 52. See note, p. 25.

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“*Every day makes it clearer how ineradicably established is one of the prizes of victory won by the Central Powers: it consists in the linking up with the nearer East.* The vast territory from Belgrade to Constantinople, Bagdad, and beyond can never again be torn from its political, military, and economic connections with central Europe. Whatever the fate of Poland and Belgium, Constantinople and Sofia are safe from subjection; *Serbia and Rumania can do us no further harm.* And this even Wilson, to whom so much of the course of things in Europe is incomprehensible, will come to understand in time.”

Dr. Heinrich Friedjung in Vossische Zeitung, Feb. 14, 1917. H. Friedjung is the leading Austrian historian and a strong advocate of close political and economic alliance between Austria and Germany.

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#### THE MENACE OF THE BAGDAD PLAN.

The Bagdad Railway was part of the splendid scheme to erect a German Empire in the southeast. In that project German statesmen found themselves crossed by the British Government, when it took possession of Ko-weit at the head of the Persian Gulf. To Germans, Britain, with her possessions in every sea, seemed acting the part of the dog in the manger. Whatever opinion may be held about this, it is certain that their scheme was more than a plan for expansion; it was a plot against the British Empire. The following quotations could be paralleled by scores of the same kind. If that were not enough, they could be supported by the revelations of German intrigue in Egypt and India to stir up sedition in those countries. When the Kaiser, in 1898, declared himself the friend of three hundred million Moslems he gave the lead for the policy which his many agents in the East were paid to follow.

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“The new situation shortly to be created in Asia Minor would hasten the break-up of the British Empire, which was already beginning to totter.”

Leipziger Volkszeitung, March, 1911, quoted by S. S. McClure, Obstacles to Peace, 1917, p. 13.

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“To some extent, indeed, Turkey’s construction of a railway system is a threat to England, for it means that an attack on the

most vulnerable part of the body of England's world empire, namely, Egypt, comes well within the bounds of possibility.”

R. Mangelsdorf in the Akademische Blätter, June 1, 1911.  
Quoted by S. S. McClure, Obstacles to Peace, 1917, p. 14.

“The strengthening of German Imperialism, the first success of which, attained with so much effort, is the Bagdad Railway; the victory of the Revolutionary party in Turkey; the prospect of a modern revolutionary movement in India \* \* \* all this has raised to an extraordinary degree the political significance of the Bagdad Railway question.”

Karl Radek, in Die Neue Zeit, June, 1911.

“The prospect of a German invasion of England is a fantastic dream. \* \* \* *It is necessary to discover another combination in order to hit England in a vulnerable spot*—and here we come to the point where *the relationship of Germany to Turkey*, and the conditions prevailing in Turkey, become *of decisive importance for German foreign policy*, based as it now is upon watchfulness in the direction of England. England can be attacked and mortally wounded by land from Europe only in one place—Egypt. The loss of Egypt would mean for England not only the end of her dominion over the Suez Canal and of her connections with India and the Far East, but would probably entail also the loss of her possessions in Central and East Africa. The conquest of Egypt by a Mohammedan power like Turkey would also imperil England's hold over her sixty million Mohammedan subjects in India, besides prejudicing her relations with Afghanistan and Persia.”

Paul Rohrbach, Die Bagdadbahn (1901) 1911. Quoted by S. S. McClure, Obstacles to Peace, 1917, p. 19. Rohrbach is a traveler and a very popular writer on colonial and foreign politics. His best known works, Deutschland unter den Weltvölkern (1903) and German World Policies (1912, trans. 1915), develop the theory of the mission of German kultur. Rohrbach signed the “Delbrück-Dernburg petition.” See note, p. 55. See his suggestion, p. 44.

“As early as the beginning of the new century people talked openly, with a triumph which far anticipated events of the railway which would threaten India and render possible a Turkish invasion of Egypt. \* \* \* In this direction we have made great mistakes which were in no way necessary. *The more quietly the Bagdad Railway was built the better.*”

Count von Reventlow, Deutschlands Auswärtige Politik (1914), ed., 1916, p. 340.

## SECTION IX.

### SUBORDINATION OF FRANCE.

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"In the first place, our political position would be considerably consolidated if we could finally get rid of the standing danger that France will attack us on a favorable occasion, so soon as we find ourselves involved in complications elsewhere. In one way or another we must square our account with France if we wish for a free hand in our international policy. This is the first and foremost condition of a sound German policy, and since the hostility of France once for all can not be removed by peaceful overtures, the matter must be settled by force of arms. France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path."

F. von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* (1911), trans. 1914, pp. 105-106. For similar demands see pp. 54, 153.

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"Whatever Providence may hold in reserve for Germany it is on France that will fall the task of paying the costs, but in another measure than 44 years ago. It will be no paltry five billions they will have to pay to ransom themselves, but perhaps thirty. *The Holy Mother of God at Lourdes will have much to do if she undertakes, even through miracles, the task of healing all the bones that our soldiers will break in the bodies of the unfortunate inhabitants on the other side of the Vosges.* Poor France! There is yet time for her to change her plans, but in a few hours it will be too late. Then France will receive blows that will be remembered for many generations."

National-Zeitung, July 31, 1914. Quoted by Dampierre, *L'Allemagne et le droit des gens*, 1915, p. 105.

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[Speaking of France in the event of a war:] "The victorious German people will be in a position to demand that the menace of the French forever cease. France then must be crushed. We must demand further that so much of French soil be ceded to us as we shall need for final security. Then will be the time to

consider the evacuation of which we have spoken. We would finally take such of her colonial possessions as we need," etc.

Daniel Frymann, *Wenn ieh der Kaiser wäre* (1911), 21st ed., 1914,  
p. 152.

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*"For the sake of our own existence we must ruthlessly weaken her [France] both politically and economically, and must improve our military and strategical position with regard to her. For this purpose in our opinion it is necessary radically to improve our whole western front from Belfort to the coast. Part of the North French Channel coast we must acquire, if possible, in order to be strategically safer as regards England and to secure better access to the ocean."*

*"Special measures must be taken to keep the German Empire from suffering internally in any way owing to this enlargement of its frontier and addition to its territory. In order not to have conditions such as those in Alsace-Lorraine, the most important business undertakings and estates must be transferred from anti-German ownership to German hands, France taking over and compensating the former owners. Such portion of the population as is taken over by us must be allowed absolutely no influence in the Empire."*

*"Furthermore, it is necessary to impose a mercilessly high war indemnity (of which more hereafter) upon France, and probably on her rather than on any other of our enemies, however terrible the financial losses she may have already suffered owing to her own folly and British self-seeking. We must also not forget that she has comparatively large colonial possessions, and that, should circumstances arise, England could hold on to these with impunity if we do not help ourselves to them."*

Confidential petition of the German Professors and other Intellectuals (June 20, 1915) [G., p. 134]. Among the signatories are Friedrich Meinecke, professor of history, Berlin; Hermann Oneken, professor of history, Heidelberg; Herr von Reichenau, retired diplomat; Herr von Schwerin, Regierungs-präsident, of Frankfurt-on-Main; and Dietrich Schäfer, professor of history, Berlin. This document, the other parts of which are equally harsh, was signed by 352 professors, 158 educators and clergymen, 145 administrative officials, 182 business men, 252 artists, writers, etc.; in all by 1,352 men of position. It breathes the same predatory spirit as the Manifesto of the Industrialists.

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*"We can secure Germany's position on the continent of Europe only if we succeed in smashing the Triple Entente, in humiliating*

France, and giving her that position to which she is entitled, as we can not arrive at an agreement for mutual coöperation with her."

F. von Bernhardi, *Britain as Germany's Vassal* (1912), trans. 1914, p. 207.

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"If the fortress of Longwy with the numerous blast furnaces of the region were returned to the French, then when a new war broke out, the German and Luxemburg furnaces [list of which is given] would be paralyzed in short order by a few long-range guns. Thus about 20 per cent of the production of crude iron and of German steel would be lost. \* \* \*

"Let us say, by the by, that the high production of steel derived from the iron ore gives to German agriculture the only chance of obtaining the phosphoric acid needed when the importation of the phosphates is blockaded.

"The security of the German Empire, in a future war, requires therefore imperatively the ownership of all mines of iron ore, including the fortresses of Longwy and of Verdun, which are necessary to defend the region."

Petition of the Six Industrial Associations to the Imperial Chancellor. [G. pp. 129-30.] See note, p. 60.

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"We need a new international law. For a name we need not seek. We may call it English sea law. Treaties of peace must be framed so as to be more effective. *If we had driven out the resisting Alsatiens \* \* \* and apportioned the land to our gallant soldiers as settlers we should not be vexed to-day with their Frenchness.* If in 1871 we had taken the whole district of the Meuse and Moselle, chased out the inhabitants, settled the land anew and taken from France not 5 billions but 25, we should not have been face to face with another war with her in 1878. Such a loss would have robbed France for all time of the power to reënforce the number of our enemies."

Tannenberg, *Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts* 1911, p. 84.

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"We are in a position to offer the French more than any other power could offer them; guaranties for a great African empire; the possibility of reducing expenditure on the army, and devoting the surplus to shipbuilding, a safer and better investment for their capital than the stock of the eastern States of Europe; organizers

of industry and commercial agents. On the other hand, we could take a great deal from them; not only 20 milliards but ancient Carlovingian and Burgundian lands, fertile colonies, and freedom of movement in that Mediterranean which a German Gibraltar near Toulon would transform into a prison."

Maximilian Harden, *Zukunft*, Aug. 19, 1911, p. 249.

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"In the same way, in the case of a new victory over France, strategical reasons alone would make it certain that some territories would be annexed; and in the same way it is safe to predict that France would be compelled to compensate and to receive within her own frontiers all those inhabitants of these territories who, for historical and ancestral reasons, do not wish to become German citizens. The future of the nations is not bound up with the domination and exploitation of neighboring countries, but with the occupation and settlement of as large and self-contained areas as possible, just as that has been their life principle in the past."

Der Reichsbote, Jan. 7, 1913 [N., p. 26].

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"It [the prospect of war] is entertained without emotion. *The profits are calculated—the annihilation of France, an indemnity of war amounting to twenty-five milliards because it is remembered that last time you paid up too easily—and then we shall rub our hands.. You smile! That is because you don't know what Germany is to-day. It is a nation of shopkeepers; love of gain is its ruling passion; to earn money, to get rich quickly, is its one ideal."*

Alfred Kerr, in an interview with Georges Bourdon. The German Enigma, 1914, p. 166. Kerr is a German, editor of the review, Pan. Bourdon, a Frenchman, visited Germany in 1912 to learn from prominent Germans their view of Franco-German relations.

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"Assuredly nothing is eternal here below. No one can tell if such and such a State will be able eternally to hold its trans-Atlantic possessions. France lost its immense colonial empire in the eighteenth century; it has reconstituted in the last decades a second one. One may indeed say that the Gallic cock has taken quite too much of the African sands. \* \* \* France holds more territories than she can administer. Her work in Algeria and in equatorial Africa is wretched. One can say the same of France as of Belgium, to wit, that some day they must renounce a part of their possessions."

Kölnische Zeitung, May 9, 1914. The Kölnische Zeitung is reputed to be in close connection with the German Government.

## SECTION X.

### SEA POWER AND COLONIAL EXPANSION.

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"In order to assure to our people the horizon which girdles the earth, colonies and sea power are indispensable."

From a telegram sent to von Reichenau, chairman of the Verein für Deutsche im Ausland, May 2, 1916, by Grand Admiral von Tirpitz. [G. p. 25.]

"It is quite conceivable that a country without colonies may cease to rank as a great European power, however strong it may be. Therefore, we must never become rigid as a purely continental policy must make us, but see to it that *the outcome of our next successful war must be the acquisition of colonies by any possible means.*"

Treitschke, Politics, 1916, I, p. 119.

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"*The first and most important of all the national demands which we shall have to make when the time comes for the signing of peace must be a demand for a very large colonial empire, a German India. The empire must be so big that it is capable of conducting its own defense in case of war.*"

Hans Delbrück, Bismareks Erbe, 1915, p. 202 *et seq.* Delbrück (see note, p. 30) is leader of those in Germany who wish to see colonies acquired rather than lands in Europe. He is a sharp critic of the Pan-Germans whose plans, he holds, alarmed the United States and brought her into the war. See p. 93, also note, p. 55, and pp. 72-73.

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"All that was before the Serajevo murder. People also concerned themselves, of course, with the Austrian problems, but confined themselves mostly to critical remarks against the pro-Slavic policy of the Austrian Government. The 'premature death' of Francis Ferdinand was called, to be sure, the 'most important event since Bismarck's dismissal, perhaps even since the days of Versailles.' But this crime was by no means important in the Pan-German agitation, especially as there seemed to be uncertainty as to the course that Austria would pursue. *The necessity*

*for a world war was looked upon from the start as a western European question, having to do with the acquisition of colonies by Germany."*

Kurt Eisner, The Pan-German Society, New York Times Current History, VI, p. 678. Eisner is a writer and socialist. This article first appeared in Die Neue Zeit, April 23, 1915.

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"Where does the great aim lie which we must fix for ourselves; or, to put it better, what is the exalted wish at the fulfillment of which we must aim when the final victory has been granted to us? It can only lie overseas. **The greater our victory, the greater must our colonial empire become.** Assuming that, whether by our land victories or by the submarine war, we had reduced England to such an extent that, in spite of the help of America, she renounced the continuation of the war and was ready to recognize our direct or indirect domination over Belgium, we should still have to say—not Belgium, but Africa; not the coal area of Charleroi, but Nigeria; not Zeebrügge, but the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde Islands; not Antwerp, but Lagos, Zanzibar, and Uganda, and Gibraltar for Spain. Not economic advantages and the forced imposition of treaties of commerce, **but a war indemnity in cash or raw materials.**

"None of our allies has any interest in Germany winning Belgium. The interest of Austria-Hungary is, indeed, the opposite, because Austria-Hungary can not desire the German Empire, although it is an ally, to achieve the hegemony of Europe. On the other hand, Turkey has a very strong and direct interest, and Austria-Hungary at least an indirect interest, in Germany winning a great colonial empire in Africa; Austria-Hungary an indirect interest, because the economic advantages, the supply of raw materials, which a colonial empire guarantees, will benefit Austria also. **If our victory is great enough, we can hope to unite under our hand the whole of Central Africa** with our old colony of Southwest Africa; Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Dahomey, well-populated Nigeria with the port of Lagos, Cameroon, the rich islands of San Thome and Principe with their splendid ports, the Katanga ore district, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mozambique and Delagoa Bay, Madagascar, German East Africa, Zanzibar, and Uganda; and in addition the great port of Ponta Delgada in the Azores, one of the most important and most-frequented coaling stations, and Horta, one of the most important centers of the trans-Atlantic cable system. At present the Azores belong to Portugal, which is at war with Germany;

Portugal also owns the Cape Verde Islands, with the port of Porto Grande, one of the most frequented coaling stations in the Eastern Atlantic.

"All these territories together have over 100,000,000 inhabitants. United in a single ownership, and with their various characteristics supplementing one another, they offer simply immeasurable prospects. They are rich in natural treasures, rich in possibilities of settlement and trade, and rich in men who can work and also be used in war. To demand them is not unjust and does not offend against the principle of equilibrium, since Germany would thus only be obtaining a colonial empire such as England and Russia, France and America have long possessed."

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Delbrück in the Preussische Jahrbücher, quoted in the London Times, July 25, 1917. See note above, p. 71.

"Our existence as a State of the first rank is vitally affected by the question whether we can become a power beyond the seas. If not, there remains the appalling prospect of England and Russia dividing the world between them, and in such a case it is hard to say whether the Russian knout or the English moneybags would be the worse alternative."

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Treitschke, Politics, 1916, I, pp. 33-34.

"Away from the Continent, on the great theater of the world, where our interests have grown a thousandfold and are necessarily striking root ever more widely as a result of our rapid increase in population, only a strong fleet is able to give us permanently such a secure and respected position [as we have on the Continent because of our army]. May we not neglect the opportunity to develop our naval power to such a pitch that not only we may assert our will as against countries like China with vigor such as is used by peoples with whom we think ourselves otherwise equal, but that we may also hinder by fear of our home fleet every one of our competitors, even the mightiest, from arbitrary meddling with German commercial development—from every insult to our German flag."

Hermann Schumacher, in Handels- und Machtpolitik, 1900, II, 245. Hermann Schumacher is professor of political economy at the University of Bonn. About China, see p. 144.

"The German people is of one mind with its princes and its Emperor in the feeling that in its powerful development *it must set up a new boundary post* and create a great fleet which will correspond to its needs.

"Just as Emperor William the Great created the weapon by whose help we became again black, white, and red, so the German people is now lending its efforts to forging the weapon through which, God willing, and in all eternity, it will remain black, white, and red."

Kaiser's speech, Berlin, Feb. 13, 1900. Christian Gauss, p. 158. The Kaiser often refers to his grandfather, William I, as "the Great." The weapon alluded to here is the increase in the size of the army which Bismarck, in defiance of the constitution and in spite of an adverse majority in the Diet, succeeded in maintaining in 1862-1866.

## SECTION XI.

### THE LOST TEUTONIC TRIBES.

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"The German Empire has become a world empire. Everywhere in distant quarters of the earth thousands of our countrymen are living. German guardians, German science, German industry, are going across the sea. The value of what Germany has upon the seas amounts to thousands of millions. *It is your earnest duty, gentlemen, to help bind this greater German Empire firmly to our ancestral home.* The vow which I made you to-day can become truth only if you are animated by a united, patriotic spirit and grant me your fullest support. *It is my wish that, standing in closest union, you help me do my duty not only to my countrymen in a narrower sense, but also to the many thousands of countrymen in foreign lands.* This means that I may be able to protect them if I must. It is with this wish, and deeply conscious of the injunction which is issued to us all—'What you have inherited from your fathers, conquer it in order that you may possess it'—that I raise my glass to our beloved German Fatherland and call out: 'Long live the German Empire!'"

Kaiser's speech, Berlin, June 16, 1896. Gauss, pp. 102–103.

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"The German Empire has suffered great losses of territory in the storms and struggles of the past. The Germany of to-day, considered geographically, is a mutilated torso of the old dominion of the emperors; it comprises only a fraction of the German peoples. A large number of German fellow countrymen have been incorporated into other States, or live in political independence, like the Dutch, who have developed into a separate nationality, but in language and national customs cannot deny their German ancestry. Germany has been robbed of her natural boundaries; even the source and mouth of the most characteristically German stream, the much lauded German Rhine, lie outside the German territory. On the eastern frontier, too, where the strength of the modern German Empire grew up in centuries of war against the Slavs, the possessions of Germany are menaced."

F. von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* (1911), trans. 1914, p. 76.

*"Like broken-off fragments from the wall of an old fort lie on the west side of Germany, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Belgium, and Holland. In their present position, they are all products of the nineteenth century."*

J. Partsch, Mitteleuropa, 1904, p. 181. See note above, p. 57.

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*"When our brothers of the Low-German race shall have gotten over their almost childish fright at 'annexation by the Prussians' they will acknowledge that the admission of Holland into Greater Germany is advantageous to both parties. [Moreover, in the bosom of Greater Germany, the Dutch would be able to preserve, to a reasonable extent, their own peculiar characteristics.] \* \* \**

*"If the Rhine from its source to its mouth becomes a truly German river, it will then be the Low-German or Dutch commercial towns and seaports near its mouth which will chiefly benefit thereby."*

Grossdeutschland und Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1950 (1893), 1895, p. 13. Anonymous, by a "Pan-German;" but a semi-official statement of the Pan-German League. Grell, Der Alddeutsche Verband, 1898, pp. 13-14.

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[Speaking of the present sentiments of the Belgians and the Dutch, and their probable preferences:] "One may count on it that both countries, given a choice between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other, would take England and France; would repeat the error, then, of Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau in the time of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. They should not be surprised if the consequences are the same."

Daniel Frymann, Wenn ich der Kaiser wäre (1913), 21st ed., 1914, p. 154.

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"As for Belgium and Holland, it must be clear to both that this [coming] war will determine their future. As matters in Europe have come to a head, one may freely avow that *such little States have lost their right to exist*. For only that State can make a claim to independence which can make it good, sword in hand."

*Idem*, p. 153.

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[Holland is to-day in the position of the beggar contenting himself with the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. The tendency of Great Britain, France, and Russia to become self-supporting powers must gradually impoverish Holland and in time drive her into the arms of Germany or expose her to the

rapaciousness of imperialistic empires. Holland is no longer desirable as a military ally, having nothing to offer in return. The more Germany develops her canal system the more the Dutch ports will lose their trade. But Germany "is in the position" to dictate terms and to force Holland, economically, to seek union and absorption. Holland can form an alliance with Germany of a precisely opposite nature to the ill-fated alliance she formerly contracted with Spain. Of course, Germany would have the casting vote in things political, but otherwise Holland would retain a large amount of independence. Germany must aim at an economic *rapprochement*, but she can afford to wait, and need be in no hurry to precipitate matters. In case of war Germany could not be expected to regard the Dutch ports as "neutral" and refrain from making use of them. Holland must be aware of that, as also of the martial spirit that has distinguished the Hohenzollerns from the days when their gun called "Lazy Peg" (faule Grete) battered down the old fastness of Friesach. Germany, to make a long story short, if put to it, "Fara da se": Holland must eventually be amalgamated with Germany, as both countries stand and fall together; the same language, ideals, and ideas distinguish both peoples, who must be one.]

Grenzboten, July 25, Aug. 1, Aug. 8, 1901. [Summarized in P. G. D., pp. 110-111.]

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"If Belgium, as we hope and as the Belgians hope, is to be divided after the war between Germany and France, vast portions of the Belgian and French Congo will have to be included in Germany's colonial empire, which we would then complete by the acquisition of British East Africa and Uganda, in exchange for Kiau Chau, New Guinea, and the Australasian Islands. Such an empire could easily be defended from the sea, and it would have to be considered whether we could not exchange Togoland, which is isolated, for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Germany would then have a colonial empire worthy of her enterprising spirit, and it would yield us all the raw material we need."

Baron Albrecht von Rechenberg in Nord und Süd. [Round Table, March, 1917.] Rechenberg has been in the foreign office and has held various colonial appointments.

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"Because it is needful to insure our credit on sea and our military and economic situation for the future in face of England, because the Belgian territory, which is of the greatest economic

importance, is closely linked to our principal industrial territory, Belgium must be subjected to the legislation of the Empire in monetary, financial, and postal matters. Her railways and her water courses must be closely connected with our communications. By constituting a Walloon territory and a Flemish territory with a preponderance of the Flemish, and by putting into German hands the properties and the economic undertakings which are of vital importance for dominating the country, we shall organize the Government and the administration in such a manner that the inhabitants will not be able to acquire any influence over the political destiny of the German Empire."

Petition sent to the Imperial Chancellor, May 20, 1915, by six industrial associations—the League of Agriculturists, the German Peasants' League, the Committee of the Christian German Peasant Union, the Central Association of German Industrialists, the League of Industrialists, and the Conservative Middle Class Association. [G. p. 125.] See note, p. 60.

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[Professor Ernst von Halle speaks definitely of the necessity of incorporating Holland on the one hand and Austria and the Balkans on the other, because it is an unnatural thing that Germany should not possess the mouths of the great rivers, the Rhine and the Danube, which take their rise within her borders. Belgium should be partitioned between Germany and France. Later he complains of the Dutch profiting at the expense of the Germans in their customs arrangements, and of the dangers to Germany involved in the possession of the mouth of the Rhine by a people so easily a prey to her enemies.]

Volks und Seewirtschaft, 1902, II, pp. 1-8. Ernst von Halle was professor of political economy at the University of Berlin.

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*"You can not talk and sing about an invincible Watch on the Rhine as long as the Dutch and the Swiss do not sing the same tune."*

Bley, Die alldeutsche Bewegung und die Niederlande, 1897, p. 4.

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"We may then leave it to Switzerland to choose whether she shall enter the German customs union and the Pan-German confederation, bringing all her cantons or only the German

ones with her, or whether she shall form part of the German Empire on equal terms as a Federal State."

Grossdeutschland und Mitteleuropa (1893), 1895, p. 17. See p. 76.

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"To speak quite frankly: Austria will assent finally to that shifting of the weight of gravity which took place in 1866. She will renounce all future claim to be the chief ruling power in Central Europe, as she was in her ancient days of splendor. There is no formal dependence involved, no curtailing of sovereignty, no giving up of inherited power, but all the same there will be an actual acknowledgment of the existing position of forces."

Naumann, Central Europe, 1916, p. 61.

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"'Land, more land,' is the old battle cry which has reverberated without ceasing throughout the ages of German history from prehistoric times to the present. \* \* \* A nation which tries to acquire land exclusively by peaceful means cannot hope for success or for permanent possession in the general struggle for 'a place in the sun,' but is usually rewarded by ingratitude and doomed to perish. The desperate situation of the Germans in the Slav and Magyar countries and, we should like to add, the disappearance, which is going on slowly but surely, of the German strain in the Anglo-Saxon States, in North America, in South Africa, and Australia, impress the fact upon our minds that it is not sufficient to further 'kultur' exclusively by peaceful means. Such efforts are misjudged and resisted, if those who are trying to introduce or to further 'kultur' are simple and indifferent enough to let the proper time go by for achieving racial union and for asserting themselves in the political world, if need be, by the use of armed force. \* \* \* Therefore it is also a national duty to fight against our worst enemies; that is to say, against the racial indifference and the political immaturity of the Germans in the minds of old and young alike, by spreading information by tongue and pen in schools and associations."

From a review of Karl Tolle, *Das Deutschtum im Ausland*, in the Deutsche Welt, weekly supplement of the Berliner Neueste Nachrichten, Mar. 29, 1913. [N., p. 21.]

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"In the interest of the world's civilization it is our duty to enlarge Germany's colonial empire. Thus alone can we politically,

or at least nationally, unite the Germans throughout the world, for only then will they recognize that German civilization is the most necessary factor in human progress. We must endeavor to acquire new territories throughout the world by all means in our power, because *we must preserve to Germany the millions of Germans who will be born in the future, and we must provide for them food and employment. They ought to be enabled to live under a German sky, and to lead a German life.*"

F. von Bernhardi, Britain as Germany's Vassal (1912), trans. 1914, p. 83. For German title, see above, p. 33.

## SECTION XII.

### DISPOSSESSING THE CONQUERED.

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"Germans alone will govern \* \* \* they alone will exercise political rights; they alone will serve in the army and in the navy; they alone will have the right to become landowners; thus they will acquire the conviction that, as in the Middle Ages, *the Germans are a people of rulers*. However, they will condescend so far as to delegate inferior tasks to foreign subjects who live among them."

Grossdeutschland und Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1950 (1893), 1895, p. 48. See note, p. 76.

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"*If we take, we must also keep.* A foreign territory is not incorporated until the day when the rights of property of Germans are rooted in its soil. With all necessary prudence, but also with inflexible determination, *a process of expropriation should be inaugurated, by which the Poles and the Alsatians and Lorrainers would be gradually transported to the interior of the Empire, while Germans would replace them on the frontiers.*"

Friedrich Lange, Reines Deutschtum, 1904, p. 207. [A., pp. 24-25.] See note, p. 40.

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"We wish to commence in a new empire a new life of which the supreme aim shall be: **Greater Germany whose task shall be the well-being of Germans. All other laws are dependent on this great one.**

"The Reichstag of Greater Germany is to be elected by universal suffrage. All voters must be married and 30 years of age. Voting rights will be conferred only on those admitted to the rights of complete citizenship. Those only may become complete citizens whose mother tongue is German, whose education corresponds to that of the common school (Volksschule), who are of pure German blood, and who take the oath of allegiance. Rights of citizenship may be canceled by the courts for any word or act contrary to German interests. \* \* \*

"The new addition, the Greater Germany, \* \* \* will only be represented in the Reichstag when their Germanization is com-

plete. All officials of Greater Germany will use the German language; interpreters may be permitted in cases of necessity, but at the cost of the person requiring them, and this cost will be proportionate to the importance of the case as well as to the litigant employing the interpreter. Part of the sum thus gained shall be turned over to the public treasury to be applied in German colonization.

"Books, newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets of any kind must be printed in German. \* \* \* Foreign books may be imported only after authorization by the State and on payment of a tax of 100 per cent ad valorem. Foreign newspapers must obtain the same authorization and pay the same tax. The state shall have the right to take the first page of the principal edition of every newspaper without recompense, in order that it may present to the people governmental views in nonpartisan fashion. \* \* \*

"No foreigner shall acquire house or land in Greater Germany." \* \* \*

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts 1911, pp. 82-83.

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"When we have won, and obtained territorial concessions, we shall receive lands inhabited by French or Russians, consequently by enemies. One wonders if such an increase of territory will improve our situation. In our national egoism and hardness of heart we have not got so far as to demand from a vanquished enemy the cession of uninhabited territory. \* \* \*

"To speak openly on the question of 'evacuation' has its utility, so that our enemies should know that this extreme measure has its supporters in Germany. \* \* \*

"Those who have learned to think according to the historical school will be horrified when we demand the 'evacuation' of land inhabited by Europeans; for that signifies the violent interruption of an historical development centuries old. Besides, the idea wounds the sensibilities of civilized man and is contrary to the modern law of nations which protects individual property. But if we consider seriously the peculiar position of the German people, squeezed into the middle of Europe and running the risk of being suffocated for want of air, *it must be agreed that we might be compelled to demand from a vanquished enemy, either in the East or in the West, that he should hand over the unpopulated territory.* \* \* \*

"We must not contemplate an offensive war undertaken with the object of getting territory evacuated; but we ought to get used to the idea that such a step would be admissible as a reply to an enemy's attack."

Daniel Frymann, *Wenn ich der Kaiser wäre*, (1911), 21st ed. 1914,  
pp. 140-141.

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"We may depend upon the re-Germanizing of Alsace, but not of Livonia and Kurland. There no other course is open to us but to keep the subject race in as uncivilized a condition as possible, and thus prevent them from becoming a danger to the handful of their conquerors."

Treitschke, *Polities*, I, p. 122.

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[In case of war with Russia:] "We shall demand the cession of such territory as we need for the straightening of our frontiers and for colonization. *Evacuation of it will be required.*"

Daniel Frymann, *Wenn ich der Kaiser wäre*, (1911) 21st ed. 1914,  
p. 170.

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"War will unify the strong nation that is capable of a future and make it free, and will establish the people on a healthy substantial basis. Those are the two chief purposes of war. A third can, however, be suggested, that a nation even when her national and fundamental interests do not coincide with those of another nation, still must rudely destroy this people's highest interests, must indeed remorselessly cut off from this foreign people the means of living for the future. It is a great, powerful nation which overturns a less courageous and frequently degenerate people and takes its territory from it. For a great, strong people finds its house too narrow, it cannot stir and move about, cannot work and build up, cannot thrive and grow. The great nation needs new territory. Therefore it must spread out over foreign soil, and must displace strangers with the power of the sword."

Klaus Wagner, *Krieg*, 1906, p. 80.

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"Slowly, not too hastily, we people of Germanic blood must

proceed in the settlement of the lands which are to be ours in the future. \* \* \*

"The lands which we need to-day and in the future for colonizing, we must thoroughly cleanse of foreign elements."

*Idem*, p. 171.

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"By right of war the right of strange races to migrate into Germanic settlements will be taken away. *By right of war the non-Germanic [population] in America and Great Australia must be settled in Africa.* \* \* \* *By right of war we can send back the useless South American Romance peoples and the half-breeds to North Africa.*"

*Idem*, p. 173.

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"The historical view as to the biological evolution of races tells us that there are dominant races and subordinate races. Political history is nothing more than the history of the struggles between the dominant races. Conquest in particular is always a function of the dominant races. \* \* \*

"Where now in all the world does it stand written that conquering races are under obligations to grant after an interval political rights to the conquered? Is not the practice of political rights an advantage which biologically belongs to the dominant races? \* \* \* What are the rights of the masses? \* \* \* In my opinion, the rights of men are, first, personal freedom; secondly, the right of free expression of opinion—as well as freedom of the press; \* \* \* and, finally, the right to work in case one is without means. \* \* \*

"In like manner there is the school question. The man with political rights sets up schools, and the speech used in the instruction is his speech. \* \* \* The purpose must be to crush the [individuality of the] conquered people and its political and lingual existence. \* \* \*

"The conquerors are acting only according to biological principles if they suppress alien languages and undertake to destroy strange popular customs. \* \* \* Only the conquering race must be populous, so that it can overrun the territory it has won. Nations that are populous are, moreover, the only nations which have a moral claim to conquest, for it is wrong that in one country there should be overpopulation while close at hand—and at the

same time on better soil—a less numerous population stretches its limbs at ease.

[As to the inferior races:] “From political life they are to be excluded. They are eligible only to positions of a non-political character, to commercial commissions, chambers of commerce, etc. \* \* \* The principal thing for the conqueror is the outspoken will to rule and the will to destroy the political and national life of the conquered.” \* \* \*

K. F. Wolff, Alldeutsche Blätter, Aug. 30, 1913. Wolff is one of the regular staff of the Pan-German organ. The extremists among German political writers are continually bearing in memory the condition of affairs which prevailed in ancient Sparta and India, and in Medieval Europe, where serfdom or a distinction of races prevailed. Such a distinction, they say, is warranted by history and by science. The fittest, the strongest should rule; the weak should serve and obey. A new warrior aristocracy should be created of German blood.

## SECTION XIII.

### THE PAN-GERMAN PARTY.

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The Pan-German League was established in 1890 as a result of the dissatisfaction over the Zanzibar negotiations with England by which Germany gained Heligoland in return for certain concessions in East Africa, and in response to an editorial in the *Kölnische Zeitung* entitled "Germany, wake up." The organization was soon united with a group which Dr. Carl Peters had established in 1886 for the furtherance of German oversea interests. The first congress was held in 1891, and in 1894 the *Alldeutsche Blätter* was established as the organ of the League.

"In place of the great enthusiasm of the year 1870, which inspired the German people to heroic deeds, a certain apathy has become manifest. Economic interests and social questions push into the background individual utterances of a marked national feeling. Although the interests of Deutschtum are every year injured in the most shameless fashion, now here, now there, the great mass of the German people remains indifferent and disinterested. While other peoples defend energetically the holy possessions of their race, and everywhere with success, we consume our energies in internal party struggles and grow apathetic in deceptive self-content. National tasks should not be placed behind social and economic ones. We must strengthen our national feeling and bring home to the mass of our people the fact that Germany's development did not end in the year 1871. We ought not to forget that beyond the boundary lines compassed by the black, white, and red flag thousands of Germans reside; that the German nation is justified, and in duty bound, no less than other nations, to take its share as a dominant power in the history of the whole world; and that in our progress toward the position of a world power we only took the first step when the German Empire was founded. That our demands are not unrealizable was demonstrated by the speech of our Emperor, January 18, 1896, at the banquet in celebration of the foundation of the German Empire, when the Emperor pointed out that Germany had become a world power, whose subjects dwelt in far-off lands, whose interests in the world were estimated at milliards of marks, whose duty it had therefore become to protect the

many thousands of Germans in foreign parts, and to link this greater German Empire closer to the home country."

Official circular of the Pan-German League, soliciting membership.  
Grell, *Der Alldeutsche Verband*, 1898, pp. 7-8.

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1. "To quicken the patriotic self-consciousness of Germans, and to offer opposition to all movements antagonistic to national development.

2. "To treat and solve all questions bearing upon the bringing up of children and higher education in the Germanic sense.

3. "*To watch over and support all German national movements in all countries where Germans have to sustain a struggle in support of Deutschstum, with the object of embracing and uniting all Germans on the globe.*

4. "To promote an active German policy of interests in Europe, and across the seas, and especially to further the colonial movement for practical purposes."

Statutes of the Pan-German League, first adopted May 10, 1903.  
Grell, p. 8. See also *Handbuch des alldeutschen Verbandes*, 1906, pp. 21-22.

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"Who yields the decisive influence on the trend of foreign policies in Germany? Who gives the life impulse to economic driving forces? *Absolutely none other, for a quarter of a century, but the Pan-Germans.* They have acquired a greater influence on the shaping of national policy than even the mightiest combination of interests among the great landowners and capitalists. In the course of years they have put through more measures than all the political parties and all the parliamentary subdivisions of Germany taken together."

Kurt Eisner, in *Die Neue Zeit*, trans. New York Times Current History, VI, p. 676. See note, p. 72.

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"Since the second Morocco crisis [1911] the 'world war' had been the ever-recurring catchword in the Pan-German Society's organ, and the German world 'concerns'—the popular word for 'interests'—had been the dominant subject. From the early part of 1914 the leader of the Pan-German propaganda, Dr. Ritter, who was dismissed shortly before the war, traveled about making speeches dealing with the world war, in which, following a well-known pattern, the splendors of war and the immorality of peace were

presented and the absolute necessity of war for the realization of German world ambitions was set forth."

*Idem*, p. 676. See note, p. 72.

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"Lending their coöperation to this program of the Pan-German Society and its manifold ramifications and *affiliated organizations are the Land Owners' League, the Central Industrial Society, and others, a portion of the capitalistic interests, especially shipowners, and finally—and herein lies the special nature of this society—its executive heads are former generals and admirals.* Besides this, it has the coöperation of a staff of 'intellectuals' whose activities extend everywhere. The latter, having acquired, mostly by foreign travel, certain kinds of knowledge and experience, are welcome to the press as experts whenever there is a controversy regarding any question of world politics; on such occasions the Pan-German propagandists bob up, as collaborators and information suppliers of the press, in huge numbers, like snails after a rainstorm, and public opinion is delivered over almost defenseless to them. The secret and the danger of their influence, however, lie in the fact that, whereas public opinion is invariably swept forward irresistibly by the force of events, *the Pan-Germans, by unflagging energy, have been preparing these very events for years.*"

*Idem*. pp. 674, 675.

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"The fuel for all this agitation has been furnished by the Imperial Admiralty. The predecessor of Herr Tirpitz, Herr Hollmann, more than once declared in the budget committee that if we thought that the admiralty fostered a naval agitation he was far from being the one to do it; he thought himself too good for that and the undertaking unworthy his office. *With Herr Tirpitz all was changed.* He furnishes the official articles, he commands the corvette captains who by their writings are to soften the hearts of the Reichstag and pen all the articles in the Berlin Correspondence and in the North-German Gazette. *From his office the provincial papers are directed, and the pamphlets provided with material which are sent into the world under the anonymous signature of 'A Friend of the Fatherland.'* And if it is not possible to arouse enthusiasm in this fashion, then *they attempt at least to give people a scare.* A pamphlet \* \* \* says, 'What shipping carries our flag is too much to perish and too little to survive. \* \* \* If we do not support the new naval program \* \* \* it will be visited on our children and our

children's children.' Then appears a pamphlet from the official publishing house of Mittler & Son, in which is said: 'A State must approve of this program if it will not merely lead the life of a drudge; or what are great sacrifices in comparison to an unsuccessful war? \* \* \* If this program is rejected a war at sea threatens our coasts, harbors, and maritime cities with pillage and fire; and the whole German Empire may be stricken at a blow from the list of the rich and commanding world powers. Gentlemen, here is nothing new; we have had it all before.'

Eugen Richter in the Reichstag, December 11, 1899. Tombo, Deutsche Reden, pp. 192-194. Deputy Richter proceeds to show that the same methods were employed to induce the Reichstag and its electorate to vote large increases to the army in 1887. The Reichstag of 1886 had refused to vote the increases and had been dissolved. The new Reichstag passed the bill in 1888.

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Pan-Germans describe themselves as "warm-hearted Germans who never forget to think of the future development of the German people, just as a father provides for the future of his children, and is not engrossed merely with the present."

Heinrich Calmbach, Alddeutsche Katechismus. Quoted by Vergnet, p. 8.

Calmbach is one of the writers attached to the Pan-German League.

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"Furthermore, England is afraid of nothing so much as of a war. \* \* \* Unfortunately, all the efforts for better relations with England will come to nothing so long as the German Philistine who has taken the beautiful title of Pan-German, is saturated with hate of England and presses for war with her. It is very easy through a so-called national or patriotic phraseology to win over the masses and to stir up feeling against another kingdom. What a lot of trouble they make the leaders of the Pan-Germans do not consider; they take no responsibility for the consequences of their jingoistic efforts."

Deutsche Revue, January, 1913, p. 95. This is an unsigned leading article in the well-known German periodical.

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"From the first projected naval program to the most recent law for defense, every single plan for preparedness has originated in Pan-German circles. They were the advance guards. Twice they pushed the 'Morocco' question almost over the precipice to a world war. And eventually Sultan Abdul Aziz, whom I made in 1906 the hero of an article which unfortunately passed un-

perceived, became, after all, the 'Sultan of the world war,' in so far as western European problems are responsible for the catastrophe.

"When the *Panther* suddenly appeared off Agadir, in the summer of 1911, German public opinion was caught entirely unprepared.<sup>1</sup> But anybody who had taken the trouble to follow the propaganda and publications of the Pan-German Society might have predicted months before that some day a world crisis would come as punctually as any of the issues of the weekly organ of the society, the *Pan-German Gazette* (*Alldeutsche Blätter*). To readers of this paper the act of the *Panther* was as comprehensible as the arrival of their favorite sheet—they had been, so to speak, subscribers for six months to one as well as to the other. And it may be remembered what a joyful outcry there was in the press, especially in provincial papers, over the 'act of deliverance' of the *Panther*. What had previously been urged only by Pan-German sheets, from their hiding places, was now taken up by the great papers. They sought to make the incident lead to the uttermost extremes. In vain the semi-official ones tried to reassure themselves; for months the press agents of the Pan-German Society proved themselves the stronger. The publisher of the *Grenzboten*, Cleinow, a trusted ally of the foreign office, spoke in those days of the activity of a Krupp press agency. And when the responsible heads of the Government succeeded once again in calming the storm a renewed passionate agitation of the Pan-Germans began. Under the immediate pressure of the unwelcome<sup>2</sup> Franco-German agreement, General von Bernhardi wrote his fateful book, *Germany and the Next War*.

"The program of the Pan-German Society is simple and clear. The 'nationalistic' Pan-German illusions are merely an idealistic by-product for the delectation of teachers and professors affiliated with the society. The real goal is the acquisition of colonies where Germans may settle, where German peasants may cultivate the soil, of colonies that may supply us with raw material for our manufactures and use German products in exchange. That is the 'sure market,' the dream of the German export trade."

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Kurt Eisner, in *Die Neue Zeit*, trans., New York Times History, VI, 674-675. See note, p. 72.

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"The Defense Association (*Wehrverein*) has opened the eyes of

<sup>1</sup> For the Morocco dispute, see note pp. 112-13.

<sup>2</sup> Of 1911.

the German people to the fact that we can not hope for victory unless we have a strong military force. The navy by itself alone is of no avail, and the Germans have no guarantees that victory must always be theirs. The famous Prince Leopold of Dessau once said that God was always on the side of the strongest battalions. But these strong battalions are no longer at our disposal. We must all realize this. Our people ought to be permeated with a sense of responsibility. *That the Defense Association was necessary, that it has been moving in the right direction and has demanded only what was absolutely indispensable, is proved by the third army bill, in which all those demands which the Defense Association considered necessary have been embodied.* We must insist on the fact that it was we who took the lead, and who recognized the needs of our people in time. \* \* \* Our schools ought to reform their curricula. The classical stuff ought to be done away with, and our younger generation ought to be imbued with the German point of view. Patriotism is the highest form of idealism. That is what we ought to inculcate in the minds of our young people.

"The history of the German nation and of its 'kultur,' which is unequaled, entitles it to a voice in the affairs of the world. Modesty will not get us far. It is sometimes necessary to answer by means of the sword."

From a speech by General Keim (retired) in a meeting of the local branch of the Wehrverein in Darmstadt, as reported in the Darmstädter Tageblatt, Apr. 23, 1913. [N., p. 87.]

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"The chairman, Attorney Class, of Mayence, opened the proceedings with a discussion of the political situation.

"'If we are unanimous to-day in backing up our Government and in thanking them for bringing in an army bill conceived on so great a scale, we may be permitted at the same time to give expression to the hope that the armed forces of Germany will be really made use of, in case jealous rivals or neighbors should oppose our national needs. Our rapidly increasing nation must assert its right to exist. It must look out for fresh land. \* \* \* The German Empire must look far ahead in safeguarding its future, and the only way to do this is the *resolute adoption of an active policy.*' [Loud and long-continued applause.]'

From a report of a meeting of the general committee of the Pan-German League in Munich, contained in the Tägliche Rundschau, Apr. 21, 1913. [N., p. 77.] Heinrich Class is a lawyer and was one time president of the Pan-German League.

"The Pan-German League is convinced that the future of Germany's economic position in the world can not be permanently assured unless we pursue a comprehensive and progressive policy of colonization. Our future is to be safeguarded only by the acquisition of colonies of our own."

Meeting of the local branch of the Pan-German League in Halle, as reported in the *Saalezeitung*, Nov. 8, 1912. [N., p. 74.]

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"General Keim: Every good German ought to be a member of the Defense Association (*Wehrverein*). The Defense Association is fighting for the military preparedness of our nation, for those ideals which the German people ought to pursue. **There is a smell as of gunpowder pervading the world, even where we do not hear the roll of the muskets.** The Defense Association took this state of things into account as long as a year ago. It is guided by the conviction that Germany cannot enjoy peace unless she has an army strong enough to preserve it. \* \* \* One can often hear it said: Why should there be war or for what end? The kings do not want it nor do the Governments and least of all the people. Then why have war? But war does not depend on the will or wishes of human beings; it is as inevitable as the forces of nature; **it is an irresistible demoniacal power, which makes all written agreements, all humanitarian efforts, and all peace conferences miserable failures.**"

From a report on a meeting of the local branch of the *Wehrverein* in Cassel, in the *Casseler Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 6, 1913. [N., pp. 81-82.]

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"We are celebrating, on this New Year's Day, the centenary of a great historic event. It is the day of Tauroggen, on which Yorck's courageous deed<sup>1</sup> in the mill of Poscherun ushered in a new era for Prussia and for Germany. At that time, too, the thirteenth year of the new century was the year of liberation from gloom and oppression, and we could wish for nothing better from the coming year. Should a war be necessary to accomplish this, as it was necessary a hundred years ago, **should the 'year of fire and flood' really be followed** [as our prophets will have it] **by the 'year of blood'**—well, in that case the German people will reveal

<sup>1</sup> Gen. Yorek was in command of a Prussian corps in the service of France in Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812-13. After the retreat of the latter from Moscow Yorek entered into relations with the Russians and made a collusive surrender of his corps to them which then passed into the Russian service. Patriotism inspired his act, although the military ethics of his action were doubtful.

to the world that they are ready to-day, as they were in 1813, to defy a world in arms."

Die Post, Jan. 1, 1913, [N., p. 7.]

"The fear of German despotism is one of the most solid with which we have to reckon, and one of the strongest enemy powers against which we have to fight. In Germany this fight is the fight against the Pan-Germans. \* \* \*

[Delbrück proceeds to point out the danger:]

"When their demands [those of the Pan-Germans] are so exaggerated that they put serious difficulties in the way of any entrance into negotiations, and when the forces which put forward these demands are so excessively strong that even a strong and independent government can not detach itself from them. That is the case with us at present, since *the circles which put forward the Pan-German demands, and in which this propaganda is carried on, are essentially circles on which the government is obliged in part to rely in the whole of its domestic policy.*"

Delbrück in the Preussische Jahrbücher, quoted by Manchester Guardian, May 24, 1917. See note, p. 71; also note, p. 55.

"Listen to the Colonial League: 'We need colonies, and more colonies than we have already, to give vent to our surplus energies without losing them and to make our motherland economically independent.' The Navy League adheres to this view and says: 'We need a fleet strong enough not only to protect the colonies we have now, but to bring about the acquisition of others.' \* \* \*

"With the voice of these leagues the military writers chime in. All honor to the many-sided knowledge that appears in this abundant literature. *But it is ground into the soldier that the best defensive is the offensive; he laments therefore in a form more or less veiled that we do not make use of our superior military strength in order to extend our power. And so readiness for war imperceptibly becomes a need for war.*

"The most important link, finally, in the chain of irresponsible politicians is the Pan-Germans. The aims of this association are not clear.

"According to the name, they seek the political union of all those who are bound by German tongue and lineage; in practices however, they employ their influence to bring German interest, (or rather the parties interested), wherever they are in the world,

to the top. A thoroughly praiseworthy undertaking; only *in the choice of means they do not depend merely on dexterity but recommend smartness and dash, in other words threatening and violence—dangerous weapons.* For in the case of failure, they bring shame; in case of success, disfavor and revenge."

Leading article in Deutsche Revue, July-September, 1912, pp. 257-258, The methods of "smartness and dash" (i. e., as if in fencing), here described as those advocated by the Pan-Germans, were those adopted when the Austrian and German foreign offices, with their 48-hour ultimatum, dealt with Serbia. They proved as dangerous as the writer feared. Professor Delbrück, of Berlin, says (Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1915, p. 234): "Was this abruptness intended \* \* \* to render the keeping of peace impossible? Many say so, particularly those in foreign countries. It seems to me that the exact opposite could be said with more justice. \* \* \* Expressed in markedly mild terms the Serbian demands would have accomplished nothing materially \* \* \* and would have given an impression of weakness and irresolution." The article in the Deutsche Revue aroused great resentment among the Pan-Germans. It was attributed by some of them to Kiderlen-Wächter, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose foreign policy they regarded as pusillanimous.

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"The People can no longer rightly believe that the present battles are inevitable battles of defense. They have a rather gloomy suspicion that a policy is being pursued, and here a positively disastrous effect is produced by certain documents in which great leagues and private persons express lust of conquest. Only general ideas of their contents reach the great mass of people, but to the best of my belief their existence is well known in every barrack, in every workshop, and in every village inn. The consequence of this literature of conquest is the disappearance of simple faith in the defensive war."

Friedrich Naumann, Die Hilfe, as quoted in The New York Times, Aug. 24, 1916. Herr Naumann then advises that the people 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 colonies in 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 crush Germany

## SECTION XIV.

### PAN-GERMANISM AND AMERICA.

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"The most dangerous foe of Germany in this generation will prove to be the United States."

Dr. Otto Hötsch in *Alldeutsche Blätter*, Aug. 23, 1902. Hötsch is really speaking here of commercial war, but to him political war was a natural sequence of commercial. Hötsch is professor of history at the royal academy in Posen and at the war academy in Berlin.

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"Operations against the United States of North America must be entirely different. With that country, in particular, political friction, manifest in commercial aims, has not been lacking in recent years, and has until now been removed chiefly through acquiescence on our part. However, as this submission has its limit, the question arises as to what means we can develop to carry out our purpose with force in order to combat the encroachments of the United States upon our interests. **Our main factor is our fleet.** \* \* \* It is evident, then, that a naval war against the United States can not be carried on with success without at the same time inaugurating action on land. \* \* \* It is almost a certainty, however, that a victorious assault on the Atlantic coast, tying up the importing and exporting business of the whole country, would bring about such an annoying situation that the Government would be willing to treat for peace.

"If the German invading force were equipped and ready for transporting the moment the battle fleet is despatched, under average conditions, these corps can begin operations on American soil within at least four weeks. \* \* \* The United States at this time [1901] is not in a position to oppose our troops with an army of equal rank. \* \* \*

"The fact that one or two of her provinces are occupied by the invaders would not alone move the Americans to sue for peace. To accomplish this end the invaders would have to inflict real material damage by injuring the whole country through the successful seizure of many of the Atlantic seaports in which the threads of the entire wealth of the Nation meet.

It should be so managed that a line of land operations would be in close juncture with the fleet, through which we would be in a position to seize in a short time many of these important and rich cities, to interrupt their means of supply, disorganize all governmental affairs, assume control of all useful buildings, confiscate all war and transport supplies, and lastly, to impose heavy indemnities. \* \* \*

"As a matter of fact, Germany is the only great power which is in a position to conquer the United States."

Freiherr von Edelsheim, Operations upon the Sea, trans. 1914, pp. 86-92. Edelsheim was a second lieutenant in the service of the German General Staff in 1901, when he wrote these words. They are not official, but the opinions of a military man and a nobleman.

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"The German Empire has become a world empire. Everywhere in distant quarters of the earth thousands of our countrymen are living. German guardians of the sea, German science, German industry, are going across the sea. The value of what Germany has upon the sea amounts to thousands of millions. It is your earnest duty, gentlemen, to help bind this greater German Empire firmly to our ancestral home. \* \* \* *It is my wish that, standing in closest union, you help me to do my duty not only to my countrymen in a narrower sense, but also to the many thousands of countrymen in foreign lands. This means that I may be able to protect them if I must.*"

Kaiser's speech, June 16, 1896. Gauss, 102. This is one of the Kaiser's most pointed and significant utterances. The protection of German citizens in South America could only mean interference in the affairs of South American nations, and if they refused such interference it was likely to mean such ultimatums as Austria sent Serbia. Such a statement was a threat against the Monroe Doctrine and was likely to involve the United States.

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"The Germanization of America has gone ahead too far to be interrupted. Whoever talks of the danger of the Americanization of the Germans now here is not well informed or cherishes a false conception of our relations. \* \* \* In a hundred years the American people will be conquered by the victorious German spirit, so that it will present an enormous German Empire. Whoever does not believe this lacks confidence in the strength of the German spirit.

Letter of a New York German, Robert Thiem, to the Alldeutsche Blätter, Sept. 20, 1902. The Alldeutsche Blätter thinks the author

rather optimistic. Germans differ as to the outcome in America, says this Pan-German organ. Some are very pessimistic. The All-deutsche Blätter thinks that the great hope is for Germans in America to retain their language.

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"Immigration [to the United States] is mainly German and Irish. Since immigrating Germans quickly pick up the English-American language, they make a good cement for the great American structure. Whether it will always be so, whether at last the American Germans will harken to the voice of the blood, and whether the arrogant Irish will ever melt into the American nationality like the Germans is not yet demonstrated. The Monroe Doctrine lacks as yet a justification in the unified character of the people."

Fritz Bley, *Die Weltstellung des Deutschtums*, 1897, p. 8.

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It is therefore the duty of everyone who loves languages to see that the future language spoken in America shall be German. It is of the highest importance to keep up the German language in America, to establish German universities, improve the schools, introduce German newspapers, and to see that at American universities there are German professors of the very highest ability who will make their influence felt unmistakably on thought, science, art, and literature. If Germans bear this in mind, and help accordingly, the goal will eventually be reached. At the present moment the center of German intellectual activity is in Germany; in the remote future it will be in America. The Germans there are the pioneers of a greater German culture, which we may regard as ours in the future. He advises the Germans to compose themselves into an aristocracy of talent, which is the most effective way nowadays to obtain political power. Germans only need to grasp the situation and the future is theirs. Let them show that they mean to maintain Deutschtum, and then emigration may be directed to America with impunity.

Hübbecke-Schleiden, in the Alldeutsche Blätter, Feb. 21, 1903. [Summarized in P. G. D., pp. 319-321.] Wilhelm Hübbecke-Schleiden is a traveler, student, and writer on German colonization.

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"The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany; but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The American-Germans have formed a

political alliance with the Irish, and thus united constitute a power in the State with which the Government must reckon."

Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War (1911), trans., 1914, p. 78.

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"From all this it appears that the **Monroe Doctrine** cannot be justified. \* \* \* So it remains only what we Europeans have described as an aspiration. And so it remains only what we Europeans almost universally consider it, an **impertinence**. With a noisy cry they try to make an impression on the world and succeed, especially with the stupid. The inviolability of the American soil is invoked without there being at hand the slightest means of warding off the attack of a respectable European power."

Johannes Vollert, Alldeutsche Blätter, Jan. 17, 1903.

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"We must desire that at any cost a German country containing some twenty to thirty million Germans may grow up in the coming century in south Brazil—and that, too, no matter whether it remains a portion of Brazil, or becomes an independent State, or enters into close relationship with our Empire. Unless our connection with Brazil is always secured by ships of war, and unless Germany is able to exercise pressure there, our development is threatened."

Gustav von Schmoller, Handels- und Machtpolitik, I, p. 36.  
Schmoller at the time of his death (1917) was the most distinguished economic historian in Germany.

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"The more Germany is condemned to an attitude of passive resistance toward the United States the more emphatically must she defend her interests in Central and South America, where she to-day occupies an authoritative position. Now, in matters of equity and respect for the law the Romanic peoples in America can not be judged according to European standards, and in certain circumstances Germany will be constrained all the more to employ coercive political measures in proportion as the amount of German capital invested (in State loans, railways, plantations) in those parts increases. *For this purpose we need a fleet capable not only of coping with the miserable forces of South American States, but powerful enough, if the need should arise, to cause Americans to think twice before making any attempt to apply an economic Monroe doctrine in South America.*"

Von Schulze-Gaevernitz in *Die Nation*, Mar. 5, 1898. Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz is professor of political economy in the University of Freiburg.

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"While Englishmen and Yankees are everywhere disliked on account of their sharp and reserved manner, the French were, until the seventies, the unrivaled leaders and patterns of these peoples [the South Americans] in their progress toward a higher culture; but now through their want of numbers and through their swift decline into universal corruption, they have forfeited much of their leadership. Would that the Germans might be called through their talents and activities to be the intellectual, economic, and political leaders of these peoples. \* \* \*

"The Germans seem marked by their talents and by their achievements to be the teachers and the intellectual, economic, and political leaders of these peoples [the Spanish and Portuguese Americans].

"If the Germans do not accomplish this mission, then, sooner or later, in consequence of political or financial bankruptcy, the nations of Spanish and Portuguese America will come under the domination and exploitation of the United States." \* \* \*

J. Unold, *Das Deutschum in Chile*, 1899, pp. 62-65. Johannes Unold is professor in the Handelshochschule at Munich and is a zealous Pan-German.

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"The moral sanction of the Monroe Doctrine disappeared on the day when the treaty for the annexation of the Philippines was signed by McKinley. Thereby America broke the tacit agreement, 'Do not mix in American affairs and I will not mix in affairs outside America,' and gave us the right to set up a doctrine of a Greater Germany against that of a Greater America. *European interests, and with them the German, lie in America in case we have the power to support them effectively. We shall not forbear to accustom America to this point of view.*"

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"It depends on the political situation when German diplomacy shall hold the time fit to put a value on the Germans of Venezuela and their interests by taking possession of a harbor \* \* \* and thus do the cause of peace and the development of the country the best service. \* \* \* But nothing can be done and German emigration should not be directed to South America unless the question whether Germany means simply to obey the Ameri-

can order of hands off in South America is first answered in the negative."

W. Wintzer, *Die Deutschen im tropischen Amerika*, 1900, pp. 78, 81, 82. Wintzer is a journalist and author. It will be noted that this was written just three years before President Roosevelt had occasion to rebuff the German Government for its evident designs on a Venezuelan harbor.

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"Trade with the United States forms the biggest but in many respects the unhappiest chapter in the over-sea relations of Germany. Not only is the balance of trade heavily against us, but, above all, the balance of emigration. Many hundred thousands Germany has lost to America to be fertilizers of kultur [*Kulturdünger*]. It is there that the German emigrants have given up their allegiance most quickly, and they have helped forge the mighty weapons of competition which are now directed against us by the third world empire in the international market nay, in our own!"

Arthur Dix, *Deutschland auf den Hochstrassen des Weltwirtschaftsverkehrs*, 1901, p. 149. Dix hopes that the Panama Canal may not fall solely into American hands. In case it does Germans should try to get bases in the West Indies (p. 141). He complains that the American ship subsidy bill then up is directed against German shipping and that the tariff is directed especially against German imports.

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"And even the causes of political friction between the two countries have increased since they became neighbors in the South Sea, and since the United States proclaimed her determination to make herself mistress of the passage for world trade between the old and the new middle sea, the Atlantic and the Pacific."

*Idem.*, p. 150.

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"The North Americans can not forget that the German settlements may be the entering wedge in South America which is to overturn the Pan-American air castles; and the American consuls, especially the American envoy in Rio Janeiro, Colonel Page Bryan, follow jealously the progress of German colonization and investment. Their fears are our hopes and these are the stronger because we have the population to dispose of and the United States has not. \* \* \* The question whether the German element there will turn to Germany or to the United

States will be determined in a few years and it will depend upon the position which Germany takes in fostering church and school." \* \* \*

Otto Hötsch in *Alldeutsche Blätter*, Aug. 16, 1902. The writer insists, as do many Germans, that the South Americans, as a mixed race, are incapable of taking care of themselves and developing their natural resources, and that another power must step in. They believe that it will be Germany or America. See note, p. 95.

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"A far-seeing policy is required, ruthlessly applying all the resources of its power in concluding treaties with foreign States, which are eager to receive our emigrants, and so would in the end accept the conditions accounted necessary by our Government. The Argentine and Brazilian Republics, and in a greater or less degree all these needy Republics of South America, would accept advice and listen to reason, voluntarily or under coercion."

Friederich Lange, *Reines Deutschtum*, 1904, p. 208. [A., p. 35.]

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"Not only North America, but the whole of America must become a bulwark of Germanic Kultur, perhaps the strongest fortress of the Germanic races. That is everyone's hope who has freed himself from his own local European pride and who places the race feeling above his love for home. Also South America must and can easily become a habitation for German or Germanoid races!"

"The lands will be settled upon by people of Germanic blood, the non-Germanic inhabitants being driven into reservations or at best to Africa [Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt]. \* \* \*

"A free South America for those of Germanic blood, that too, is a sublime end, which will be attained by war, not perhaps by the conquest of the land by North American or by European troops, but through the colonizing efforts and self-assertion of the South American Germans."

Klaus Wagner, *Krieg*, 1906, pp. 165-166.

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"Germany takes under her protection the Republics of Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the southern third of Bolivia, as much as belongs to the basin of the Rio de La Plata and the southern part of Brazil, where Germans predominate. \* \* \*

[German South America] "will procure for us in the temperate zone a territory for colonization where our emigrants

will be able to settle as agriculturists. Chile and Argentina will keep their language and autonomy, but we should insist upon the teaching of German in the schools as a second language. Southern Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay are the countries for German culture. German should there be the national language."

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts, pp. 250, 265-266.

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"The German settlements in South Brazil and Uruguay are the only ray of light in this dismal picture of South American civilization. Here dwell 500,000 Germans, and it is to be hoped that in a reorganization of South American conditions after the peoples of Latin and Indian mixture are quite ruined by bad management, the immense plains of the Platte, with the coast in the west, the east, and the south, will fall into the hands of the German people. \* \* \* *It is truly a miracle that the German people did not long ago resolve on seizing the country.* Think of half a million Germans in a temperate climate in a country of 10,500,000 square miles; that is to say, nine times the size of Germany. All that is enough of itself. *False modesty has no place in a struggle for world empire.*" [And he proceeds to argue that England would not have been so falsely modest.]

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts, 1911, pp. 228-229.

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"These occurrences in South Africa [speaking of the success of the British in the Boer War] I have touched upon only to draw a lesson for our future \* \* \* to show that to the inhabitants of the South American republics it would only be a blessing if they came under German control. They would soon reconcile themselves to German rule and take delight in the fame of the German name in the world."

*Idem*, p. 230.

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"After this war we shall have to reckon on a loss of influence in the states of Central and South America; first, because of the lessened purchasing power of those countries and, secondly, because of the increased Pan-American ambitions of the United States; and we shall have a claim by right of victory

and by considerations of justice for damages at the expense of England and the United States."

Professor Hermann Schumaeher, *Meisbegünstigung und Zollunterscheidung*, 1915, pp. 43-45. [G., p. 346.] See note, p. 73.

"In the case of America our public opinion is to some extent lacking in courage. Just because the United States has set up the Monroe Doctrine to exclude Europeans from America, it does not follow that we should acquiesce in that doctrine. The general acquiescence arises from a lack of unity in Europe; it is this which allows the United States to fish in troubled waters. But the States of Central and South America have only recognized the doctrine when it insured them a convenient protection against European countries—when the United States was interfering with Mexico, the three chief States of South America deliberately set themselves against it. There is, of course, no question of our making political conquests in America; it is a matter of our commercial and cultural activities."

Alfred Hettner, *Die Ziele unserer Weltpolitik*, 1915, p. 25. This is No. 64 of the collection of political essays entitled *Der deutsche Krieg*. Hettner wrote in 1915 when Germans were cautious in their expressions about America. Hettner is professor of geography at the University of Heidelberg.

"At the close of the Spanish-American War, I was returning on the *Santee*—I think it was—from Santiago, Cuba, to Montauk Point. \* \* \* On board there was a military attaché from Germany, Count von Goetzen, a personal friend of the Kaiser. There was also an attaché from some South American country, possibly Argentina.

"Apropos of a discussion between Count von Goetzen and myself on the friction between Admiral Dewey and the German Admiral at Manila, von Goetzen said to me: 'I will tell you something which you better make note of. I am not afraid to tell you this because, if you do speak of it, no one would believe you and everybody will laugh at you.'

"'About fifteen years from now, my country will start her great war. She will be in Paris in about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real object—the crushing of England. Everything will move like clockwork. We will be prepared and others will not be prepared. I speak of this because of the connection which it will have with your own country.'

" 'Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York and probably Washington and hold them for some time. We will put your country in its place with reference to Germany. We do not purpose to take any of your territory, but we do intend to take a billion or more dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we will then have put you in your place, and we will take charge of South America, as far as we want to. I have no hostility toward your country. I like it, but we have to go our own way. Don't forget this, and about 15 years from now remember it and it will interest you.' "

Statement of Maj. N. A. Bailey to Dr. W. T. Hornaday, given in a letter from Dr. Hornaday in New York Tribune, August 11, 1915.

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"The Emperor was standing; so naturally I stood also; and according to his habit, which is quite Rooseveltian, he stood very close to me, and talked very earnestly. \* \* \* He showed, however, great bitterness against the United States and repeatedly said, 'America had better look out after this war;' and, 'I shall stand no nonsense from America after the war.' \* \* \* I was so fearful in reporting the dangerous part of this interview, on account of the many spies not only in my own embassy, but also in the State Department, that I sent but a very few words in a roundabout way by courier direct to the President."

James W. Gerard, My Four Years in Germany, 1917, pp. 251-253.  
Mr. Gerard, American Ambassador to Berlin, is here summarizing an interview with the Kaiser on Oct. 22, 1915.

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"The Germans became imbued with the idea that America must be made to suffer, that America must indemnify the German people, and behind these ideas were the German army and navy, the Pan-Germans, the agrarians, conservatives of all hues, and the National Liberals, the national German committees \* \* \* and the German Government. \* \* \*

"In April, 1915, I was with a party of German officers at Bad Elster in southeastern Saxony. Major Liebster, an acquaintance of mine \* \* \* joined our party. \* \* \* Major Liebster sought the occasion for a conversation with me and among other things said: 'We are keeping books on you Americans. It's a long account and we haven't missed any details.'

Rest assured that that account will be presented to you some day for settlement. \* \* \* We are keeping the account in black and white \* \* \* with customary German thoroughness.' "

A. Curtis Roth, former American vice consul at Plauen, in daily papers, Oct. 26, 1917.

## SECTION XV.

### PRETEXTS FOR WAR.

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"For the sake of Germany's internal conditions a campaign on a large scale would serve a good purpose, even if it brought grief and pain to individual families."

Das deutsche Armeeblatt, Aug. 26, 1911, quoted by Deputy Bebel in the Reichstag, Nov. 9, 1911.

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"The conviction prevails in wide circles of the population that a war would be wholly profitable, inasmuch as it would produce a clarification of our precarious political position and improve many political and social conditions."

Die Post, Aug. 26, 1911, quoted by Deputy Bebel in the Reichstag, Nov. 9, 1911.

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"*We shall never improve matters at home until we have got into severe foreign complications*—perhaps even into war—and have been compelled by such convulsions to bring ourselves together."

Hamburger Nachrichten, June, 1910. Quoted by W. H. Dawson, What is Wrong With Germany, 1915, p. 146.

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"That a state, even when on the very point of making war, should solemnly assert its love of peace and its aversion to conquest, is nothing; for in the first place it must needs make this asseveration and so hide its real intention if it would succeed in its design; and the well-known principle, 'Threaten war that thou mayst have peace,' may also be inverted in this way: 'Promise peace that thou mayst begin war with advantage'; and in the second place, the State may be wholly in earnest in its peaceful assurances, so far as its self-knowledge has gone; but let the favorable opportunity for aggrandizement present itself, and the previous good resolution is forgotten."

Fichte. Quoted by G. Santayana, Egotism in German Philosophy (n. d.), p. 79.

"The Great Elector<sup>1</sup> laid the foundations of Prussia's power by successful and deliberately incurred wars. Frederick the Great followed in the steps of his glorious ancestor. 'He noticed how his state occupied an untenable middle position between the petty states and the great powers, and showed his determination to give a definite character (*décider cet être*) to this anomalous existence; it had become essential to enlarge the territory of the State and corriger la figure de la Prusse, if Prussia wished to be independent and to bear with honor the great name of kingdom.' [Treitschke.] The King made allowance for this political necessity, and took the bold determination of challenging Austria to fight. *None of the wars which he fought had been forced upon him; none of them did he postpone as long as possible.* He had always determined to be the aggressor, to anticipate his opponents, and to secure for himself favorable prospects of success. We all know what he achieved. The whole history of the growth of the European nations and of mankind generally would have been changed had the King lacked that heroic power of decision which he showed."

F. von Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War (1911), trans. 1914,  
pp. 41-42.

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"It is a wretched old-womanish policy to consider everything that happens beyond our borders as not our business. Every injury to a German student in Prague, every riot in Laibach is an insult to the German people and is warrant for occupying the territory in question. Consider a moment what England or France does when in Egypt or Morocco English or French travellers are attacked with clubs and revolvers. What haven't we put up with in Prague? It is a shame. **To what end have we the best army in the world? \* \* \*** We must get to work with the Pan-German idea."

Tannenberg, Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts, 1911, p. 78.

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"The intention of the general staff is to act by surprise. 'We must put on one side,' said Gen. von Moltke, 'all commonplaces as to the responsibility of the aggressor. When war has become necessary it is essential to carry it on in such a way as to place all the chances in one's own favor. Success alone justifies war.'

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, 1640-1688, who laid the foundations of the greatness of Brandenburg-Prussia.

Germany can not and ought not to leave Russia time to mobilize, for she would then be obliged to maintain on her eastern frontier so large an army that she would be placed in a position of equality, if not of inferiority, to that of France. Accordingly,' added the general, '**we must anticipate our principal adversary as soon as there are nine chances to one of going to war, and begin it without delay in order ruthlessly to crush all resistance.'**'

Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, minister of foreign affairs, Berlin, May 6, 1913. The French Yellow Book, Letter No. 3.

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"We shall arrive at an understanding with England, which is desirable from every point of view, only after we have crossed swords with her. As long as Germany does not consider this necessity as a leading factor in her foreign policy we shall be condemned to failure in all important matters of foreign policy.

*"Of course we need not proclaim these views to all the world for the benefit of our opponents.* We may even earnestly endeavor to work for our purposes by peaceful means. However, we must never allow ourselves to enter upon a course which hampers our ultimate aim, and we must unceasingly keep before our eyes our true purpose. We must, therefore, politically and militarily, prepare ourselves for the struggle which is probably unavoidable. Then only can we hope for success."

F. von Bernhardi, *Britain as Germany's Vassal* (1912), trans., 1914, pp. 209-210. For German title, see above page 33.

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"Not only army and navy, but our foreign policy also must be ready for immediate action. Our statesmen must unceasingly labor to improve the conditions for the approaching struggle. They may coöperate meanwhile with other great powers for particular purposes, but they must constantly bear in mind that an understanding with the powers of the Triple Entente can only be a strictly limited one. *Therefore Germany's statesmen must be determined to take to arms as soon as our interests are seriously threatened.* The responsibility of bringing about a necessary war under favorable circumstances is much smaller than the responsibility of making an unfortunate war inevitable by following a policy of present advantage, or by lacking the necessary resolution."

F. von Bernhardi, *Britain as Germany's Vassal* (1912), trans. 1914, pp. 218-219.

"It is natural and, within certain limits, politically a matter of course that the German Emperor should have thought that, *until Germany had a strong fleet, we must try to keep on good terms with England*, and even on occasion to make concessions."

Count von Reventlow, Deutsche Auswärtige Politik, 1916, p. 60.

"Let it be the task then of our diplomacy so to shuffle the cards that we may be attacked by France, for then there would be reasonable prospect that Russia for a time would remain neutral. \* \* \* We must not hope to bring about this attack by waiting passively. Neither France nor Russia nor England need to attack in order to further their interests. So long as we shrink from attack, they can force us to submit to their will by diplomacy, as the upshot of the Moroccan<sup>1</sup> negotiation shows.

"If we wish to bring about an attack by our opponents *we must initiate an active policy, which, without attacking France, will so prejudice her interests or those of England that both those States would feel themselves compelled to attack us.* Opportunities for such procedure are offered both in Africa and in Europe."

Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War (1911), trans., 1914,  
pp. 278-279.

"Never did people play so much with the notion of a preventive war as in the last few years, never so criminally. As a theme for smoking-room gossip and as the topic of conversation of unimportant street politicians, it presents great opportunities; it amuses the mob as games of chance do children. But when able German generals, such as Bernhardi, men of real serious-mindedness and of thoughtfulness, play variations on the theme, it becomes a public danger."

Neue Rundschau, April, 1913. p. 579. See what Nippold says about this notion of "preventive war," below, p. 128.

"To sum up, if public opinion does not actually point at France as does the Kölnerische Zeitung,<sup>2</sup> we are in fact, and shall long remain, the nation aimed at. Germany considers that for our forty millions of inhabitants our place in the sun is really too large."

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"It must be emphasized again that the Government is doing

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 112-113.

<sup>2</sup> See note on this paper, p. 70.

everything to increase patriotic sentiment by celebrating with éclat all the various anniversaries of 1813.

"The trend of public opinion would result in giving a war a more or less national character. By whatever pretext Germany should justify the European conflagration, nothing can prevent the first decisive blows being struck at France."

Report of Lieut. Col. Serret, military attaché to the French Embassy at Berlin, to M. Étienne, minister of war, Berlin, Mar. 15, 1913. The French Yellow Book. See note 1, p. 116.

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"Must we not, even now, be thankful that Russian thirst for power, and French ambition, fostered and encouraged by English egoism, did not let the shots fired at Serajevo lead to a stern chastisement of Serbia, as moral earnestness demanded, but allowed them to swell into the thunder rolling through this, the greatest war which has ever shaken the world? **Two years too early for our enemies, but an act of grace from God for ourselves and our allies.** For now we have the lead in the iron game of war; and though England may lurk in the background, waiting for her turn in the game—so be it, England—we know exactly what trumps you hold, but whether you know ours, coming days will show."

K. König, Sechs Kriegspredigten, 1915. Sermon, Sept. 6. [B. 99–100.] Karl König is a writer on philology and pedagogics.

## SECTION XVI.

### THE COMING WAR.

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[Of Napoleon's reestablishment of oligarchy:] “Was that greatest of all antitheses of ideals thereby relegated ad acta for all time? Or only postponed, postponed for a long time? May there not take place at some time or other a much more awful, much more carefully prepared flaring up of the old conflagration? Further: Should not one wish that consummation with all one’s strength—will it one’s self—demand it one’s self?”

Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals* (1887), 1911, section 17.

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“Our aim must be the development of German power with all that it involves. The grouping of all its members into one political whole has always been the object of the efforts of a virile nation.

“It must be well done; we must confine our efforts within just limits; *we must go forward gradually till the moment arrives when we can unmask our batteries without danger; then Europe will find herself faced by a situation whose smallest details have been prepared and against which she will be powerless.*”

A Universal German Empire [about 1872]. Quoted by Vergnet, p. 13.

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“It is therefore necessary to convince ourselves, and to convince the generation we have to educate that the time for rest has not arrived; *that the prediction of a supreme struggle, in which the existence and power of Germany will be at stake,* is by no means a vain chimera emanating from the imaginations of a few ambitious madmen; *that this supreme struggle will burst forth one day terrible and momentous as all struggles between nations that serve as a prelude to great political revolutions.”*

From a speech by General von der Goltz, quoted by Emil Reich, *Germany’s Swelled Head* (1907) 1914, pp. 52–53.

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“Count Schlieffen also points out that the other powers can not afford to remain passive spectators of this contest, but are compelled to perfect their own armaments in exactly the same

way. This, gentlemen, is nothing more or less than the admission that *Germany has been the motive power in arming Europe to her teeth.* \* \* \* True enough, we have always been told that other states are arming, too. Quite so! Other states have always pointed to Germany and then armed in their turn, and this has led to an effort on our part to become the strongest power—not only on land but also on sea."

Deputy Stücklein in the Reichstag, Mar. 17, 1909.

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### THE MOROCCAN QUESTION.

Owing to its great natural resources Morocco has long been recognized as a profitable field for the investment of European capital. On that account, no doubt, and because of the weakness of its government, intervention by foreign powers has been frequent. Because of the heavy investment of French capital and because the prevailing anarchy in Morocco threatened French interest in Algeria, France came to be regarded as having special interests in Morocco. In 1904, when France gained the assent of Britain and the co-operation of Spain in her Moroccan policy, Germany said nothing, and Chancellor von Bülow declared that Germany's interests in Morocco were purely economic. In 1905 Germany demanded a reconsideration of Moroccan affairs and forced France, against the will of her minister of foreign affairs, Delcassé, who resigned in consequence, to come to the conference at Algeciras. That conference discussed placing Morocco under international tutelage, but because France was the only power in a position to undertake the necessary task of repressing Moroccan anarchy, France was left in charge, subject to certain Spanish rights, and continued her work. Germany seemed satisfied, and von Bülow said that Germany had no political interests in Morocco. In 1909 Germany and France came to an agreement by which France granted equality of treatment to German merchants and Germany recognized the political interests of France. But, in 1911, when France made disorders in Morocco an occasion for penetrating farther into the interior, and when German merchants complained that they were not getting equality of treatment, Germany for a second time opened a closed book. She sent a gunboat to Agadir, on the west coast of Africa, as if to establish a port there and tap the hinterland, although she had no economic interests in that part of the country. France protested vigorously and Britain supported France, an act which the Germans regarded as one of pure interference. Matters came very close to war. Germany, however, surprised at the extent to which England and France were ready to make common cause, and not yet ready to force war upon so formidable a combination, recalled her gunboat, accepting compensation in the French Congo. Her withdrawal, although by no means empty-handed, was looked upon by many Germans as a humiliation, and German periodicals showed great bitterness. The Pan-Germans refused to regard the Moroccan question as closed. Britain, they said, has taken Egypt, now France has Morocco; what do we get? From this time it was a growing belief among Germans that Germany would have to fight. No concessions could banish this belief. Indeed concessions only made her rattle the sabre more vigorously. Britain, they said, was standing in the way of the "place in the

sun" to which Germany aspired, and France was becoming too self-confident. In some mysterious and underhand way, they felt, Germany's premier position in Europe, won by Bismarck, was being taken from her. For the feeling that Germany was being "hemmed in" by diplomacy there was perhaps some excuse, yet if Germany had been checkmated at certain points, she was much to blame. She had a way of forgetting that a bargain is a bargain, and of demanding, with pointed pistol, sudden reconsideration. She was too prone to disturb the delicate equilibrium of Europe. When she did so other nations were likely to yield her something, but they were also likely to become more and more afraid of her and her methods, and less willing to satisfy her aspirations, lest by doing so they should be merely strengthening the hands of a relentless enemy.

Count Brudzewo-Mielzynski quotes a Pan-German pamphlet on the floor of the Reichstag as follows: "*If our appetite for land is not satisfied by this [the proposed partition of Morocco], we must appeal to the sword. Necessity knows no law.*"

He adds: "In these articles there is no thought of a protectorate or of any peaceful occupation of territory. No, it is brutally demanded again and again that new territory be annexed and made German." \* \* \*

Count Brudzewo-Mielzynski in Reichstag, Nov. 11, 1911.

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"It is very characteristic that when the German Emperor returned at the end of July from his northern trip and it was announced that he and the Chancellor and the Secretary of State had determined at a conference in Swinemünde not to begin a war on account of Morocco, a burst of anger and rage should come from a great part of the German press; some of them even went so far as to attack the Emperor personally. \* \* \* [In an article in the Post of August 4] the Emperor is hauled over the coals and accused of having brought Germany under the shadow of a new Olmütz. You hear men ask: Have things changed? Have we become a race of women? What has happened to the Hohenzollerns, who have produced a Great Elector, a Frederick William I, a Frederick the Great, an Emperor William I? The Emperor is accused of being the chief support of the Anglo-French policy, a stronger support than 50 French divisions. He is called the hope of France. Can this be true? Is this possible? \* \* \* After this article the Post published a series of communications approving it. At the head of the list was a retired octogenarian lieutenant-general, who declared that all his comrades felt as he did, and greeted the article with enthusiasm; they feared that, as far as Germany

was concerned, the Agadir affair would end in shame and disgrace. The same sentiments were expressed by a retired court preacher, and within a few months we have seen the spectacle of a part of the Protestant clergy in full cry at the heels of the war pack. The Evangelical Church Journal published an article which concluded with these words: '*From one end of Germany to the other people voice but one question: When do we get our marching orders?*' And these are the preachers of Christian brotherly love."

Deputy Bebel (Social-Democrat) in the Reichstag, Nov. 9, 1911.  
Bebel was the leader of the German Socialists up to his death in 1913.  
He was always the antagonist of the German jingoes.

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"The treaty of the 4th November, 1911 [settling the Moroccan question], has proved a complete disillusion.

"The feeling is the same in all parties. All Germans, even the Socialists, bear us a grudge for having taken away their share in Morocco.

"It seemed, a year or so ago, as if the Germans had set out to conquer the world. They considered themselves so strong that no one would dare to oppose them. Limitless possibilities were opening out for German manufacturers, German trade, German expansion.

"Needless to say, these ideas and ambitions have not disappeared to-day. Germany still requires outlets for commercial and colonial expansion. They consider that they are entitled to them, because their population is increasing every day, because the future belongs to them. They consider us, with our 40,000,000 inhabitants, as a second-rate power.

"In the crisis of 1911, however, this second-rate power successfully withstood them, and the Emperor and the Government gave way. Public opinion has forgiven neither them nor us. People are determined that such a thing shall never happen again."

Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Serret, Military Attaché to the French Embassy at Berlin, to M. Étienne, Minister of War, Berlin, March 15, 1913. The French Yellow Book.

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"During the year following the last Moroccan crisis, the feeling has taken hold of practically the whole of the German nation that a great European war is the only means by which we could hope to obtain free scope for the pursuit of our world-policy. General Friedrich von Bernhardi's book, *Germany*

and the Next War, has played a prominent part in voicing and, at the same time, in furthering that feeling. The literary qualities of this book as well as the high authority of its author have attracted the attention of wide circles far beyond the German frontiers."

Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg, 1913, p. 1. In various issues of the Alldutsche Blätter this anonymous work is attributed to some one standing close to Bethmann-Hollweg. Its pacific spirit makes its testimony all the more significant.

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"The Imperial Chancellor has laid special stress on the great political significance which he attributes to the fact that we have, as he says, succeeded for the first time in establishing, by means of an agreement, friendly relations of mutual advantage between France and ourselves and in arriving at a settlement which, in his words, may be expected to satisfy both parties. He looks upon this as a step toward a permanent reconciliation between these two great nations.

"Well, gentlemen, I for one can not altogether share that opinion. I can well understand that France feels quite satisfied under the circumstances. But I do not indulge in any illusions, as if this could induce them to bury the hopes which are still alive in France to-day. Our peace is safeguarded not by such accommodations nor by agreements and understandings, but only by our trusty German sword and at the same time by the feeling, which is probably in the minds of the French, and quite rightly too, that *we also hope to see to it that there shall be a Government which is determined not to let that sword rust' when the proper time comes.*"

Von Heydebrand, Conservative Agrarian leader, in Reichstag, Nov. 9, 1911. See note on p. 120.

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"Gentlemen, Herr von Heydebrand has suggested that the Imperial Chancellor ought to have said: 'Since we did not succeed in obtaining what we wanted in the Morocco convention, we mean to stand back and await events.' But Herr von Heydebrand has admitted himself that he can not tell us what he could have proposed over and above what has been arranged in that convention, as far as Germany is concerned; he said it was difficult to make any such proposals if one was not in control of affairs. *But the course of action which you propose, Herr von Heydebrand, would have involved nothing less than war.* ['Hear,

hear!" from the Social-Democrats.] For what would have been the consequence if no agreement had been reached between France and Germany—if what you wish had come about, and the conference had been dissolved without achieving any results? There would have been mad outbursts of the war spirit in both countries alike. ["Hear, hear!" from the Social-Democrats.] War would have been urged by all possible means and would have become inevitable."

Deputy Bebel in the Reichstag, Nov. 9, 1911.

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"Gentlemen, yesterday the discussion touched upon the meetings of protest and the attacks directed against the Government. It is certain that last summer there was only one pervading sentiment which, so far as I am concerned, I sincerely deplore. In the press, in public assemblies, attacks were made upon the Government, upon the wearer of the crown—violent and, as I believe, unjustifiable attacks. The Pan-German League arranged a meeting of protest in Berlin. Our colleague, Deputy Lattmann, spoke there, as well as the Conservative member of the Prussian Diet, von Böhlendorff. The tone was relatively mild, but in the secret conference preceding this meeting violent reproaches were uttered and passionate speeches were made. This was well known to me. In the assembly itself a battle song was given out, a war hymn that is characteristic of the feeling of these days. It contained this remarkable stanza:

'We swing the good old sword  
It shines in morning light.  
Hurrah! It flashes forth  
And won't be sheathed again.  
Though you sweat blood and water,  
It cleaves unto the bone.' "

Dr. Wiener (Social Democrat) in the Reichstag, Nov. 10, 1911.

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"It is not merely on account of vain prophecies based on the random guesses of superstition that, for a long time past, the year 1913 has been looked upon as a time of crisis,<sup>1</sup> but—notwithstanding the longing which makes itself felt at the present moment for a relaxation of the political tension—the events and

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<sup>1</sup> That 1913 was the hundredth anniversary of the great rising of Prussia against Napoleon seemed to many Germans significant. Perhaps 1913 was to be the year when the inevitable war would break out. See pp. 128-29; p. 93; p. 110.

prospects in the domain of international politics have actually taken a turn which makes it inevitable that, in a fast-approaching future, one of two alternatives must take place. Either a settlement of accounts, direct or indirect, between the two Anglo-Germanic nations of Europe, or an honest understanding which assures Germany the rights which are her due and enables her to satisfy her own pressing need for an expansion of her world policy."

Arthur Dix in *Leipziger Tageblatt*, Dec. 31, 1912. [N. p. 50.]

*"Morocco is easily worth a big war, or even several.' At the best—and even prudent Germany is becoming convinced of this—war is only postponed and not abandoned. Is such postponement to our advantage? \* \* \* They say we must wait for a better moment. Wait for the deepening of the Kiel Canal, for our naval program to have taken full effect. It is not exactly diplomatic to announce publicly to one's adversaries: 'To go to war now does not tempt us, but three years hence we shall unchain the world war.' \* \* \* No; if a war is really planned, not a word of it must be spoken. One's designs must be enveloped in profound mystery. Then brusquely, all of a sudden, one jumps upon the enemy in the darkness."*

Albrecht Wirth, *Unsere Äussere Politik*, 1912, pp. 35-36.

#### THE CHALLENGE TO ENGLAND ON THE SEAS.

It has been the consistent policy of the British Government to maintain a navy as large as that of any two continental powers combined. To Germany this policy seemed a threat. If Germany's world trade grew too rapidly, the envious English might suddenly destroy it, they said. The British said that their island position made a navy as large as any other two an absolute necessity. To so great a degree, they said, is Britain dependent upon the outside world for food and supplies, that if her navy lost the control of the seas around the island for six weeks she would have to surrender on her enemies' terms. Hence the English have been unwilling to risk a one-sided reduction in dreadnaughts. Nevertheless, from 1906 on the Liberal Government in Britain sought better relations with Germany. They proposed that Britain and Germany should make an agreement to limit the building of dreadnaughts. To show its good will, the British Government reduced its naval program of 1906. Germany's answer was to accelerate her program. By 1909 it was becoming evident that the German Navy was gaining on the British, and there was great alarm in Britain, so great that popular sentiment forced the Government to increase its naval program. Yet, in 1911 Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, proposed a "naval holiday." Germany would not listen to such a plan. In 1912 Secretary Haldane, a member of the British Government

and a man favorably known in Germany, was sent to Berlin to get some arrangement. The Liberal Government in England wished to reduce its building program so that more money could be spent on social reforms. The German Government would do nothing unless Britain would agree, in case of war between Germany and France, to hold aloof. Haldane was willing to pledge Britain to stay out unless France were attacked. This the German Government regarded as unsatisfactory. It did, however, make some concession for the year in its naval program, to which Britain at once responded. But there was no permanent change in the German policy of foreing the pace. Perhaps Germany hoped, as an influential member of the Reichstag suggested, that England would be unable to keep up. It will be observed in the extraets which follow that the German Social-Democrats fully realized that it was their country that was to blame for pressing naval armament. Nowhere has the case against Germany been put more cogently—or truly—than in the Reichstag by such men as David and Haase.

"Our Emperor knows that an insult to him [English indignation at the Kaiser's telegram to Kruger at the time of the Jameson raid] is an insult to the Nation, and that the day of atonement will come; for God's mills grind slow but sure. And he may have thought to himself amid the rush of things: 'Be quiet, my sword, thy day will come!' \* \* \* She [England] knows that she has no friend. That we are not her friends both the past and the present testify. The future will bring the settlement. For there are no invincible enemies of the Kultur nations; there shall not be."

Richard, Count du Moulin-Eckart, *England und die Mächte*, 1901, p. 79. Moulin-Eckart is professor of history in the Teehnische Hochschule at Munich and a writer on history and polities.

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[After discussing the tension between Germany and England as the chief problem of foreign policy, Deputy David alludes to the efforts of some parties to hush discussion.] "This is not at all my opinion. No; the Reichstag has not only the right but the duty to look this question squarely in the face and to make clear the dangers of this tendency, and to arouse the conscience of the German people, lest if things go on in this way the most serious complications will ultimately ensue. \* \* \* *Gentlemen, we are facing the results of our German naval agitation.* England has now presented the bill which has been incurred by these advocates of our naval policy. \* \* \* *Gentlemen, it is wholly the fault of the German Government that it has come to this.* \* \* \* The Liberal Government in England has from the first moment, from the very beginning of the year 1906, declared that they

were ready to take up the question of the limitation of armaments."

Deputy David (Social-Democrat) in Reichstag, Mar. 16, 1910. For the amplification of this, see pp. 45-46.

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"Gentlemen, that the English now choose to forget these things [the reference is to alleged English interference in the Morocco affair] and profess to know nothing about them, after they have not succeeded in embroiling France and Germany in a war which might not have been to England's disadvantage—that they choose to forget just at the present moment, is natural enough from the English point of view. But we Germans have not forgotten. And we can not but ask ourselves if all that we have had to go through was only a dream and did not really happen at all. Is it not a fact that an ambassador to a certain European court made remarks in regard to us and our German policy which must bring a blush to our cheeks? That this could have happened, gentlemen, is the grave fact of the situation, and no one can get away from this by professing that he knows nothing about it. We know about it, and—like a flash in the night—this has shown the German people where the enemy is to be found. [Vigorous applause from the Right and the National Liberals.] The German people know now when they wish to expand on this earth and to find a place in the sun, the place to which they are entitled by their rights and their destiny; they know now who it is who arrogates to himself the right to decide whether that is to be permitted or not. [Vigorous applause from Right, the Center, and the National Liberals.] Gentlemen, we Germans are not accustomed to put up with that, and the German people will know how to reply. If the Imperial Government has made a reply, if they have given a German answer to that English question—I hope they have given it; I should have been glad to have heard it; but the German people will know what that answer ought to be like when the time comes. For their very existence as a nation is at stake, and no people, least of all, the Germans, will let that be taken away from them. *And therefore I say it is for the Government to choose the hour.* It is not only the right but also the duty of the Government to face that decision, and we trust that, in doing so, they will pay due regard to the honor of the German nation. *And we Germans shall be ready—I would have this understood—to make any sacrifices that are necessary, whenever they are required.* [Uproarious interruption.]

tions on the Left.] I cannot shout louder than you. Have some patience. I am just going to give you my answer. [A voice from the Left: "It is all very well for you to talk."]"

Deputy von Heydebrand (the "uncrowned king of Prussia") in the Reichstag, Nov. 9, 1911. This speech was warmly applauded by the Crown Prince, who was present. No other speech in the Reichstag in recent years has made such a sensation. In this speech, approved by the Crown Prince, the leader of the feudal Prussian nobility, practically served notice that he and his kind would not tolerate the failure to seize another occasion to make war. Throughout this outburst of the most typical Junker leader there is the same spirit, even the same phrases about a place in the sun and Germany's existence at stake, that have been heard over and over since the murder of the Austrian archduke gave the war party the opportunity von Heydebrand thought they had missed in 1911.

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"Permit me to say that *the sentiments expressed yesterday by Deputy von Heydebrand find an echo in thousands, yes, millions of German hearts.* We members of the Reichstag are charged with the duty of giving expression to these views and sentiments of our nation."

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Deputy Lattmann in Reichstag, Nov. 10, 1911. Lattmann is an active Pan-German.

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"What does Morocco or the Congo signify compared with the knowledge that over there, on the other side of the Channel, is our most envious foe, and that we are doing nothing to defend ourselves against him; that we are not pursuing the path we had chosen, regardless of what England may say? *You members of the Reichstag, tell us how many ships does it take, how much do they cost? We are ready to put up the money.*"

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Magdeburger Zeitung, end of October, 1911. Quoted by Deputy Bebel in the Reichstag, Nov. 9, 1911.

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"Deputy Bebel said yesterday that when we build 10 dreadnaughts, England will build 20. My reply is: The time will come when England will not have the sailors to man these 20 dreadnaughts. It is no business of ours what England does. *Our sole concern is with what we must do so that England will fear a war with us. That is our duty.*"

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Deputy Bruhn in Reichstag, Nov. 10, 1911. Bruhn is a newspaper publisher.

"I would remind you of the days when England proffered her hand to us, trying to bring about better relations and we refused to take it. \* \* \*

"I have further to confess that I can not see a commendable innovation in what happened here yesterday, when the heir to the throne made a public demonstration from the gallery of this chamber against the policy which the responsible head of the Government has followed."

Deputy Dr. Wiemer (Social-Democrat) in the Reichstag, Nov. 10,  
1911

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"The desire to live in peace and friendship with the Germans exists not only among the English ruling classes but also among all ranks of English society. \* \* \*

"In England there exist no deeply grounded prejudices against Germany. The number of those who do not wish well to Germany is very small and their ill will springs from the feeling of mistrust, which the rapid growth of the German navy has brought about. The rapid growth of the German navy has, of course, made necessary a corresponding increase of the English navy, which for the protection of the English island Empire is simply indispensable.

"The assertion often heard that the growth of German trade had roused envy and hate in England against Germany, is absolutely mistaken. The English have a proverb that competition is the life of trade. That competition has powerfully stimulated English business and advanced it. Furthermore, the English merchants are not so shortsighted as to be jealous of Germany's welfare, for they know well enough that they can do a much bigger business with a rich Germany than with a defeated and impoverished Germany. The assertion often heard in Germany that from commercial envy England would like to destroy the German navy is ridiculous.

"It ought to become positively easy to destroy the existing prejudices in England against Germany by frank discussion. In Germany the situation is quite different. There one will find important elements in the population and especially of the rank and file of the common people who are bitterly prejudiced against England, and the ill will against England is so great that the body of the people at the time of the Morocco crisis would have hailed an Anglo-German war with enthusiasm, without taking account of the consequences of such a war. That may

seem exaggerated, but the author was at the time in Germany and observed with much pain the prevailing excitement. Fortunately the rulers did not allow themselves to be turned aside by the passions of the masses. The danger is that at another opportunity the German Government will perhaps not be in a position to resist the wishes of the people, and will begin a war with England to save [not Germany but] itself."

Sir Max Waechter, Deutsche Revue, May, 1913. Sir Max Waechter is a naturalized Englishman, who was born and grew up in Germany, and has been back there many times. He is here writing in a well-known German periodical to urge better relations between the two nations.

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"The land hunger of our people must once for all be satisfied. But how and where that may happen—its satisfaction never would be possible unless we were to match the English navy. No matter what decisions took place on land, if we have not reached the point where we are a match for England, we have no right to think of over-sea politics."

Admiral Breusing, at a Pan-German celebration in Breslau, reported in the Alldeutsche Blätter, September 13, 1913.

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"Gentlemen, it is quite true that a considerable number even of our artisans, our small tradesmen, our officials—of our middle classes in short—have been infected with this imperialistic mania. They have either been intoxicated by the nationalistic claptrap, or they are suffering from the delusion that they will share the benefits accruing from a policy of conquest. There is no doubt that there is a terrible awakening in store for them; some of them will soon come to see matters in their true light, and then they will sigh and groan on account of the increasing burdens."

Deputy Haase (Social-Democrat), in the Reichstag, Apr. 22, 1912.

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"When Frederick the Great saw that powerful enemies were about to crush him, he struck first without waiting for their mortal blow. *In Germany to-day no responsible person doubts that the Triple Entente is about to crush us. We all know blood will certainly flow, and the more the longer we wait.* There are only a few who dare to advise us to imitate Frederick's example. And there is none who dares to do the deed.

"Why?

"Certainly it is not fear. For that can not influence those who know that the peril is inevitable, and that it will be all the more terrifying if we wait for it rather than choose our own time.

**"Again, what men are most honored in the history of the nation?** What names fire the German heart with the deepest passion? Not Goethe, Schiller, Wagner, Marx. No. It is Barbarossa, Frederick the Great, Blücher, Moltke, Bismarck, **the men of blood and iron**—it is they, who have sacrificed thousands of lives, for whom the German people cherish their tenderest feelings and a gratitude which almost amounts to worship. **Because they have done what we ought to do to-day.** Because they were brave above all others and cheerfully faced the responsibility. Middle-class morality, however, only condemns all these great men; for the Philistine is more jealous of his middle-class morality than of anything else, and yet he renders tribute with thrills of devotion to the bloody deeds of those Titans.

"All this proves uncontestedly that **the German people possess sufficient penetration** to recognize the inexorable demands of the present, and that they have sufficient honor and sufficient national imagination and instinct to venerate the personification of power and to **see that the situation calls for the sword.**"

• Dr. W. Fuchs, a distinguished physician, in *Die Post*, January 28, 1912. [N. p. 2.]

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"\* \* \* The chairman of the local branch, Baron von Vietinghoff-Scheel, in welcoming the guests, reminded them of the glorious time of 42 years ago. Since then, our nation has grown by leaps and bounds in numbers, wealth, knowledge, and abilities. Quite recently, however, its standing among other nations has been declining, and *discontent makes itself felt at home*. The latter must be accounted for by the fact that *our frontiers are becoming too narrow*. We must develop an appetite for land; we must acquire new territories for settlement, if we do not want to become a declining nation, a stunted race. We have to think of the future of our people and of our children in a spirit of genuine love, no matter if we are called war-mongers and brawlers.

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"The last speaker of the evening, His Excellency von Wrochem, entreated his hearers to keep their powder dry and to see to it that the sharp edge of the German sword remained intact. With

their increasing prosperity, the Germans came to be fonder of gold than of iron; sentimentalism and the maunderings of our humanitarians and pacifists have exposed Germanism to the danger of being overcome by cosmopolitanism, and this went so far that our Emperor actually was to have been offered the Nobel prize. It is quite true that we are meant to serve, but that does not mean that we are meant to cringe and to fawn, and our convictions must be more precious to us than holding office. *May our younger generation grow up in this spirit and be ready for the coming day, the fateful day of the final issue of arms by which it shall be decided whether Germany is to be or not to be."*

From the report of the General Meeting of the Pan-German League in the Erfurter Allgemeiner Anzeiger, Sept. 9, 1912. [N. pp. 72-73.]

After a short interval, Lieutenant General Liebert continued the discussion.

"\* \* \* Germany is pursuing a miserable policy of philistinism. [Applause.] What do we see, as we look around? Enemies on all sides. The three greatest military powers which the world has ever seen are arrayed against us. And the German Empire has to rely on itself alone, for its ally is engaged in the southeast. Three millions of men we have to send to the west and one million to the east. People talk of a year of fire, a year of flood, and a year of blood; when spring comes once more the time may have arrived for the great powers to clash. Therefore it is necessary for the German people to stand together and be strong.

"\* \* \* There is a smell in the air as of blood, and no one can know when and where the torch of war is going to flare up. But when that day comes, we will think of the times of our youth."

From the report of a meeting of the Pan-German League in the Braunschweiger Neueste Nachrichten, Dec. 3, 1912. [N. p. 76.]

"Gentlemen, the thing that is now inducing these continually increasing armaments, which now amount almost to a mania, is the policy of world power which the German Empire is following. None of my colleagues have any idea of rendering the Empire defenseless, but we certainly are determined to oppose with all the power at our command this lust of conquest so noticeable among our people."

Deputy Haase (Social-Democrat), in the Reichstag, Apr. 22, 1912.

## GERMAN MILITARY LAW OF 1913.

The German military law of 1913 increased the German Army by 136,000 officers and men, raising it to a total of 866,000 men of all grades and services. It was originally offered as an excuse for the measure that Germany's ally, Turkey, had been weakened by the Balkan wars. Since the war it has been alleged that this increase was merely a reply to the preparations of France and Russia. A comparison of dates disposes of this story. The German military increase was first formulated in November, 1912, openly discussed in January, 1913, and finally passed June 30. The French law for three years' service was formulated in February, 1913, by a cabinet alarmed at Germany's new plan and was passed July 19 of the same year. It met with much opposition and was passed only because of the fear evoked by the new German law. The Russian project was formulated in March, 1913, as a necessary reply to the German proposals. Both Russia and France were forced to increase their armament by Germany's move. Many Germans, indeed, refused to see the necessity of the new law. One of the Reichstag deputies, Dr. Pottheff, wrote in the Berliner Tageblatt (April 3, 1913): "What they ask of us is not a peace measure; it is simply a mobilization." But the official newspapers acclaimed it, and showed as well that it was indeed no peace measure. "This security," stated the semi-official Kölnische Zeitung on June 28, 1913, "gives us a free road towards a profitable world policy. We are yet but at the starting point. Long roads, full of promise, open before us in Asia and in Africa." Such were the aims of a "defensive measure."

"Gentlemen, it has been said that we are compelled to increase our army, because France is going to introduce compulsory service for the term of three years. Whoever says that falsifies the real facts of the case, *for without our army bill France would not have dreamt of introducing the three-years' service bill.* ("Hear, hear!" from the Social-Democrats.) Even now, after the first excitement has calmed down, it is already quite plain that there is just as little desire in France on the part of the masses of the population to shoulder these new personal and economic burdens ("Hear, hear!" from the Social-Democrats.) The propaganda in French military circles for the three years' service had made no impression at all and was an absolute failure, until the announcement of the German Army bill in the Post brought grist to the mill of those agitators."

Deputy Haase in the Reichstag, Apr. 7, 1913.

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"*That Germany's armaments could not but lead to similar measures in other countries was as natural as anything could be.* Surely, the German Government can not have been so naïve as to imagine that the increase of the German army would remain without any military effects in France and Russia. What has

come to pass is exactly what anyone must have foreseen who has watched the development of armaments during the last few decades. In Russia, an increase in the expenditure for the army has been announced by the Minister of Finances, which forms his reply to the German army bill, and in France, the increase of the German army, as planned by the ruling classes, has given rise to a feverish competition in armaments. \* \* \* Again and again it has been pointed out in France during the last few months—and in my opinion quite fairly—that the recent alterations in regard to the organization of the French army must be looked upon solely as a measure of defense. Only in the shape of a measure of defense could the French Government have dared to propose the reintroduction of compulsory military service for the term of three years. \* \* \* *I venture to say that no French minister could have dared to expect the French people to submit to this reintroduction of the term of three years, which is now under consideration, if it had not been for the German army bill."*

Deputy Noske (Social-Democrat), in the Reichstag, June 10, 1913.

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"We are all familiar with the speech that General von der Goltz made recently at the meeting of Young Germany, in which he said, among other things, '**Oh, if we could only have another war soon.**' Such are the ideas put forth by the professional soldiers."

Deputy Scheidemann, in the Reichstag, April 8, 1913.

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"What our people are longing for is a great national purpose. Our present policy seems to be one of mere self-preservation. *But a progressive nation, advancing by such strides as we do, needs more territory for the employment of its energies, and if that is not to be had by peaceful means there is nothing left but war. It is the task of the Defense Association ('Wehrverein') to arouse the people to a recognition of this fact."*

From a speech by General von Wrochem, in the local branch of the Defense Association (*Wehrverein*), as reported in the Danziger Neueste Nachrichten, March 6, 1913. [N. p. 84.]

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*"This state of things can not continue forever. It calls for a decision. The longing for permanent peace is impossible of realization, and it has effeminating tendencies. A just war is better by far. Nay, better even to fight and be beaten than never to have fought at all. Nor do we lack a great national purpose. When*

the earth was divided among the other great powers, Germany's hands remained practically empty. But Germany, with her ever increasing, inexhaustible increase of human beings, wants more land for them to settle in. \* \* \*

From an address by General von Wrochem, in the *Wehrverein*, as reported in the Hannoverscher Courier, February 20, 1913. [N. p. 83.]

"The reality is the permanent threatening of war. Whether it comes from here, from England, or France, it is potentially behind every incident that attests antagonisms. That is the truth which all manly hearts have to face. In France you are blinded by illusions. You dream, you revel, in the luxury of humanitarian ideas. You believe in justice, goodness, peace, fraternity; and that is a very dangerous state of things. You say, 'War, violence, and conquest are things of the past, out of fashion, and altogether played out.' *But I answer you, 'War is not out of fashion, it's a thing of to-morrow.'*"

Quoted from Alfred Kerr, in an interview with Georges Bourdon, *The German Enigma*, 1914, p. 173. See note, p. 70.

#### A GERMAN'S SOBER ESTIMATE OF THE WAR SPIRIT.

The following is the testimony of Otfried Nippold, for several years with the German Foreign Office and in foreign service. He has written on Japan and lately on international law and politics. He is now in the University of Berlin. He gathered in most careful fashion a collection of statements advocating war and conquest made in the years 1912-1913 by prominent men, by well-known associations, and by leading newspapers. At the end of his book of more than a hundred pages this German scholar made the following judicious statement of the situation:

"The evidence submitted in this book amounts to an irrefutable proof that **a systematic stimulation of the war spirit is going on**, based on the one hand on the Pan-German League and on the other on the agitation of the Defense Association (*Wehrverein*). One can not but feel deep regret in observing the fact that in Germany, as well as in other countries, ill-feeling against other states and nations is being stirred up so unjustifiably and that people are being so unscrupulously incited to war. \* \* \*

"But apart from these chauvinists of a more harmless kind, who indulge only occasionally in chauvinistic utterances, we have come upon other speakers and writers—and they are decidedly in the majority, so far as the passages quoted in these

pages are concerned—who deal with the matter in a different, that is to say in a much more thoroughgoing, way. These men do not only occasionally incite people to war, but systematically they inculcate a desire for war in the minds of the German people. Not only in the sense that they ought to be prepared for war and ready for all eventualities, but in the much more far-reaching sense that they want war. War is represented not merely as a possibility that might arise, but as a necessity that must come about, and the sooner the better. In the opinion of these instigators, the German Nation needs a war; a long-continued peace seems regrettable to them just because it is a peace, no matter whether there is any reason for war or not, and therefore, in case of need, one must simply strive to bring it about. \* \* \*

"From this dogma [that war must come] it is only a step to the next chauvinistic principle, so dear to the heart of our soldier politicians who are languishing for war—the fundamental principle of the aggressive or preventive war. If it be true that war is to come, then let it come at the moment which is most favorable to ourselves. In other words do not wait until there is a reason for war, but strike when it is most convenient. \* \* \*

And above all as soon as possible. \* \* \*

"We have already described the motive forces, the nationalist press, organizations like the Pan-German League and the Defense Association, soldier politicians like Generals Keim, Liebert, Bernhardi, Eichhorn, Wrochem, etc., politicians such as Maximilian Harden, Bassermann, and their like. \* \* \*

"The desire of the political visionaries in the Pan-German camp for the conquest of colonies suits the purpose of our warlike generals very well; but to them this is not an end, but only a means. War as such is what really matters to them. For if their theory holds good, Germany, even if she conquered ever so many colonies, would again be in need of war after a few decades, since otherwise the German Nation would again be in danger of moral degeneration. The truth is that, to them, war is a quite normal institution of international intercourse and not in any way a means of settling great international conflicts—not a means to be resorted to only in case of great necessity.

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"One of the principal arguments which are at present used in order to hypnotize the masses is the analogy of the year 1813. Attempts are made to manufacture a similarity between 1813 and 1913 which is not in any way warranted by facts.

Whereas, a hundred years ago, the German people were compelled to fight for their most sacred possessions, to-day there is no reason whatever for a war, unless it be the wish of the army to give once more practical proof of its efficiency. But it is, of course, not possible to take that reason seriously. There is no real issue to-day anywhere between Germany and the powers of the Triple Entente which could be said to make war unavoidable. But that is exactly where the tragedy comes in for those who are inciting the people to war, and here we also find an explanation for the increased agitation in which they are at present engaged—I mean in the fact that they can not show any real point of conflict based on the actual state of international politics. As a matter of fact, if Germany is in any danger to-day, it comes from within rather than from without. The Balkan War, it is true, seemed at last to provide those who are in favor of war with the longed-for opportunity to strike. But now they are all the more disappointed that even this opportunity, which seemed to promise the last great issue in European politics, has apparently passed by in peace. And in the absence of any real causes of war, of any natural sources of political antagonism against the other States of Europe, they now find themselves compelled to create artificial causes. But this can only be done by manufacturing excitement among the population, by stirring up nationalistic feeling, and by the systematic cultivation of a warlike spirit—tasks which are being sedulously attended to by our war-loving generals in the Pan-German League, the Defense Association (*Wehrverein*) and similar organizations."

Otfried Nippold, *Der deutsche Chauvinismus*, 1913, p. 113, *et seq.*

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#### THE KAISER WON FOR WAR.

"In the end a continual dropping will wear out a stone. It is interesting to observe the gradual change in the Emperor's views during the last three years, from 1911 to 1914. In 1910 the Emperor William could still discuss with the French Minister Pichon, the idea of a union of all civilized States and express his approval of the idea. In the previous year, in 1909, speaking at Cuxhaven, he emphasized that peace was needed in equal measure by all civilized nations 'to enable them to discharge undisturbed the great tasks of culture involved in their economic and commercial development.' In 1911, he emphasized, in a speech delivered in Hamburg, that economic competition between

nations could not be fought out by one party striking at the other, but only by each nation straining its capacity to the highest point. On New Year's Day, 1911, in an address to the diplomatists, he still eulogized the peaceful understanding existing between the nations, which was more in accordance with their interest than the conduct of dangerous wars. But in his speech at Hamburg on June 18, 1912, a different note is already sounded; 'Not inconsiderately must we raise the standard where we are not sure that we shall be able to defend it.' This speech was delivered six months after the Morocco convention, and anyone who can read between the lines may already detect the influence which the criticism of the Emperor's peaceful policy had begun to exercise on the thoughts of the Emperor; **he no longer rejects war under all circumstances, but if war must come, it is to be, according to the saying of Clausewitz, a continuation of policy by other means**—that is, of course, on the assumption that the standard can be defended; in other words, that we are stronger than the other side. In the next year, at the boisterous banquets in commemoration of the War of Liberation of 1813, this military note more and more suppressed the notes of peace. **An intoxication appeared to have seized the whole of Germany, a new intoxication of freedom, from what bondage no one knew.** This drunkenness was artificially produced by the fiery beverages which an unscrupulous patriotic press had for many a year and day poured out to the German Nation. **Even those occupying the highest positions were unable to escape this condition of intoxication.** A true epidemic of patriotism broke out, setting high and low, young and old, in a fever of ecstasy."

I Accuse! by a German, 1915, pp. 136–37. See note, p. 131.

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"If I may be allowed to draw a conclusion, I would submit that it would be well to take account of this new factor, namely, that *the Emperor is becoming used to an order of ideas which were formerly repugnant to him*, and that, to borrow from him a phrase which he likes to use, 'We must keep our powder dry.' "

Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Berlin, Nov. 22, 1913. The French Yellow Book, Letter No. 6.

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"The person addressed by the Emperor [The King of the Belgians] had thought up till then, as did all the world, that William II, whose personal influence had been exerted on many

critical occasions in support of peace, was still in the same state of mind. He found him this time completely changed. The German Emperor is no longer in his eyes the champion of peace against the warlike tendencies of certain parties in Germany. **William II has come to think that war with France is inevitable, and that it must come sooner or later.** Naturally he believes in the crushing superiority of the German Army and in its certain success.

*"General von Moltke spoke exactly in the same strain as his sovereign. He, too, declared war to be necessary and inevitable, but he showed himself still more assured of success, 'For,' he said to the King [Albert of Belgium], 'this time the matter must be settled, and your Majesty can have no conception of the irresistible enthusiasm with which the whole German people will be carried away when that day comes.'"<sup>1</sup>*

Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Berlin, Nov. 22, 1913. The French Yellow Book, Letter No. 6.

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"No one any longer inquired as to the grounds or the object of this popular movement, prepared long in advance and skillfully staged by the Nationalist wire-pullers, a movement in which the Emperor and the Chancellor were at first victims carried away by the stream, a movement in which later they were voluntary participants, and of which in the end they became the conscious directing leaders."

I Accuse! by a German, p. 137. The writer of that egotist indictment of Germany, I Accuse! is so hostile to the German Government in this war that his unsupported assertions should not have undue weight. Yet this statement as to what was happening in Germany hits the nail so exactly on the head that it deserves quotation. The more one learns of the backgrounds of the war the more highly one estimates J'Aecuse! as a contribution to the explanation of the immediate causes of the war. Few war books have such careful reasoning, fewer still so much insight.

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#### "THE DAY" DAWNS.

"The fateful day draws near. \* \* \* And even if the twilight of the gods be upon us, let it come in furious battle rather than in lingering sickness."

Count du Moulin-Eckart, speech at Stuttgart meeting of the Pan-German League, Alddeutsche Blätter, April 25, 1914.

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<sup>1</sup> This information was probably given to Cambon by Baron Beyens. See Beyens, L'Allemagne avant la Guerre, 1915, p. 26.

"We maintain, to-day more than ever, that Germany and Austria-Hungary, even with the most honorable desire for peace, can not avoid war with their eastern and western neighbors; that a frightful, decisive struggle will be forced upon them. \* \* \* Whoever wilfully seeks to hide the fateful gravity of a future not far away because he fears the effect on the situation of the moment commits an unspeakable crime against the German nation and becomes guilty of high treason."

Alldeutsche Blätter, March 14, 1914. These words in large letters were part of the leading editorial.

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"That matters are approaching a decision here we know, and we do not allow ourselves to be deceived as to the necessity of this decision by negotiations with us, which other nations are forced to make, concerning territory outside Europe."

Speech by Admiral Breusing, April, 1914, at the Stuttgart meeting of the Pan-German League. Alldeutsche Blätter, April 25, 1914.

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"A struggle is close at hand for the German people, a struggle which will determine their fate for a long future, perhaps forever."

Resolution of the Pan-German League at Stuttgart meeting, April, 1914. Handbuch des alldeutschen Verbandes, 1916, p. 50.

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"If we do not decide for war, that war in which we shall have to engage at the latest in two or three years will be begun in far less propitious circumstances. At this moment the initiative rests with us. Russia is not ready, moral factors and right are on our side, as well as might. Since we shall have to accept the contest some day, let us provoke it at once. Our prestige, our position as a great power, our honor are in question, and yet more, for it would seem that our very existence is concerned."

Militärische Rundschau, July, 1914. Quoted in the Annual Register, 1914, p. 305.

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"Even though we condemn the activity of the Pan-Serbian Nationalists, nevertheless wanton provocation of war upon the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government calls for the sharpest protest. The demands of that Government are more brutal than any ever made upon any civilized State in the history of

the world, and they can be regarded only as intended to provoke war."

From a front page appeal against the war in *Vorwärts*, July 25, 1914.

"Repeated conversations, which I had yesterday with the French Ambassador, the Dutch and Greek ministers, and the British chargé d'affaires, raise in my mind the presumption that the ultimatum to Serbia is a blow prepared by Vienna and Berlin, or rather designed here and executed at Vienna. It is this fact which creates the great danger. The vengeance to be taken for the murder of the hereditary Archduke and the pan-Serbian propaganda would only serve as a pretext. The object sought, in addition to the annihilation of Serbia and of the aspirations of the Jugoslavs, would be to strike a mortal blow at Russia and France in the hope that England would remain aloof from the struggle.

"To justify these conclusions I must remind you of the opinion which prevails in the German general staff that war with France and Russia is unavoidable and near—an opinion which the Emperor has been induced to share. Such a war, warmly desired by the military and Pan-German party, might be undertaken to-day, as this party think, in circumstances which are extremely favorable to Germany, and which probably will not again present themselves for some time. 'Germany has finished the strengthening of her army which was decreed by the law of 1912, and on the other hand she feels that she can not carry on indefinitely a race in armaments with Russia and France which would end by her ruin. The *Wehrbeitrag*<sup>1</sup> has been a disappointment for the Imperial Government, to whom it has demonstrated the limits of the national wealth. Russia has made the mistake of making a display of her strength before having finished her military reorganization. That strength will not be formidable for several years; at the present moment it lacks the railway lines necessary for its deployment. As to France, M. Charles Humbert has revealed her deficiency in guns of large caliber; but apparently it is this arm that will decide the fate of battles. For the rest, England, which during the last two years Germany has been trying, not without some success, to detach from France and Russia, is paralyzed by internal dissensions and her Irish quarrels.'

"In the eyes of my colleagues as well as in my own, the existence of a plan concerted between Berlin and Vienna proved by

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<sup>1</sup>This was the extraordinary levy for war purposes.

the obstinacy with which Wilhelmstrasse<sup>1</sup> denies having had knowledge of the tenor of the Austrian note prior to Thursday last. It was also only on Thursday last that it was known at Rome, from which circumstances arise the vexation and dissatisfaction displayed here by the Italian Ambassador. How can it be admitted that this note, which, owing to the excessive severity of its terms and the shortness of the period allowed to the cabinet of Belgrade for their execution, is destined to render war immediate and unavoidable, was drafted without consultation with and without the active collaboration of the German Government, seeing that it will involve the most serious consequences for that Government? An additional fact, which proves the intimate coöperation of the two Governments, is their simultaneous refusal to prolong the period allowed to Serbia. After the request for an extension formulated by the Russian chargé d'affaires at Vienna had been refused yesterday at the Ballplatz,<sup>1</sup> here, at the Wilhelmstrasse, Herr von Jagow evaded similar requests presented by the Russian and English chargé d'affaires, who, in the name of their respective Governments, claimed the support of the Berlin cabinet for the purpose of inducing Austria to grant Serbia a longer interval in which to reply. *Berlin and Vienna were at one in their desire for immediate and inevitable hostilities.* The paternity of the scheme, as well as of the procedure employed, which are, on account of their very cleverness, worthy of a Bismarck, is attributed here, in the diplomatic world, to a German rather than an Austrian brain. *The secret had been well guarded, and the execution of the scheme followed with marvelous rapidity."*

Baron Beyens, the Belgian minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Berlin, July 26, 1914. The Belgian Grey Book No. 2.

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"On August 18, 1914, as American Ambassador at Constantinople, I called on the Marquis of Pallavicini, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, to congratulate him on the Emperor's eighty-fourth birthday. \* \* \* The conversation then turned to the war, which was in its third week, and His Excellency told me that when he visited the Emperor in May His Imperial Majesty had said that war was inevitable because of conditions in the Balkans. \* \* \*

"A still more remarkable confirmation came to me from Baron

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<sup>1</sup> The names given to the German and Austrian Foreign Offices respectively from their location in the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin and the Ballplatz in Vienna.

Wangenheim, the German Ambassador at Constantinople. In an outburst of enthusiasm after the arrival of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* in the Dardanelles \* \* \* the German Ambassador informed me that a conference had been held in Berlin in the early part of July [1914], at which the date of the war was fixed. This conference was presided over by the Kaiser; the Baron Wangenheim was present to report on conditions in Turkey. Moltke, the Chief of Staff, was there, and so was Grand Admiral von Tirpitz. With them were the leaders of German finance, the directors of the railroads, and the captains of industry. \* \* \* Each was asked if he were ready for the war. All replied in the affirmative, except the financiers, who insisted that they must have two weeks in which to sell foreign securities and arrange their loans. \* \* \*

"It was not to me alone that Baron Wangenheim told the story of this Berlin conference. Only recently the Marquis Garroni, the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople, announced that Baron Wangenheim said the same thing to him, Italy at that time being a member of the Triple Alliance. My diary shows that the conversation with the German Ambassador took place on August 26. This was about six weeks after the fateful council in Berlin \* \* \* and all the details of the meeting were still fresh in Baron Wangenheim's mind."

Henry Morgenthau, former American Ambassador to Turkey, in New York World, Oct. 14, 1917.

## SECTION XVII.

### THE PROGRAM OF ANNEXATIONS.

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Many of the following passages are from Grumbach's *Das annexionistische-Deutschland*, a compilation, by a Swiss Social-Democrat, of German utterances in favor of annexation, covering 370 large closely packed pages. Grumbach has made no effort to be complete, but has gathered representative passages from various parties, groups, and individuals. In his introduction he says: "No one familiar with the situation can deny that in no other of the warring nations is there such an army of people eager for annexations as in Germany. No one will dare assert that there is any other country in which all the middle-class parties are so committed not merely to annexations but to a whole system of annexations, including not alone colonies, but, above all else—and this to my mind is much more important and decisive—European territories in the east and west. No one will deny that in Germany the whole middle-class press, the great and the small [he points out four exceptions], has come out unequivocally for annexations, and not in any covert way, but most openly. In the Reichstag as in public meetings there has been a cry for annexations. \* \* \* The central committees and the bureaus of all the middle-class parties have urged the policy of annexations and have set forth the reasons in resolutions which have received the widest publicity. Newspapers in the south of Germany, in the east, the west, and in central Germany men from every province and town and class have demanded annexations; not only politicians, but men of science, writers, and physicians have made public declarations in favor of annexations. \* \* \* The Government has done nothing to prevent the wide circulation of annexationist books and brochures, the like of which can not be found in any other country. To judge correctly the prevailing intellectual attitude, it is necessary to observe not only what is going on to-day when the military and political situation \* \* \* puts a damper on a whole series of wild aspirations, but to recall what people hoped for when the military situation was such that they thought they need set no limit to their wishes. I can enumerate dozens and many dozens of annexationists and super-annexationist books and brochures that have appeared in Germany since the beginning of the war, which bear the names of the most eminent men; and they have been sold not by the hundred but by the thousand and tens of thousands; '300,000 copies sold' is the exultant inscription on a war brochure of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, in which the idea of German supremacy is celebrated in hysterical fashion. 'In three weeks 20,000 copies' is printed on the cover of a book of 200 pages bearing the title *The Destruction of English World-Power and of Russian Czarism*, in which Herr von der Bleek has had the collaboration of a whole series of the best known political writers in Germany who find territories to annex in all corners of the world."

"A United States of Europe with Germany as leading State and the German Emperor at the head—this is my vision. But such

a union can not be brought about by a military victory, by force; for force is not constructive. And such is their hatred of Germany—a hatred sure to be increased by our victory—that the other nations will not voluntarily enter such a union at once. We must, then, I think, confine ourselves to making preparations for this ideal. *If we win (as is our hope and trust), we must utterly destroy the power of England, our most formidable foe; we must take from her her colonies and her fleet. We might take the French fleet, too, and also make France bear the cost of the war. The Belgian king could be removed, and Belgium could be joined to Germany as an integral part of the Empire."*

Dr. Oppenheimer of Düsseldorf in Monistisches Jahrhundert, December, 1914. [G. p. 256.]

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"Mere force or calculation gives mastery; for leadership more is required—superior culture, superior morality, respect for distinctive national characteristics, an intelligence capable of comprehending and assimilating foreign elements. These qualities insure to the people which possesses them all the world power of the future, and we Germans are that people."

Dr. Albert Gottlieb, Der deutsche Staatsgedanke, p. 389; in the Grenzboten, No. 52, Dec., 1914. [G., p. 194.]

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"We know it! The German eagle will spread his wings in victory and soar to prouder heights than ever. And we will hold for all time the lands which have been fertilized by German blood. Our fiery love for our fatherland makes us strong enough to bring it the greatest sacrifices. *But may we also hold fast what we have seized and win besides whatever we require."*

Deputy Bassermann at the farewell celebration of the National Liberal representation in the Reichstag, December, 1914. [G. p. 71.]

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[Our whole history] "can be understood as one continuous thrust toward the ocean. The small inland state of Brandenburg, with its two great rivers flowing into the Baltic and the North Sea, is the starting point of that natural impulse. Century after century it had pushed its way (though often driven backward), till in 1864 a series of decisive blows were struck. In 1864-1866 Prussia was firmly united, from its coast on the North Sea to its coast on the Baltic, under a single rule; in 1870-71 the whole German seaboard was fused into political unity with the whole German hinterland, so that at last full commercial use

might be made of our geographical position. The Triple Alliance established further outlets [to the Mediterranean] through allied States. It remains to crown the work (1) by drawing closer the lines which bind us to Austria and (2) by extending the German seaboard to the channel, with its free outlet to the Atlantic.

"This is what England dreads. We dare not, then, let Belgium go, and must, if possible, insure that the coast from Ostend to the mouth of the Somme never again falls into the hand of a country which may become a political vassal of England. This must be secured, in some form, to German influence.

"The debated question as to how to dispose of the objections against annexing territory occupied by a foreign and hostile population leads us to certain general considerations as to securing valuable land which is necessary for us. I mean land useful chiefly for agriculture and colonization. One suggestion is that such land should be 'evacuated' by its present inhabitants. In this connection I should like to repeat certain proposals put forward by leaders of our colonial policy and our commercial life. The following items were suggested to the present writer by one of these personages, with especial reference to Belgium:

"1. Lands where the population has committed offenses against our army (by guerilla or armed resistance) to be confiscated, in accordance with the existing law of confiscation. Displaced families to be compensated—if at all—out of the war contribution, and to reside beyond the borders of the German Empire.

"2. Land thus at our disposal to be divided up among (a) members of German regiments suffering in those localities, (b) relatives of the killed and wounded, so far as such individuals present themselves as settlers. Measures to be taken against waste and speculation in real estate.

"3. Factories, etc., the managers of which have taken part in opposing our army, to be confiscated and handed over (in corporate ownership) to the proper workmen from our army, so far as these are ready to take up work there.

"4. Mines, unless already in possession of German subjects, to become State property of the new German Duchy of Belgium.

"5. All Belgians not declaring allegiance to Germany within four weeks after the official incorporation of Belgium to leave the German Empire, along with their families.

"6. Any Belgians within the next 10 years committing offenses against the Empire and its laws to be expelled beyond the frontiers of the Empire.

"7. Agreeably to these principles, along the old frontier of Germany and Belgium, a broad strip of land to be settled by men of pure German stock. \* \* \* We can never again tolerate in the West a border population of doubtful loyalty. We are fighting for our existence, and are justified (after we win) in taking against the western disturbers of peace measures which will insure quiet in that quarter for centuries.

"8. In the new German districts are to be compensated also Germans who have been driven out, in consequence of the war, and have lost homes and positions."

Arthur Dix, *Der Weltwirtschaftskrieg*, 1914, pp. 32-35. This is No. 3 of the collection entitled *Zwischen Krieg und Frieden*.

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"Every people in history with sound instincts and a state organization capable of life and growth has pushed its way (if denied by nature) to the seacoast. Peoples unable to win to, or driven from, the sea have silently dropped out of that competition which constitutes world history. *Possession of a seacoast means possibility of over-sea expansion, and ultimately the transformation of a continental policy into a world policy.*

"Since our peace-loving nature has not protected us from this fearful visitation, *it is from this point of view that the war must be directed*. We must not scruple to look squarely at the consequences of a victorious advance on the part of our army. Advantageous positions on the coast of Belgium and the northern coast of France (which we are hoping to conquer) must not be relinquished. Nothing less will insure our development as a world power and as a sea power. It is from this point of view that we must decide the further question of Belgian annexation. Not on grounds of territorial expansion, no; we must ask ourselves solely: Does maintenance of the conquered strip of coast necessitate annexation, or not? *If strategic necessity requires it, we must annex Belgium whether we so desire or not.*"

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Max Apt, *Der Krieg und die Weltmachtstellung des deutschen Reiches*, 1914, pp. 30-31. This forms No. 12 of the collection entitled *Zwischen Krieg und Frieden*. Apt is syndic of the Berlin Board of Commerce.

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"The peace which is made must be not only a peace for the diplomats, but one which the whole German people understands and approves—a guaranty of our conditions of life, worthy of our sacrifices. Nothing could be more terrible than that this tremen-

dous war should come to an end which was a disappointment to our people. Many a time the pen has lost for us what the sword has won. *Now that we stand alone in the world, we alone have to say what that end shall be."*

Speeoh in Magdeburg, January, 1915, by von Heydebrand, leader of the Conservative party; reported in the Magdeburger Blätter, January 17, 1915. [G., p. 46.] For utterances of von Heydebrand before the war, see p. 115, pp. 119-120.

"If our aim is a peace that promises duration, then **everything in respect to extension of territory that the General Staff considers necessary for the avoidance of further wars, lies within the scope of the conditions of peace;** and no regard for the territory or population of our enemies must be permitted to restrain us from exacting those conditions. **Above all no consideration for the supposed rights of the inhabitants to determine their own lot.** Those who have drawn the sword against us in this most wicked of wars have forfeited these rights."

Artiele in Der Tag, Jan. 31, 1915. [G., p. 52.]

"When peace is concluded we must, without unmanly scruples, thinking only of our own interests, take care that our Germany, after the fearful sacrifices of this war, towers in such overwhelming might above all Europe that no imaginable coalition may presume to attack her or, if it should presume, may bleed to death.. This we can attain only through an advantageous shaping of our frontiers in order that in the future we may be better protected than hitherto against hostile attack." [And the writer proceeds to show that though strange peoples are thus to be incorporated within the Empire, they need not be a thorn in the flesh. They will not receive the vote until fully assimilated, fully Germanized.]

Artiele by General Wroehem, in Der Tag, Feb. 13, 1915. [G., p. 26.]

"Concerning the conditions we may not speak, but this much must be given utterance: That in the heart of every German there lives the hope that the land conquered with so much German blood shall not be surrendered. *We must on to the British Channel," etc.*

Speeoh Apr. 18, 1915, by Viee President of the Reiehstag Paasehe. [G., p. 72.] After this speeoh some of the Soeial-Democratie organs expressed a doubt whether Paasche's views were those of his party, the National Liberal. The offieial organ, the Nationalliberale Correspondenz, replied that they were.

"And if anyone believes that we will restore the territories occupied by us in the West, on which the blood of our people has been shed, without full security for our future—[all that we can say to that is] that we will secure for ourselves tangible guarantees<sup>1</sup> (*reale Garantien*) against making Belgium an Anglo-French vassal, or a military and economic bulwark against Germany."

"Here, too, there is no status quo ante; here, too, Germany cannot again expose the long-oppressed Flemish people to foreign influence.

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Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag, April 5, 1916.  
[G., p. 8.]

"The greater the danger which we, girt about as we are with enemies, have to face, the more love for home grips our hearts, the more we must take upon ourselves the care of children and grandchildren—so much the more must we hold out until we shall have seized and secured all possible tangible guarantees and pledges that none of our enemies, whether singly or united, shall ever again try conclusions with us. The wilder the storm rages around us, gentlemen, the more firmly must we build our house."

From a speech in the Reichstag, May 28, 1915, by the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg [G., p. 7]. In June *Vorwärts*, the Social-Democrat organ, observed: "We have already remarked that the expression 'tangible guarantees' [*reale Garantien*, equivalent to the *Sicherheiten* used by the Kaiser below] is the customary phrase whereby the Annexationists express their aspirations without offending against the official injunction against the discussion of German aims in the war. [See below p. 143, and Grumbach, p. 23.] This party, then, has taken possession of the Chancellor." The *Leipziger Volkszeitung* of May 29, understands the phrase in the same way and comes to the same conclusion. It remarks on the significant enthusiasm with which the pronouncement was received. For the Chancellor's statement to our American Ambassador, see pp. 151-152.

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"Hard upon the declaration of war by Russia followed that by France, and when thereafter the English also fell upon us, I then declared: 'I rejoice at it, and I rejoice because we can now come to a reckoning with our enemies, and because at last—and

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<sup>1</sup> For "tangible guarantees," see note to following extract.

that concerns the Canal Association particularly—we can procure a direct route from the Rhine to the sea.'

"Ten months have passed. Much precious blood has been shed. \* \* \* The strengthening of the German Empire and the extension of her borders as far as is needful to assure us against future attacks—that is to be the profit of this war."

From a speech delivered by the King of Bavaria at the banquet of the Bavarian Canal Association in Fürth, June 7, 1915 [G., p. 5]. On June 8 Dr. Stresemann, member of the Reichstag, said that "a sigh of relief must have escaped from the German people on learning that the route to the sea was not to be surrendered" (Grumbaeh, p. 73). Compare another speech (*ibid.*, p. 6) by the King of Bavaria at the time of the capture of Warsaw, in which he demands the "extension of the German frontiers to such a point as shall make it difficult for her enemies to attack Germany again."

"In heroic deeds and sufferings we endure without flinching until peace comes, a peace which offers the necessary military, political, and economic guaranties for the future and fulfills the conditions for the unrestricted development of our energies at home and on the open sea."

From the proclamation to the German people, issued by the Kaiser July 31, 1915, at Grand Headquarters [G., p. 5]. The annexationist press received the words "military, political, and economic guaranties" with enthusiasm. The words seem vague to us, but so it is that the Emperor and his ministers express themselves on such matters. They convey a definite meaning to one who reads carefully the preceding and following paragraphs. See the Chancellor's speech above.

"The German people will proceed to the order of the day without attending to those who, ostensibly in order to shorten the war a few months, frivolously hazard its highest interests. It will sweep all those aside who are pitiful and anxious enough to desire no more for the enormous stake they have set than that everything should be again as it was. From the saying that 'we wage no war of conquest' to infer, after the bloody lessons of this year, that everything is to be again as it was, is a sign of mental impoverishment."

Kreuzzeitung of Aug. 1, 1915. [G., p. 30.] "Highest interests" (*grösste or höchste Interessen*) is, like "tangible guaranties" (see above, p. 141), pretty words with an ugly meaning, constantly in use among the militarists and annexationists.

"The Central Committee of the National Liberal Party repeats emphatically its conviction, already expressed and now confirmed,

that only an extension of frontiers and coast line can provide the German people with the necessary tangible guaranties for its future military, political, and economic security."

Resolution passed May 21, 1916. [G., p. 37.] For the phrase "tangible guaranties" see above note, p. 141.

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"Germany can not do better for her future than to secure naval bases which shall do away with the difficulties which we now deplore. We need bases at both entrances of the Channel; we need strong bases across the sea," etc.

From a speech by Albert Ballin, General Director of the Hamburg-American Line, Hamburg, Oct. 21, 1915. [G., p. 18.]

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"[Our sacrifices] demand as the result of peace that Germany shall be strengthened by the retention of the conquered territory and indemnified for loss of treasure."

Resolution of the Free Conservative Party, Dec. 5 and 6, 1915.  
[G., p. 39.]

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"Let our enemies pledge themselves anew to persist in the war; we wait in complete unanimity, in quiet determination, and, let me add, trusting in God, for the hour which shall make possible negotiations for peace. These must assure permanently the military, economic, financial, and political interests of Germany in their widest range, and with every means possible, including the necessary extensions of territory."

Speech in the Reichstag, Dec. 9, 1915, by Dr. Spahn, leader of the Centre, in the name of all the middle-class parties (*bürgerliche Parteien*), representing 254 of the 397 members of the Reichstag. [G., p. 33.] Recently, under Erzberger, the Centre itself has declared against annexations, but not unanimously.

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"To-day the military map shows that we are no longer the plaything of foreign powers. A broad road, which binds East and West together, opens up through the lands of faithful allies, and is a token of great days to come. The spirit of the Hanseatic League, which bears our banners over the seas, must never leave us; but the world war teaches us that as in the past our future lies not on the water but on land. Our trade and technical arts can prosper only on a broader basis of earth and within secure frontiers. We must not yet speak of our aims in the war [see above, note p. 141], but they hover before our eyes in ever

clearer outlines. In the East and the West the German flag must wave over the graves of our heroes."

Article by Geheimer Regierungsrat Professor Hillebrandt, member of the Prussian Diet, in the Kreuzzeitung, Dec. 31, 1915. [G., pp. 18; 19.] The reader will observe that the writers agree on a large program of annexation. They differ only as to the areas, continental or colonial, which should be made the prize of *this* war.

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"We must establish ourselves firmly at Antwerp on the North Sea and at Riga on the Baltic. \* \* \* At all events, we must, at the conclusion of peace, demand substantial extensions of the German Empire."

Ernst Haeekel, Ewigkeit, Weltkriegsgedanken, 1915, p. 122 [Archer, p. 57].

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"China is the greatest of the three worlds which are being rebuilt, inside and out, in our generation. China contains 400,-000,000 men—a fourth part of the human race. \* \* \*

"We ask, which of the great European nations is to furnish the architect for this rebuilding of China? The Japanese? Asiatics? Surely, no. \* \* \* The English? We expect—after this war—that it will not be the English. We Germans? That will depend on how we stand after the war. If victorious, we shall presumably stand high in the Far East, and even if we succeed only as Frederick the Great succeeded in the Seven Years' War, that, too, would increase our prestige. The whole world believes we must be beaten; so powerful are our foes that no one really trusts in the success of Germany. If, then, in spite of odds we win out, the question for the Chinese will be, 'Shall we take our teachers from the victors, or from the vanquished?' The task of rebuilding China is no light one. We must not dream that we are, one and all, at present in a position to bring European culture and education to the Chinese. We must put ourselves to school—but we shall rise to the occasion."

Paul Rohrbach, Unsere koloniale Zukunftsarbeit, 1915, pp. 68–69. [G., pp. 303–304.] See note, p. 66.

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*"I am glad to cast my vote with those who counsel territorial expansion outside Europe. We should relieve certain States with African colonies of the burden of governing those colonies. Portugal, too, if really bound by treaty to assist England by land and sea, we could relieve of Angola at very slight expense. We had been purposing to purchase this colony, but it is better*

to get it for nothing, and to add to it the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and Madeira. Within Europe, on the other hand, we must be exceedingly careful, and must acquire new territory only after the most mature deliberation, especially where it will take years of unremitting labor to convert our antagonists to the view that life under the German scepter—‘War state’ though we proclaim ourselves—is well worth living. True, our foreign policy must not be too tender-hearted—hard times need stout fists. \* \* \* *In the coming diplomatic convention, if the glib foreign hucksters present cooked-up objections to our taking our rights, our fist, like Bismarck’s, must pound the green table till the ink bottles dance, if they refuse to give us our due—what we think necessary for permanent peace. This is self-evident, and must remain so.”*

Alfred Ruhemann, *Die Zukunft Belgiens*, 1915, pp. 145–146. This is a chapter in *Die Vernichtung der englischen Weltmacht*, a book edited by Kurt L. Walter van der Bleek. [G., p. 305.] See below, p. 136.

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**“As the German Eagle soars high above the beasts of the earth, so must the German feel exalted above all surrounding peoples, and must look down upon them in their bottomless depths.**

“But noblesse oblige. The thought that we are the chosen people lays heavy obligations upon us. It is our first duty to keep ourselves a strong people. We are not marching to world conquest. Don’t be afraid, dear neighbors; we won’t swallow you up. What good would such indigestible morsels be? And as for conquering half-civilized or savage peoples in order to fill them with the German spirit—we have no desire in that direction—and, in fact, such ‘Germanizing’ is not possible. \* \* \*

“We must be a strong people, a strong German state. This means that our growth must be organic; and if it proves necessary to widen our borders so as to find room for development for our increasing population, we shall take so much as seems necessary. We shall set our foot just so far as strategic reasons render advisable for the maintenance of our invincible strength; but not one inch farther.”

Werner Sombart, *Händler und Helden*, 1915, pp. 143–144. [G., pp. 348–349.] See note, p. 34.

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**“We seek to fulfill deliberately the century-old destiny of our race, to extend ourselves without limit. No German wishes to**

enslave the other nations—our aim is rather to make the whole world free, free for the exercise of our German powers and our German activities."

Abridged from Dr. Friedrich Stieve, *Deutschland vor den Toren der Welt*, 1915, pp. 15–19. [G., p. 273.]

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"Compared to these questions [annexations], that of a war indemnity appears at first sight to be very much simpler. It is in fact extraordinarily difficult.

"An indemnity which would be adequate simply to reimburse us our war costs would perhaps amount to approximately thirty billions<sup>1</sup>—twelve billions for the war itself; five to ten billions as an adequate pension fund for invalid survivors and dependents; the rest for the restoration of military equipment for East Prussia, Tsingtau. \* \* \* So far the reckoning is relatively simple, for what is approximate in our estimates can be figured exactly by the financial administration.

\* \* \* "All these dangers must be avoided, and they can be avoided if the greater part of the indemnity is required to be paid not in cash or exchange but in securities.

"The reckoning of the thirty billions coming to us would go something like this:

"Perhaps two billions in gold, to be deposited in the Reichsbank, to bring its gold reserves to a sufficient amount to meet all emergencies. Should we desire to return from the use of paper money to the expensive circulation of gold, the amount would be about four billions; but it would be more irritating to our opponents to raise, and its economic consequences might also react inconveniently upon us.

"A further four or six or eight billions in exchange, payable in, say, three years. An international balance of this amount in our favor would be very desirable. We shall have great need to import raw material while our industries are active, partly for the home market and partly for the export, whose relations must be gradually reestablished. Accordingly, a certain improvement in our balance of trade during the transition period after the peace is, after all, desirable.

"The rest, twenty billions, in securities.

"This sounds surprising, for what use have we for English, French, or Russian bonds? We have little use for them, to be

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<sup>1</sup> This estimate was made in January, 1915. The figures are in marks.

sure. On the contrary, a permanent indebtedness of our opponents to Germany could only have very uncomfortable political consequences.

**"What we need, however, is stocks and bonds of railways and docks, mines and factories, dams, etc., in Turkey and in China, in the Congo, and, under certain conditions, in South America, etc. In addition, Government bonds of our allies. We need, above all, a strengthening of our economic position in the world, and we need to free our political friends from the excessive financial influence of England and France.**

\* \* \* \* \*

'Just as the war indemnity of 1870 was useful in completing our simple industrial organization at that time through the adoption of the gold standard and the stimulation of our industrial development, though with certain unpleasant accompanying phenomena during the promotion period, so also it is at present just as necessary to strengthen our economic position in the world by war indemnities. The program of a close economic alliance of the central powers will be made materially easier thereby.

**"Industrial productive powers, the acquisition of colonies and of securities are therefore the industrial purposes of the war, demanded by our business interests to equalize all the effects of a war which was forced upon us.**

"Then there is the separate question of Belgium. It is impossible to leave Belgium in the devastated condition which we were forced to bring upon it. It is equally impossible to have a malevolent Belgium as a neighbor on the borders of our Rhenish Westphalian industrial region. Our victory will not be complete until hatred has been vanquished by love and every measure taken to revive industrial Belgium, but as a part of the Empire. It is required by considerations of humanity and a world peace, which demand a complete healing without a scar of these deep national wounds. \* \* \*

"The twentieth century is ours. \* \* \*

"We need victory for the continuance of our economic life. Not only does our industry maintain the war, but a complete victory is necessary for our industry. If we achieve a complete triumph, we shall have won a prize worth fighting for. \* \* \*

"The defeat of Germany is impossible. An indecisive war would be fatal to all alike. The complete triumph of Germany alone would be a blessing to all neutral countries. It would also

be less dangerous to our enemies than an endless continuation of the struggle. It insures the new ascent of civilization and a higher form of national life."

Dr. Johann Plenge, *Der Krieg und die Volkswirtschaft*, 1915, pp. 181ff. Plenge is professor of political economy at Münster. The "industrial purposes" of the war "which has been forced upon us"—note the *purposes* coupled with a claim of *defensive* war—are now being accomplished in the utter devastation of Belgium and northern France. The passage about "healing Belgium" is based on the assumption that Germany will incorporate it as part of her territory.

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"With the full weight of Pan-Islamic power Turkey advances against Russia and against England. Against Russia, with her navy in the Black Sea and an army against the Caucasus. \* \* \* But what a Turkish blow against south Russia will mean only the man can judge who remembers that *the Russian south is the granary, the coalpit, and the mine of the Russian Empire. That is to strike Russia in her vitals.* Russia must be thrust back from the Black Sea. We are not again to have to stem the tide of onslaughts before another decade. Only a Russia which has been thrust back from the Black Sea and directed toward the Indian Ocean (against England) or toward East Asia (against Japan) will no longer be a European danger."

Ernst Jäckh, *Die deutsch-türkische Waffenbrüderschaft*, 1915, pp. 26–27. Nowhere, unless in the preceding utterance of Plenge, is the connection between economic interests and war more clearly revealed. "Economic interests" as expounded by the Germans is camouflage for the ugly business of plundering neighboring lands to their own enrichment. Jäckh is at present associated with Rohrbach in the publication of a new weekly, *Deutsche Politik*, devoted to "Welt- und Kulturpolitik." In the issue of Aug. 10, 1917, he advocates a "Middle Europe" *bloc* and a possible combination with Russia and Japan against the Anglo-Saxon world.

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"Let us not speak of peace, for such speeches are taken for weakness and only prolong the war. *Let us cease also in sickly, un-German fashion to oppose annexations.* Let us rather say manfully what we want, what we must and will demand as the prize of victory. Let us act without consideration for other countries. Then our enemies will see that we are strong, not weaker but stronger than before. Then they will see at last that their game is up."

Speech by Prinz' zu Salm-Horstmar, member of the Prussian House of Lords, Jan. 1, 1916. [G., p. 49.]

*"The German Empire must make its way with blood and iron to the fulfillment of its political destiny."*

Speech by the Prussian Minister of the Interior, von Loebell, Jan. 17, 1916, in the Diet. [G., p. 11.]

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*"When weighed in the balance with our unpopularity after this war a simple restoration of the status quo ante bellum would mean for Germany not profit but loss. Only in case the strengthening of our political, economic, and military position by the war decidedly counterbalances the enmity aroused shall we be able to say with a good conscience that by the war we have on the whole bettered ourselves."*

From the book entitled Deutsche Politik (1916), p. xii, by the ex-Chancellor, Prince von Bülow. The preface, from which the passage is taken, bears date of May 15. The book was received enthusiastically by the annexationist press, but coolly by the Social-Democrats. [G., p. 15.]

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*"The power of Middle Europe is increased, that of the Russians thrust back toward the Orient, whence, not so long ago, it came."*

Article in the Deutsche Lodzer Zeitung, Feb. 9, 1916, by General Ludendorff. [G., p. 24.] He is now quartermaster general and probably the brains of the General Staff.

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*"With a compromise peace, in which there is neither victor nor vanquished, Germany can not go on living. Therefore we must remain stern, and always sterner; therefore our statesmen must in the peace negotiations be men of iron and not, to use Bismarck's phrase, resemble soft wood that has been painted iron-gray. The German people mean not only to hold out but to conquer. To see things as they really are, that is Bismarck's way. What we must do we will do, and what we will to do, we can do."*

Count von Reventlow in an address Apr. 1, 1916, reported in the Deutsche Tageszeitung Apr. 4, 1916. [G., p. 175.]

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*"First of all, our enemy is in the west. \* \* \* Ninety per cent of Germans burn with the feeling that we must reckon, once for all, with England and France. Secondly, terms of peace will be decided by the military situation on the day when peace is declared. Thirdly, our enemy must be either annihilated or conciliated, and \* \* \* a policy of conciliation in the west is impossible. We have to fight our way through to the ocean."*

and whatever stands in our way must be destroyed. Fourthly, we maintain the old Balkan principle, 'the conqueror keeps what he has.' \* \* \* There is nothing more to be said about Belgium. We need an opening to the channel and we must have Antwerp. He who wants Belgium may come and take it from us. Fifthly, we must strengthen the German Empire; and that means strengthening the Empire's central power, which means Prussia."

Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung, Oct. 27, 1916. This paper is the organ of the Krupp interests. Quoted in Quarterly Review, Jan., 1917.

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"Here, then, lies the key to Germany's future, for nothing but a Belgium, under Germany's political and military influence, could provide the possibility of effectively threatening the British Island Empire itself, by enabling our fleet to create for England that risk which was to be the final purpose of its construction. \* \* \* Thus the military and political domination of Germany over Belgium is seen to be a compelling necessity, arising from the geographical situation, the military relations of strength, and the political grouping of the Powers, just as clearly as from Great Britain's destructive will against Germany. \* \* \*

"From an economic point of view, Belgium, even before the war, was an almost indispensable link in the world-encircling chain of German sea trade. Antwerp had become for the Rhenish, Thuringian, and South German industry an export harbor, the place of which could be taken by our North Sea ports only at the cost of considerable sacrifice in time and freights."

A secret memorandum of the council of the German Navy League, adopted June 17, 1916, at its annual meeting and transmitted to the Chancellor. Published by the Kreuzzeitung just before Christmas, 1916. Quoted in the London Times, Jan. 1, 1917.

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"Such phrases as the Chancellor used in his declaration on December 12 stand in the strongest contradiction to the nature of the policy of might (*Machtpolitik*). Anyone who takes his stand upon this policy can not agree that our 'well-founded claims do not in any way contradict the rights of other nations.' For we have won for ourselves a justified claim to a strong frontier on the Flemish coast; we can show that this claim has been justified clearly by the experiences of the war. And yet we can not very well dispute the fact that it is contrary to the formal rights of the Belgian State. Is our claim to the Belgian line of the Meuse, to the iron region of Briey, to Courland, not thoroughly justified—

justified by the shifting of power during the war and by the experience gained? And yet this claim, too, stands in blunt contradiction to the rights of other nations.

"The more firmly one relies upon the policy of power, the greater is the certainty of the conviction that it will always be power which will decide between the nations of the earth."

Das grössere Deutschland, quoted in the Manchester Guardian, Jan. 4, 1917. Das grössere Deutschland is a recently established organ of the annexationists.

*"You have the upper hand.* It is not your enemies but you who are making victorious progress at the front; it is your enemies who are menaced by famine and not you. Your home army is rising to put at your disposal men, arms, munitions, food-stuffs, all in large quantities. *Demand, then, Germany, instead of giving way;* and if your enemies will not accept your demands then continue the struggle, remembering that you have to execute a judgment of God on these pirates, liars, and robbers. We Germans fear God, and nothing else in the world; and it will always be so. Demand, Germany! and you will conquer."

Der Tag, quoted in the Manchester Guardian, Jan. 4, 1917.

"Messrs. Scheidemann and Erzberger<sup>1</sup> are not the German nation, nor does this Reichstag, which originated from the worst kind of party political incitement, reflect its real feeling. The German nation is ready for any sacrifice, but it demands the security that these sacrifices have not been and will not be made in vain. *Not courts of arbitration and paper treaties, but only an increase of power which will make us unconquerable in every direction can be the reward for these endless sacrifices.*

"If the German nation is going to strain its strength to the top-most limit, then it must have assurances that it will not be deceived in the reward for its sacrifices; therefore it demands clearness and truth. In feverish expectation it awaits, hitherto in vain, the relieving word; may it be spoken before it is too late."

Deutsche Tageszeitung, quoted in the Manchester Guardian, Jan. 5, 1917.

"Finally in January, 1917, when he [Bethmann-Hollweg] was again talking peace, I said, 'What are these peace terms to which

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<sup>1</sup> Scheidemann and Erzberger were leaders of the Social-Democratic and Center Parties, respectively, who were advocating a peace based on "no annexations and no indemnities."

you refer continually? Will you allow me to ask a few questions as to the specific terms of peace? First, are the Germans willing to withdraw from Belgium?' The chancellor answered, 'Yes, but with guarantees.' I said, 'What are these guarantees?' He said, 'We must possibly have the forts of Liége and Namur; we must have other forts and garrisons throughout Belgium. We must have possession of the railroad lines. We must have possession of the ports and other means of communication. The Belgians will not be allowed to maintain an army, but we must be allowed to maintain a large army in Belgium. We must have the commercial control of Belgium.' I said, 'I do not see that you have left much for the Belgians except that King Albert will have the right to reside in Brussels with an honor guard.' And the chancellor said, 'We can not allow Belgium to be an outpost of England'; and I said, 'I do not suppose the English on the other hand, wish it to become an outpost of Germany, especially as von Tirpitz has said that the coast of Flanders should be retained in order to make war on England and America.' I continued, 'How about northern France?' He said, 'We are willing to leave northern France, but there must be a rectification of the frontier.' I said, 'How about the eastern frontier?'. He said, 'We must have a very substantial rectification of our frontier.' I said, 'How about Rôumania?' He said, 'We shall leave Bulgaria to deal with Rôumania.' I said, 'How about Serbia?' He said, 'A very small Serbia may be allowed to exist, but that is a question for Austria. Austria must be left to do what she wishes to Italy, and we must have indemnities from all the countries and all our ships and colonies back.'

"Of course 'rectification of the frontier' is a polite term for 'annexation.' "

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James W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 1917, pp. 365–366.

"When Scheidemann sent the message out into the world that what was French should again be French and what was Belgian again Belgian, the Paris Journal could conclude, from its point of view that German policy would sacrifice its national interests to those of the world. But we, of the great majority at home, and the compact front out there, protest that German soldiers should not give their blood in order that it should become a fertilizer for culture to those who hate us from the bottom of their hearts. \* \* \* We need but one thing, namely, that, boldly and openly, hand in hand with our Allies, we set to our

work. Out of the diverse chords of the wills of nations there is formed what God hears as the harmony of humanity. The more the voices of our people join in the chorus of national interests, the more pleasing will the song be to God. Through might to *kultur* and through *kultur* to might. **The beginning and the end is might.**"

Dr. Karl Mehrmann in *Das grössere Deutschland*, Jan. 27, 1917.

Quoted in *Nineteenth Century and After*, April, 1917. Mehrmann is an editor and author.

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"Anybody who knows the present state of things in Belgian industry will agree with me that it must take at least some years—assuming that Belgium is independent at all—before Belgium can even think of competing with us in the world market. And anybody who has traveled, as I have done, through the occupied districts of France will agree with me that so much damage has been done to industrial property that no one need be a prophet in order to say that it will take more than ten years before we need think of France as a competitor or of the reëstablishment of French industry."

Deputy Beumer in the Prussian Diet, week of Feb. 20-27. London Times, Feb. 27, 1917. Than the above passage there is nothing more cynical and cruel in this compilation. For the utter desolation which the Germans have wrought in the occupied territory there is here revealed a deeper motive. See below also.

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"As a result of the experiences of this war the enemy countries will so protect themselves that their economically valuable possessions close to the frontier can not again be overrun so easily as was the case this time. We can not give up Longwy and Briey, because in a new war it will be impossible for us again to be in Longwy in 24 hours and in Liège in four days."

Deputy Fuhrmann in the Prussian Diet, week of Feb. 20-27, 1917. London Times, Feb. 27.

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"We must also secure ourselves for the future. New sacrifices require new compensations, new demands. A sufficient war indemnity is necessary to guard against the dangers of the future, and also for the resumption of economic competition. *If our enemies are really not able to pay an indemnity, for what purpose, then, have we territory of economic value in our hands conquered with our blood?* Courland and Livonia offer ground for colonization. With them we can also protect the interests of the Baltic popula-

tion. At Briey and Longwy<sup>1</sup> we find coal and iron ore. The harbor of Antwerp we cannot do without; if we possess this, the individuality of the Flemish population can also be protected.

"The military safety of our frontiers must be attained even if military and economic objections thereto exist. As in the east our flank must be protected, so also must the right flank of our west front. Consequently the high defensive and offensive value of the Flemish coast is very obvious in strengthening our positions against England. Germany must be invincible."

Count von Westarp, leader of the Conservative Party, in the Reichstag, Feb. 27, 1917, quoted in the London Times, Mar. 1, 1917.

"The extent of our claims can not be discussed here, but, in any case, we might well consider the idea that *our enemies should pay us annually for a series of years from £250,000,000 to £300,000,000*, and that they should pay it in the first years, while they also will be short of money, in raw materials, which would render us good service in the restoration of our economic system. In the later years they would pay in gold for the redemption of our debt."

Kölnische Zeitung, quoted in the London Times, Mar. 3, 1917.

"It is absolutely necessary that Germany claim the occupation of the Belgian coast as a German naval base. It is equally necessary that it claim the occupation of Baltic Provinces inhabited by Germans, and it is equally necessary to obtain a rectification of the French frontiers, in claiming for Germany the occupation of the mining districts."

Speech of Deputy Roesicke (Conservative) in the Reichstag, May 15, 1917, quoted by the Journal des Débats, May 17, 1917.

"There lies in my house a memorandum composed by me for myself alone, which deals more precisely and exhaustively with the future of Belgium and arrives at the definite result that, if we do not get Belgium into our sphere of power, and if we do not govern it in German fashion and use it in German fashion, the war is lost."

Von Bissing, governor general of Belgium, in a letter to Deputy Stresemann, Hamburger Nachrichten, quoted in the London Times, June 3, 1917. This and the following extract, published after Von Bissing's death, are part of what has been called his "political testa-

<sup>1</sup> Centers of the coal region of northern France.

ment." See also articles by Vernon Kellogg in the Atlantic Monthly, August and October, 1917.

"There is no prospect that we shall ever be able to conclude with the King of the Belgians and his Government a peace by which Belgium will remain in the German sphere of power, and it is impossible that the Quadruple Entente, over the heads of its allies, shall ever accept our peace demands with regard to Belgium. It only remains for us, therefore, to avoid during the peace negotiations all discussion about the form of the annexation, and to apply nothing but the right of conquest.

"It is true that dynastic considerations have an importance which is not to be underestimated. For, in view of our just and ruthless procedure, the King of the Belgians will be deposed, and will remain abroad as an aggrieved enemy. We must put up with that, and it is to be regarded almost as a happy circumstance that necessity compels us to leave dynastic considerations entirely out of account. A king will never voluntarily hand over his country to the conqueror, and Belgium's King can never consent to abandon his sovereignty or to allow it to be restricted. If he did so his prestige would be so undermined that he would have to be regarded not as a support, but as an obstacle, to German interests. On the most various occasions the English have described the right of conquest as the healthiest and simplest kind of right, and we can read in Machiavelli that he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the king or regent, even by killing him.

"These are grave decisions, but they must be taken, for we are concerned with the welfare and the future of Germany, and concerned also with reparation for the war of destruction that has been directed against us."

*Idem*, London Times, June 6, 1917.

[The *Vorwärts* protests to General von Ludendorff and the Prussian war minister against the purchase and circulation among troops, in hospitals, and schools by German Grand Headquarters of a Pan-German brochure advocating the incorporation of France as a federated state of Germany and the reduction of Poland, Finland, Courland, and the bulk of European Russia to the status of protectorates or annexed territories of Germany.]  
" \* \* \* This act of the army authorities is particularly glaring on account of the fact that the brochure is directed almost as

much against Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg as against the Socialists. \* \* \*

Summary of dispatch from Copenhagen, quoting *Vorwärts*, New York Times, June 10, 1917. This whole matter of Pan-German propaganda in the army was recently made the subject of an interpellation in the Reichstag. Chancellor Michaelis explained that the Government was seeking to sustain the morale of the army and to counteract enemy propaganda.

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"The hatred bestowed upon us by the whole world may be classified as the hatred of an inferior race for a superior one. To the devil with all talk of kultur! As if any soldier would have gone to the front for the sake of striving for kultur. What our armies, our sons, and brothers are fighting for is a greater Germany, with boundaries that will insure us against an attack by highway robbers such as we have lately been exposed to."

Alldeutsche Blätter. Quoted by *Dagene Nyheter* (Swedish daily paper), July 21, 1917.

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*"The task of the statesman in charge will be to remain at the time of the negotiations [for peace] in close touch with the high command of the army and to reckon on the military advantages gained by the blood of our brave soldiers, in order to make the best use of the possibility of new military blows. If he does this successfully, he can count on the approval of the army and of the people. The resolution [for no annexations and no indemnities] does not fit in with these conceptions and we unanimously reject it."*

Count von Westarp in the name of the Conservative Party (July 20, 1917), concerning the resolutions in the Reichstag, quoted in *Journal de Genève*, July 21, 1917.

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"A foreign policy in accordance with the Reichstag resolution,<sup>1</sup> as meant by the majority, can not result in victory, but only in the ruin of the German people and Empire. The German nation does not desire such a policy."

Hamburger Nachrichten, Aug. 9, 1917.

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"Conservatives would further decline anything in the nature of a Scheidemann<sup>1</sup> peace. They hope, on the contrary, in spite of faint-hearted counsels, by the rejection of all Social Democratic

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<sup>1</sup> A peace based on the formula "No annexations and no indemnities." For Scheidemann see note, p. 50; also note 1, p. 151.

International attempts at an understanding, to impose a German peace by the help of God and the German sword."

Erich von Puttkamer of the Prussian House of Lords in the *Kreuzzeitung*, Aug. 13, 1917.

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"The ideal of the minority in regard to foreign affairs is German world dominion and a German peace which by the sword shall require the submission of the whole world to German dictation."

Vorwärts, Sept. 3, 1917. The minority here referred to is, of course, the group that voted against the Reichstag resolution for no annexations and no indemnities. The passing weeks make it increasingly evident that the Government finds itself unable to abandon the idea of a German peace imposed by the German sword.

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"The annexationists cry in chorus that the majority of the people is not behind the Reichstag, and impudently affirm that the people are enthusiastic for their aims of conquest. This is laughable, but the German political system prevents the governors from coming in contact with the governed and from learning their real opinion."

Dr. David, in Vorwärts, Sept. 2, 1917. This closing passage strikes a hopeful note. The problem of the German people is to bring their governors into contact with real opinion within and without Germany.

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# GERMAN WAR PRACTICES

## PART I TREATMENT OF CIVILIANS

EDITED BY

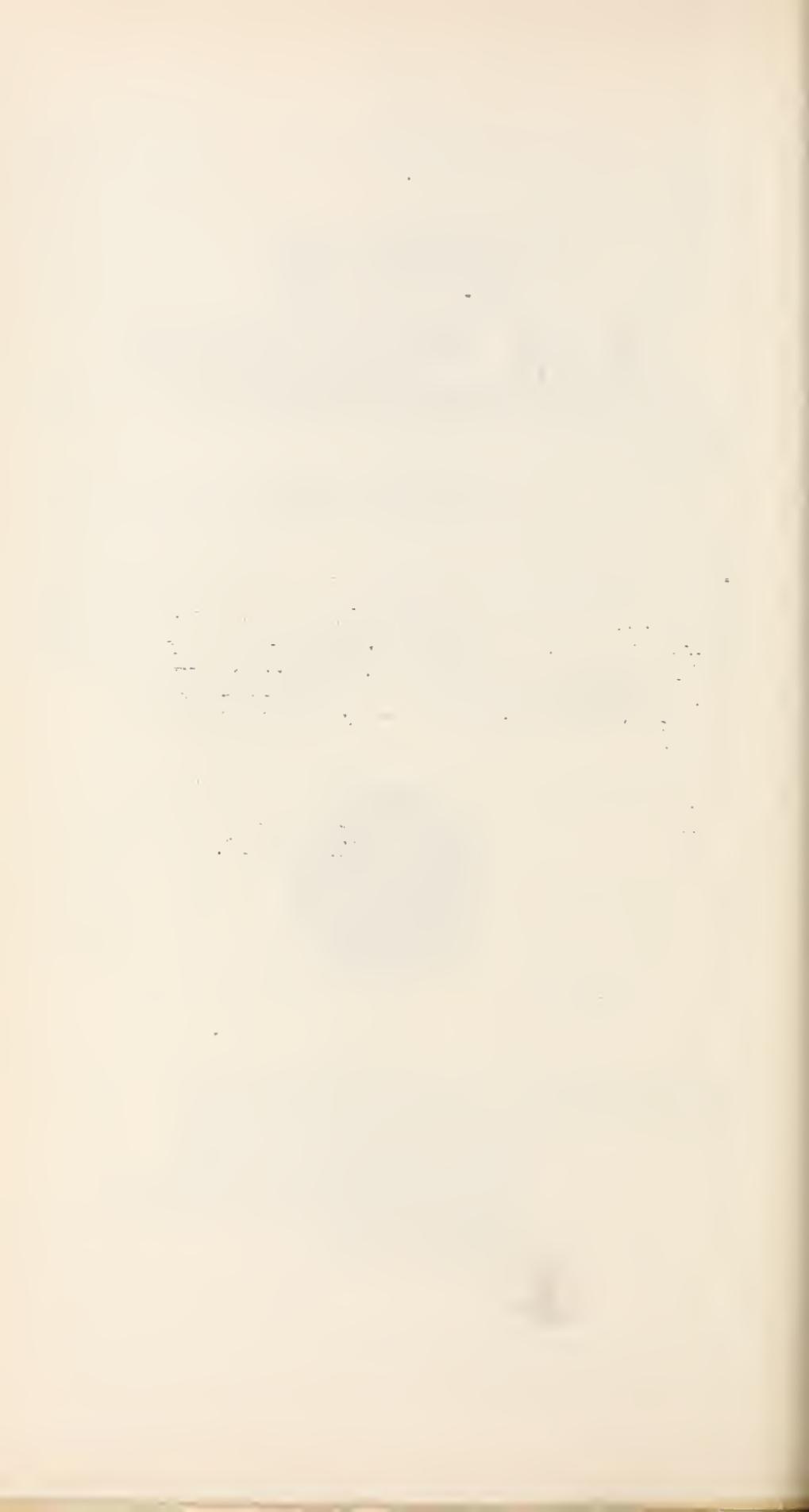
DANA C. MUNRO  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

GEORGE C. SELLERY      and      AUGUST C. KREY  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN      UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA



ISSUED BY

THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THE SECRETARY OF WAR  
THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY  
GEORGE CREEL



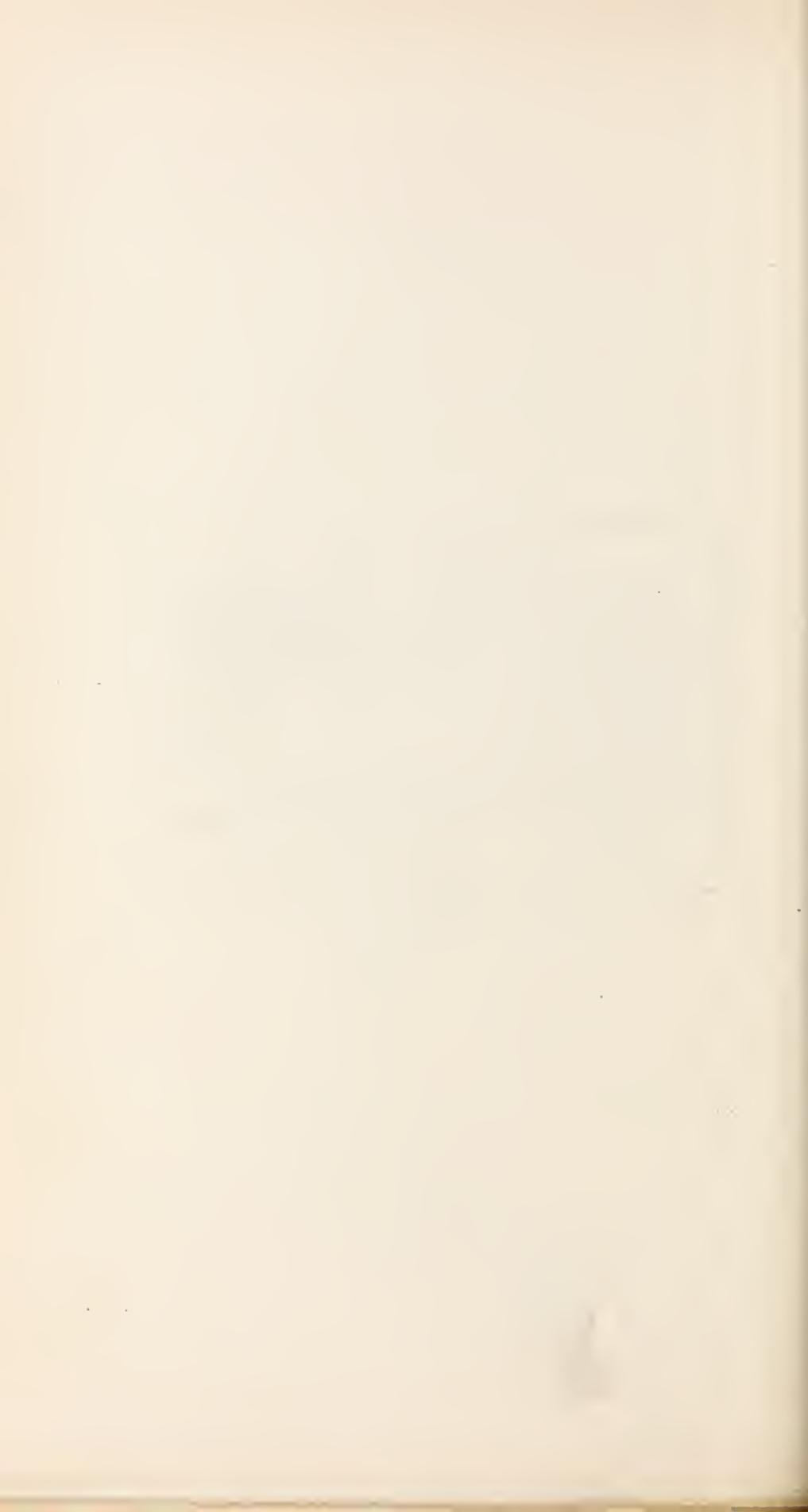
EXECUTIVE ORDER.

I hereby create a Committee on Public Information, to be composed of the Secretary of State, the Seeretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and a civilian who shall be charged with the executive direection of the Committee. As civilian Chairman of the Committee I appoint Mr. George Creel.

The Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Seeretary of the Navy are authorized each to detail an officer or officers to the work of the Committee.

WOODROW WILSON.

April 14, 1917.



## INTRODUCTION.

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For many years leaders in every civilized nation have been trying to make warfare less brutal. The great

**G e r m a n y  
pledged to Hague  
regulations.** landmarks in this movement are the Geneva and Hague Conventions. The former made

rules as to the care of the sick and wounded

and established the Red Cross. At the first meeting at Geneva, in 1864, it was agreed, and until the present war it has been taken for granted, that the wounded, and the doctors and nurses who cared for them, would be safe from all attacks by the enemy. The Hague Conventions, drawn up in 1899 and 1907, made additional rules to soften the usages of war and especially to protect noncombatants and conquered lands. Germany took a prominent part in these meetings and with the other nations solemnly pledged her faith to keep all the rules except one article in the Hague Regulations. This was article 44, which forbade the conqueror to force any of the conquered to give information. All the other rules and regulations she accepted in the most binding manner.

But Germany's military leaders had no intention of keeping these solemn promises. They had been trained along different lines. Their leading

**German policy  
of frightfulness.** generals for many years had been urging a

policy of frightfulness. In the middle of the nineteenth century von Clausewitz was looked upon as the greatest military authority, and the methods which he advocated were used by the Prussian army in its successful wars of 1866-1871. Consequently, because these wars had been successful, the wisdom of von Clausewitz's methods seemed to the Prussian army to be fully proven.

Now, the essence of von Clausewitz's teachings was that successful war involves the ruthless application of force. In the opening chapter of his master work, *Vom Kriege (On War)*, he says:

"Violence arms itself with the inventions of art and science. \* \* \* Self-imposed restrictions, almost im-

perceptible and hardly worth mentioning, termed usages of international law, accompany it without essentially impairing its power. \* \* \* Now, philanthropic souls might easily imagine that there is a skillful method of disarming or subduing an enemy without causing too much bloodshed, and that this is the true tendency of the art of war. However plausible this may appear, still it is an error which must be destroyed; for in such dangerous things as war, the errors which proceed from a spirit of 'good-naturedness' are precisely the worst. As the use of physical force to the utmost extent by no means excludes the co-operation of the intelligence, it follows that he who uses force ruthlessly, without regard to bloodshed, must obtain a superiority, if his enemy does not so use it."

In 1877-78, in the course of a series of articles upon "Military necessity and humanity," Gen. von Hartmann wrote, in the same spirit as von Clausewitz:

"The enemy State must not be spared the want and wretchedness of war; these are particularly useful in shattering its energy and subduing its will." "Individual persons may be harshly dealt with when an example is made of them, intended to serve as a warning. \* \* \* Whenever a national war breaks out, terrorism becomes a necessary military principle." "It is a gratuitous illusion to suppose that modern war does not demand far more brutality, far more violence, and an action far more general than was formerly the case." "When international war has burst upon us, terrorism becomes a principle made necessary by military considerations."

In 1881 von Moltke, who had been commander in chief of the Prussian army in the Franco-Prussian War, declared:

"Perpetual peace is a dream and not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the order of the world established by God. By it the most noble virtues of man are developed, courage and renunciation, fidelity to duty and the spirit of sacrifice—the soldier gives his life. Without war, the world would degenerate and lose itself in materialism." "The soldier who endures suffering, privation, and fatigue, who courts dangers, can not take only 'in proportion to the resources of the country.' He must take all that is necessary to his existence. One has no right to demand of him anything superhuman." "The great good in war is that it should be ended quickly. In view of this, every means, except those which are positively condemnable,

must be permitted. I can not, in any way, agree with the Declaration of St. Petersburg when it pretends that 'the weakening of the military forces of the enemy constitutes the only legitimate method of procedure in war. No! One must attack all the resources of the enemy government, his finances, his railroads, his stock of provisions and even his prestige. \* \* \*'

Many other examples might be cited from the writings of German generals. The very best illustration of this attitude, however, is to be found in the Kaiser's "Hun" speech in 1900. Emperor's various speeches, and especially in his speech to his soldiers on the eve of their departure for China in 1900. On July 27 the Kaiser went to Bremerhaven to bid farewell to the German troops. As they were drawn up, ready to embark for China, he addressed to them a last official message from the Fatherland. The local newspaper reported his speech in full. In it appeared this advice and admonition from the Emperor, the commander in chief of the army, the head of all Germany.

"As soon as you come to blows with the enemy he will be beaten. No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns, under King Attila, made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends to-day, may the name of German be so fixed in China by your deeds that no Chinese shall ever again dare even to look at a German askance. \* \* \* Open the way for Kultur once for all."

Even the imperial councillors seem to have been shocked at the Emperor's speech, and efforts were promptly made to suppress the circulation of his exact words. The efforts were only partly successful. A few weeks later, when letters from the German soldiers in China were being published in local German papers, the leading socialist newspaper, *Vorwärts*, excerpted from them reports of atrocities under the title "Letters of the Huns." Many of the leaders in the Reichstag felt very keenly the brutality of the Emperor's speech. The obnoxious word "Huns" had excited almost universal condemnation. When the Reichstag met, in November, the speech was openly discussed. Herr Lieber, of the Center (the Catholic party), after quoting the

"no mercy" portion of the speech, added, "There are, alas, in Germany groups enough who have regarded Opposition in the atrocities told in the letters which have been Reichstag. published as the dutiful response of soldiers so addressed and encouraged." The leader of the Social Democrats, Herr Bebel, spoke even more pointedly. Toward the end of a two-hour address on the atrocities committed by the German soldiers in China and on the speech of the Emperor he said:

"If Germany wishes to be the bearer of civilization to the world, we will follow without contradiction. But the ways and means in which this world policy has been carried on thus far, in which it has been defined by the Emperor \* \* \* are not, in our opinion, the way to preserve the world position of Germany, to gain for Germany the respect of the world."

The consequences of the Emperor's speech Bebel aptly described:

"By it a signal was given, garbed in the highest authority of the German Empire, which must have most weighty consequences, not only for the troops who went to China but also for those who stayed at home." "An expedition of revenge so barbarous as this has never occurred in the last hundred years and not often in history; at least, nothing worse than this has happened in history, either done by the Huns, by the Vandals, by Genghis Khan, by Tamerlane, or even by Tilly when he sacked Magdeburg."

These stories of atrocities in China or "Letters of the Huns" continued to be published in the *Vorwärts* for Atrocities in several years and appeared intermittently in China. the debates of the Reichstag as late as 1906. At that time the socialist, Herr Kunert, reviewing the procedure in a trial of which he had been the victim in the previous summer, stated that he had offered to prove "that German soldiers in China had engaged in wanton and brutal ravaging; that plunder, pillage, extortion, robbery, as well as rape and sexual abuses of the worst kind, had occurred on a very large scale and that German soldiers had participated in them." He had not been given an opportunity to prove his allegations, but had been sentenced to prison for three months for assailing the honor of the "whole German Army." The outrageousness of this sentence was made clear by the revelations, made in the

Reichstag shortly afterwards, of similar atrocities committed by German officials and soldiers in Africa in the campaign against the Hereros.

The teachings of Treitschke and Nietzsche and their evil influence upon the present generation in Germany are well known. The minds of the responsible officials were filled with ideas wholly different from those to which Germany had agreed at The Hague. The cult of might, and of war as its expression, found many disciples who flooded the press with pamphlets and panegyrics on war and its place in the natural and political development of a nation. Before the war the average number of volumes concerning war published each year in Germany was 700, and the vast majority of those written by the German Army officers advocated the ruthless policy of von Clausewitz, von Hartmann, and von Moltke.

These ideas, which have come to control the minds of the military class, are best shown in the *German War Book* (*Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*), published in 1902. The tone of this authoritative book may be judged from the following extracts:

*"But since the tendency of thought in the last century was dominated essentially by humanitarian considerations which not infrequently degenerated into sentimentality and flabby emotion (Sentimentalität und weichlicher Gefühlschwär-*

*merei), there have not been wanting attempts to influence the development of the usages of war in a way which was in fundamental contradiction with the nature of war and its object. Attempts of this kind will also not be wanting in the future, the more so as these agitations have found a kind of moral recognition in some provisions of the Geneva Convention and the Brussels and Hague Conferences."*

*"By steeping himself in military history an officer will be able to guard himself against excessive humanitarian notions; it will teach him that certain severities are indispensable to war, nay more, that the only true humanity very often lies in a ruthless application of them."*

For the guidance of the officers in case the inhabitants of conquered territory should take up arms against the German Army, the *German War Book* quotes with approval the letter Napoleon sent to his brother Joseph, when the inhabitants of Italy were attempting to revolt against him:

*"The security of your dominion depends on how you*

behave in the conquered province. Burn down a dozen places which are not willing to submit themselves. Of course, not until you have first looted them; my soldiers must not be allowed to go away with their hands empty. Have three to six persons hanged in every village which has joined the revolt; pay no respect to the cassock" [that is, to members of the clergy.]

Some of the rules laid down in the *German War Book* are illustrated and their spirit made more definite in German war proclamations in French translations. *L'Interprète Militaire. Zum Gebrauch im Feindesland* (Military Interpreter for Use in the Enemy's Country). This is a manual edited at Berlin in

1906. "It contains," says the introduction, "the French translation of the greater part of the documents, letters, and proclamations, and some orders of which it may be necessary to make use in time of war." Thus, eight years before this war began, the German military authorities were not only preparing their officers to wage war in a manner wholly contrary to the Hague regulations, but also were looking forward to the use of these proclamations in French or Belgian territory. Among its forms, ready for use by inserting names, date, and place, are the following:

"A fine of 600,000 marks in consequence of an attempt made by \_\_\_\_\_ to assassinate a German soldier, is imposed on the town of O. By order of \_\_\_\_\_.

"Efforts have been made, without result, to obtain the withdrawal of the fine.

"The term fixed for payment expires to-morrow, Saturday, December 17, at noon \_\_\_\_\_.

"Bank notes, cash, or silver plate will be accepted."

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"I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 7th of this month, in which you bring to my notice the great difficulty which you expect to meet in levying the contributions. \* \* \* I can but regret the explanations which you have thought proper to give me on this subject; the order in question which emanates from my Government is so clear and precise, and the instructions which I have received in the matter are so categorical that if the sum due by the town of R\_\_\_\_\_ is not paid the town will be burned down without pity!"

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"On account of the destruction of the bridge of F\_\_\_\_\_, I order: The district shall pay a special contribution of

10,000,000 francs by way of amends. This is brought to the notice of the public who are informed that the method of assessment will be announced later and that the payment of the said sum will be enforced with the utmost severity. The village of F—— will be destroyed immediately by fire, with the exception of certain buildings occupied for the use of the troops."

These forms have been of great use to the German commanders in Belgium and northern France. The closeness with which they have been followed in these conquered lands, during the present war, may be seen by reading the following proclamations and the other proclamations which are printed elsewhere in this pamphlet.

"The City of Brussels, exclusive of its suburbs, has been punished by an additional fine of 5,000,000 francs on account of the attack made upon a German soldier by Ryckerc, one of its police officials.

"The Governor of Brussels,  
"BARON VON LUETTWITZ.

"November 1, 1914."

Placard posted on the walls of Lunéville by order of the German authorities:

"Notice to the People.

"Some of the inhabitants of Lunéville made an attack from ambuscade on the German columns and wagons (*trains*). The same day [some of the] inhabitants shot at sanitary formations marked with the Red Cross. In addition, German wounded and the military hospital containing a German ambulance were fired upon.

"Because of these acts of hostility a fine of 650,000 francs is imposed upon the commune of Lunéville. The mayor is ordered to pay this sum in gold or silver up to 50,000 francs, September 6, 1914, at nine o'clock in the morning, to the representative of the German military authority. All protests will be considered null and void. No delay will be granted.

"If the commune does not punctually obey the order to pay the sum of 650,000 francs, all property that can be levied upon will be seized.

"In case of non-payment, visits from house to house will be made and all the inhabitants will be searched. If anyone knowingly has concealed money or attempted to hold back his goods from the seizure by the military authorities, or if anyone attempts to leave the city, he will be shot.

"The Mayor and the hostages taken by the military

authorities will be held responsible for the exact execution of the above orders.

"The Mayor is ordered to publish immediately this notice to the Commune.

"Hénaménil, Sept. 3, 1914.

"The General in Chief,  
"VON FASBENDER."

The German officers were provided with the forms to be used in terrorizing the conquered people. The common soldiers were provided with phrase books which would enable them to impose their will upon the terrified people. Minister Brand Whitlock in his report to the State Department on September 12, 1917, writes:

"The German soldiers were provided with phrase books giving alternate translations in German and French of such sentences as:

"'Hands up.' (It is the very first sentence in the book.)  
"'Carry out all the furniture.'  
"'I am thirsty. Bring me some beer, gin, rum.'  
"'You have to supply a barrel of wine and a keg of beer.'  
"'If you lie to me, I will have you shot immediately.'  
"'Lead me to the wealthiest inhabitants of this village.  
I have orders to requisition several barrels of wine.'  
"'Show us the way to ———. If you lead us astray, you  
will be shot.'"

The quotations and proclamations printed above show clearly the attitude of mind of the German military authorities. The policy of frightfulness had been exalted into a system with every minute detail worked out in advance. The *German War Book* with its "cold-blooded doctrines of the nature of war and of the means which may be employed in prosecuting war," did its work in training the German military officials. Of this book it has been well said: "It is the first time in the history of mankind that a creed so revolting has been deliberately formulated by a great civilized State." The generals gave their sanction to this policy of frightfulness. Gen. von Bernhardi was quoted<sup>1</sup> in an interview in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, as follows:

"One cannot make war in a sentimental fashion. The more pitiless the conduct of the war, the more humane it is in reality, for it will run its course all the sooner. The

war which of all wars is and must be most humane is that which leads to peace with as little delay as possible."

This interview was reproduced in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of November 20, 1914.

Mr. F. C. Walcott, of the Belgian Relief Commission, tells, in the *Geographical Magazine* for May, 1917, of meeting Gen-von Bernhardi:

"As I walked out, General von Bernhardi came into the room, an expert artillery-man, a professor in Interview with one of their war colleges. I met him the Bernhardi. next morning, and he asked me if I had read his book, *Germany and the Next War*.

"I said I had. He said, 'Do you know, my friends nearly ran me out of the country for that.' They said, 'You have let the cat out of the bag.' I said, 'No, I have not, because nobody will believe it.'" "What did you think of it?"

"I said, 'General, I did not believe a word of it when I read it, but I now feel that you did not tell the whole truth,' and the old general looked actually pleased."

Speaking on August 29, 1914, at Münster, of the extreme measures which the Germans had felt obliged to take against the civil population of Belgium, Gen. von Bissing said:

"The innocent must suffer with the guilty. \* \* \*

In the repression of infamy, human lives cannot Statement by be spared, and if isolated houses, flourishing von Bissing. villages, and even entire towns are annihilated, that is assuredly regrettable, but it must not excite ill-timed sentimentality. All this must not in our eyes weigh as much as the life of a single one of our brave soldiers—the rigorous accomplishment of duty is the emanation of a high *Kultur*, and in that, the population of the enemy countries can learn a lesson from our army."

Gen. von Bissing, after his appointment as governor general of Belgium, repeated in substance the above opinion to a Dutch journalist. The interview is published in the *Düsseldorfer Anzeiger* of December 8, 1914.

Irvin S. Cobb states his conclusions on the responsibility of the higher German command for the atrocities:

"But I was an eyewitness to crimes which, measured by the standards of humanity and civilization, impressed me as worse than any individual excess, any individual outrage, could ever have been or can ever be; because these crimes indubitably were instigated on a wholesale basis by order

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

"Taking the physical evidence offered before our own eyes, and buttressing it with the statements made to us, not only by natives but by German soldiers and German officers, we could reach but one conclusion, which was that here, in such and such a place, those in command had said to the troops: 'Spare this town and these people.' And there they had said: 'Waste this town and shoot these people.' And here the troops had indiscriminately spared, and there they had indiscriminately wasted, in exact accordance with the word of their superiors." Irvin S. Cobb, *Speaking of Prussians*, New York, 1917, pp. 32-34.

These ideas, then, were systematically impressed upon the military and official classes. It was necessary, however, to work upon the minds of the German people, so that they might lend themselves to the inhuman policies advocated by the military leaders. To do this was difficult, for, as has been shown above, many of the civilian leaders of public opinion, time and again, expressed their horror of the new spirit which was animating the military authorities. The Reichstag debates give ample evidence of this, and the task of the military leaders would have been still more difficult if the Reichstag had had any real power. (See War Information Series, No. 3, *The Government of Germany*; see also Gerard's *My Four Years in Germany*, Chap. II.)

The military authorities and those in sympathy with them have done all in their power to stimulate a hatred of other peoples in the minds of the Germans. A campaign of education before the war was carried on with the object of impressing upon the minds of the Germans the treacherous nature

**Hatred against Belgians.** of the peoples against whom the military leaders were anxious to wage war. Not only were the

Germans gradually led to believe that it was necessary to fight a defensive war against unscrupulous foes, but

also that these foes would violate every precept of humanity, and consequently must be crushed without mercy as a measure of self-defense. The fruits of this campaign of suspicion and hatred became evident when almost at the outbreak of the war many Germans became possessed with the belief that the whole population of Belgium, the first country to be invaded, had violated every rule of honorable warfare, that the *francs-tireurs* (guerillas) were everywhere present doing their deadly work in secrecy or under the cover of darkness; that women and even children were mutilating and killing the wounded or helpless prisoners.

The effect of the fables upon the popular mind may be seen in the following extracts from German letters:

Extract from a letter written by a German soldier to his brother. (This letter, now in the possession of the United States Government, was obtained for this pamphlet from Mr. J. C. Grew, formerly secretary to the United States Embassy at Berlin.)

“NOVEMBER 4, 1914.

“The battles are everywhere extremely tenacious and bloody. The Englishmen we hate most and we want to get even with them for once. While one now and then sees French prisoners, one hardly ever beholds French black troops or Englishmen. These good people are not overlooked by our infantrysmen; that sort of people is mowed down without mercy. The losses of the Englishmen must be enormous. There is a desire to wipe them out, root and all.”

Extract from another letter to a brother:

“SCHLESWIG, 25, 8, 14 [Aug. 25, 1914].

“DEAR BROTHER, \* \* \* You will shortly go to Brussels with your regiment, as you know. Take care to protect yourself against these *Civilians*, especially in the villages. Do not let anyone of them come near you. *Fire without pity on everyone of them who comes too near.* They are very clever, cunning fellows, these Belgians; even the women and children are armed and fire their guns. Never go inside a house, especially alone. If you take anything to drink make the inhabitants drink first, and keep at a distance from them. *The newspapers relate numerous cases in which they have fired on our soldiers whilst they were drinking.* You soldiers must spread around so much fear of yourselves that no civilian will venture to come near you.

Remain always in the company of others. *I hope that you have read the newspapers and that you know how to behave. Above all have no compassion for these cut-throats. Make for them without pity with the butt-end of your rifle and the bayonet.* \* \* \*

“Your brother,

“WILLI.”

The Emperor gave his sanction to the reports of the brutal acts of the Belgians in a telegram to President Wilson.

“BERLIN, VIA COPENHAGEN, Sept. 7, 1914.

“SECRETARY OF STATE,  
“Washington.

“Number 53. September 7. I am requested to forward the following telegram from the Emperor to the President:

“I feel it my duty, Mr. President, to inform you as the most prominent representative of principles of humanity, that after taking the French fortress of Longwy, my troops discovered there thousands

of dum-dum cartridges made by special government machinery. The same kind of ammunition was found on killed and wounded troops and prisoners, also on the British troops. You know what terrible wounds and suffering these bullets inflict and that their use is strictly forbidden by the established rules of international law. I therefore address a solemn protest to you against this kind of warfare, which, owing to the methods of our adversaries has become one of the most barbarous known in history. Not only have they employed these atrocious weapons, but the Belgian Government has openly encouraged and since long carefully prepared the participation of the Belgian civil population in the fighting. The atrocities committed even by women and priests in this guerilla warfare, also on wounded soldiers, medical staff and nurses, doctors killed, hospitals attacked by rifle fire, were such that my generals finally were compelled to take the most drastic measures in order to punish the guilty and to frighten the blood-thirsty population from continuing their work of vile murder and horror. Some villages and even the old town of Loewen [Louvain], excepting the fine hôtel de ville, had to be destroyed in self-defense and for the protection of my troops. My heart bleeds when I see that such measures have become unavoidable and when I think of the numerous innocent people who lose their home and property as a consequence of the barbarous behavior of those criminals. Signed. William, Emperor and King.”

“GERARD. Berlin.”

Lorenz Müller in the German Catholic review, *Der Fels*, February, 1915, made the following statement in regard to the Emperor's telegram:

“Officially no instance has been proven of persons having fired with the help of priests from the towers of churches. All that has been made known up to the present, and that has been made the object of inquiry, concerning alleged atrocities attributed to Catholic priests during this war, has been shown to be false and altogether imaginary, without any exception. Our Emperor telegraphed to the President of the United States of America that even women and priests had committed atrocities during this guerilla warfare on wounded soldiers, doctors and nurses attached to the field ambulances. How this telegram can be reconciled with the fact stated above we shall not be able to learn until after the war.”

The *Vorwärts*, of Berlin, October 22, 1914, said:

“We have already been able to establish the falseness of a great number of assertions which have been made with great precision and published everywhere in the press, concerning alleged cruelties committed, by the populations of the countries with which Germany is at war, upon German soldiers and civilians. We are now in a position to silence two others of these fantastic stories.

“The War Correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* spoke a few weeks ago of cigars and cigarettes filled with powder alleged to have been given out or sold to our soldiers with diabolical intent. He even pretended that he had seen with his own eyes hundreds of this kind of cigarettes. We learn from an authentic source that this story of cigars and cigarettes is nothing but a brazen invention. Stories of soldiers whose eyes are alleged to have been torn out by francs-tireurs are circulated throughout Germany. Not a single case of this kind has been officially established. In every instance where it has been possible to test the story its inaccuracy has been demonstrated.

“It matters little that reports of this nature bear an appearance of positive certitude, or are even vouched for by eye-witnesses. The desire for notoriety, the absence of criticism, and personal error play an unfortunate part in the days in which we are living. Every nose shot off or simply bound up, every eye removed, is immediately transformed into a nose or eye torn away by the francs-tireurs. Already the *Volkszeitung* of Cologne has been able, contrary to the very categorical assertions from Aix-la-Chapelle,

to prove that there was no soldier with his eyes torn out in the field ambulance of this town. It was said, also, that people wounded in this way were under treatment in the neighbourhood of Berlin, but whenever enquiries have been made in regard to these reports, their absolute falsity has been demonstrated. At length these reports were concentrated at Gross Lichterfelde. A newspaper published at noon and widely circulated in Berlin printed a few days ago in large type the news that at the Lazaretto of Lichterfelde alone there were 'ten German soldiers, only slightly wounded, whose eyes had been wickedly torn out.' But to a request for information by comrade Liebknecht the following written reply was sent by the chief medical officer of the above-mentioned field hospital, dated the 18th of the month:

" 'SIR,

'Happily there is no truth whatever in these stories.

'Yours obediently,

'PROFESSOR RAUTENBERG.' "

Thus the teachings of the *German War Book* and of the German apostles of frightfulness, suspicion, and hatred, German soldiers protest against atrocities had now begun to bear their natural fruit. But the voice of protest was not entirely silent.

A considerable number of letters by German soldiers who were shocked by the German atrocities were sent to Ambassador Gerard, because he was the representative of the United States, the leading neutral nation. The three letters which follow, in translation, were received by the American ambassador from German soldiers. They were obtained for this pamphlet from Secretary Grew; they illustrate both the system and the horror of it, which the writers felt.

Here is the protest of a German soldier, an eye-witness of the slaughter of Russian soldiers in the Masurian lakes and swamps:

"It was frightful, heart-rending, as these masses of human beings were driven to destruction. Above the terrible thunder of the cannon could be heard the heart-rending cries of the Russians: 'O Prussians! O Prussians!'—but there was no mercy. Our Captain had ordered: 'The whole lot must die; so rapid fire.' As I have heard, five men and one officer on our side went mad from those heart-rending cries. But most of my comrades and the officers joked as the unarmed and helpless Russians shrieked for mercy while they were being suffocated in the swamps and shot down. The order was: 'Close up and at it harder!' For days afterwards those heart-rending yells followed me

and I dare not think of them or I shall go mad. There is no God, there is no morality and no ethics any more. There are no human beings any more, but only beasts. Down with militarism.

"This was the experience of a Prussian soldier. At present wounded; Berlin, October 22, 1914.

"If you are a truth-loving man, please receive these lines from a common Prussian soldier."

Here is the testimony of another German soldier on the Eastern front.

"RUSSIAN POLAND, December 18, '14.

"In the name of Christianity I send you these words.

"My conscience forces me as a Christian German soldier to inform you of these lines.

"Wounded Russians are killed with the bayonet according to orders.

"And Russians who have surrendered are often shot down in masses according to orders, in spite of their heart-rending prayers.

"In hope that you, as the representative of a Christian State will protest against this, I sign myself,

"A GERMAN SOLDIER AND CHRISTIAN.

"I would give my name and regiment, but these words could get me court-martialed for divulging military secrets."

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The third letter, from the Western front, shows the same horror of the system of which the writer was a witness.

"To the

"AMERICAN GOVERNMENT,

"Washington, U. S. A.

"Englishmen who have surrendered are shot down in small groups. With the French one is more considerate. I ask whether men let themselves be taken prisoner in order to be disarmed and shot down afterwards? Is that chivalry in battle? It is no longer a secret among the people; one hears everywhere that few prisoners are taken; they are shot down in small groups. They say naïvely: 'We don't want any unnecessary mouths to feed. Where there is no one to enter complaint, there is no judge.' Is there then no power in the world which can put an end to these murders and rescue the victims? Where is Christianity? Where is right? Might is right.

"A SOLDIER AND MAN WHO IS NO BARBARIAN."

Many of the Germans, as has been already indicated, do not believe the reports of the atrocities committed by the Belgian civilians and refuse to accept the system of frightfulness. The *Vorwärts*, the leading socialistic paper, which has a very wide circle of readers, has opposed the policy of frightfulness. All honor to its editors who have so courageously opposed powerful military authority! Its editorial, entitled "Our Foes," published August 23, 1914, reads as follows:

"We wish to show ourselves humane and friendly towards those whom the fortune of war has played into our hands as prisoners. But we wish also to be humane towards our foes on the field. We must fight them. \* \* \* But fighting does not mean murdering. It does not mean being barbarous. \* \* \*

"What should one say when even such an organ as the *Deutsches Offizier-Blatt* expresses its sympathy with a demand that 'the beasts' who are taken as francs-tireurs should not be killed but only wounded so that they may then be left to a fate 'which makes any help impossible?' Or what should we say when the *Deutsches Offizier-Blatt* states that 'a punitive destruction even of whole regions' cannot 'afford full recompense for the bones of a single murdered Pomeranian grenadier? Those are the desires of blood-thirsty fanatics and we are thoroughly ashamed of ourselves because it is possible that there are people among us who urge such things. Such disclosures in themselves, even if they are not followed out, are likely to place our fighting quite in the wrong before all the world. \* \* \* Let us show knightliness even though we are of the proletariat. Let us take such pains that when the fight has finally been fought it will also not be so difficult again to work in common as brothers with our class associates on the other side of the border."

On the following day, August 24, 1914, the *Vorwärts* returned to the attack in an editorial "Against Barbarism."

\* \* \* "One might, in the first place, possibly believe that such a demand for a bloody vengeance [against alleged Belgian outrages] emanates from a single disease-racked brain; but it appears that whole groups among certain classes who represent German *Kultur* want to indulge in orgies of barbarism and to devise a whole system for the purpose of organizing 'a war of revenge.'

"What of law and custom! Such thoughts do not stir a 'great nation'. Thus in a leading article of the *Berliner*

Some Germans  
demand "orgies  
of barbarism."

*Neueste Nachrichten*, the demand is made that all the authorities in Brussels—one, the second Burgomaster, is generously excepted—should be immediately seized and subjected to trial in order to expiate the wrongs which, according to fragmentary and highly uncertain reports, were said to have been committed by the people. They demand that the captured city should immediately pay a fine of 500,000,000 marks; that all stores of the conquered territory be requisitioned without paying the inhabitants a single penny for them."

Three years later, August 26, 1917, the *Vorwärts* quoted the following passage from the *Deutsche Tagezeitung*:

"We have a ring of politicians who hold that might makes right (*Machtpolitiker*) who despise the forces

**Still hold same opinions.** of the inner life and believe that they must eliminate all ethical points of view \* \* \*

from foreign and social politics. For them,

Germany of the present and of the future is the country of the Krupps and Borsigs, of the Zeppelins and the U-boats. Any idea of a connection between politics and morals is rejected and any reference to the right of a moral method of consideration is ridiculed as delusion and sentimentality."

Naturally the reports of the atrocities committed by the Germans and the Emperor's declaration that

**Belgian warning of danger.** the war would henceforth assume a terrible character (*grausamen Charakter*) caused grave anxiety among the Belgians. In order to avoid the danger of reprisals, the Belgian Government, at the beginning of the invasion, had every Belgian newspaper publish each day the following notice on its first page, in large print:

#### "TO CIVILIANS.

"The Minister of the Interior advises civilians in case the enemy should show himself in their district:

"Not to fight;

"To utter no insulting or threatening words;

"To remain within their houses and close the windows; so that it will be impossible to allege that there was any provocation;

"To evacuate any houses or isolated hamlet which the soldiers may occupy in order to defend themselves, so that it cannot be alleged that civilians have fired;

"An act of violence committed by a single civilian would be a crime for which the law provides arrest and punishment. It is all the more reprehensible in that it might serve as a pretext for measures of oppression, resulting in bloodshed

or pillage, or the massacre of the innocent population with the women and children."

In the hope of arousing the sympathy and securing the aid of the neutral nations, the Belgian Government appointed a committee to ascertain the facts about the German practices. The evidence collected by the Belgian commissioners is detailed and explicit, and their reports give names, places, and dates. It is not possible, however, to include in this pamphlet more than the following summary of the charges they make against the Germans:

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

"2. That women had been outraged.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The German authorities undertook to defend themselves against the terrible indictment in the report published by the Belgian Government and appointed a German commission, which collected a huge mass of materials designed to show that their acts of cruelty were merely acts of reprisal necessitated by the deeds of the Belgians. This mass of testimony was published in a *German White Book* with the title *Die völkerrechtswidrige Führung des Belgischen Volkskriegs*.

The German commission declared in its findings that the German soldiers had acted with humanity, restraint, and Christian forbearance. But the sworn statements of German soldiers, which the commission published, show the reverse to be true.

It has been well said that the publication of this *German White Book* was "an amazing official blunder." **German White Book reveals atrocities.** The neutral world, whose good opinion Germany sought, was not convinced by it that the Belgians had committed the atrocities with which the Germans charged them. On the other hand, this *White Book*, published by the German Government, will be accepted by everyone as conclusive evidence of the massacres and other brutal deeds which were carried out as "reprisals" by the orders of the German military authorities in Belgium. The names of the German officers who gave the terrible orders are published officially, and "frequently the very men themselves come forward and depose coldly and callously to acts which have degraded the German Army and left a stain upon its banners that [future] generations of chivalry will not efface."

Indeed, in the light of the admissions of the *German White Book*, it is not too much to say that the time has already come which was spoken of by President Wilson in his dispatch to President Poincaré, September 19, 1914, when he said (speaking for "a nation which abhors inhuman practices in the conduct of a war"):

"The time will come when this great conflict is over and when the truth can be impartially determined. When that time arrives those responsible for violations of the rules of civilized warfare, if such violations have occurred, and for false charges against their adversaries, must of course bear the burden of the judgment of the world."

## CHARACTER OF THE MATERIAL USED IN THIS PAMPHLET.

In this pamphlet throughout, as in the preceding pages, the evidence is drawn mainly from German and **G e r m a n** American sources. The German sources include

official proclamations and other official utterances, letters and diaries of German soldiers, and quotations from German newspapers. The diaries which are so frequently quoted form a unique source. The *Rules for Field Service* of the German Army advises each soldier to keep such a diary while on active service. Very many German soldiers who have been taken prisoner had kept such diaries, and these have been confiscated by the captors. Many have been published, frequently with facsimile reproductions to guarantee their authenticity. The best known collection was made by Bédier, whom Prof. Hollmann, of the University of Berlin, properly described as "the distinguished Prof. Joseph Bédier of the Collège de France." Of Bédier's publication Prof. Nyrop, of the University of Copenhagen, says:

"He has translated the diaries and commented upon them just as one does with all old historical documents, and, in order that everyone may be in a position to check up his work, he has also accompanied the account with facsimile copies of the documents he used. Here, accordingly, at the outset every proof of the evidence which he has employed is provided. No falsification is possible. The accounts are those of eyewitnesses, and these eyewitnesses are Germans. They tell what they themselves or their comrades have done, and Bédier accompanies their remarks with running comments which show that not only have common law and the Hague Conventions been violated, but sins have also been committed against the most elementary laws of humanity. Both the material and the presentation are unassailable. The details which are provided by the German soldiers in regard to their own violent acts are horror-striking."

Prof. Hollmann attempted to prove that Bédier had made mistakes in translating and interpreting, but he did not deny the genuineness of the diaries. "These notebooks," he says, "may

well be authentic and I accept this without further comment for all those which are provided with the name of their authors and whose authenticity can in any case be established after the war."

The American evidence is drawn mainly from material in the archives of the State Department. In addition, **American sources.** statements from our ambassadors and ministers and other well-known officials and authors are given. Messrs. Hoover, Kellogg, and Walcott have written statements especially for this pamphlet. All of this material is essentially the testimony of neutrals, for it is based wholly on observations made before the United States entered the war. Occasionally official documents and well authenticated facts from foreign sources are used.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to show that the system of **Frightfulness as a system.** frightfulness, which is itself the greatest atrocity, is the definite policy of the German Government, against which more humane German soldiers themselves revolted at times. For this reason it has not seemed necessary to set forth the individual acts of cruelty; such acts are cited only when necessary to illustrate the system. Anyone who wishes to read chapters of horrors can find them in the *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages*, presided over by the former British Ambassador to this country and therefore generally known as "the Bryce report;" in the official reports by the Belgian *Commission d'Enquête*; in the official French reports compiled under the auspices of the French minister for foreign affairs; in many other publications, and especially in the conclusive admissions of the official *German White Book* cited above. The last, published by the German Government, is the most damning testimony concerning the system of frightfulness.

## TREATMENT OF CIVILIANS.

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### I. MASSACRES.

In the wars waged in ancient times it was taken for granted that  
conquered peoples might be either killed, tor-  
**Protection of noncombatants agreed to by Germany.** tured, or held as slaves; that their property  
would be taken and that their lands would be  
devastated. "Vae victis!—woe to the con-  
quered!" For two centuries or more there has

been a steady advance in introducing ideas of humanity and especially in confining the evils of warfare to the combatants. The ideal seemed to have become so thoroughly established as a part of international law that the powers at The Hague thought it sufficient merely to state the general principles in Article XLVI of the regulations: "Family honors and rights, the lives of persons and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected. Private property can not be confiscated." Germany, in common with the other powers, solemnly pledged

**But her military leaders did not acquiesce.** her faith to keep this article, but her military leaders had no intention of doing so. They had been trained in the ideas voiced by Gen. von

Hartmann 40 years ago: "Terrorism is seen to be a relatively gentle procedure, useful to keep the masses of the people in a state of obedience." This had been Bismarck's policy, too. According to Moritz Busch, Bismarck's biographer, Bismarck, exasperated by the French resistance, which was still continuing in January, 1871, said:

"If in the territory which we occupy, we can not supply every-  
thing for our troops, from time to time we shall  
**Bismarck's idea in 1871.** send a flying column into the localities which are recalcitrant. We shall shoot, hang, and burn. After that has happened a few times, the inhabitants will finally come to their senses."

The frightfulness taught by the German leaders had held full sway in Belgium. This is best seen in the entries in the diaries of the individual German soldiers.

## EXTRACTS FROM GERMAN WAR DIARIES.

"During the night of August 15-16 Engineer Gr—— gave the alarm in the town of Visé. Everyone was shot or taken prisoner, and the houses were burnt. The prisoners were made to march and keep up with the troops." (From the diary of non-commissioned officer Reinhold Koehn of the Second Battalion of Engineers, Third Army Corps.)

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"A horrible bath of blood. The whole village burnt, the French thrown into the blazing houses, civilians with the rest." (From the diary of Private Hassemer, of the Eighth Army Corps.)

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"In the night of August 18-19 the village of Saint-Maurice was punished for having fired on German soldiers by being burnt to the ground by the German troops (two regiments, the 12th Landwehr and the 17th). The village was surrounded, men posted about a yard from one another, so that no one could get out. Then the Uhlans set fire to it, house by house. Neither man, woman, nor child could escape; only the greater part of the live stock was carried off, as that could be used. Anyone who ventured to come out was shot down. All the inhabitants left in the village were burnt with the houses." (From the diary of Private Karl Scheufele, of the Third Bavarian Regiment of Landwehr Infantry.)

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"At 10 o'clock in the evening the first battalion of the 178th marched down the steep incline into the burning village to the north of Dinant. A terrific spectacle of ghastly beauty. At the entrance to the village lay about fifty dead civilians, shot for having fired upon our troops from ambush. In the course of the night many others were also shot, so that we counted over 200. Women and children, lamp in hand, were forced to look on at the horrible scene. We ate our rice later in the midst of the corpses, for we had had nothing since morning. When we searched the houses we found plenty of wine and spirit, but no eatables. Captain Hamann was drunk." (This last phrase in shorthand.)

(From the diary of Private Philipp, of the One Hundred and Seventy-eighth Regiment of Infantry, Twelfth Army Corps.)

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"Aug. 6th crossed frontier. Inhabitants on border very good to us and give us many things. There is no difference noticeable.

"Aug. 23rd, Sunday (between Birnal and Dinant, village of Disonge). At 11 o'clock the order comes to advance after the artillery has thoroughly prepared the ground ahead. The Pioneers and Infantry Regiment 178 were marching in front of us. Near a small village the latter were fired on by the inhabitants. About 220 inhabitants were shot and the village was burnt—artillery is continuously shooting—the village lies in a large ravine. Just now, 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the crossing of the Maas begins near Dinant \* \* \*. All villages, châteaux, and houses are burnt down during this night. It was a beautiful sight to see the fires all round us in the distance.

"Aug. 24th. In every village one finds only heaps of ruins and many dead. (From the diary of Matbern, Fourth Company, Eleventh Jäger Battalion, Marburg.)

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"A shell burst near the 11th Company, and wounded seven men, three very severely. At 5 o'clock we were ordered by the officer in command of the regiment to shoot all the male inhabitants of Nomény, because the population was foolishly attempting to stay the advance of the German troops by force of arms. We broke into the houses, and seized all who resisted, in order to execute them according to martial law. The houses which had not been already destroyed by the French artillery and our own were set on fire by us, so that nearly the whole town was reduced to ashes. It is a terrible sight when helpless women and children, utterly destitute, are herded together and driven into France." (From the diary of Private Fischer, Eighth Bavarian Regiment of Infantry, Thirty-third Reserve Division.).

Other German soldiers, too, we are glad to see, show their horror at the foul deeds.

"The inhabitants have fled in the village. It was horrible. There was clotted blood on all the beards, and what faces one saw, terrible to behold! The dead, sixty in all, were at once buried. Among them were many old women, some old men, and a half-delivered woman, awful to see; three children had clasped each other, and died thus. The altar and the vaults of the church are shattered. They had a telephone there to communicate with the enemy. This morning, September 2, all the survivors were expelled, and I saw four little boys carrying a cradle, with a baby five or six months old in it, on two sticks. All this was terrible to see. Shot after shot! Thunderbolt after thunderbolt! Everything is given over to pillage; fowls and the rest all killed. I saw a mother, too, with her two children; one had a great wound on the head and had lost an eye." (From the diary of Lance-Corporal Paul Spielmann, of the Ersatz, First Brigade of Infantry of the Guard.)

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\* \* \* In the night the inhabitants of Liége became mutinous. Forty persons were shot and 15 houses demolished. 10 soldiers shot. The sights here make you cry.

"On the 23rd August everything quiet. The inhabitants have so far given in. Seventy students were shot, 200 kept prisoners. Inhabitants returning to Liége.

"Aug. 24th. At noon with 36 men on sentry duty. Sentry duty is A 1, no post allocated to me. Our occupation, apart from bathing, is eating and drinking. We live like God in Belgium." (From the diary of Joh. van der Schoot, reservist of the Tenth Company, Thirty-ninth Reserve Infantry Regiment, Seventh Reserve Army Corps.)

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"August 17th. In the afternoon I had a look at the little château belonging to one of the King's secretaries (not at home). Our men had behaved like regular vandals. They had looted the cellar first, and then they had turned their attention to the bedrooms and thrown things about all over the place. They had even made fruitless efforts to smash the safe open. Everything was topsy-turvy—magnificent furniture, silk, and even china. That's what happens when the men are allowed to requisition

for themselves. I am sure they must have taken away a heap of useless stuff simply for the pleasure of looting."

"Aug. 23rd. \* \* \* Our men came back and said that at the point where the valley joined the Meuse we could not get on any further as the villagers were shooting at us from every house. We shot the whole lot—16 of them. They were drawn up in three ranks; the same shot did for three at a time.

" \* \* \* The men had already shown their brutal instincts; \* \* \*

"The sight of the bodies of all the inhabitants who had been shot was indescribable. Every house in the whole village was destroyed. We dragged the villagers one after another out of the most unlikely corners. The men were shot as well as the women and children who were in the convent, since shots had been fired from the convent windows; and we burnt it afterwards.

"The inhabitants might have escaped the penalty by handing over the guilty and paying 15,000 francs.

"The inhabitants fired on our men again. The division took drastic steps to stop the villages being burnt and the inhabitants being shot. The pretty little village of Gue d'Ossus, however, was apparently set on fire without cause. A cyclist fell off his machine and his rifle went off. He immediately said he had been shot at. All the inhabitants were burnt in the houses. I hope there will be no more such horrors.

"At Leppe apparently 200 men were shot. There must have been some innocent men among them. In future we shall have to hold an inquiry as to their guilt instead of shooting them.

"In the evening we marched to Maubert-Fontaine. Just as we were having our meal the alarm was sounded—everyone is very jumpy.

"September 3rd. Still at Rethel, on guard over prisoners. \* \* \* The houses are charming inside. The middle class in France has magnificent furniture. We found stylish pieces everywhere and beautiful silk, but in what a state \* \* \* Good God! \* \* \* Every bit of furniture broken, mirrors smashed. The Vandals themselves could not have done more damage. This place is a disgrace to our army. The inhabitants who fled could not have expected, of course, that all their goods would have been left intact after so many troops had

passed. But the column commanders are responsible for the greater part of the damage, as they could have prevented the looting and destruction. The damage amounts to millions of marks; even the safes have been attacked.

"In a solicitor's house, in which, as luck would have it, all was in excellent taste, including a collection of old lace and Eastern works of art, everything was smashed to bits.

"I could not resist taking a little memento myself here and there. \* \* \* One house was particularly elegant, everything in the best taste. The hall was of light oak; I found a splendid raincoat under the staircase and a camera for Felix." (From the diary of an officer in the One Hundred Seventy-eighth Regiment, Twelfth Saxon Corps.)

But this horror apparently was not shared by the German commander in chief, as is evident from the following:

"ORDER.

"*To the People of Liège.*

"The population of Andenne, after making a display of peaceful intentions towards our troops, attacked them in the most treacherous manner. With my authorisation, the General commanding these troops has reduced the town to ashes and has had 110 persons shot.

"I bring this fact to the knowledge of the people of Liège in order that they may know what fate to expect should they adopt a similar attitude.

"Liège, 22nd August, 1914.

"GENERAL VON BÜLOW."

The following "Order of the Day" shows how the town of Huy escaped a like fate. Drunken German soldiers were frightened and began to shoot men and burn houses. The commanding officer condemned this because it was not done by his order and because two German soldiers were wounded. It is evident that massacres and arson were permitted only when commanded by the officers.

"Last night a shooting affray took place. There is no evidence that the inhabitants of the towns had any arms in their houses, nor is there evidence that the people took part in the shooting; on the contrary, it seems that the soldiers were under the

influence of alcohol, and began to shoot in a senseless fear of a hostile attack.

"The behavior of the soldiers during the night, with very few exceptions, makes a scandalous impression.

"It is highly deplorable when officers or noncommissioned officers set houses on fire without permission or order of the commanding, or, as the case may be, the senior officer, or when by their attitude they encourage the rank and file to burn and plunder.

"I require that everywhere strict instructions shall be given with regard to the treatment of the life and property of the civilian population.

"I prohibit all shooting in the towns without the order of an officer.

"The miserable behaviour of the men caused a noncommissioned officer and a private to be seriously wounded by German bullets.

"The Commanding Officer,  
"MAJOR VON BASSEWITZ."

In his report of September 12, 1917, to the Secretary of State, Minister Whitlock has much to tell of the policy of frightfulness. The following passages refer to the subject of massacres:

"Summary executions took place [at Dinant] without the least semblance of judgment. The names and number of the victims are not known, but they must be numerous. I have been unable to obtain precise details in this respect and the number of persons who have fled is unknown. Among the persons who were shot are: Mr. Defoin, mayor of Dinant; Sasserath, first alderman; Nimmer, aged 70; consul for the Argentine Republic, Victor Poncelet, who was executed in the presence of his wife and seven children; Wasseige and his two sons; Messrs. Gustave and Léon Nicaise, two very old men; Jules Monin and others were shot in the cellar of their brewery. Mr. Camille Pistre and son, aged 17; Phillipart, Piedfort, his wife and daughter; Miss Marsigny. During the execution of about forty inhabitants

Germans force of Dinant, the Germans placed before the convives to witness demned their wives and children. It is thus husbands' execu- that Madame Albin who had just given birth tions. to a child, three days previously, was brought on a mattress by German soldiers to witness the execution of her husband; her cries and supplications were so pressing that her husband's life was spared."

"On the 26th of August German soldiers entered various streets [of Louvain] and ordered the inhabitants of the houses to proceed to the Place de la Station, where the bodies of nearly a dozen assassinated persons were lying. Women and children

were separated from the men and forced to remain on the Place de la Station during the whole day. They had to witness the execution of many of their fellow-citizens, who were for the most part shot at the side of the square, near the house of Mr. Hemaide. The women and children, after having remained on the square for more than 15 hours, were allowed to depart. The Gardes Civiques of Louvain were also taken prisoners and sent to Germany, to the camp of Münster, where they were held for several weeks.

"On Thursday, August 27th, order was given to the inhabitants to leave Louvain because the city was to be bombarded. Old men, women, children, the sick, priests, nuns, were driven on the roads like cattle. More than 10,000 of the inhabitants were driven as far as Tirlemont, 18 kilometers from Louvain."

"One of the most sorely tried communities was that of the little village of Tamines, down in what is known as the Borinage, the coal fields near Charleroi. Tamines is a mining village in the Sambre; it is a collection of small cottages sheltering about 5,000 inhabitants, mostly all poor laborers.

**Massacres in Tamines.** "The little graveyard in which the church stands bears its mute testimony to the horror of the event. There are hundreds of new-made graves, each with its small wooden cross and its bit of flowers; the crosses are so closely huddled that there is scarcely room to walk between them. The crosses are alike and all bear the same date, the sinister date of August 22d, 1914."

"But whether their hands were cut off or not, whether they were impaled on bayonets or not, children were shot down, by military order, in cold blood. In the awful crime of the Rock of Bayard, there overlooking the Meuse below Dinant, infants in their mother's arms were shot down without mercy. The deed, never surpassed in cruelty by any band of savages, is described by the Bishop of Namur himself:

"One scene surpasses in horror all others; it is the fusillade of the Rocher Bayard near Dinant. It appears to have been ordered by Colonel Meister. This fusillade made many victims among the nearby parishes, especially those of des Rivages and Neffe. It caused the death of nearly 90 persons, without distinction of age or sex. Among the victims were babies in arms, boys and girls, fathers and mothers of families, even old men.

"It was there that 12 children under the age of 6 perished from the fire of the executioners, 6 of them as they lay in their mothers' arms:

"The child Fiévet, 3 weeks old.

"Maurice Bétemps, 11 months old.

"Nelly Pollet, 11 months old.

"Gilda Genon, 18 months old.

"Gilda Marchot, 2 years old.

"Clara Struvay, 2 years and 6 months.

"The pile of bodies comprised also many children from 6 to 14 years. Eight large families have entirely disappeared. Four have but one survivor. Those men that escaped death—and many of whom were riddled with bullets—were obliged to bury in a summary and hasty fashion their fathers, mothers, brothers, or sisters; then after having been relieved of their money and being placed in chains they were sent to Cassel [Prussia]."

Mr. Hugh Gibson, the secretary of our legation in Belgium, visited Louvain during its systematic destruction by the Germans. In *A Journal from our Legation in Belgium*, New York, 1917, pages 164-165, he relates what the German officers told him:

"It was a story of clearing out civilians from a large part of the town, a systematic routing out of men from cellars and garrets, wholesale shootings, the generous use of machine guns, and the free application of the torch—the whole story enough to make one see red. And for our guidance it was impressed on us that this would make people *respect* Germany and think twice about resisting her."

German pastors and professors far from the excitement of the firing have defended this policy of frightfulness, e. g.:

"We are not only compelled to accept the war that is forced upon us \* \* \* but are even compelled to <sup>Pastor defends</sup> carry on this war with a cruelty, a ruthlessness, frightfulness. an employment of every imaginable device, unknown in any previous war." Pastor D. Baumgarten, in *Deutsche Reden in schwerer Zeit*, "German Speeches in Difficult Days."

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"The fate that Belgium has called down upon herself is hard for the individual, but not too hard for this political structure (*Staatsgebilde*), for the destinies of the immortal great nations stand so high that they cannot but have the right, in case of need, to stride over existences that cannot defend themselves, but live, as parasites, upon the rivalries of the great." Prof. H. Oncken, in *Süddeutsche Monatssheft*, "South German Monthly."

Would they have dared to defend such a policy if they could have seen the announcement sent out by the parish of St. Hadelin with its silent eloquence?

This is an invitation to a service in memory of 60 men and women from one parish, of whom all but two were killed by the Germans in the massacre of August 5 and 6, 1914. The closing sentences are:

PRAY TO GOD FOR THE REPOSE OF THEIR SOULS.

Gentle Heart of Mary, be my refuge.  
 Our Lady of Lourdes, pray for us.  
 St. Joseph, patron of Belgium, pray for us.  
 St. Hadelin, patron of the parish, pray for us.  
 Sainte Barbe, patroness of kindly death, pray for us.

After reading such ghastly accounts, many of them written by German eyewitnesses, and knowing that similar tales were published widely in the German newspapers, it is difficult to read with patience such words as these:

"The German Army (in which I of course include the Navy) is to-day the greatest institute for moral education in the world."

"The German soldiers alone are thoroughly disciplined, and have never so much as hurt a hair of a single innocent human being." Houston Stewart Chamberlain, in *Kriegsaufsätze*. "War Essays", 1914.

"We see everywhere how our soldiers respect the sacred defenselessness of woman and child." Prof. G. Roethe, in *Deutsche Reden in Schwerer Zeit*, "German Speeches in Difficult Days."

## II. HOSTAGES AND SCREENS.

The massacres described above were a part of the German system of frightfulness. Another feature of this system was the use of civilians as hostages and for screens.

In discussing the use of hostages the *German War Book* (*Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*) says:

"By hostages are understood those persons who, as security or bail for the fulfillment of treaties, promises, or other claims, are taken or detained by the opposing State or its army. Their provision has been less usual in recent wars, as a result of which some professors of the law of nations have wrongly

Views of the  
German General  
Staff.

decided that the taking of hostages has disappeared from the practice of civilized nations. \* \* \*

"A new application of 'hostage right' was practiced by the German Staff in the war of 1870, when it compelled leading citizens from French towns and villages to accompany trains and locomotives in order to protect the railway communications which were threatened by the people. Since the lives of peaceable inhabitants were, without any fault on their part, thereby exposed to grave danger, every writer outside Germany has stigmatised this measure as contrary to the law of nations and as unjustified towards the inhabitants of the country."

Although their deeds in the Franco-Prussian war had been universally condemned, as they themselves admitted, the leaders did not intend to abandon such a useful measure of frightfulness. In *L'Interprète Militaire* the forms were provided for such acts in the next war. Both in Belgium and in France the Germans have constantly used hostages. The evidence is contained in the proclamations of the governing authorities and also in the diaries of the German soldiers. A few examples from these will illustrate the system which was employed.

A specimen of the arbitrariness and cruelty is furnished by the proclamation of Maj. Dieckmann, from which the following sections are presented:

#### FROM A PROCLAMATION BY MAJ. DIECKMANN, SEPTEMBER, 1914.

"4. After 9 a. m. on the 7th September, I will permit the houses in Beyne-Heusay, Grivegnée, and Bois-de-Breux to be inhabited by the persons who lived in them formerly, as long as these persons are not forbidden to frequent these localities by official prohibition.

"5. In order to be sure that the above-mentioned permit will not be abused, the Burgomasters of Beyne-  
Maj. Dieck- Heusay and of Grivegnée must immediately  
man seizes hos- prepare lists of prominent persons who will be  
tages. held as hostages for 24 hours each at Fort Fléron.

September 6th, 1914, for the first time [the period of detention shall be] from 6 p. m. until September 7th at midday.

"The life of these hostages depends on the population of the above-mentioned Communes remaining quiet under all circumstances.

"During the night it is severely forbidden to show any luminous signals. Bicycles are permitted only between 7 a. m. and 5 p. m. (German time).

"6. From the list which is submitted to me I shall designate prominent persons who shall be hostages from noon of one day until the following midday. If the substitute is not there in due time, the hostage must remain another 24 hours at the fort. After these 24 hours the hostage will incur the penalty of death, if the substitute fails to appear.

"7. Priests, burgomasters, and the other members of the Council are to be taken first as hostages.

"8. I insist that all civilians who move about in my district \* \* \* show their respect to the German officers by taking off their hats, or lifting their hands to their heads in military salute. In case of doubt, every German soldier must be saluted. Anyone who does not do this must expect the German military to make themselves respected by every means."

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#### A PROCLAMATION BY VON BÜLOW, IN NAMUR, AUGUST, 1914.

"1. The Belgian and French soldiers must be delivered as prisoners of war before 4 o'clock in front of the prison. Citizens who do not obey will be condemned to hard labor for life in Germany.

"The rigorous inspection of houses will commence at 4 o'clock. Every soldier found will be immediately shot.

"2. Arms, powder, and dynamite must be given up at 4 o'clock. Penalty, being shot.

"Citizens who know of a store of the above must inform the burgomaster, under penalty of hard labor for life.

"3. Every street will be occupied by a German guard, who will take ten hostages from each street, whom they takes hostages in will keep under surveillance. If there is any every street. rising in the street, the ten hostages will be shot.

"4. Doors may not be locked, and at night after 8 o'clock there must be lights at three windows in every house.

"5. It is forbidden to be in the street after 8 o'clock. The inhabitants of Namur must understand that there is no greater and more horrible crime than to compromise the existence of the town and the life of its citizens by risings against the German Army.

"The Commander of the Town,  
"VON BÜLOW.

"NAMUR, 25th August, 1914. (Printed by Chantraine)."

PROCLAMATION POSTED AT BRUSSELS AND ELSEWHERE,  
OCTOBER 5, 1914.

"September 25th, in the evening, the railroad track and telegraph were destroyed on the line Lovenjoul-Vertryck. \* \* \*

"Henceforth the villages situated nearest the spot where such Hostages are made responsible for railroads. events take place—it is of no consequence whether they are guilty or not—will be punished without mercy. For this purpose hostages have been taken from all places in the vicinity of railways in danger of similar attacks; and at the first attempt to destroy any railway, telegraph, or telephone line they will be immediately shot.

"Furthermore, all troops entrusted with the protection of railways have received orders to shoot anyone approaching railways or telegraph or telephone lines in a suspicious manner.

"The Governor General of Belgium,

"BARON VON DER GOLTZ,  
*"Field-Marshall."*

PROCLAMATION TO THE POPULATION OF RHEIMS.

"In order to insure sufficiently the safety of our troops and the tranquility of the population of Rheims, the persons mentioned have been seized as hostages by the Commander of the German Army. These hostages will be shot if there is the least disorder. On the other hand, if the town remains perfectly calm and quiet these hostages and inhabitants will be placed under the protection of the German Army.

"THE GENERAL COMMANDING.

"RHEIMS, 12th September, 1914."

Beneath this proclamation there were posted the names of 81 hostages and a statement that others had also Over 80 hostages in Rheims. been seized as hostages. The lives of all these men depended in reality upon the interpretation which the German military authorities might give to the elastic phrase, "the least disorder," in the proclamation.

Hugh Gibson, in *A Journal from our Legation in Belgium*, page 184, explains what was likely to happen:

"Another thing is, that on entering a town, they hold the burgomaster, the procureur du roi, and other authorities as hostages to insure good behavior by the population. Of course, the hoodlum class would like nothing better than to see their natural enemies, the defenders of law and order, ignominiously

shot, and they do not restrain themselves a bit on account of the hostages."

STATEMENT FROM DIARY OF BOMBARDIER WETZEL.

"Aug. 8th. First fight and set fire to several villages.

"Aug. 9th. Returned to old quarters; there we searched all the houses and shot the mayor and shot one man down from the chimney pot, and then we again set fire to the village.

"On the 18th August Letalle (?) captured 10 men with three priests because they have shot down from the church tower. They were brought to the village of Ste. Marie.

"Oct. 5th. We were in quarters in the evening at Willekamm. Lieut. Radfels was quartered in the mayor's house and there had two prisoners (tied together) Hostages at Willekamm. on a short whip, and in case anything happened they were to be killed.

"Oct. 11th. We had no fight, but we caught about 20 men and shot them." (From the diary of Bombardier Wetzel, Second Mounted Battery, First Kurhessian Field Artillery, Regiment No. 11.)

The Germans also found it convenient on many occasions to secure civilians, both men and women, who could be forced to march or stand in front of the troops, so that the countrymen of the civilians would be compelled first to kill their own people if they resisted the Germans. This usage is illustrated in the following:

LETTER OF LIEUT. EBERLEIN.

"OCTOBER 7, 1914.

"But we arrested three other civilians, and then I had a brilliant idea. We gave them chairs, and Civilians used as screens. we then ordered them to go and sit out in the middle of the street. On their part, pitiful entreaties; on ours, a few blows from the butt end of the rifle. Little by little one becomes terribly callous at this business. At last they were all seated outside in the street. I do not know what anguished prayers they may have said but I noticed that their hands were convulsively clasped the whole time. I pitied these fellows, but the method was immediately effective.

"The flank fire from the houses quickly diminished, so that we were able to occupy the opposite house and thus to dominate the principal street. Every living being who showed himself in the street was shot. The artillery on its side had done good work all this time, and when, toward 7 o'clock in the evening,

the brigade advanced to the assault to relieve us I was in a position to report that Saint Dié had been cleared of the enemy.

"Later on I learned that the regiment of reserve which entered Saint Dié further to the north had tried the same experiment. The four civilians whom they had compelled in the same way to sit out in the street were killed by French bullets. I myself saw them lying in the middle of the street near the hospital."

"A. EBERLEIN,  
"First-Lieutenant."

Letter published on the 7th October, 1914, in the "Vorabendblatt" of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*.

Minister Whitlock, in his report of September 12, 1917, to the Secretary of State, gives an instance of this German practice of seeking protection.

"The Germans attacked Hougaerde on the 18th August; the Belgian troops were holding the Gette Bridge in the village. The Germans forced the parish priest of Autgaerden to walk in front of them as a shield. As they neared the barricade the Belgian soldiers fired and the priest was killed. After the retreat of the Belgians the Germans shot 4 men, burned 50 houses, and looted 100."

Hugh Gibson, in *A Journal from our Legation in Belgium*, page 155, gives another incident:

"Two old priests have staggered into the —— legation more dead than alive after having been compelled to walk ahead of the German troops for miles as a sort of protecting screen. One of them is ill, and it is said that he may die as a result of what he has gone through."

#### STATEMENTS OF CARDINAL MERCIER AND HIS FELLOW BISHOPS.

"At the time of the invasion Belgian civilians, in twenty places, were made to take part in operations of war against their own country. At Termonde, Lebbeke, Dinant, and elsewhere in many places, peaceable citizens, women, and children were forced to march in front of German regiments or to make a screen before them.

"The system of hostages was carried out with a fierce cruelty. Cardinal Mercier's judgment on the system of hostages. The proclamation of August 4th, quoted above, declared, without circumlocution: 'Hostages will be freely taken.'

"An official proclamation, posted at Liège, in the early days of August, ran thus: 'Every aggression com-

mitted against the German troops by any persons other than soldiers in uniform not only exposes the guilty person to be immediately shot, but will also entail the severest reprisals against all the inhabitants, and especially against those natives of Liége who have been detained as hostages in the citadel of Liége by the commandant of the German troops.'

"These hostages are Monsignor Rutten, Bishop of Liége; M. Kleyer, burgomaster of Liége; the senators, representatives, and the permanent deputy and sheriff of Liége."

The above quotation is taken from *An Appeal to Truth*, addressed Nov. 24, 1915, by Cardinal Mercier and the other bishops of Belgium to the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

**Will Irwin on  
brutality of Ger-  
man drive  
through Bel-  
gium.** "Some ten or a dozen American correspondents, of whom I was one, witnessed the First German drive through Belgium. Most of us were so appalled and horrified by what we saw as to become anti-German for life." Will Irwin, in *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 6, 1917, p. 41.

### III. FINES.

The contracting nations, including Germany, who signed the Conventions of the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, 1907, pledged themselves to the following:

**Germany's promises in Hague conventions.** "Article L. No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the population on account of the acts of individuals for which they can not be regarded as jointly and severally responsible."

"Article LII. Requisitions in kind and services shall not be demanded from municipalities or inhabitants except for the deeds of the army of occupation. They shall be in proportion to the resources of the country, and of such a nature as not to involve the inhabitants in the obligation of taking part in military operations against their own country."

**German violations of Hague conventions.** The German authorities have violated these articles from the very beginning. As soon as they invaded Belgium, heavy fines were laid upon individual communities as reprisals for some act against the German Army or its regulations which was committed within their boundaries. In *An Appeal to Truth* Cardinal Mercier cites the following cases:

"Malines, a working-class town, without resources, has had a fine of 20,000 marks inflicted on it because the burgomaster did not inform the military authority of a journey which the Cardinal, deprived of the use of his motor car, had been obliged to make on foot. In fact, upon the flimsiest pretexts heavy fines are inflicted on communes. The commune of Puers was subjected to a fine of 3,000 marks because a telegraph wire was broken, although the inquiry showed that it had given way through wear."

In addition to such arbitrary, sporadic exactions, in December, 1914, the Germans demanded 40,000,000 francs (\$8,000,000) a month to be paid by the Belgian Provinces jointly.

Concerning this enormous imposition Cardinal Mercier says, in the *Appeal to Truth*:

"The essential condition of the legality of a contribution of this kind, according to the Hague Convention, is that it should bear relation to the resources of the country, article 52.

"Now, in December, 1914, Belgium was devastated. Contributions of war imposed on the towns and numerable requisitions in kind had exhausted Cardinal Mercier's comments. her. The greater part of the factories were idle, and in those, which were still at work, raw materials were, contrary to all law, being freely commandeered.

"It was on this impoverished Belgium, living on foreign charity, that a contribution of nearly 500,000,000 francs was imposed."

The German authorities were not satisfied with this impoverishing levy. In November, 1915, one month before the expiration of the twelve-month period fixed for the levy, they decreed that this contribution of 40,000,000 francs a month should be paid for an indefinite period. In November, 1916, they increased the levy to 50,000,000 francs a month, in May, 1917, to 60,000,000 francs a month. In addition, the German authorities have continued to levy fines upon towns and villages for acts committed in their neighborhood, although they had no proof that these acts had been committed by any inhabitant of the city or village thus fined. (Compare taking of hostages, noted above.)

The German military rulers have also made the families responsible for acts committed by or charged against members as is shown in the following examples, which are quoted from the *Appeal to Truth*, cited above.

"The Belgian Government has sent orders to rejoin the army to the militiamen of several classes.  
**Family made** \* \* \* All those who receive these orders responsible. are strictly forbidden to act upon them. \* \* \*

*In case of disobedience the family of the militiaman will be held equally responsible."*

"A warning of the Governor General, dated January 26th, 1915, renders the *members of the family* responsible if a Belgian fit for military service, between the ages of 16 and 40, goes to Holland."

The Commander in Chief of the German army in Belgium posted a proclamation declaring:

"The villages where acts of hostility shall be committed by the inhabitants against our troops **Villages made** *burned.* **responsible.**"

"For all destruction of roads, railways, bridges, etc., *the villages in the neighborhood* of the destruction **will be held responsible.**"

"The punishments announced above will be carried out severely and without mercy. *The whole community will be held responsible.* Hostages will be taken in large numbers. The heaviest war taxes will be levied."

At the end of the *Appeal to Truth* Cardinal Mercier says:

"But we can not say all here, nor quote all.

"If, however, our readers wish for the proof of the accusations **Cardinal Mer-** \* \* \* we shall be glad to furnish **cier has proofs.** them. There is not in our letter, nor in the four annexes [to the *Appeal to Truth*], one allegation of which we have not the proofs in our records."

A striking illustration of the German methods is contained in the archives of the State Department, because the Prince of Monaco appealed to President Wilson against the injustice of a fine imposed upon a small and impoverished village. The following documents from the State Department archives tell the story. They need no comments.

"PARIS, Oct. 27, 1914.

"SECRETARY OF STATE,

"Washington.

"Prince of Monaco called this morning and asked that the following case be submitted to the President:

"Prince states that General von Bülow for weeks has been inhabiting Prince's ancestral chateau near **The case of** Rheims, historical monument, containing works Sissonne. of art and family heirlooms; that von Bülow

has imposed fine of five hundred thousand francs on village of Sissonne some miles distant from chateau, because broken glass found on road near village. Sissonne being unable alone to pay has raised with a number of other neighboring villages one hundred twenty-five thousand francs but von Bülow has sent two messengers from Sissonne to Prince that unless latter pays fine for Sissonne the chateau and adjoining village, as well as Sissonne, will be destroyed on November first. Prince has answered refusing to pay sum now but willing to give his word to German Emperor that amount would be paid after removal of danger of fresh war incidents. Prince now fearful lest returning messengers, as well as male employees on his estate, be shot because of refusal to pay.

"I have arranged meeting this afternoon between Spanish Ambassador and Prince, to whom I have suggested that matter be presented to German Government through Spanish Ambassador at Berlin inasmuch as Prince's threatened property is in France.

—  
"HERRICK."

"ARMY HEADQUARTERS,  
"Warméville, Sept. 19th, 1914.

"To the MAYOR OF THE COMMUNE OF SISSONNE,  
"Sissonne.

"It has been conclusively proven that the road between Sissonne and the railway station of Montaigu <sup>Von Bülow's</sup> was, on September 18th, strewn with broken levy on Sissonne. glass along a distance of one kilometre and at intervals of 50 metres, for the purpose, no doubt, of impeding automobile traffic.

"I hold the commune of Sissonne responsible for this act of hostility on the part of its inhabitants and I punish the said commune by levying upon it a contribution of 500,000 francs (five hundred thousand francs).

"This sum must be entirely paid into the Treasury of the Etape by October 15th.

"The Inspection of the Etape now at Montcornet has been directed to enforce execution of this order.

"The General Commander in Chief of the Army.

—  
"VON BÜLOW."

#### LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE GERMAN EMPEROR.

"MONACO, Oct. 22nd, 1914.

"SIRE:

"I forward to Your Majesty several documents relating to a very grave and urgent matter.

"The General von Bülow has caused to be occupied since one month and a half my residence of Marchais, situated at five kilometres from the village of Sissonne. The general has levied upon the fifteen hundred inhabitants of this poor ruined village a war contribution of five hundred thousand francs, of which they are unable to pay more than one-quarter. Moreover, he has sent to me two emissaries bearing a document in which he threatens to destroy my property and the village of Marchais, over and above that of Sissonne, in the event of my not disbursing myself the sum in question before the end of the month of October.

"That is how a Prussian general treats a reigning Prince who for 45 years has been a friend to Germany, and who in all the countries of the world is surrounded with respect and gratitude for his work.

"In reply to the summons of the General von Bülow I have given my word of honor to complete the above contribution in order to avert a horrible action accomplished in cold blood, but adding that as a sovereign Prince I submit this matter to the judgment of the Emperor by declaring that the said sum shall be paid when the Château de Marchais will be free from the danger of intentional destruction.

"I am, with great respect, Your Majesty's devoted servant and cousin,

*"ALBERT, Prince of Monaco."*

#### LETTER ADDRESSED TO GEN. VON BÜLOW.

"MONACO, Oct. 22nd, 1914.

"GENERAL:

"To avert from the Commune of Sissonne and that of Marchais the rigorous treatment with which you have threatened them, I give my word of honor to remit to His Majesty the Emperor William, should the war come to an end without intentional damage being caused to my residence or to these two communes, the necessary sum to complete the amount of five hundred thousand francs imposed by you upon Sissonne.

"As a Sovereign Prince, I wish to deal in this matter with the Sovereign who, during fifteen years, called me his friend and has decorated me with the Order of the Knight of the Black Eagle.

**Prince comments on German treatment of monuments.** "My conscience and my dignity place me above fear, as also my personal will shall elevate me above regret; but should you destroy the Château de Marchais which is one of the centers of universal science and charity, should you

reserve to this archeological and historical gem the treatment you have given to the Cathedral of Rheims—when no reprehensible action has been committed there—the whole world will judge between you and myself.

"I tender to Your Excellency the expression of my high regard.

"ALBERT, Sovereign Prince of Monaco."

#### IV. DEPORTATIONS AND FORCED LABOR.

Until the present war the whole civilized world has boasted of its advance in humanity. This advance had been marked in many fields, and in none had greater progress been made than in the protection to be given to the private citizen in an invaded country. As far back as 1863, in the *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* the United States declared:

**United States treatment of civilians, 1863.** "22. Nevertheless, as civilization has advanced during the last centuries, so has likewise steadily advanced, especially in war on land, the distinction between the private individual belonging to a hostile country and the hostile country itself, with its men in arms. The principle has been more and more acknowledged that the unarmed citizen is to be spared in person, property, and honor as much as the exigencies of war will admit.

"23. Private citizens are no longer murdered, enslaved, or carried off to distant parts, and the inoffensive individual is as little disturbed in his private relations as the commander of the hostile troops can afford to grant in the overruling demands of a vigorous war.

"24. The almost universal rule in remote times was, and continues to be with barbarous armies, that the private individual of the hostile country is destined to suffer every privation of liberty and protection, and every disruption of family ties. Protection was, and still is with uncivilized people, the exception."

These declarations were made in the midst of our Civil War—one of the world's fiercest conflicts. A half-century later, after more than 50 years of progress, the German Government has gone back to the methods used by "barbarous armies" and "uneivilized people." It has deliberately adopted the policy of deporting men and women, boys and girls, and of forcing them to work for their captors; it has even compelled them to make arms and munitions for use against their allies and their own flesh and blood.

German Government's reversion to barbarism.  
No other act of the German Government has aroused such horror and detestation throughout the civilized world. Thousands of helpless men and women, boys and girls, have been enslaved. Families have been broken up. Girls have been carried off to work—or worse—in a strange land, and their relatives have not known where they have been taken, or what their fate has been.

This system of forced labor and deportation embraced the whole of Belgium, Poland, and the occupied lands of France.

The plan for setting forth the essential facts of the deportations and forced labor is as follows: the documents, that is to say, a small fraction of those which could be cited, will be allowed to tell the story, and only such comments will be added as are needed to enable the reader easily to grasp the connection of events.

## BELGIUM.

"The deportations \* \* \* were the most vivid, shocking, convincing, single happening in all our enforced observation and experience of German disregard of human suffering and human rights in Belgium." Vernon Kellogg, in *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1917.

A summary of the whole situation, down to January, 1917, can be obtained by reading continuously the report of Minister Whitlock, taken from the files of the State Department, which is given in italics on pages 48-49, 53, 54-55, 67-68, 74-75, 78. The insertion of his report at appropriate points has made it possible to avoid all but a minimum of repetition.

*"Legation of the United States of America,*

*"Brussels, January 16th, 1917.*

*"The Honorable the Secretary of State,*

*"Washington.*

*"Sir: I have had it in mind, and I might say, on my conscience, since the Germans began to deport Belgian workmen early in November, to prepare for the Department a detailed report on this latest instance of brutality, but there have been so many obstacles in the way of obtaining evidence on which a calm and judicious opinion could be based, and one is so overwhelmed with the horror of the thing itself, that it has been, and even now is, difficult to write calmly and justly about it. I have had to content myself with the fragmentary despatches I have from time to time sent to the Department and with doing what I could, little as that can be, to alleviate the distress that this gratuitous cruelty has caused the population of this unhappy land.*

*"In order to understand fully the situation it is necessary to go back to the autumn of 1914. At the time we were organizing the relief work, the Comité National—the Belgian relief organization that collaborates with the Commission for Relief in Belgium—proposed an arrangement by which the Belgian Government should pay to its own employees left in Belgium, and other unemployed men besides, the wages they had been accustomed to receive. The Belgians wished to do this both for humanitarian and patriotic purposes; they wished to provide the unemployed with the means of livelihood, and, at the same time, to prevent their working for the Germans. I refused to be connected in any way with this plan, and told the Belgian committee that it had many possibilities of danger; that not only would it place a premium on idleness, but that it would ultimately exasperate the Germans. However, the policy was adopted, and has been continued in practice, and on the rolls of the Comité National have been borne the names of hundreds of thousands—some 700,000, I believe—of idle men receiving this dole, distributed through the communes.*

*"The presence of these unemployed, however, was a constant temptation to German cupidity. Many times German cupidity excited. they sought to obtain the lists of the chômeurs, but were always foiled by the claim that under the guarantees covering the relief work, the records of the Comité National and its various suborganizations were immune. Rather than risk any interruption of the ravitaillement, for which, while loath to own any obligation to America, the Germans have always been grateful, since it has had the effect of keeping the population calm, the authorities never pressed the point, other than with the burgomasters of the communes. Finally, however, the military*

party, always brutal, and with an astounding ignorance of public opinion and of moral sentiment, determined to put these idle men to work.

"General von Bissing and the civil portion of his entourage had always been and even now are opposed to this policy and I think have sincerely done what they could, first, to prevent its adoption, and secondly, to lighten the rigors of its application."

(Continued on page 53.)

In the early days of the German advance into Belgium, the people had learned to fear the worst. This was particularly true in Antwerp. In order to alleviate their fears and to obtain guarantees which might hasten the restoration of settled conditions, Cardinal Mercier secured from the German governor of Antwerp promises, and in a circular letter dated October 16th, 1914, asked the clergy of the Province of Antwerp to communicate them to the people:

**Solemn promises of Germans not to exploit Belgians.** "The governor of Antwerp, Baron von Hoiningen, General von Huene, has authorized me to inform you in his name and to communicate by your obliging intermediary to our populations the three following declarations:

"(1) The young men need not fear being taken to Germany, either to be enrolled into the army or to be employed at forced labors.

"(2) If individual infractions of police regulations are committed, the authorities will institute a search for the responsible authors and will punish them, without placing the responsibility on the entire population.

"(3) The German and Belgian authorities will neglect nothing to see that food is assured to the population."

These promises were not kept, as Cardinal Mercier and his colleagues show by abundant evidence in the *Appeal to Truth*.

"On March 23rd, at the arsenal at Luttre the German authority posted a notice demanding return to work. On April 21st, 200 workmen were called for. On April 27th soldiers went to fetch the workmen from their homes and take them to the arsenal. In the absence of a workman, a member of the family was arrested.

**Violation of German promises.** "However, the men maintained their refusal to work, 'because they were unwilling to co-operate in acts of war against their country.'

"On April 30th, the requisitioned workmen were not released, but shut up in the railway carriages.

"On May 4th, 24 workmen detained in prison at Nivelles were tried at Mons by a court-martial, 'on the charge of being members of a secret society, having for its aim to thwart the carrying out of German military measures.' They were condemned to imprisonment.

"On May 8th, 1915, 48 workmen were shut up in a freight car and taken to Germany.

**Early deportations.** "On May 14th, 45 men were deported to Germany.

"On May 18th a fresh proclamation announced that the prisoners would receive only dry bread and water, and hot food only every four days. On May 22nd three cars with 104 workmen were sent towards Charleroi."

"A similar course was adopted at *Malines*, where, by various methods of intimidation, the German authorities attempted to force the workers at the arsenal to work on material for the railways, as if it were not plain that this material would become war material sooner or later.

"On May 30th, 1915, the Governor General announced that he 'would be obliged to punish the town of Malines and its suburbs by stopping all commercial traffic if by 10 a. m. on Wednesday, June 2nd, 500 workmen had not presented themselves for work at the arsenal.'

"On Wednesday, June 2nd, not a single man appeared. Accordingly, a complete stoppage took place of every vehicle within a radius of several kilometres of the town."

"Several workmen were taken by force and kept two or three days at the arsenal."

"The commune of *Sweveghem* (Western Flanders) was punished Belgians asked in June, 1915, because the 350 workmen at the to make barbed private factory of M. Bekaert refused to make wire. barbed wire for the German Army.

"The following notice was placarded at *Menin* in July-August, 1915: 'By order: From to-day the town will no longer afford aid of any description—including assistance to their families, wives, and children—to any operatives except those who work regularly at *military work*, and other tasks assigned to them. All other operatives and their families can henceforward not be helped in any fashion.'

"Similar measures were taken in October, 1915, at Harlebeke-Courtrai, Bisseghem, Lokeren and Mons.

**Punished for refusal to work for German Army.** From Harlebeke 29 inhabitants were transported to Germany. At Mons, in M. Lenoir's factory, the directors, foremen, and 81 workmen were imprisoned for having refused to work in the service of the German Army. M. Lenoir was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, the five directors to a year each, 6 foremen to 6 months, and the 81 workmen to eight weeks.

"The General Government had recourse also to *indirect methods of compulsion*. It seized the Belgian Red Cross, confiscated its property, and changed its purpose arbitrarily. It attempted to make itself master of the public charities and to control the National Aid and Food Committee.

"If we were to cite *in extenso* the decree of the Governor General of August 4th, 1915, concerning measures intended to assure the carrying out of works of public usefulness, and that of

**Trickiness of German rulers of Belgium.** August 15th, 1915, 'concerning the unemployed, who, through idleness, refrain from work,' it would be seen by what tortuous means the occupying Power attempts to attack at once the masters and the men."

October 12th, 1915, the German authorities took a long step in the development of their policy of forcing the Belgians to aid them in prosecuting the war. The decree of that date reveals the matter and openly discloses a contempt for international law.

#### DECREE OF OCTOBER 12, 1915.

"Article 1. Whoever, without reason, refuses to undertake or to continue work suitable to his occupation, and in the execution of which the military administration is interested, such work being ordered by one or more of the military commanders, will be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year. He may also be transported to Germany.

"Invoking Belgian laws or even international conventions to the contrary, can, in no case, justify the refusal to work.

**Germans flout international law and order Belgians to work for them.** "On the subject of the lawfulness of the work exacted, the military commandant has the sole right of forming a decision.

"Article 2. Any person who by force, threats, persuasion, or other means attempts to influence another to refuse work as pointed out in Article 1, is liable to the punishment of imprisonment not exceeding five years.

"Article 3. Whoever knowingly by means of aid given or in any other way abets a punishable refusal to work, will be liable to a maximum fine of 10,000 marks, and in addition may be condemned to a year's imprisonment.

"If communes or associations have rendered themselves guilty of such offence the heads of the communes will be punished.

"Article 4. In addition to the penalties stated in Articles 1 and 3, the German authorities may, in case of need, impose

on communes, where, without reason, work has been refused, a fine or other coercive police measures.

"This present decree comes into force immediately.

"Der Etappeinspekteur,

"VON UNGER,

"Generalleutnant.

"Ghent, October 12th, 1915."

Cardinal Mercier's brief comment is as follows: "The injustice and arbitrariness of this decree exceed all that could be imagined. Forced labor, collective penalties and arbitrary punishments, all are there. It is slavery, neither more nor less."

Cardinal Mercier was in error, for the German authorities were able to imagine a much more terrible

**October 3, 1916, German Government inaugurates wholesale deportations.** measure. In October, 1916, when the need for an additional labor supply *in Germany* had become urgent, the German government established the system of forced labor *and deportation* which has aroused the detestation

of Christendom. The reader will not be misled by the clumsy effort of the German authorities to mask the real purpose of the decree.

#### THE DECREE OF OCTOBER 3, 1916.

##### "DECREE CONCERNING THE LIMITING OF THE BURDENS ON PUBLIC CHARITY . . .

"I. People able to work may be compelled to work even outside the place where they live, in case they have to apply to the charity of others for the support of themselves or their dependents on account of gambling, drunkenness, loafing, unemployment, or idleness.

German verbal camouflage. "II. Every inhabitant of the country is bound to render assistance in case of accident or general danger, and also to give help in case of public calamities as far as he can, even outside the place where he lives; in case of refusal he may be compelled by force.

"III. Anyone called upon to work, under Articles I or II, who shall refuse the work, or to continue at the work assigned him, will incur the penalty of imprisonment up to three years and of a fine up to 10,000 marks, or one or other of these penalties, unless a severer penalty is provided for by the laws in force.

"If the refusal to work has been made in concert or in agree-

ment with several persons, each accomplice will be sentenced, as if he were a ringleader, to at least a week's imprisonment.

"IV. The German military authorities and Military Courts will enforce the proper execution of this decree.

"The Quartermaster General, SAUBERZWEIG.  
"GREAT HEADQUARTERS, 3d October, 1916."

The responsibility for this atrocious program rests upon the military rulers of Germany, who had labored so zealously to infect the army and the people with the principles of ruthlessness. It is significant that the decree of October 3, 1916,

followed hard upon the elevation of Hindenburg to the supreme command with Ludendorf as his chief of staff. In his long report of January 16, 1917, Minister Whitlock says:

#### REPORT OF MINISTER WHITLOCK (continued)

"Then, in August, von Hindenburg was appointed to the supreme command. He is said to have criticized von Was Bissing against deportations? Bissing's policy as too mild; there was a quarrel; von Bissing went to Berlin to protest, threatened to resign, but did not. He returned, and a German official here said that Belgium would now be subjected to a more terrible régime—would learn what war was. The prophecy has been vindicated. Recently I was told that the drastic measures are really of Ludendorf's inspiration; I do not know. Many German officers say so." (Continued on p. 54.)

If von Bissing had opposed the policy of deportation when his own judgment was overruled, he consented to become the "devil's advocate" and defended the system in public. Especially instructive is the following conversation reported by Mr. F. C. Walcott:

#### VON BISSING'S CONVERSATION WITH MR. WALCOTT.

"I went to Belgium to investigate conditions, and while there I had opportunity \* \* \* to talk one day with Governor General von Bissing, who died three or four weeks ago, a man 72 or 73 years old, a man steeped in the 'system,' born and bred to the hardening of the heart which that philosophy develops. There ought to be some new word coined for the process that a man's heart undergoes when it becomes steeped in that system.

"I said to him, 'Governor, what are you going to do if England and France stop giving these people money to purchase food?'

"He said, 'We have got that all worked out and have had it worked out for weeks, because we have expected this system to break down at any time.'

"He went on to say, 'Starvation will grip these people in 30 to 60 days. Starvation is a compelling force, and we would use that force to compel the Belgian workingmen, many of them very skilled, to go into Germany to replace the Germans, so that they could go to the front and fight against the English and the French.'

"As fast as our railway transportation could carry them, we would transport thousands of others that would be fit for agricultural work, across Europe down into southeastern Europe, into Mesopotamia, where we have huge, splendid irrigation works. All that land needs is water and it will blossom like the rose.'

"The weak remaining, the old and the young, we would concentrate opposite the firing line, and put firing squads back of them, and force them through that line, so that the English and French could take care of their own people.'

"It was a perfectly simple, direct, frank reasoning. It meant that the German Government would use any force in the destruction of any people not its own to further its own ends." (Frederic C. Walcott, in *The National Geographic Magazine*, May, 1917.)

A brief general view of the character of the deportations can perhaps be gained best from the report of Minister Whitlock.

#### REPORT OF MINISTER WHITLOCK (continued).

"The deportations began in October in the *Étape*, at Ghent, and at Bruges, as my brief telegrams indicated. The policy spread; the rich industrial districts of Hainaut, the mines and steel works about Charleroi were next attacked; now they are seizing men in Brabant, even in Brussels, despite some indications and even predictions of the civil authorities that the policy was about to be abandoned.

[The étapes were the parts of Belgium under martial law, and included the province of western Flanders, part of eastern Flanders, and the region of Tournai. The remainder of the occupied part of Belgium was under civil government.]

"During the last fortnight men have been impressed here in Brussels, but their seizures here are made evidently with much greater care than in the provinces, with more regard for the appearances. There was no public announcement of the intention to deport, but suddenly

The deporta-  
tions begin.

about ten days ago certain men in towns whose names are on the list of échomeurs received summons notifying them to report at one of the railway stations on a given day; penalties were fixed for failure to respond to the summons and there was printed on the card an offer of employment by the German Government either in Germany or Belgium. On the first day out of about 1,500 men ordered to present themselves at the Gare du Midi about 750 responded. These were examined by German physicians and 300 were taken. There was no disorder, a large force of mounted Uhlan's keeping back the crowds and barring access to the station to all but those who had been summoned to appear. The Commission for Relief in Belgium had secured permission to give to each deported man a loaf of bread, and some of the communes provided warm clothing for those who had none and in addition a small financial allowance. As by one of the ironies of life the winter has been more excessively cold than Belgium has ever known it, and while many of those who presented themselves were adequately protected against the cold, many of them were without overcoats. The men shivering from cold and fear, the parting from weeping wives

Pitiable scenes. and children, the barriers of brutal Uhlan's, all this made the scene a pitiable and distressing one.

"It was understood that the seizures would continue here in Brussels, but on Thursday last, a bitter cold day, those that had been convoked were sent home without examination. It is supposed that the severe weather has moved the Germans to postpone the deportations." (Continued on page 67.)

Cardinal Mercier attempted to persuade the German authorities to abandon their terrible plans, reminding them of their solemn promises in the past:

"MALINES, 19th October, 1916.

"Mr. GOVERNOR GENERAL:

"The day after the surrender of Antwerp the frightened population asked itself what would become of <sup>An other</sup> the Belgians of age to bear arms or who would "Scrap of Paper" reach that age before the end of the occupation. The entreaties of the fathers and mothers of families determined me to question the governor of Antwerp, Baron von Huene, who had the kindness to reassure me and to authorize me in his name to reassure the agonized parents. The rumor had spread at Antwerp, nevertheless, that at Liége, Namur, and Charleroi young men had been seized and taken by force to Germany. I therefore begged Governor von Huene to be good enough to confirm to me in writing the guarantee which he had given to me orally, to the effect that nothing similar would happen at Antwerp. He said to me immediately that the rumors concerning deportations were without basis, and unhesitatingly

he sent me in writing, among other statements, the following: 'Young men have no reason to fear that they will be taken to Germany, either to be there enrolled in the army or employed for forced labor.'

"This declaration, written and signed, was publicly transmitted to the clergy and to those of the Faith of the province of Antwerp, as Your Excellency can see from the document enclosed herewith, dated October 16th, 1914, which was read in all the churches. [Printed on preceding pages.]

"Upon the arrival of your predecessor, the late Baron von der Goltz, at Brussels I had the honor of presenting myself at his house and requested him to be good enough to ratify for the entire country, without time limit, the guarantees which General von Huene had given me for the province of Antwerp. The Governor General retained this request in his possession in order to examine it at his leisure. The following day he was good enough to come in person to Malines to bring me his approval, and confirmed to me, in the presence of two aides-de-camp and of my private secretary, the promise that the liberty of Belgian citizens would be respected.

"To doubt the authority of such undertakings would have been to reflect upon the persons who had made them, and I therefore took steps to allay, by all the means of persuasion in my power, the anxieties which persisted in the interested families.

"Notwithstanding all this, your Government now tears from their homes workmen reduced in spite of their efforts to a state of unemployment, separates them by force from their wives and children and deports them to enemy territory. Numerous workmen have already undergone this unhappy lot; more numerous are those who are threatened with the same acts of violence.

"In the name of the liberty of domicile and the liberty of work of Belgian citizens; in the name of the inviolability of families; in the name of moral interests which the measures of deportation would gravely compromise; in the name of the word given by the Governor of the Province of Antwerp and by the Governor General, the immediate representative of the highest authority of the German Empire, I respectfully beg Your Excellency to be good enough to withdraw the measures of forced labor and of deportation announced to the Belgian workmen, and to be good enough to reinstate in their homes those who have already been deported.

"Your Excellency will appreciate how painful for me would be the weight of the responsibility that I would have to bear as regards these families, if the confidence which they have given you through my agency and at my request were lamentably deceived.

"I persist in believing that this will not be the case.

"Accept, Mr. Governor General, the assurance of my very high consideration.

"D. J. CARDINAL MERCIER,  
"Arch. of Malines."

Municipal governments in Belgium appealed to the German authorities to observe their solemn promises. The two documents which follow illustrate Belgian appeals and German answers.

RESOLUTION OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF TOURNAI,  
OCTOBER 20, 1916.

"In the matter of the requisition made by the German authorities on October 20, 1916 (requisition of a list of workmen to be drawn up by the municipality) \* \* \*

"The municipal council resolves to maintain its attitude of refusal.

"It further feels it its duty to place on record the following:

"The city of Tournai is prepared to submit unreservedly to all the exigencies authorised by the laws and customs of war. Its sincerity can not be questioned. For more than two years it has submitted to the German occupation, during which time it has lodged and lived at close quarters with the German troops, yet it has displayed perfect composure and has refrained from any act of hostility, proving thereby that it is animated by no idle spirit of bravado.

"But the city could not bring itself to provide arms for use against its own children, knowing well that natural law and the law of nations (which is the expression of natural law) both forbid such action.

**Council of  
Tournai refuses  
immoral and ille-  
gal demands.**

"In his declaration dated September 2, 1914, the German Governor General of Belgium declared: 'I ask none to renounce his patriotic sentiments.'

"The city of Tournai reposes confidence in this declaration, which it is bound to consider as the sentiment of the German Emperor, in whose name the Governor General was speaking. In accepting the inspiration of honor and patriotism, the city is loyal to a fundamental duty, the loftiness of which must be apparent to any German officer.

"The city is confident that the straightforwardness and clearness of this attitude will prevent any misunderstanding arising between itself and the German Army."

GERMAN REPLY TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF TOURNAI.

*"TOURNAI, 23rd October, 1916.*

"In permitting itself, through the medium of municipal resolutions, to oppose the orders of the German military authorities in the occupied territory, the city is guilty of an unexampled arrogance and of a complete misunderstanding of the situation created by the state of war.  
*And is roundly lectured and fined.*

"The 'clear and simple situation' is in reality the following:

"The military authorities order the city to obey. Otherwise the city must bear the heavy consequences, as I have pointed out in my previous explanations.

"The General Commanding the Army has inflicted on the city—on account of its refusal, up to date, to furnish the lists demanded—a punitive contribution of 200,000 marks, which must be paid within the next six days, beginning with to-day. The General also adds that until such time as all the lists demanded are in his hands, for every day in arrears, beginning with December 31, 1916, a sum of 20,000 marks will be paid by the city.

*"HOPFER, Major General,  
 "Etappen-Kommandant."*

The Commission Syndicale of Belgian workingmen also attempted to induce the German authorities to abandon their terrible plans.

*"COMMISSION SYNDICALE OF BELGIUM,  
 "Brussels, 30th Oct., 1916.*

[To the GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BELGIUM.]

"EXCELLENCY: The measures which are being planned by your administration to force the unemployed to work for the invading power, the deportation of our unhappy comrades which has begun in the region of the étapes, move most profoundly the entire working class in Belgium.

"The undersigned, members and representatives of the great central socialist and independent syndicates of Belgium, would consider that they had not fulfilled their duty did they not express to you the painful sentiments which agitate the laborers and convey to you the echo of their touching complaints.

"They have seen the machinery taken from their factories, the most diverse kind of raw materials requisitioned, the accumulation of obstacles to prevent the resumption of regular work, the disappearance one by one of every public liberty of which they were proud.

"For more than two years the laboring class more than any other has been forced to undergo the most bitter trials, experiencing misery and often hunger, while its children far away fight and die, and the parents of these children can never convey to them the affection with which their hearts are overflowing.

**Workmen re-cite their wrongs at German hands.** "Our laboring class has endured everything with the utmost calm and the most impressive dignity, repressing its sufferings, its complaints and heavy trials, sacrificing everything to its ideal of liberty and independence. But the measures which have been announced will make the population drain the dregs [of the cup] of human sorrow; the proletariat, *the poor upon whom unemployment has been forced*, citizens of a modern state, are to be condemned to forced labor without having disobeyed any regulation or order.

"In the name of the families of workmen among which the most painful anxiety reigns at present, whose mothers, whose fiancées, and whose little children are destined And appeal for decent treatment. to shed so many more tears, we beg Your Excellency to prevent the accomplishment of this painful act, contrary to international law, contrary to the dignity of the working classes, contrary to everything which makes for worth and greatness in human nature.

"We beg Your Excellency to pardon our emotion and we offer you the homage of our distinguished consideration.

"(Appended are signatures of members of the National Committee and the Commission Syndicale.)"

Von Bissing in his reply, November 3rd, practically admitted the truth of the complaint by attempting to justify the measures protested against. The arguments which he used are taken up and refuted in the letter of the Commission Syndicale, November 14, which follows:

"COMMISSION SYNDICALE OF BELGIUM,  
"Brussels, 14th Nov., 1916.

"To His Excellency BARON VON BISSING,  
"Governor General in Belgium.

"EXCELLENCY: The Secretaries and representatives of the socialistic and independent labor Unions of Belgium have, with a painful disappointment, taken cognizance of the answer which you were good enough to make to their petition of October 30th, concerning the deportation of laborers to Germany, and it is in the name of the working classes as a united whole that we are making a final effort to prevent the consummation of an act, without precedent, directed against its liberty, its sentiments, and its dignity.

**Socialists refute Bissing's arguments.** "You say that many industrial works have been closed on account of the lack of raw materials brought about by the blockade by the enemy. Permit us, Excellency, to remind you that the allied powers manifested very clearly their intention

to permit the importation into Belgium of raw materials required by our industries, provided, with a very natural provision, that no requisitions should be made, except those mentioned in Article 52 of the Hague Convention, that is to say those necessary to the 'occupying army,' and that an international commission, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, should have the right to supervise the destination of the manufactured products.

"Instead of agreeing to such a proposal, we have seen the occupying authorities systematically remove the machinery, implements, machines of all kinds, the engines and raw materials, metals, leather, and wool, limit production, aggravate continually the difficulties of transactions. When communes or committees have desired to employ workmen without employment on works of public utility, obstacles have been thrown in their way and finally in many cases their undertakings have been stopped and broken. In a word, as fast as the most tireless efforts were strained to employ as many hands as possible, other men were constantly thrown out of work.

**And proudly praise the Belgian workman.** "You state also that unemployment is caused by the laborers' hostility to work. The whole past of our working class protests against this accusation with every bit of energy that still remains in them. Where is there to be found in the whole world a working class which has made of such a small country such a great industrial and commercial power? And we, who for the last 25 years have been the enthusiastic witnesses of the magnificent efforts of our brother workmen, in the matter of their material and moral betterment, we proudly affirm that it is not among their ranks that one can find men so degraded as to prefer to receive a charitable assistance which barely furnishes them with sufficient food to an honest wage given in remuneration for free and fruitful work.

"What is true, however, is that the Belgian workmen, conforming to the same article 52 of the Hague Convention which only admits requisitions of labor 'for the needs of the army of occupation and in case these requisitions do not imply an obligation to take part in the war against their country,' have refused the most tempting offers, not wishing to build trenches nor to repair forts nor to work in factories which manufacture war materials. This was their right and their duty. Their attitude deserved respect and not the most humiliating of punishments.

"You refer to your decrees of August 15th, 1915, and of May

15th, 1916, in which are mentioned the possible punishment of any workmen who receive support and refuse work suited to their capacities and carrying with it a proper wage. Those who know with what care and with what minute detail the conditions, under which the unemployed have the right to receive assistance, have been established might perhaps think that these menaces were, to say the least, useless. But as you yourself say, these decrees declare in their article 2 that every motive of refusal to work will be considered valid if it is admitted by international law.

"For these cases of refusal, the German Authorities reserved the right to cause these recalcitrants to appear before Belgian tribunals and later before German military tribunals. It is therefore certain that the unemployed have the right to refuse to work for any motive approved by international law. When summoned before the tribunal they have the right to employ counsel in their defense and to state clearly their reasons for refusal. One might, of course, say that it is not a question obliging the workmen to participate in military enterprise;

**Laborers see through the German scheme.** but it is only too evident that every Belgian deported to Germany will take the place there of a man who to-morrow will go to reinforce the ranks of the enemy. We should like to know, Excellency, whether these tribunals carry on their functions.

"You fear that continued unemployment may depreciate the physical and moral status of the workmen. We, who know them, have more confidence in them. We have seen them suffer with a stoicism which exists only in proud and high souls. Did not the splendid idea come from them, of organizing throughout the entire country a vast chain of educational work for the unemployed in order to develop their technical knowledge and to increase their professional value? The *Comité National* was not, alas, authorized to undertake this magnificent enterprise. Is it the idea that it is through forced labor, performed with black despair, like slaves, that our unhappy brothers will keep up their physical and moral energy?

"You fear also that 'the assistance which they receive will at length weigh down Belgian economic life.' We can with difficulty believe that Belgians, as you say, have had the smallness of soul to grudge in that form the bitter piece of bread and the little soup which have formed the food of so many working families for so many months; and what, after all, do the twelve million francs amount to that are distributed each month to from 500,000 to 600,000 unem-

**The Germans have no right to talk about unemployment of Belgians.**

ployed, in comparison with the destruction, beyond reckoning, of goods and lives which the horrors of a war in which it has not the slightest responsibility have cost and still cost our country? With the most unshakable faith in our destinies; we, the most nearly interested, know that in the near future Flanders and *Wallonie* will rise again, glorious, in history.

"Excellency, our heart and our reason refuse, then, to believe that it is for the good of our class and to avoid an additional calamity to our country, that All Belgians understand the German scheme. thousands of workers are suddenly torn from their families and transported to Germany.

Public sentiment has not been deceived and in reply to the grievous complaints of the victims, there echo the indignant protests of the entire population, as expressed by its representatives, its communal magistrates, and those persons who constitute the highest incarnation of law in our country.

"Furthermore, the arbitrary and brutal manner employed in the execution of these sad measures has raised all kinds of doubts regarding the object in view: the need, above all, is to obtain workmen in Germany, for Germany's profit, and for the success of its arms.

"While at Antwerp they did not take any young men from 17 to 31 years who were under the régime of control, in the Borinage they call all the men from 17 to 50 years of age; in Walloon Brabant all men over 17 years, without making any distinction between the employed and unemployed. Men of all professions and of all conditions have been taken—bakers, who have never ceased to work in our co-operatives of the Borinage, for example; mechanics, who always had employment; agricultural workmen, merchants \* \* \* At Lessines on the 6th instant, 2,100 persons were taken away, all workmen up to 50 years of age. Several cases are cited where old men with five or six of their sons have been exiled thus by force.

"Distressing scenes occur everywhere. The unhappy ones gathered together in the public squares are rapidly divided into gangs. They had been directed to bring a small amount of baggage; *The tears of the mothers and the children.*

they are taken at once to the railway station and loaded in cattle cars. They are not allowed to say good-bye to their families. No opportunity is given to them to put their affairs in order, even the most pressing ones. They do not know where they are going, nor for what work, nor for how long. Taken away at the beginning of the winter, after two years of privations, having no further resources and no means to provide themselves with warm clothing or with other indispensable articles, what privations are they going to endure? How will they live there? In what state will they return? This mystery and this anxiety are the cause of the ceaseless tears of the mothers

and little children. Distress and despair reign in the homes.

"Listen, Excellency, to these tears and these sobs. Do not permit our past of liberty and independence to be ruined. Do not permit human rights to be violated in its holy of holies. Do not permit the dignity of our working classes, which has been acquired after so many centuries of effort, to be trodden under foot."

"It is to law and humanity that we appeal, solemnly and with the hope of being heard, for we have the profound conviction that by our voice, at this tragic hour, the great voice of the working class of the entire civilized world expresses its sorrow and its protest."

"Accept, Excellency, the homage of our most distinguished consideration."

(Here follow the signatures of the Members of the *Comité Nationale* and of the *Commission Syndicale*.)

"We transmit this letter and previous correspondence to the Ministers and representatives of Foreign powers at Brussels, as well as to our comrades of the Commission Syndicale des Syndicats in Holland."

The files of the State Department contain authentic copies of very many such moving protests. The foregoing ones are taken from this pathetic collection, and from it may be cited, by way of further illustration, some passages from two others:

#### PROTEST OF BELGIAN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

"BRUSSELS, 9th November, 1916.

"To his Excellency, BARON VON BISSING,

"Governor General in Belgium.

*Belgian legislators recite the wrongs of Belgium.*

"EXCELLENCY: It seemed that no suffering could be added to those under which we have already been weighed down since the occupation of our country. Our banished liberty, our destroyed industry and commerce, our raw products and instruments of work taken out of the country, the public fortune ruined, want succeeding to wealth in families formerly most prosperous, privations, anxieties, and mourning. \* \* \*

"Is there need to relate the scenes which the region of the étape has been the theater of for several weeks, and which are now being reenacted, during the past days, in the territory of the Government General, where this scourge threatens to extend from commune to commune until its victims are counted

by hundreds of thousands? The notices posted on the walls and reproduced in the papers tell sufficiently what it is. Everywhere the same procedure, summary and sorrowful: arrests in mass, men classified arbitrarily among the unemployed, herded together, divided into groups, sent toward the unknown. \* \* \*

The "summary and sorrowful" procedure of the Germans.

"The authorities prefer to give them work in Germany, where the representatives of the [German] Industrial Bureau promise them 'good wages,' if they consent to work there 'voluntarily,' and where they may expect, in case of refusal, famine wages. What physical and moral depression is counted on in order to force their hand?

E everyone knows what Germany wants Belgian workers for.

"True, it has been asserted that the work which is offered to them will be nonmilitary in character; but voices have replied on every side: 'in taking the place of a German workman, the Belgian workman permits Germany to increase the numerical forces of its armies.' The most odious work is that whose results are used against the fatherland. To serve Germany is to fight against their own country. To compel our workmen to do this is nothing else than an act of force contrary to international law (referred to by Your Excellency in your proclamation of August 15th, 1915), and contrary also to the spirit, if not to the text, of the Fourth Convention of the Hague of 1907. \* \* \*

"They adjure Your Excellency to employ with the military authorities the high prerogatives which are yours from your position to prevent the consummation of an act without precedent in the history of modern wars, and they beg you to accept the assurance of their most distinguished consideration."

[Signatures of Belgian Senators and Deputies.]

#### PROTEST OF CARDINAL MERCIER.

"ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MALINES,

"*Malines, 10th November, 1916.*

"Mr. GOVERNOR GENERAL:

"I refrain from expressing to Your Excellency the sentiments which have been evoked in me by your letter of reply to the letter which I had the honor to address to you on October 19th, relative to the deportation of the unemployed.

"I have recalled with melancholy the words which Your Excellency, dwelling upon each syllable, pronounced in my presence, after your arrival at Brussels: 'I hope that our relations will be loyal \* \* \* I have received the mission of dressing the wounds of Belgium.'

"My letter of October 19th recalled to Your Excellency the engagement taken by Baron von Huene, military governor of Antwerp, and ratified a few days later by Baron von der Goltz, your predecessor as Governor General at Brussels. The engagement was explicit, absolute, unlimited as to time: 'The young men need not fear being taken to Germany, either to be enrolled in the army or to be employed at forced labor.'

"This engagement is being violated every day—thousands of times in the last fortnight.

"Baron von Huene and the late Baron von der Goltz did not say conditionally, as your despatch of the 26th of October would seek to imply: 'If the occupation does not last longer than two years men fit for military duty shall not be taken into captivity;' they said categorically: 'Young men, and with greater reason, men who have reached an advanced age, shall not at any moment of the occupation, either be made prisoners or employed at forced labor.' \* \* \*

"The decrees, posters, and comments of the press, which were intended to prepare public opinion for the measures now being taken, pleaded especially two considerations: The unemployed, so they declared, are a danger to public security; they are a charge upon governmental charity.

"It is not true, I said in my letter of October 19th, that our workmen have troubled, or even anywhere threatened the public peace.

**The Belgians have got no charity from the Germans.** Five million Belgians and hundreds of Americans are the astonished witnesses of the dignity and the flawless patience of our working class. It is

not true that the workmen deprived of work are a charge upon the occupying power for the charity which is dispensed by their administration. The *Comité National*, in which the occupying government has no active part, is the sole purveyor of subsistence to the victims of enforced idleness. \* \* \*

"Each Belgian workman will liberate a German workman who will add one more soldier to the German army. There, in all its simplicity, is the fact which dominates the situation. The author of the letter himself feels this burning fact, for he writes: 'nor is the measure one which affects the conduct of war *properly speaking* (*proprement dite*). It is, then, connected with the war *improperly speaking* (*improprement dite*); which can only mean that the Belgian workman, although he does not bear arms, will free the hands of a German workman who will take up the arms. The Belgian workman is forced to co-operate, in an indirect but evident manner, in the war against his country. This is manifestly contrary to the spirit of the Hague Conventions.

"Here is another statement: *unemployment is not caused either*

by the Belgian workman or by England; it is brought about by the régime of the German Occupation.

"The occupying government has seized considerable supplies of raw material intended for our national industry; it has seized and shipped to Germany the machinery, tools, and metals of our factories and our workshops. The possibility of national labor being thus suppressed, there remained one alternative to the workman: to work for the German Empire, either here or in Germany; or to remain idle. Some thousands of workmen, under the pressure of fright or of hunger, accepted, with regret for the most part, work for the enemy; but four hundred thousand workmen and workwomen preferred to resign themselves to unemployment, with its privations, rather than injure the interests of the fatherland; they lived in poverty, with the aid of a meager relief allowed them by the *Comité national de secours et d'alimentation*, under the supervision of the protecting ministers of Spain, America, and Holland. Calm, dignified, they bore without a murmur their painful lot. In no part of the country was there a

**No disorder is caused by Belgians.** revolt or even the semblance of one. Employers and employees awaited with patience the end of our long martyrdom. Meanwhile, the communal administrations and private initiative en-

deavored to alleviate the undoubted inconveniences of unemployment. But the occupying power paralyzed their efforts. The *Comité National* attempted to organize a professional school for the use of the unemployed. This practical instruction, respectful of the dignity of our workmen, was meant to keep up their skill, increase their capacity for work, and prepare for the restoration of the country. Who opposed this noble movement, the plan of which had been elaborated by our large manufacturers? Who? The occupying government.

"Notwithstanding all this, the communes made every effort to give work to the unemployed upon undertakings of public utility; but the governor general made these enterprises depend upon permission which, as a general rule, he refused.

**Communes not allowed to furnish work for unemployed.** There are numerous cases, I am assured, where the General Government authorized undertakings of this kind upon the express condition that they should not be undertaken by unemployed.

"They were seeking to create unemployment. They were recruiting the army of the unemployed. \* \* \*

"The letter of October 26th says that the first responsibility for the unemployment of our workmen rests upon England, because she has not allowed raw materials to enter Belgium.

**England not to blame.** "England generously allows foodstuffs to enter Belgium for the revictualling [of the country], under the control of neutral States—Spain, the United States, and Holland. She would allow raw

materials necessary for industry to enter the country under the same control if Germany were willing to agree to leave them to us, and not to seize the finished products of our industrial work.

**"But Germany, by various proceedings, notably by the organization of its Centrales,** over which neither the Belgians nor our protecting ministers can exercise any efficacious control, absorbs a considerable portion of the products of agriculture and of the industry of our country. The result is a considerable increase in the cost of living, which causes painful privations for those who have no savings. \* \* \*

**Germany robs Belgians and inflicts privations.** Deportation is slavery. "Deportation is slavery, and the heaviest penalty of the penal code after that of death. Has Belgium, who never did you any wrong, deserved at your hands this treatment which cries to heaven for vengeance?

"Mr. Governor General, in the beginning of my letter I recalled the noble words of Your Excellency: 'I have come into Belgium with the mission of dressing the wounds of your country.'

"If Your Excellency could penetrate into the homes of working-men, as we priests do, and hear the lamentations of wives and mothers whom your orders cast into mourning and into dismay, you would realize far better that the wound of the Belgian people is gaping.

"Two years ago, we hear people say, it was death, pillage, fires, but it was war! To-day it is no longer war, **Cold calculation of Germans.** it is cold calculation, intentional destruction, the victory of force over right, the debasement of human personality, a cry of defiance to humanity.

"It depends upon you, Excellency, to silence these cries of a revolted conscience; may the good God, whom we call upon with all the ardor of our soul for our oppressed people, inspire you with the pity of the good Samaritan!

"Accept, Mr. Governor General, the homage of my highest consideration.

"D. J. CARD. MERCIER,  
"Arch. of Malines."

In less moving phrases, but in deadly corroboration, the continuation of the report of Minister Whitlock says:

#### REPORT OF MINISTER WHITLOCK (continued).

*"The rage, the terror, and despair excited by this measure all over Belgium were beyond anything we had witnessed since the day the Germans poured into Brussels. The delegates of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, returning to Brussels, told the most distressing*

*stories of the scenes of cruelty and sorrow attending the seizures.*

**Appalling stories of German behavior.** And daily, hourly almost, since that time appalling stories have been related by Belgians coming to the Legation. It is impossible for us to verify them, first, because it is necessary for us to exercise all possible tact in dealing with the subject at all, and secondly because there is no means of communication between the Oeeupations-Gebiet and the Etappen-Gebiet. Transportation everywhere in Belgium is difficult, the vicinal railways scarcely operating any more because of the lack of oil, while all the horses have been taken. The people who are forced to go from one village to another must do so on foot or in vans drawn by the few miserable horses that are left. The wagons of the breweries, the one institution that the Germans have scrupulously respected, are hauled by oxen.

"The well-known tendency of sensational reports to exaggerate themselves, especially in time of war, and in a situation like that existing here, with no newspapers to serve as a daily clearing house for all the rumours that are as avidly believed as they are eagerly

repeated, should of course be considered; but even if a modicum of all that is told is true there still remains enough to stamp this deed as one of the foulest that history records.

A foul deed. "I am constantly in receipt of reports from all over Belgium that tend to bear out the stories one constantly hears of brutality and cruelty. A number of men sent back to Mons are said to be in a dying condition, many of them tubercular. At Malines and at Antwerp returned men have died, their friends asserting that they have been victims of neglect and cruelty, of cold, of exposure, of hunger."

(Continued on page 74.)

A vivid sketch of the deportations from Mons, drawn by a participant, may well be cited here:

"I will take the 18th of November of last year [1916]. A week or so before that a placard was placed on the walls telling my capital city of Mons that in slavery." seven days all the men of that city who were not clergymen, who were not priests, who did not belong to the city council, would be deported.

"At half past five, in the gray of the morning on the 18th of November, they walked out, six thousand two hundred men at Mons, myself and another leading them down the cobblestones of the street and out where the rioting would be less than in the great city, with the soldiers on each side, with bayonets fixed, with the women held back.

"The degradation of it! The degradation of it as they walked into this great market square, where the pens were erected, exactly as if they were cattle—all the great men of that province

—the lawyers, the statesmen, the heads of the trades, the men that had made the capital of Hainaut glorious during the last twenty years.

"There they were collected; no question of who they were, whether they were busy or what they were doing, or what their position in life. 'Go to the right! Go to the left! Go to the right!' So they were turned to the one side or the other.

"Trains were standing there ready, steaming, to take them to Germany. You saw on the one side the one brother taken, the other brother left. A hasty embrace and they were separated and gone. You had here a man on his knees before a German officer, pleading and begging to take his old father's place; that was all. The father went and the son stayed. They were packed in those trains that were waiting there.

"You saw the women in hundreds, with bundles in their hands, beseeching to be permitted to approach the trains, to give their men the last that they had in life between themselves and starvation—a small bundle of clothing to keep them warm on their way to Germany. You saw women approach with a bundle that had been purchased by the sale of the last of their household effects. Not one was allowed to approach to give her man the warm pair of stockings or the warm jacket, so there might be some chance of his reaching there. Off they went!" John H. Gade, in *The National Geographic Magazine*, May, 1917.

The Belgian women sent a touching appeal to Minister Whitlock:

#### THE APPEAL OF THE BELGIAN WOMEN.

"BRUSSELS,

"November 18, 1916, 46 Rue de la Madeleine.

"His Excellency Mr. BRAND WHITLOCK,

"Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

"MR. MINISTER:

"From the depths of our well of misery our supplication rises to you.

"In addressing ourselves to you, we denounce to your Government, as well as to our sisters, the women of the nation which you represent in our midst, the criminal abuse of force of which our unhappy and defenseless people is a victim.

"Since the beginning of this atrocious war we have looked on impotently and with our hearts torn with every sorrow at terrible events which put our civilization back into the ages of the barbarian hordes.

"Mr. Minister, the crime which is now being committed under your eyes, namely, the deportation of thousands of men compelled to work on enemy soil against the interests of their country, can not find any shadow of excuse on the ground of military

No shadow of  
excuse for depor-  
tations.

necessity, for it constitutes a violation by force of a sacred right of human conscience.

"Whatever may be the motive it can not be admitted that citizens may be compelled to work directly or indirectly *for the enemy against* their brothers who are fighting.

"The Convention of The Hague has consecrated this principle.

"Nevertheless, the occupying power is forcing thousands of men to this monstrous extremity, which is contrary to morals and international law, both these men who have already been taken to Germany and those who to-morrow will undergo the same fate, if from the outside, from neutral Europe and the United States, no help is offered.

"Oh! The Belgian women have also known how to carry out

**The women of Belgium have kept back their tears.** their duty in the hour of danger; they have not weakened the courage of the soldiers of honor by their tears.

"They have bravely given to their country those whom they loved. \* \* \* The blood of mothers is flowing on the battle-fields.

"Those who are taken away to-day do not go to perform a glorious duty. They are slaves in chains who, in a dark exile, threatened by hunger, prison, death, will be called upon to perform the most odious work—service to the enemy against the fatherland.

"The mothers can not stand by while such an abomination is taking place without making their voices heard in protest.

"They are not thinking of their own sufferings, their own moral torture, the abandonment and the misery in which they are to be placed with their children.

"They address you in the name of the inalterable rights of honor and conscience.

**The rights of honor and conscience.** "It has been said that women are 'all powerful suppliants.'

"We have felt authorized by this saying, Mr. Minister, to extend our hands to you and to address to your country a last appeal.

"We trust that in reading these lines you will feel at each word the unhappy heartbeats of the Belgian women and will find in your broad and humane sympathy imperative reasons for intervention.

"Only the united will of the neutral peoples energetically expressed can counterbalance that of the German authorities.

"This assistance which the neutral nations can and, therefore, ought to lend us, will it be refused to the oppressed Belgians?

"Be good enough to accept, Mr. Minister, the homage of our most distinguished consideration."

(Signed by a number of Belgian women and 24 societies.)

The United States Government did not fail to respond to this

touching appeal and to others of a similar nature. The American Embassy at Berlin promptly took up the burning question of the deportations with the Chancellor and other representatives of the German Government. In an interview with the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Grew was handed an official statement of the German plans, which is, in translation, as follows:

#### THE GERMAN MEMORANDUM ON BELGIAN "UNEMPLOYMENT."

"Against the unemployed in Belgium, who are a burden to public charity, in order to avoid friction arising therefrom, compulsory measures are to be adopted to make them work so far as they are not voluntarily inclined to work, in accordance with the regulation issued May 15, 1916, by the Governor General. In order to ascertain such persons the assistance of the municipal authorities is required for the district of the Governor General in Brussels, while in the districts outside of the General Government, i. e., in the provinces of Flanders, lists were demanded from the presidents of the local relief committees containing the names of persons receiving relief. For the sake of establishing uniform procedure the competent authorities have, in the meantime, been instructed to make the necessary investigations regarding such persons also in Flanders through the municipal authorities; furthermore, presidents of local relief committees who may be detained for having refused to furnish such lists will be released."

Mr. Grew pointed out that the deportations were a breach of faith and would injure the German cause abroad. In his official summary of the negotiations which he carried on he says:

"I then discussed in detail with the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the unfortunate impression which this decision would make abroad, reminding him that the measures were in principle contrary to the assurances given to the Ambassador by the Chancellor at General Headquarters last spring and dwelling on the effect which the policy might have on England's attitude towards relief work in Belgium. I said I understood that the measures had been promulgated solely by the military government in Belgium and that I thought the matter ought at least to be brought to the Chancellor's personal attention in the light of the consequences which the new policy would entail. Herr Zimmermann intimated in reply that the Foreign Office had very little influence with the military authorities and that it was unlikely that the new policy in Belgium could be revoked. He stated, however, in answer to my inquiry,

that he would not disapprove of my seeing the Chancellor about the matter."

Mr. Grew accordingly took up the whole question with the Chancellor, and among other arguments urged ~~Mr. Grew ap-~~ ~~peals to the~~ the promises which the German Government had ~~Chancellor~~ solemnly made to the Belgian civilians through Baron von Huene and Baron von der Goltz. [These pledges are set forth in detail in Cardinal Mercier's letter of October 19th, 1916, quoted in full on preceding pages.] Mr. Grew found it impossible to persuade the Chancellor to secure the abandonment of the policy of deportations, and thereupon urged that the policy should be modified. His formal statement of this phase of the negotiations is as follows:

"The points of amelioration which I then suggested as a concession to Belgian national feeling and foreign opinion were as follows:

"1. Only actual unemployed to be taken, involving a more deliberate and careful selection.

"2. Married men or heads of families not to be taken.

"3. Employees of the Comité National not to be taken.

~~and asks certain concessions~~ "4. The lists of the unemployed not to be required of the Belgian authorities, but to be determined by the German authorities themselves, as a concession to Belgian national feeling, and the Belgians, who had already been imprisoned for refusing to supply these lists, released.

"5. Deported persons to be permitted to correspond with their families in Belgium.

"6. Places of work or concentration camps of deported persons to be voluntarily opened by the German Government to inspection by neutral representatives.

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"A few days later Count Zech, the Chancellor's adjutant, called on me and communicated to me informally and orally the following replies to the various suggestions which I had made for concessions and points of amelioration:

"1. Only actual unemployed were to be taken. The selections but with slight would be made in a careful and deliberate manner.

"2. Married men or heads of families could not in principle be exempted, but each case would be considered carefully on its merits.

"3. Employees of the *Comité National* are regarded as actually employed and therefore exempt.

"4. It was essential that the Belgian authorities should co-operate with the German authorities in furnishing lists of unemployed, in order to avoid mistakes. Only one Belgian had been

imprisoned for refusing to give such lists, and orders had now been given for his release.

"5. Deported persons would be permitted to correspond with their families in Belgium.

"6. Places of work and concentration camps would in principle be open to inspection by Spanish diplomatic representatives.

"American inspection might also be informally arranged if desired.

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"On December 2nd, the Minister at Brussels communicated to me the text of a telegram which he had sent to the Department on November 28th, stating that he had been encouraged by the report of the results of my interview with the Chancellor. \* \* \*"

The telegram to which Mr. Grew refers was the following:

MINISTER WHITLOCK'S TELEGRAM OF NOVEMBER 28, 1916.

"BRUSSELS, VIA THE HAGUE, November 28, 1916.

"SECRETARY OF STATE,

"Washington.

"We are naturally encouraged by Grew's telegrams concerning his conversations with the Chancellor. It is probable that the orders [for softening the rigors of the deportations] have not yet been put into effect, as the recruiting of Belgian workmen continues without distinction as between the employed and unemployed. I have received creditable information that choice is made with great rapidity, which allows no time for examination. Mayor in the Province of Namur had given a list of unemployed as one hundred. Practically none of the persons in this list were taken by the Germans, but from the same district hundreds of employed were taken. Apparently the choice is based entirely on the skill and physical fitness of the workmen. There is a great demand for blacksmiths and iron workers. The identification cards from the Commission for Relief in Belgium issued to men working for the *Comité National* were respected in Antwerp; nine men holding them were taken at Mons; over thirty at Namur, and a few each day in various parts of the country. Over forty thousand are engaged in various departments of relief work, however, and this is but a small percentage. It is reliably reported that very bad conditions exist in the Province of Valenciennes, and that many men have been taken there. They have been without food for sixty-three hours and have no blankets. Apparently they have been deprived of food in order to oblige them to work for the Germans.

"WHITLOCK,  
"American Minister."

The American minister and the representatives of other powers were able to secure some lessening of the severity of the deportations. Minister Whitlock says:

REPORT OF MINISTER WHITLOCK (continued).

"We have, of course, done all that was in our power to ameliorate the conditions without in any way seeming officially to intervene. I have already reported to the Department the conversations I have had with the officials.

**Neutral representatives are allowed to request reconsideration of special cases.**

Recently I induced the Political Department to request that we bring to their attention any case of flagrant injustice, and on the basis of this admission we have been sending from time to time to the German authorities the names of certain deported Belgians who were working at the time of their seizure and therefore did not come within the purview of the rule laid down by the German Government that the unemployed should be deported. Other neutral Legations in Brussels have done the same, and the work has assumed proportions that are so large that I fear they may defeat its ends. The Legations of Spain and Holland have organized similar bureaus, and so many requests for repatriation are received that I have been compelled to rent rooms in a vacant house, across the street from the Legation in the rue Belliard, to carry on the work. The necessary staff and supplies for the work have been furnished by the Comité National, which has organized a central bureau that investigates all reports received by the Legations in order to determine whether or not the persons mentioned have received financial assistance since the war, and, as well, to avoid duplication

**They run into high figures.** in representations. Inasmuch as it is difficult to make exceptions, I fear, as I said before, that the very mass of these requests will prevent their being examined with any care. So far as we are able to determine, about 100,000 have been deported, and of those less than 2,000 have returned.

"The Spanish Legation which, because of the fact that Spain is charged with the protection of Belgian interests in Germany, claims precedence in this matter, \* \* \* makes a demand for the return of each and every one who applies, and sends in about two hundred names each day. The Dutch Legation \* \* \* forwards each request that is presented, and, owing to the fact that after the fall of Antwerp, assurances were given by the German Authorities through the Dutch Government to Belgian refugees in Holland that they would not be deported should they return to Belgium, they are receiving a great many. I am told that they submit over fifteen hundred each day. \* \* \*

"We have a great many requests, and although we try not to discriminate we attempt to pick out the most deserving cases, though now that I have written that phrase I feel a certain shame in it because all the cases are deserving.

*"I have had requests from the burgomasters of ten communes from Germans rarely allow food packages to reach deported Belgians. La Louvière, asking that permission be obtained to send to the deported men in Germany packages of food similar to those that are being sent to prisoners of war. Thus far the German authorities have refused to permit this except in special instances, and returning Belgians claim that even when such packages are received they are used by the camp authorities only as another means of coercing them to sign the agreements to work."*

*"It is said that, in spite of the liberal salary promised those who would sign voluntarily, no money has as yet been received in Belgium from workmen in Germany."* (Concluded on p. 78.)

The American Government was not content with informal recommendations to the German Government, and on December 5, 1916, the American representative at Berlin laid this formal protest before the German chancellor:

#### FORMAL PROTEST OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

*"The Government of the United States has learned with the greatest concern and regret of the policy of the German Government to deport from Belgium a portion of the civilian population with the result of forcing them to labor in Germany, and is constrained to protest in a friendly spirit but most solemnly against this action which is in contravention of all precedent and 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. Furthermore, the Government of the United States is convinced that the effect of this policy if pursued will in all probability be fatal to the Belgian relief work so humanely planned and so successfully carried out, a result which would be generally deplored and which, it is assumed, would seriously embarrass the German Government."*

This protest was followed by those of the Pope, the King of Spain, the Government of Switzerland, and other neutrals. They were of no avail, except, perhaps, to lead the German authorities to draw a tighter veil over their detestable proceedings. But the evidence has in some measure come through, although the full facts will not be known until the liberation of heroic Belgium.

In the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of December 2, 1916, the following protests appeared, made, respectively, by Socialist Deputy Haase and Deputy Dittmann, members of the Reichstag:

## PROTESTS AGAINST DEPORTATIONS HEARD IN REICHSTAG.

"Thousands of workmen in the occupied territory have been compelled to forced labor; we earnestly ask the government to restore to these workmen their liberty, especially in Belgium. In truth, we [the Germans] find no sympathy in neutral countries; even the Pope has made a protest against this procedure, and several neutral states have done the same. Common sense itself demands that we abandon this procedure which moreover is in opposition to the Hague Convention to which we have agreed."

"In opposition to the Secretary of State, I must recall that when formerly the Belgian workmen who had fled to Holland returned to Belgium, Governor General von Bissing promised that these Belgian workmen would under no circumstances be deported to Germany. This reassuring promise has not been kept."

Ambassador Gerard's interesting testimony appears in his recent book:

## AMBASSADOR GERARD'S EVIDENCE.

"The President [during my visit to America in 1916] impressed upon me his great interest in the Belgians American indig- deported to Germany. The action of Germany nation at deporta- in thus carrying a great part of the male popu- tions. lation of Belgium into virtual slavery had roused great indignation in America. As the revered Cardinal Farley said to me a few days before my departure, 'You have to go back to the times of the Medes and the Persians to find a like example of a whole people carried into bondage.'

"Mr. Grew had made representations about this to the Chancellor and, on my return, I immediately took up the question.

"I was informed that it was a military measure, that Ludendorf had feared that the British would break through and overrun Belgium and that the military did not propose to have a hostile population at their backs who might cut the rail lines of communication, telephones and telegraphs, and that for this reason the deportation had been decided on. I was, however, told I would be given permission to visit these Belgians. The passes, nevertheless, which alone made such visiting possible were not delivered until a few days before I left Germany.

"Several of these Belgians who were put to work in Berlin managed to get away and come to see me. They Some of them call on him. gave me a harrowing account of how they had been seized in Belgium and made to work in

Germany at making munitions to be used probably against their own friends.

"I said to the Chancellor, 'There are Belgians employed in making shells contrary to all rules of war and the Hague Conventions.' He said, 'I do not believe it.' I said, 'My automobile is at the door. I can take you, in four minutes, to where thirty Belgians are working on the manufacture of shells.' But he did not find time to go.

"Americans must understand that the Germans will stop at nothing to win this war, and that the only thing they respect is force." James W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 1917, pp. 351-52.

A similar point of view is expressed in an article entitled "Vae Victis" from the Hungarian newspaper *Nepszava* of Budapest (quoted in K. G. Ossiannilsson, *Militarism at Work in Belgium and Germany*, 1917, pp. 53-54).

#### HUNGARIAN OPINION ON DEPORTATIONS.

"Mechanical skill, and especially qualified mechanical skill, is for the moment a more important factor than usual, and as it must be obtained where it can be obtained, Belgium has had to suffer in accordance with the old saying which always holds good: *Vae victis* (woe to the vanquished). In Poland, mechanical skill and the arms which exist there are mobilized under 'the glorious and fortunate banners of Poland'; in Belgium under 'the banner of necessity.'

" \* \* \* \* The question remains: for what kind of work will the Germans use the Belgians? \* \* \*  
**The Germans are using the Belgians for war work.** Every kind of work in Germany is war work, whether it is called agricultural or industrial work. As the deported Belgians have not given their consent, their use is contrary to international law, and the policy of the Germans in Belgium and Poland is equally to be deplored. Instead of aiming at bringing us nearer peace, it serves to embitter our opponents and to rouse more hatred towards us amongst the neutrals. Many times and more and more we have had occasion to observe that the neutrals show more sympathy for Belgium than for any other belligerent."

The news dispatches indicate that the deportation and forced labor of Belgians still continue. In a dispatch from Havre (New York *Evening Post*, September 13, 1917) it is stated: "The removal of the civilian population of Belgium continues, according to advices received here. The town of Roulers, immedi-

**Belgians still being deported, September, 1917.**

ately behind the battle line in Flanders, has been evacuated completely. Ostend is being emptied gradually, and two thousand persons already have been sent from Courtrai." In another dispatch from Havre (*Washington Post*, September 24, 1917) it is stated that "the German military authorities at Bruges, Belgium, are conscripting forcibly all the boys and men of that city between the ages of 14 and 60 to work in munition factories and shipyards. The rich and poor, shopkeepers and workmen, all are being taken, only the school-teachers, doctors, and priests escaping."

#### REPORT OF MINISTER WHITLOCK (concluded).

*"One interesting result of the deportations remains to be noted, a result that once more places in relief the German capacity for blundering, almost as great as the German capacity for cruelty. Until the deportations were begun there was no intense hatred on the part of the lower classes, i. e., the workingmen and the peasants. The old Germans of the Landsturm had been quartered in Flemish homes; they and the inmates spoke nearly the same language; they got along fairly well; they helped the women with the work, the poor and the humble having none of those hatreds of patriotism that are among the privileges of the upper classes. It is conceivable that the Flemish population might have existed under German rule; it was Teutonic in its origin and anti-French always. But now the Germans have changed all that."*

*"They have dealt a mortal blow to any prospect they may ever have had of being tolerated by the population of Flanders; Germans will be hated for generations. in tearing away from nearly every humble home in the land a husband and a father or a son and brother they have lighted a fire of hatred that will never go out; they have brought home to every heart in the land, in a way that will impress its horror indelibly on the memory of three generations, a realization of what German methods mean, not, as with the early atrocities, in the heat of passion and the first lust of war, but by one of those deeds that make one despair of the future of the human race, a deed coldly planned, studiously matured, and deliberately and systematically executed, a deed so cruel that German soldiers are said to have wept in its execution, and so monstrous that even German officers are now said to be ashamed."*

"WHITLOCK."

Mr. Hoover's mature conclusions on the German practices in Belgium, which he has written for this pamphlet, reinforce the detailed evidence already presented.

## MR. HOOVER'S CONCLUSIONS.

SEPTEMBER, 1917.

I have been often called upon for a statement of my observation of German rule in Belgium and Northern France.

I have neither the desire nor the adequate pen to picture the scenes which have heated my blood through the two and a half years that I have spent in work for the relief of these 10,000,000 people.

The sight of the destroyed homes and cities, the widowed and fatherless, the destitute, the physical misery of Belgian atrocities are the result of the "system." a people but partially nourished at best, the deportation of men by tens of thousands to slavery in German mines and factories, the execution of men and women for paltry effusions of their loyalty to their country, the sacking of every resource through financial robbery, the battening of armies on the slender produce of the country, the denudation of the country of cattle, horses and textiles; all these things we had to witness, dumb to help other than by protest and sympathy, during this long and terrible time—and still these are not the events of battle heat, but the effects of a grinding heel of a race demanding the mastership of the world.

All these things are well known to the world—but what can never be known is the dumb agony of the people, the expressionless faces of millions whose souls have passed the whole gamut of emotions. And why? Because these, a free and democratic people, dared plunge their bodies before the march of autocracy.

I myself believe that if we do not fight and fight now, all these things are possible to us—but even should the broad Atlantic prove our present defender, there is still Belgium. Is it worth while for us to live in a world where this free and unoffending people is to be trampled into the earth and to raise no sword in protest?

HERBERT HOOVER.

## FRANCE.

In France the German system of forced labor and deportations, with its attendant callousness, brutalities, and

German practices were the same in all occupied regions. horrors, was the same as in Belgium. Inasmuch as the German system in action has been adequately illustrated in the foregoing pages on

Belgium, it will suffice in this part simply to show the real identity of German practice in the two occupied regions. This can be done from the official documents and from a summary by Ambassador Gerard. The harrowing details may

be gathered from the scores of depositions which accompany the note addressed by the French Government to the Governments of the neutral powers July 25, 1916. These are on file in the State Department, and have also been translated, along with the official documents, in *The Deportation of Women and Girls from Lille*, New York, Doran.

PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN MILITARY COMMANDANT OF  
LILLE.

"The attitude of England makes the provisioning of the population more and more difficult.

"To reduce the misery, the German authorities have recently asked for volunteers to go and work in the country. This offer has not had the success that was expected.

"In consequence of this the inhabitants will be deported by order and removed into the country. Persons <sup>German proclamation at Lille, April, 1916.</sup> deported will be sent to the interior of the occupied territory in France, far behind the front, where they will be employed in agricultural labor, and not on any military work whatever. By this measure they will be given the opportunity of providing better for their subsistence.

"In case of necessity, provisions can be obtained through the German depots. Every person deported will be allowed to take with him 30 kilograms of baggage (household utensils, clothes, etc.), which it will be well to make ready at once.

"I therefore order that no one, until further orders, shall change his place of residence. No one may absent himself from his declared legal residence from 9 p. m. to 6 a. m. (German time), unless he is in possession of a permit in due form.

"Inasmuch as this is an irrevocable measure, it is in the interest of the population itself to remain calm and obedient.

"COMMANDANT.

"LILLE, April, 1916."

NOTICE DISTRIBUTED TO HOUSES IN LILLE.

"All the inhabitants of the house, with the exception of children under fourteen and their mothers, and also of old people, must prepare themselves for transportation in an hour and a half's time.

"An officer will decide definitely what persons will be taken to the concentration camps. For this purpose <sup>Inhabitants of Lille given 90 minutes to get ready to depart.</sup> all the inhabitants of the house must assemble in front of it; in case of bad weather they may remain in the passage. The door of the house must remain open. All protests will be useless.

No inmate of the house, even those who are not to be transported, may leave the house before 8 a. m. (German time).

"Each person will be permitted to take 30 kilograms of baggage; if anyone's baggage exceeds that weight, it will all be rejected without further consideration. Packages must be separately made up for each person and must bear an address legibly written and firmly affixed. This address must contain the surname and the Christian name and the number of the identity card.

"It is absolutely necessary that each person should, in his own interest, provide himself with eating and drinking utensils, as well as with a woolen blanket, good shoes, and body linen. Everyone must carry his identity card on his person.

Must carry their own cooking utensils.

Anyone attempting to evade transportation will be punished without mercy.

"ETAPPEN-KOMMANDANTUR."

[LILLE, April, 1916.]

PROTEST OF BISHOP CHAROST, OF LILLE, ADDRESSED TO GENERAL VON GRAEVENITZ.

"MONSIEUR LE GÉNÉRAL: It is my duty to bring to your notice the fact that a very agitated state of mind exists among the population.

"Numerous removals of women and girls, certain transfers of men and youth, and even of children, have been carried out in the districts of Tourcoing and Roubaix without judicial procedure or trial.

"The unfortunate people have been sent to unknown places. Measures equally extreme and on a larger scale are contemplated at Lille. You will not be surprised, Monsieur le Général, that I intercede with you in the name of the religious mission confided to me. That mission lays on me the burden of defending with respect but with courage, the Law of Nations, which the law of war must never infringe, and that eternal morality whose rules nothing can suspend. It makes it my duty to protect the feeble and the unarmed, who are as my family to me and whose burdens and sorrows are mine.

"You are a father; you know that there is not in the order of humanity a right more honorable or more holy than that of the family. For every Christian commander

Appeals to the humanity of the commander.

attaches to it. The German officers who have been billeted for a long time in our homes know how deep in our hearts we of the North hold family affection and that it is the sweetest thing in life to us. Thus to dismember the family by tearing youths and girls from their homes is not war; it is for us tortures and the worst of tortures—unlimited moral torture.

The violation of family rights is doubled by a violation of the sacred demands of morality. Morality is exposed to perils, the mere idea of which is revolting to every honest man, from the

**The methods of deportation a danger to morals.** promiscuity which inevitably accompanies removals *en masse*, involving mixture of the sexes, or, at all events, of persons of very unequal moral standing. Young girls of irreproachable life,

who have never committed any worse offense than that of trying to pick up some bread or a few potatoes to feed a numerous family, and who have besides paid the light penalty for such trespass, have been carried off. Their mothers, who have watched so closely over them and had no other joy than that of keeping their daughters beside them, in the absence of father and sons fighting or killed at the front—these mothers are now alone. They bring to me their despair and their anguish. I am speaking of what I have seen and heard. I know that you have no part in these harsh measures. You are by nature inclined toward justice; that is why I venture to turn to you; I beg you to be good enough to forward without delay to the German High Military Command this letter from a Bishop, whose deep grief they will easily imagine. We have suffered much for the last twenty months, but no stroke of fortune could be comparable to this; it would be as undeserved as it is cruel and would produce in all France an indelible impression.

**Hopes for restoration of the deported.** I cannot believe that the blow will fall. I have faith in the human conscience and I preserve the hope that the young men and girls of respectable families will be restored to their homes in answer to the demand for their return and that sentiments of justice and honor will prevail over all lower considerations.

“ALEXIS ARMAND,  
“Bishop.”

ADDRESS OF PROMINENT CITIZENS OF ROUBAIX AND TOURCOING TO THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

“To Monsieur RAYMOND POINCARÉ,  
“President of the French Republic, Paris.

“SIR: We have the honor to express again our most sincere gratitude to you for your most kind reception, a few days ago, of the deputation which went with feelings of legitimate emotion to inform you of the deportation of lads and girls, which the German authorities have just carried out in the invaded districts.

“We have collected some details on the subject from the lips of an honorable and trustworthy person, who succeeded in leaving Tourcoing about ten days ago; we think it our duty to bring these details to your notice by reproducing textually the declarations which have been made to us:

“These deportations began towards Easter. The Germans

announced that the inhabitants of Roubaix, Tourcoing, Lille, etc., were going to be transported into French districts where their provisioning would be easier.

**The procedure of the deportations.** "At night, at about 2 o'clock in the morning, a whole district of the town was invested by the troops of occupation. To each house was distributed a printed notice, of which we give below an exact reproduction, preserving the style and spelling. [See second document, above.]

"The inhabitants so warned were to hold themselves ready to depart an hour and a half after the distribution of the proclamation.

"Each family, drawn up outside the house, was examined by an officer, who pointed out haphazard the persons who were to go. No words can express the barbarity of this proceeding nor describe the heartrending scenes which occurred; young men and girls took a hasty farewell of their parents—a farewell hurried by the German soldiers who were executing the infamous task—rejoined the group of those who were going, and found themselves in the middle of the street, surrounded by other soldiers with fixed bayonets.

**Sometimes a kind-hearted officer could not carry out the brutal orders.** "Tears of despair on the part of parents and children so ruthlessly separated did not soften the hearts of the brutal Germans. Sometimes, however, a more kind-hearted officer yielded to too great a despair, and did not choose all the persons whom he should—by the terms of his instructions—have separated.

"These girls and lads were taken in street cars to factories, where they were numbered and labelled like cattle and grouped to form convoys. In these factories they remained twelve, twenty-four, or thirty-six hours until a train was ready to remove them.

"The deportation began with the villages of Roncq, Halluin, etc., then Tourcoing and Roubaix. In towns the Germans proceeded by districts.

**Numbers deported** "In all about 30,000 persons are said to have been carried off up to the present. This monstrous operation has taken eight to ten days to accomplish. It is feared, unfortunately, that it may begin again soon. The departures took place in freight cars to the sound of the "Marseillaise."

"The reason given by the German authorities is a humanitarian (?) one. They have put forward the following pretexts: provisioning is going to break down in the large towns in the north and their suburbs, whereas in the Ardennes the feeding is easy and cheap.

" "It is known from the young men and girls, since sent back to their families for reasons of health, that in the Department of the Ardennes the victims are lodged in a terrible manner, in disgraceful promiscuity; they are compelled to work in the fields. Young men and girls lodged in "disgraceful promiscuity."

It is unnecessary to say that the inhabitants of our towns are not trained to such work. The Germans pay them 1.50 m. But there are complaints of insufficient food.

" "They were very badly received in the Ardennes. The Germans had told the Ardennais that these were "volunteers" who were coming to work, and the Ardennais proceeded to receive them with many insults, which only ceased when the forcible deportation, of which they were the victims, became known.

" "Feeling ran especially high in our towns. Never has so iniquitous a measure been carried out. The Germans have shown all the barbarity of slave drivers.

" "The families so scattered are in despair and the morale of the whole population is gravely affected. Boys of 14, schoolboys in knickerbockers, young girls of 15 to 16 have been carried off, and the despairing protests of their parents failed to touch the hearts of the German officers or rather executioners.

" "One last detail: The persons so deported are allowed to write home once a month; that is to say, even less often than military prisoners."

"Such are the declarations which we have collected and which, without commentary, confirm in an even more striking way the facts which we took the liberty of laying before you.

"We do not wish here to enter into the question of provisioning in the invaded districts; others, better qualified than ourselves, give you, as we know, frequent information. It is enough for us to describe in a few words the situation from this aspect:

"The provisioning is very difficult; food, apart from that supplied by the Spanish-American Committee, is very scarce and terribly dear. \* \* \* People are hungry and the provisioning is inadequate by at least a half; our population is suffering constant privations and is growing noticeably weaker. The death rate, too, has increased considerably.

"Sometimes inhabitants of the invaded territories speak with a note of discouragement, crying apparently: People rely on the neutral powers. 'We are forsaken by everyone.' We, on the other hand, are hopeful, Monsieur le Président, that the energetic intervention on the part of

Neutrals, which the French Government is sure to evoke, will soon bring to an end these measures which rouse the wrath of all to whom humanity is not an empty word. \* \* \*

"With all confidence in the sympathy of the Government we venture to address a new and pressing appeal to your generous

kindness and far-reaching influence in the name of those who are suffering on behalf of the whole country."

(Signed on behalf of various specified organizations by Toulemonde, Charles Droulers, Léon Hatine-Dazin, and Louis Lorthiois.)

"PARIS, 15th June, 1916, 3, rue Taitbout."

#### AMBASSADOR GERARD'S STATEMENT.

"It seems that the Germans had endeavored to get volunteers from the great industrial towns of Lille, Roubaix, **Barbarity of** and Tourcoing to work these fields; that after deportations. the posting of the notices calling for volunteers only fourteen had appeared. The Germans then gave orders to seize a certain number of inhabitants and send them out to farms in the outlying districts to engage in agricultural work. The Americans told me that this order was carried out with the greatest barbarity; that a man would come home at night and find that his wife or children had disappeared and no one could tell him where they had gone except that the neighbours would relate that German non-commissioned officers and a file of soldiers had carried them off. For instance, in a house of a well-to-do merchant who had perhaps two daughters of fifteen and seventeen and a man servant, the two daughters and the servant would be seized and sent off together to work for the Germans in some little farm house whose location was not disclosed to the parents. The Americans told me that this sort of thing was causing such indignation among the population of these towns that they feared a great uprising and a consequent slaughter and burning by the Germans.

"That night at dinner I spoke to the Chancellor about this and told him that it seemed to me absolutely **Chancellor says** outrageous; and that, without consulting with **that the military authorities** my government, I was prepared to protest in the name of humanity against a continuance of this treatment of the civil population of occupied **ordered the deportations.**

France. The Chancellor told me that he had not known of it, that it was the result of orders given by the military, that he would speak to the Emperor about it, and that he hoped to be able to stop further deportations. I believe that they were stopped, but twenty thousand or more who had been taken from their homes were not returned until months afterwards. I said in a speech that I made in May on my return to America that it required the joint efforts of the Pope, the King of Spain, and our President to cause the return of these people to their homes; and I then saw that some German press agency had come out with an article that I had made false statements about this matter because these people were not returned to their

homes as a result of the representations of the Pope, the King of Spain, and our President, but were sent back because the Germans had no further use for them. It seems to me that this denial makes the case rather worse than before." James W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 1917, pp. 333-335.

## POLAND.

The systematic exploitation of human misery by the German authorities in Poland followed the general plan with which the reader has become only too familiar. In order to prove the identity of procedure it will be enough to present the detailed report specially written for this pamphlet by Mr. Frederic C. Walcott. A fuller and in some ways more touching treatment is given in his article, "Devastated Poland," in the *National Geographic Magazine* for May, 1917.

### POLAND AND THE PRUSSIAN SYSTEM.

SEPTEMBER, 1917.

Poland—Russian Poland—is perishing. And the German high command, imbued with the Prussian system, is coolly reckoning on the necessities of a starving people to promote its imperial ends.

West Poland, which has been Prussian territory more than a hundred years, is a disappointment to Germany; its people obstinately remain Poles. This time they propose swifter measures. In two or three years, by grace of starvation and frightfulness, they calculate East Poland will be thoroughly made over into a German province.

In the great Hindenburg drive one year ago, the country was completely devastated by the retreating Russian army and the oncoming Germans. A million people were driven from their homes. Half of them perished by the roadside. For miles and miles, when I saw the country, the way was littered with mudsoaked garments and bones picked clean by the crows—though the larger bones had been gathered by the thrifty Germans to be ground into fertilizer. Wicker baskets—the little basket in which the baby swings from the rafters in every peasant home—were scattered along the way, hundreds and hundreds, until one could not count them, each one telling a death.

Warsaw, which had not been destroyed—once a proud city of a million people—was utterly stricken. Poor folks by thousands lined the streets, leaning against the buildings, shivering in

snow and rain, too weak to lift a hand, dying of cold and hunger. Though the rich gave all they had, and the poor shared their last crust, they were starving there in the streets in droves.

In the stricken city, the German governor of Warsaw issued a proclamation. All able-bodied Poles were bidden to go to Germany to work. If any refused, let no other Pole give him to eat, not so much as a mouthful, under penalty of German military law.

It was more than the mind could grasp. To the husband and father of broken families, the high command gave this decree: Leave your families to starve; if you stay, we shall see that you do starve—this to a high-strung, sensitive, highly organized people, this from the authorities of a nation professing civilization and religion to millions of fellow Christians captive and starving.

General von Kries, the governor, was kind enough to explain. Candidly, they preferred not quite so much restocked with starvation; it might get on the nerves of the Germans. German soldiers. But, starvation being present, it must work for German purpose. Taking advantage of this wretchedness, the working men of Poland were to be removed; the country was to be restocked with Germans. It was country Germany needed—rich alluvial soil—better suited to German expansion than distant possessions. If the POLAND that was had to perish, so much the better for Germany.

Remove the men, let the young and weak die, graft German stock on the women. See how simple it is: with a crafty smile, General von Kries concluded, "By and by we must give back freedom to Poland. Very good; it will reappear as a German province."

Slowly, I came to realize that this monstrous, incredible thing was the PRUSSIAN SYSTEM, deliberately chosen by the circle around the all-highest, and kneaded into the German people till it became part of their mind.

German people are material for building the State—of no other account. Other people are for Germany's will to work upon. Humanity, liberty, equality, the rights of others—all foolish talk. Democracy, an idle dream. The true Prussian lives only for this, that the German State may be mighty and great.

All the woes in the long count against Germany are part of the Prussian system. The invasion of Belgium, the deportations, the starving of subject people, the Armenian massacres, atrocities, frightfulness, everywhere. sinking the Lusitania, the submarine horrors, the enslavement of women—all piece into the monstrous view. The rights of nations, the rights of men, the lives and liberties of all people are subordinate to the German aim of dominion over all the world.

FREDERICK C. WALCOTT.

## CONCLUSION.

STATEMENT OF MR. VERNON KELLOGG, SEPTEMBER, 1917.

(Prepared for this pamphlet.)

It was my privilege—and necessity—in connection with the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium to spend several months at the Great Headquarters of the German armies in the west, and later to spend more months at Brussels as the Commission's director for Belgium and occupied France. It was an enforced opportunity to see something of German practice in the treatment of a conquered people, part of whom (the French and the inhabitants of the Belgian provinces of East and West Flanders) were under the direct control of the German General Staff and the several German armies of the west, and part, the inhabitants of the seven other Belgian provinces, under the quasi-civil government of Governor General von Bissing. I did not enter the occupied territories until June, 1915, and so, of course, saw none of the actual invasion and overrunning of the

The graves of land. I saw only the graves of the massacred and the ruins of their towns. But I saw through the massacred. the long, hard months much too much for my peace of mind of how the Germans treated the unfortunates under their control after the occupation.

It would be an unnecessary repetition to describe again the scenes in Louvain, Dinant, Visé, Andenne, Tamines, Aerschot, and the rest of the familiar long list of the ruined Belgian towns. But too little has been said of the many, many ruined villages all over the extent of the occupied French territory from Lille in the north to Longwy in the south, and from the eastern boundary of France to the fatal trench lines of the extreme western front.

As chief representative for the Commission, it was my duty to cover this whole territory repeatedly in long motor journeys in company with the German officer assigned for my protection—and for the protection of the German army against any too much seeing. As I had opportunity also to cover most of Belgium in repeated trips from Brussels into the various provinces, I necessarily had opportunity to compare the destruction wrought in the two regions.

I could understand why certain towns and villages along the Meuse and along the lines of the French and English retreat were badly shot to pieces. There had been fighting in these towns

and the artillery of first one side and then the other had worked their havoc among the houses of the inhabitants.

**Towns untouched by war but ruined.** But there were many towns in which there had been no fighting and yet all too many of these towns also were in ruins. It was not ruin by shells, but ruin by fire and explosions. There were the famous "punished" towns. Either a citizen or perhaps two or three citizens had fired from a window on the invaders—or were alleged to have.

Thereupon a block, or two or three blocks, or half the town was methodically and effectively burned or blown to pieces. There are many of these "punished" towns in occupied France. And between these towns and along the roadways are innumerable isolated single farm houses that are also in ruins. It is not claimed that there was any sniping from these farm-houses. They were just destroyed along the way—and by the way, one may say. When the roll of destroyed villages and destroyed farmhouses in occupied France is made known, the world will be shocked again by this evidence of German thoroughness.

The rigor of the control over the inhabitants of the occupied French territory is almost inconceivable. The lines delimiting

the regions occupied by the various distinct

**Heartlessness of German rule.** German armies are lines of impassable steel for the inhabitants. If a member of the family in one town was visiting friends or relatives in another town a few kilometers away at the time of the outbreak of the war that family has remained separated through all the long months that have since elapsed. No messages can pass except by dangerous subterranean ways from town to town.

The requisitioning of everything from food to furniture, from farm animals to the blankets and mattresses from the beds, has been carried to such an extent that the people live on nothing, amid nothing. These requisitions in the earlier days had a more or less official seeming in that quartermaster's *bons* were given for the things taken. Even then the German sense of humor

**False receipts for requisitioned property.** too often made the *bon* a crude jest. The *bons* were written in the German language in German script, illegible and beyond the understanding of the simple natives. A *bon* might be given for a chicken when it was a pair of horses that was taken. But later, when these jests palled on the German soldiers, the requisitioning was simplified by the omission of *bon*-giving. Where the villagers and peasants had tried to save something that could be buried or concealed, the searching out of these pitiful hiding places became a great game with the German soldiers. One ingenious Frenchman had secreted a few choice bottles of wine in a famous tomb on heights above the Meuse. But these

bottles found their way to special tables at the Great Headquarters.

In the spring of 1916 the army authorities devised the plan of deporting a number of men and women from Lille and the industrial towns near it to the agricultural regions further south. These French were to work in the fields and help produce food for the German army. As a matter of fact this plan had at bottom something to recommend it. The congestion in the industrialized northern region made the food problem there very difficult. Our Commission had more trials in connection with the provisioning of the great city of Lille and the lesser but crowded towns of Valenciennes, Roubaix, and Tourcoing than with all the rest of the occupied territory. Also these people had no work to do, as the great factories were still. To come south and work in the open air in the fields and be allowed a fair ration would have been a real advantage to these people. It would also have helped in the whole food supply situation.

But the horrible methods of that deportation were such that we, although trying to hold steadfast to a rigorous neutrality, could not but protest. Mr. Gerard, our Ambassador to Berlin, happened at the very time of this protest to make a visit to the Great Headquarters in the west and the matter was brought to the attention of certain high officers at Headquarters on the very day of Mr. Gerard's visit and in his hearing. So that he added his own protest to that of Mr. Poland, our director at the time, and further deportations were stopped. But a terrible

**Horrors of de-** mischief had already been done. Husbands  
**portations.** and fathers had been taken from their families without a word of good-bye; sons and daughters on whom perhaps aged parents relied for support were taken without pity or apparent thought of the terrible consequences. The great deportations of Belgium have shocked the world. But these lesser deportations—that is, lesser in extent, but not less brutal in their carrying out—are hardly known.

I went into Belgium and occupied France a neutral and I maintained while there a steadfastly neutral behavior. But I came out no neutral. I can not conceive that any American enjoying an experience similar to mine could have come out a neutral. He would come out, as I came, with the ineradicable conviction that a people or a government which can do what the Germans did and are doing in Belgium and France to-day must not be allowed, if there is power on earth to prevent it, to do this a moment longer than can be helped. And they must not be allowed ever to do it again.

**No American  
can fail to oppose  
Prussianism.**

I went in also a hater of war, and I came out a more ardent  
Civilization hater of war. But, also, I came out with the  
must crush Prus- ineradicable conviction, again, that the only  
sian system. way in which Germany under its present rule  
and in its present state of mind can be kept from  
doing what it had done is by force of arms. It can not be  
prevented by appeal, concession, or treaties. Hence, ardently  
as I hope that all war may cease, I hope that this war may not  
cease until Germany realizes that the civilized world simply will  
not allow such horrors as those for which Germany is responsible  
in Belgium and France to be any longer possible.

VERNON KELLOGG.



Mar. 1918

RED WHITE AND BLUE SERIES

No. 8

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# GERMAN TREATMENT OF CONQUERED TERRITORY

BEING  
PART II OF "GERMAN WAR PRACTICES"



EDITED BY

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ISSUED BY  
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### **EXECUTIVE ORDER**

I hereby create a Committee on Public Information, to be composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and a civilian who shall be charged with the executive direction of the committee.

As civilian chairman of the committee I appoint Mr. George Creel.

The Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy are authorized each to detail [an officer or officers to the work of the committee.

WOODROW WILSON.

April 14, 1917.

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## INTRODUCTION.

Part I of *German War Practices* (issued in November, 1917) dealt with the treatment of conquered peoples. Its purpose was to show the system followed by the German Government; individual atrocities were mentioned only as illustrations of the frightfulness sanctioned by the German authorities. In some respects the material in this part, which deals with the treatment of conquered territory, seems at first of a less brutal and revolting character, as injury to property is always less serious than murder and enslavement of people. But when the treatment of conquered territory is studied carefully it is clear that the system shows itself here in an even more brutal form, because the systematic exploitation and wanton destruction would inevitably lead to starvation of the population, especially of the aged, feeble, and the children, and to the forced enslavement of the able-bodied workers. Furthermore, the results of these evils will not end with the war, but will be perpetuated. The conquered lands, even after they regain their freedom, will suffer long and grievously from the enfeeblement of the population caused by the misery during the occupation of the countries by the Germans. Many of the generation which should be in its prime, ready to carry on the world's work, will have been permanently weakened. Germany will have less need to fear their competition.

This system has been followed in all the lands conquered by the Germans. The material used for this Part II. relates to Belgium and France, because for those countries we have the fullest reports from German and American sources. Moreover, in Belgium, bad as the conditions are, the worst results of the system have been partially prevented by the magnificent work of the Belgian Relief Commission. Yet in Belgium, when it is possible to obtain figures, the progressive exhaustion of the population is clearly marked, both by decrease in births and increase in deaths. In Liége in the first nine months of 1916 there were 1,223 births and 1,848 deaths; in the first nine months of 1917 there were 1,123 births and 2,350 deaths. Thus the loss in population was 602 greater for nine months in the second year. (Figures from the

*Informations Belges*, Oct. 17, 1917.) In Poland and Serbia the conditions are far worse than in Belgium. But as the aim of this publication is to show the system at work, not to harrow the feelings, it is not necessary to describe the horrible conditions in Poland and Serbia.

In the preparation of this material the editors wish to express their indebtedness for assistance to Professor Wallace Notestein of the University of Minnesota and Professor S. B. Harding of Indiana University, and for constant advice and suggestion to Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, Director of the Division of Civic and Educational Co-operation of the Committee on Public Information.

## I. SYSTEMATIC EXPLOITATION: "THE RATHENAU PLAN."

The German authorities have systematically exploited Belgium and the other lands conquered by them. This has been done with the deliberate purpose of crippling manufacturing and industry in these countries, in order to forestall future competition. In February, 1917, Deputy Beumer made the following boast in the Prussian Diet:

"Anybody who knows the present state of things in Belgian industry will agree with me that it must take at least some years—assuming that Belgium is independent at all—before Belgium can even think of competing with us in the world market. And **German policy.** anybody who has travelled, as I have done, through the occupied districts of France, will agree with me that so much damage has been done to industrial property that no one need be a prophet in order to say that it will take more than ten years before we need think of France as a competitor or [of] the reestablishment of French industry." (Quoted in *Conquest and Kultur*, p. 153. This pamphlet, which is No. 5 of the *Red, White, and Blue Series*, contains other statements from German leaders and German newspapers which clearly reveal the same purpose.)

This exploitation for the benefit of German industry has been going on from the very first days of the occupation in each of the conquered territories. It is an outgrowth from "the Rathenau Plan" which has made it possible for Germany to continue the war.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE SYSTEM.

This plan, which was suggested early in August, 1914, by Dr. Walter Rathenau, President of the General Electric Company of Germany, was to establish a Bureau of Raw Materials for the War (*Kriegsrohstoffabtheilung*). It was made a part of the Ministry of War, and was to—

"work out the very difficult and new problem of arranging that there should be no want of raw materials for the conduct of the war and the economic life of the nation. Rathenau was placed at the head of this organization with a military colleague.

Leading men from all fields of science, applied science, manufacturing and commerce were associated with the two men as advisers and directors of provincial organizations. Within a few months the organization has developed into the largest commercial undertaking in the history of industry and has carried on in some hundreds of groups of warehouses a business worth billions. \* \* \* By a questionnaire sent around to about 900 contractors for the Ministry of War they were able to ascertain within three weeks the figures as to supplies, the length of time they would last, and the principal stocks of raw materials within the country [Germany]. \* \* \* It was necessary to be sure of an increase in the reserve of raw materials both by purchase in neutral countries and by monopolizing all stocks found in the occupied territory of the enemy. \* \* \* The occupation of Belgium, of the most valuable industrial parts of France, as well as of parts of Russia, made a new task for the organization. It was necessary to make use of the stocks of raw material of these three territories for the domestic economy of the war, to use, especially, the stores of wool found at the centers of the continental wool market. Valuable stocks of rubber and of saltpeter were to be used for the profit of the manufacturer at home. **The difficulties that are met with in keeping to the rules of war while making these requisitions have been overcome.** A system of collecting stations, of depots and of organizations for distribution was arranged which solved the difficulties of transportation, infused new blood into industry at home and gave it a firmer and more secure basis." (This quotation is from the report of a lecture by Dr. Rathenau published in the *Zeitschrift des Oesterreichischen Ingenieur- und Architektenvereines* of April 21, 1916.)

The German Government has not permitted discussion of the details, and in fact the censor cut out a part of Dr. Rathenau's own statements, reported above, in the pamphlet which he published containing his lecture; for example, the censor did not allow him to print the statement that "the difficulties that are met with in keeping to the rules of war while making these requisitions have been overcome."

The last clause in the quotation above should be especially noted—namely, that the Rathenau plan had given German industry "a firmer and more secure basis." For the plan aimed not merely at making war support war by the contributions and requisitions forced from the conquered peoples. It also sought to destroy the industries among the subject peoples so that, as Herr Beumer said, it would not be possible to build them up again for some years, if at all. In the meantime the German authorities

counted upon their ability to capture the markets of the world for their own wares.

All of this was in violation of the Hague Conventions, which were treated as so many scraps of paper. Among the Hague Regulations by which the representatives of all the civilized nations of the world had tried to soften the hardships of war were the following:

"Article XLVI. Family honor and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated."

"Article LII. Requisitions in kind and services shall not be demanded from municipalities or inhabitants except for the needs of the army of occupation. They shall be in proportion to the resources of the country, and of such a nature as not to involve the inhabitants in the obligation of taking part in military operations against their own country. Such requisitions and services shall only be demanded on the authority of the commander in the locality occupied. Contributions in kind shall as far as possible be paid for in cash; if not, a receipt shall be given, and the payment of the amount due shall be made as soon as possible."

"Article LIII. An army of occupation can only take possession of cash, funds, and realizable securities which are strictly the property of the State, depots of arms, means of transport, stores and supplies, and, generally, all movable property belonging to the State which may be used for military operations. All appliances, whether on land, at-sea, or in the air, adapted for the transmission of news, or for the transport of persons or things, exclusive of cases governed by naval law, depots of arms, and, generally, all kinds of ammunition of war, may be seized, even if they belong to private individuals, but must be restored and compensation fixed when peace is made."

All of these regulations, and others of like purpose, Germany gave her solemn promise to observe. She has broken them all. As soon as Belgium was invaded the German military authorities began to levy fines and make requisitions, many of which were not "for the needs of the army." (Compare despatch of Minister Whitlock, printed on page 11.) Some pretence was still made. On August 27, 1914, an order from the German Headquarters Staff states: "The country [Belgium] placed under the German administration will have to provide for military requirements of all kinds, in order to afford relief to German territory." But this

pretence was soon abandoned and the country was exploited for the benefit not only of the German army, but also of German industry, commerce and agriculture.

#### PROTEST AGAINST GERMAN CONFISCATION.

This is seen clearly in the following communication to our own State Department:

"The Federation of Belgian Steel and Iron manufacturers Tools seized. forwarded a protest to the German Governor General in Belgium, on January 22d, 1915, complaining that the German authorities have invaded the Belgian plants and seized the machinery and tools, which have been taken to pieces and sent to Germany in great number; in many cases no receipt was left in the hands of the legitimate owner to prove the nature, number and value of the seized tools. Machinery to the value of sixteen million francs (\$3,000,000) had been taken away up to January 22d.

"Furthermore, the *Feldzeugmeisterei* in Berlin has entered into a contract with the firm Sonnenthal Junior of Cologne, which firm is to collect, transport and deliver to German manufactories of war supplies, all engines and tools seized in Belgium and France, and to bring them back after the war is over.

"This contract provides also that the Sonnenthal Company has the right and even is compelled, in cooperation with the gun foundry at Liége, to pick out in factories of the occupied territory those machines which seem most useful for the manufacture of German war supplies and to propose the seizure of the machinery.

"The Royal Belgian Government protests, with indignation, against these measures, which constitute a clear violation of article 53 of the regulations of the IV Hague Convention. The items enumerated in article 53 are limited and neither the seizure nor the transport to another country of machinery and tools used in industry are permitted; these implements must always be respected when they are private property (Art. 46).

"By the removal of these tools, the efforts made by the manufacturers in order to maintain a certain activity Forced idleness. in the plants are nullified, numerous workmen are obliged to remain idle and are facing starvation. These measures will also retard the restoration of industry after the war is over.

"Furthermore, the German authorities disregard in a systematic way the prescriptions of article 52 of the above mentioned regulations of the IV Hague Convention, which stipulate that requisitions in nature from towns and their inhabitants in the occupied territory can only be permitted when they are directly destined for the army of occupation.

"Some cases may be given as examples:

"1. The public sale to German peasants of Belgian stallions, mares and colts, requisitioned in Belgium, has been advertised on various occasions in German newspapers.

*Disregard of Hague regulations.* "2. Wine belonging to private owners in Belgium has been taken away and sent to Germany and to the German lines in Poland.

"3. Walnut trees have been systematically cut down and sent to Germany to be used in the manufacture of rifle-stocks for the army.

*Private property seized.* "4. Raw materials belonging to private persons have been seized and sent to Germany (such as flax, cotton, India rubber, wool, nickel, copper and leather) worth millions of dollars.

"5. In the neighborhood of Jodiogne, and the Geer, 130 oxen and a great number of pigs have been requisitioned and sent to Germany.

"These unlawful requisitions are the more odious as they fall upon a population already ruined by the war, and deprive them of supplies which are absolutely necessary for their subsistence."

(From the Belgian Minister to Secretary Lansing, March 4, 1915.)

An even more striking proof of the systematic exploitation of Belgium for the benefit of German interests is furnished by the following despatch from Minister Brand Whitlock to the Secretary of State, in which he gives a memorandum (necessarily incomplete) of the Contributions and Requisitions imposed on Belgium by the German authorities in less than one year:

#### DESPATCH FROM MINISTER WHITLOCK.

"Brussels, August 2, 1915.

"As of possible interest to the Department I have the honor to transmit herewith a Memorandum prepared by the Legation, covering, as far as obtainable, a list of the requisitions made in Belgium by the Army of Occupation since August 20, 1914.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"BRAND WHITLOCK."

#### MEMORANDUM OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND REQUISITIONS IMPOSED ON BELGIUM BY GERMAN AUTHORITIES.

"Upon the arrival of German troops at Brussels, the City and Communes of the Agglomeration were required to pay as a war-contribution the sum of 50,000,000 francs in gold, silver or bank-notes, the Province of Brabant having to pay, in addition, the sum of

*War Contributions.*

450,000,000 francs to be delivered not later than September 1, 1914.

"The sum of 50,000,000 francs imposed on the City of Brussels was reduced to 45,000,000 francs, but the City was later subjected to a penalty of 5,000,000 francs on the ground that two members of the German secret service had been attacked by the crowd without assistance having been rendered by the Brussels police. On this point it may be noted that when Mr. Max, the Burgo-master, at the beginning of the occupation, asked the German Authorities to inform him of the names of the German secret police agents whom they intended to employ, he was told that there were no German secret police in Brussels.

"In December, 1914, a contribution of 480,000,000 francs, payable at the rate of 40,000,000 a month, was imposed on the Provinces.

"At the beginning of April, 1915, a fine of 500,000 marks was imposed on the City of Brussels, which refused Unjust fine. to repair the road between Brussels and Antwerp—a State road the repair of which devolved upon the State. But the German authorities had taken over the State moneys and should therefore have assumed the expense of the work. Furthermore, this road is entirely outside of the territory of the City of Brussels, and finally, the City had not the administration for the maintenance of construction of roads, and had neither material nor personnel to carry on such work.

"On January 16th, 1915, on Belgians who had voluntarily left the country and had not returned by March 1, 1915, a ten-fold advance of personal tax was made; and many taxes were imposed on Communes as indemnity for damages claimed by German citizens to have been suffered through acts of the inhabitants at the time war was declared.

"When the German Army arrived in Brussels, it requisitioned Food requi- for the daily support of the troops: 18,000 kilos sitioned. of wheat, 10,000 kilos of fresh meat, 6,000 kilos of rice, 10,000 kilos of sugar and 72,000 kilos of oats. Similar requisitions were made in all cities in which the German troops camped. The requisitions, however, exceeded the needs of the troops in passing or in occupation, and a large part of the requisitioned supplies were sent to Germany.

"At Louvain the German authorities requisitioned 250,000 francs' worth of canned vegetables and at Malines about four million francs' worth.

"In Flanders and in part of Hainault the farmers were de- Village despoiled. spoiled of almost all their horses and cattle and the little wheat and grain remaining. The little village of Middleburg, for instance, which numbers 850 inhabitants, after having given up 50 cows, 35 hogs and 1,600 kilos of oats, was forced to furnish in January and February, 1915,

100 hogs, 100,000 kilos of grain, 50,000 kilos of beans or pease, 50,000 kilos of oats and 150,000 kilos of straw.

"At Ghent and Antwerp the German authorities found about 40,000 tons of oil cake, necessary for the feeding of cattle in winter, and seized it.

"They also carried off several hundreds of thousands of tons of phosphates from Belgium for use in Germany.

"Walnut trees on private properties as well as on State lands were cut down and requisitioned.

"Besides, draught horses—the result of a rational selection  
**Horses seized.** carried on through more than a century and probably the most perfect Belgian agricultural product—were carried off throughout all Belgium. Not only did the German army requisition horses necessary for its wagons, mounts for its troops or artillery service, but it carried away from the Belgian stock, horses absolutely unfit for military service which were sent to Germany. The same is true as regards the cattle.

"All crude materials indispensable for Belgian industries were requisitioned and sent to Germany: leather, hides, copper, wool, flax, etc. Furthermore, if not the entire stock, at least the greatest number possible of machinery parts were shipped to Germany to be used, according to German statements, in making munitions which the Belgian factories had refused to produce.

"At Antwerp requisitions of all kinds of materials and products were considerable; notably—

Cereals.....	18,000,000 francs
Oilcake, about.....	5,000,000 "
Nitrate, over.....	4,000,000 "
Oils—animal and vegetable, over.....	2,000,000 "
Oils, petrols and minerals, about.....	3,000,000 "
Wools.....	6,000,000 "
Rubber.....	10,000,000 "
Foreign leathers, to December 1, about.....	20,000,000 "
Hair.....	1,500,000 "
Ivory, about.....	800,000 "
Wood.....	500,000 "
Cacao.....	2,000,000 "
Coffee.....	275,000 "
Wines.....	1,100,000 "

"Cottons in large quantities—one house having been requisitioned to the amount of 1,300,000 francs. Other enormous requisitions were made on shop-depots, etc., and are impossible of computation just now."

## THE NEW PLAN IN OPERATION.

The requisitions from Antwerp which Minister Whitlock enumerates were the subject of a complaint Payment not made March 18, 1915, by the acting president made. of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce. He valued the goods requisitioned by the Germans at more than 83,000,000 francs and stated that only about 20,000,000 francs had been paid. The reply of the German Governor-General, von Bissing, on September 24, shows that up to that time payment had not been made. Both the protest and the answer of von Bissing are published in Passelecq, *Les Déportations Belges à la lumière des Documents Allemands* (Paris, 1917).

The reasons for the delay in payment may be learned from the following statement of the German policy published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, December 21, 1914:

"The raw materials, which the Imperial Government has bought in Antwerp, Ghent, and other places, No money to be sent to Belgium. will be paid for as soon as possible. The payment will be made only after the goods have been transported into Germany and after the valuation has been made, and the payment shall be made in such a manner that no money shall be sent from Germany to Belgium during the period of the war."

That is, the goods were seized against the will of the owner and the price was fixed by the German authorities who seized them. The owner had to wait indefinitely for his pay, which would be made, if at all, "in such a manner that no money shall be sent from Germany to Belgium during the period of the war." The Rathenau Plan was evidently in operation. Naturally, the German Government has not been willing to allow any full statement of its operations to be published.

Some idea of its methods and of the systematic exploitation of Belgium can be formed by a study of the official texts printed in *German Legislation for the Occupied Territories of Belgium*, edited by Huberich and Nicol-Speyer (The Hague, 10 volumes, 1915-17). These cover the period from September 5, 1914, to March 29, 1917, and reprint *The Official Bulletin of Laws and Ordinances* in the three languages, German, French and Flemish. But these volumes do not give a complete account of the exactions, as they include only the general laws, etc., published

officially, and not the special fines or additional requisitions ordered by local German authorities.

The first step under the Rathenau Plan was to ascertain what stocks of raw materials and other supplies were accessible. Consequently there were many ordinances commanding the declaration of certain wares. The following is an example:

#### ORDINANCE COMMANDING DECLARATION OF GOODS.

“Brussels, December 11, 1914.

“All stocks of benzine, benzol, petroleum, spirits of alcohol, glycerin, oils and fats of any kind, toluol, carbide, raw rubber and rubber waste, as well as all automobile tires, shall immediately be reported in writing to the respective chiefs of districts or commanders, with a statement of quantity and the place of storage. \* \* \*

“If a report is not made the wares shall be confiscated for the State and the guilty individual shall be punished by the Military Authorities.” (From *German Legislation, etc.*, Vol. I, p. 95.)

Such a declaration made it easy for the military authorities later to acquire the wares either by direct requisition or by forced sales. The following are examples:

#### ORDINANCES REQUISITIONING GOODS.

“Brussels, August 13, 1915.

“Art. 1. The stocks of chicory roots existing within the jurisdiction of the General Government in Belgium are hereby commandeered.” (From *German Legislation, etc.*, Vol. IV, p. 148.)

“Brussels, January 8, 1916.

“Art. 1. All wools (raw wool, washed wool, tops and noils, woolen waste, woolen yarns, artificial wools, as well as mixtures of these articles with others) and also all mattresses filled with the wools above specified and now an object of trade or introduced into trade, found within the jurisdiction of the General Government, are hereby commandeered.

“Wool freshly shorn or in any other way separated from the skin shall also be subject to seizure immediately upon its separation.” (From *German Legislation, etc.*, Vol. VI, p. 57.)

#### NOTICE FROM COMMISSION SENT TO REQUISITION BELGIAN HORSES, OCT., 1914.

“GENERAL DEPOT FOR HORSES.

“The Commission for the purchase of horses will sit on Monday, November 3, at 3 o’clock (4 o’clock German time), at the Grand Place, Thuillies.

"All harness and saddle horses, as well as yearling foals, must be brought before the Commission.

"Harness horses, must, if possible, be provided with their working harness. Purchases will be paid for in ready money and without rebate.

**"THE OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE  
"CENTRAL DEPOT FOR HORSES.  
"For the German Governor-Generalship.**

"Any persons neglecting to bring their horses before the Commission will be liable to have their stock requisitioned without compensation." (From *Reports on the Violation of the Rights of Nations and of the Laws and Customs of War in Belgium*, Vol. II, p. 11.)

During the period from October, 1914, to March, 1917, there were no less than 92 separate ordinances of Ninety-two ordinances issued. the General Government commanding the declaration, forced sale, or confiscation of various materials. Of these 45 were issued in 1915 and 35 in 1916. And these do not include such forced sales as the one just cited for the horses, because many were issued, as in this case, not by the Governor-General but by officials in charge of separate bureaus.

A good example of the evolution of the decrees for declaration and confiscation will be found in *German Legislation, etc.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 178-186, 338-340, 403-406:

1. A decree issued at Brussels, July 19, 1916, lists several pages of textile materials which are to be declared.
2. A decree of August 22, 1916, enlarges the preceding list.
3. A decree drawn up July 19, 1916, but not published till September 12, 1916, declares 75 per cent of this material subject to seizure by the *Militärisches Textil-Beschaffungsamt*.
4. Later decrees of seizure cover materials overlooked in these.

#### GERMANY'S NEED OF METALS.

For the conduct of the war and for her manufactures Germany needs vast stocks of metal. The Rathenau Plan, under the direction of the President of the General Electric Company, was directed especially toward supplying this need. Every scrap of metal in the conquered countries that could possibly be seized has been confiscated. The ordinance below is given here as an example of the thoroughness of the system of requisitions. The prices to be paid were entirely too low and the sixth section

shows that the German authorities did not expect that the owners of the property would be satisfied with the price that was to be paid.

#### ORDINANCE DECLARING METALS SEIZED.

The following ordinance was issued at Brussels under date of December 13, 1916:

"Section 1. The following designated objects are hereby seized and must be delivered.

"Section 2. Movable and fixed household articles made of copper, tin, nickel, brass, bronze or tombac, whatever their state:—

"1. Kitchen utensils, metal ware, and household utensils, except cutlery.

"2. Wash basins, bath tubs, warm-water heaters and reservoirs.

"3. Individual or firm name-plates in and on the houses, door-knobs, knockers and metal decorations on doors and carriages not necessary for locking.

"4. Curtain rods and holders and stair-carpet fixtures.

"5. Scales.

"6. All other household articles or adornments made of tin.

"The articles included under the numerals 1-6 are subject to seizure and delivery even when not contained in households in the narrow sense, but in other inhabited or uninhabited buildings and rooms (e. g. offices of authorities, office rooms in factories and entries).

"Section 3. Exempt from seizure and delivery:—

"1. Articles on and in churches and other buildings and rooms dedicated to religious services.

"2. Articles in hospitals and clinics, as well as in the private offices of physicians, apothecaries and healers, so far as these articles are essential to the care of the sick or the practise of medicine and cannot be replaced.

"3. Articles in public buildings.

"4. Articles which are part of commercial or industrial stores either designated for sale or useful in the business. For these articles a special decree is enacted.\*

"Section 4. Procedure of seizure is as follows:

"All alteration of the articles subject to seizure is forbidden. All judicial disposition or change of ownership is interdicted, except insofar as the following paragraphs permit.

\*Such articles in trade and industry were declared seized December 30, 1916. The form of that edict is practically the same as this, penalties being somewhat higher. The listing of these articles had occurred in July, 1916. Other items were added later and all were now declared seized.

*"Section 5. Obligation to deliver.*—The delivery of the seized articles must be made at the time and places designated by the Division of Trade and Industry; it can also be made before the requisition at the *Zentral-Einkaufsgesellschaft* for Belgium. Upon delivery the ownership of the articles is vested in the German Military Administration.

"Articles of artistic or historic value, if so recognized by the Bureau of Delivery, need not be delivered.

"The Bureau of Delivery may for unusual cause grant exemption from delivery.

*"Section 6. Indemnity.*—The following prices will be paid for the delivered articles:

Copper, per kilo.....	4	frances	Brass.....	3	frances
Tin.....	7.50	"	Bronze.....	3	"
Nickel.....	13	"	Tombac.....	3	"

"In arranging the weight, seizures of non-designated materials will not be included.

"The payment will take place on the basis of the estimate made by the Bureau of Delivery. Payment will be made to the deliverer without question of his ownership.

"If the deliverer refuses to accept the payment he will be given a receipt and the determination of the indemnity in this case will follow through the *Reichsentschädigungskommission* according to the rules in force.

*"Section 7. Persons and corporations affected by this decree.*—

"1. House-owners, inhabitants and heads of establishments.

"2. Persons, associations and corporations of a private or public nature whose buildings or rooms contain articles enumerated in section 2.

"To this group, furthermore, belong also State, church, and community business and industrial establishments, including business, industrial and office buildings in the ownership, possession or guardianship of military and civil authorities. For buildings abandoned or not occupied by their owners or inhabitants, the communal authorities are responsible for the execution of this decree. The district commanders are authorized to furnish further instructions to the communities in this case. If dwelling houses are occupied as quarters by German military or civil authorities the execution of this order rests upon the military authorities concerned.

*"Section 8. Confiscation.*—[Failure to comply with the provisions of the decree entails confiscation.]

*"Section 9. Co-operation of Communities.*—[Local authorities ordered to co-operate in execution of this order.]

"Section 10. *Certificates of exemption.*—[*Verwaltungschef* empowered to issue certificates of exemption.]

"Section 11. *Punishment for violations.*—Anyone who intentionally or through gross negligence violates the present decree or supplementary regulations will be punished with imprisonment not to exceed two years or a fine not to exceed 20,000 m., or both. Anyone who urges or incites others to violate the present decree or its supplementary regulations will be punished in like manner, unless he has incurred graver punishment under the general law. The attempt is punishable. Military courts and military authorities are empowered to try cases." (From *German Legislation, etc.*, Vol. IX, pp. 389-394.)

### ARTICLES ACQUIRED BY CONFISCATION OR FORCED SALE IN BELGIUM

(Compiled from the official ordinances.)

#### I. MINERALS AND METALS.

Lead.	
Copper.	Graphite.
Aluminum.	Pyrite.
Antimony.	Ferro-silicium.
Zinc.	Ferro-phosphorus.
Nickel.	Silico-spiegel.
Tin.	Silicomanganaluminum.
Iron.	Haemite pig iron.
Steel.	
Silver.	
Gold	
Platinum.	
Tungsten and ferro-tungsten, tungsten steel.	Toluol.
Manganese, ferro-manganese and spiegeleisen.	Copper sulphate.
Chrome, chrome iron and chrome steel.	Mercury.
Molybdenum and ferro-molybdenum.	Salts of tin.
Vanadium and ferro-vanadium.	Sulphuric acid.
Titanium and ferro-titanium.	Muriatic acid.
Cobalt.	Nitric acid.
Alloys of all, especially:	Vanadium acid.
Brass.	Sulphate of ammonia.
Tombac.	Liquid ammonia.
Bronze.	Salts of:
Alfenid.	Chrome.
Ores and slag:	Vanadium.
Nickel.	Titanium.
Manganese.	Cobalt.
Tungsten.	Nickel.
Chrome.	Nitrate of lime.
Molybdenum.	Coal tar dyes.
Vanadium.	Phosphates.
Titanium.	Salt peter.
Cobalt.	
Ground Thomas slag.	

#### II. CHEMICALS.

	Toluol.
	Copper sulphate.
	Mercury.
	Salts of tin.
	Sulphuric acid.
	Muriatic acid.
	Nitric acid.
	Vanadium acid.
	Sulphate of ammonia.
	Liquid ammonia.
	Salts of:
	Chrome.
	Vanadium.
	Titanium.
	Cobalt.
	Nickel.
	Nitrate of lime.
	Coal tar dyes.
	Phosphates.
	Salt peter.

#### III. MACHINERY, ETC.

Electric condensers and conductors.
Belts.
Transmission cables.
Insulated cables.
Trolley wires.
Copper wire and cables.

Rail connections.  
 Drums for gas meters.  
 Rails for railroad.  
 High-speed steel.  
 Cocks.  
 Valves.  
 Injectors.  
 Greasing apparatus.  
 Ingots.  
 Blooms.  
 Billets.  
 Sheet billets.

## IV. FOOD.

Grains for bread-making, all kinds.  
 Flour.  
 Fats.  
 Sugar beets and seed.  
 Chicory roots.  
 Bran.  
 Chaff.  
 Oat straw.  
 Gelatine.

## V. CLOTHING.

Knitted goods:  
 Sweaters.  
 Gloves.  
 Scarfs.  
 Underclothes for men.  
 Shirts for men.  
 Coats.  
 Socks.  
 Handkerchiefs.  
 Belts.  
 Garters.  
 Suspenders.  
 Laces.  
 Braid.  
 Edging.  
 Articles of ribbon.  
 Leather stockings.  
 Knee guards.  
 Chest protectors.

## VI. TEXTILES.

Material for:  
 Top clothes.  
 Underclothes.  
 Bed sheets.  
 Pillow slips.  
 Coverings.  
 Dusters.  
 Awning.  
 Lining.  
 Knitted goods.  
 Ribbon.

Cloth in the bolt of:  
 Cotton.  
 Wool and half wool.  
 Linen and half linen.  
 Other weaves.

Velvet.  
 Felt.  
 Plush.  
 Yarns.  
 Flax.  
 Wool:  
 Raw.  
 Washed.  
 Top.  
 Artificial.

Cotton.  
 Hemp.  
 Silk:  
 Raw.  
 Stuffing.  
 All kinds of, made up.  
 Animal and vegetable fiber:  
 Cocoanut fiber.  
 Varec.  
 African hair.  
 Raffia.

Thread:  
 Cotton.  
 Silk or artificial silk.  
 Linen, half or mixed.  
 For twine and string.  
 For sewing.

## VII. HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES.

The following, when made of copper, bronze, brass, tombac, nickel or tin:

Kitchen and household utensils.  
 Bath tubs.  
 Wash basins.  
 Stove reservoirs.  
 Hot water heaters.  
 Name plates.  
 Decorations of all kinds.  
 Door knobs and knockers.  
 Curtain rods and holders.  
 Scales.  
 Cups.  
 Jugs.  
 Plates.  
 Stein covers.  
 Siphons.  
 Funnels.  
 Stair carpet rods.  
 Door fixtures.  
 Window fixtures.  
 Furniture fixtures.  
 Clothes hangers.  
 Furnace trimmings.

Stove trimmings.  
 Water fixtures.  
 Gas fixtures.  
**Bed-covering.**  
 Linoleum.  
 Oilcloth.  
 Waterproof cloth of any kind.  
 Table cloths.  
 Napkins.  
 Silk cloths.  
 Awning, etc.  
 Matches.

### VIII. OLD MATERIAL.

Rubber.  
 Rubber tires.  
 Rails.  
**Scrap:**  
 Copper.  
 Tin.  
 Iron.  
 Metal generally.  
**Iron tools.**  
**Half finished tools.**  
 Copper parts of old machines.  
**Waste:**  
 Wool.  
 Silk.  
 Flax.  
 Mill.  
**Scraps of:**  
 Cotton.  
 Wool.  
 Felt.  
 All textiles.  
**Rags in general.**  
**Felt of any kind.**

### IX. OILS AND EXPLOSIVES.

Benzine.  
 Benzol.  
**Oils, including material from which they are made:**  
 Fats.  
 Cottonseed.  
 Linseed.  
 Castor oil.  
 Palm oil.  
 Oil of turpentine.  
 Oileine.  
 Stearine.  
 Mineral oils.

### X. METAL PRODUCTS FOR INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

**Saddlaries:**  
 Trimmings, etc.

**Stores:**  
 Show window decorations.  
 Scales.  
 Name plates.  
 Railing.  
**Breweries:**  
 Copper kettles.  
 Copper pipes.  
 Heating coils.  
 Refrigerating coils.  
**Dairies:**  
 Milk cans, etc.  
**Sugar and glucose refineries:**  
 Vacuum cooking vessels.  
 Basins for dissolving sugar.  
 Reservoirs.  
 Heating coils.  
**Distilleries and yeast factories:**  
 Distilling columns.  
 Alembics.  
**Candy, cracker and chocolate establishments:**  
 Open and vacuum cooking vessels.  
**Syrup and marmalade factories:**  
 Cooking vessels.  
 Reservoirs.  
 Heating coils.  
**Dye houses, tanneries and cleaning establishments:**  
 Cooking vessels.  
 Stirring rods.  
 Heating coils.  
**Chemical plants:**  
 Special apparatus.  
**Paper factories:**  
 Fittings of machinery.  
**Trolleys and railways:**  
 Brakes.  
 Controllers.  
 Fenders.  
**Printing and engraving establishments:**  
 Matrices.  
 Galvanos.  
 Cylinders.  
 Plates.  
 Leads, slugs, etc.  
**All metal products of copper, tin, nickel or alloys are included, even if plated with another metal.**  
**XI. MEDICAL SUPPLIES.**  
 Camphor.  
 Codein.  
 Morphine.  
 Opium.  
 Surgical dressings.  
 Instruments in drug stores and physicians' offices, if not in use or if more could be procured.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS.	
Wood:	Calves.
Osier, dry, green, including the bark, barked.	Goats.
Logs, blocks and lumber.	Rabbits.
Standing timber.	Dogs.
Reeds.	Horses.
Rattan.	Horse blankets.
Tanning supplies:	Tar.
Skins.	Rosin.
Leather.	Cement bags.
Bark and wood for tanning.	Sacks of all kinds.
Skins, horns, feet, bones and carcasses of:	Raw gum.
Horses.	Gutta percha.
	Balata gum.
	Vulcanized fiber.
	Glycerin.

In addition the German authorities regulate and control the sale of most of the wares which have not been confiscated by them.

#### EXAMPLES OF THE WAY IN WHICH REGULATION AND CONTROL ARE EXERCISED.

##### EDICT JULY 19, 1916.

"Roasting of grains of all kinds without obtaining my permission beforehand is hereby forbidden.

"Violations [of this law] will be punished with imprisonment up to five years or fine up to 20,000 marks. Both punishments may be inflicted at the same time, together with confiscation of the supplies roasted or to be roasted.

"The German military courts and military authorities are authorized to judge violations." (From *German Legislation, etc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 165.)

##### EDICT SEPT. 7, 1916.

"1. In the execution of my decree of July 19, 1916, relating to the prohibition of the roasting of grains, I grant to the Comité National authority to place on sale malt-coffee made of roasted grain.

"2. The malt-coffee placed on sale by the Comité National will come in only one form of package, of which a sample has been submitted to the *Zentral-Ernte-Kommission*, examined, and approved by it.

"3. This form of package consists of a brown paper bag which contains 500 grammes of malt-coffee and bears on its front in red letters the words:

‘Torréaline  
Paquet de 500 Grammes.’

and in black letters:

‘Marque déposée  
Comité national de secours et d'alimentation.’

"On the back of the package is printed in Flemish and French—

'Torréaline' is an absolutely pure and healthful product, it can only be sold in sealed packages.

'Torréaline is sold only at the stores of the *Comité national de secours et d'alimentation*. Purchasers can obtain it only to the extent of their ration and exclusively for their personal consumption. All reselling is prohibited.'

"The package is sealed at the top and bottom with a round label so placed that one of these labels must be torn in opening the package. The labels have in white letters on a red background the word 'Torréaline,' and below or above this word, in small red letters on a white background, *Comité national de secours et d'alimentation*.

"4. Until further notice the price of 500 grams of Torréaline is 50 centimes.

"5. It is forbidden to sell malt-coffee in other than the designated package or to place it on sale at other than the designated places.

"6. Violations of the provisions of the previous paragraph will be punished with imprisonment not to exceed one year or with a fine of 5,000 marks, or both, together with the confiscation of the illegally used supplies." (From *German Legislation, etc.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 459-461.)

#### GERMAN PRETENCES OF INTEREST IN BELGIAN PROSPERITY.

Other ordinances show equally minute methods for regulating other articles. The German authorities have wondered that, after they had taken such pains to look after the smallest details, the Belgians were not grateful.

"For the Germans feel it. They have wanted friendly civil treatment from the Belgians; they have tried in their uncomprehending, unsympathetic, stiffly patronizing, semi-contemptuous way to get it, and they have expected it. Indeed, it was more than civility, it was deference that they first expected—in parts of occupied France the people have to salute the German officers, or get shot—but when the deference was seen to be hopeless, they expected civility." (From Vernon Kellogg, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1917, p. 438.)

Von Bissing was fond of posing as a friend and protector of the Belgians. He said to Cardinal Mercier: "I hope that our relations will be loyal. \* \* \* I have received the mission of dressing the wounds of Belgium." (Quoted from *German War Practices*, Part I, p. 66.)

"All this great and affectionate interest in matters and people Flemish, exhibited by General von Bissing and his staff, and by the German Chancellor and his Berlin associates, and now by von Schaibebe, the new special sub-governor for Flemish Belgium, is so simple and obvious in its reason and intent that it is nothing short of astounding that any Germans, 'of good mind and university-trained,' can, for a moment, believe that it could fool any one, least of all the people most immediately concerned." (From Vernon Kellogg; in *The Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1917, p. 435.)

The German officials who had preceded von Bissing had also encouraged the manufacturing industries to some extent.

"The general [von R.] declared an interest in 'caring for the people.' He was trying to reestablish the industries of the region, he said. I had noted the stacks of two factories smoking as we entered the town. Such sights in Belgium and North France have been unusual for two years, and attract attention. I said we were very glad to learn of his interest, and asked what the factories were. He turned to the gentleman on his other side. But a less discerning young officer across the table said they were making corrugated iron. This is an article much used in and behind the trenches.

"There is also much cutting of trees—French trees—and sawing of lumber going on in occupied France. Wood is also much used in the trenches. And large herds of cattle are being pastured in French pastures. They are German cattle for the soldiers. The French cattle have long ago been eaten by them.

"I suppose all this is just war. But when such things are given the color before the world of 'restoring the industries of the people,' the specific object of this restoration should be told. The bald truth is that Governor von Bissing's repeated declarations of rehabilitating industries in Belgium, and the similar statements of the General Staff for Northern France, are equivocations. What has been strongly attempted has been a forced exploitation of the people for German military advantage." (From Vernon Kellogg, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1917, pp. 152-153.)

#### OPPOSITION IN GERMANY TO PERMITTING MANUFACTURING IN BELGIUM.

But some industries which were not directly useful to the Germans had been allowed to resume work in whole or in part. In doing this the German officials in Belgium had aroused anger in Germany, as the Belgian industries competed with German manufacturers. The latter are not willing to permit any com-

petition on the part of the conquered peoples, as is shown by the comment on the attempt to renew the making of glass in Belgium.

In an article in the *Wirtschaftszeitung der Zentralmächte*, November 10, 1916, with the title "The German Glass Industry and the War," Dr. Goetze, head of the union of glass makers in Germany, states that before the war the German factories could not compete with the Belgian in exporting. The military occupation of Belgium had at first crushed the Belgian industry. But the Imperial Civil Administration had allowed the Belgian factories to resume their work to such an extent that they produced half as much as they had done before the war and consequently threatened the prosperity of the German industry. Then, to quote Dr. Goetze's words, "it had become vital to the German manufacturers of glass wares that the Belgian manufacturers should be stopped from going to neutral markets, and it must be admitted that the German Civil Administration has fully recognized the necessity of arranging this matter according to the demands of the German industry, and that it has taken suitable action." In spite of this some Belgian shops were able to do some exporting and had affected the market price. "Measures must be taken to stop this. For this reason the factories of central and eastern Germany, which are most directly concerned, have secured the promulgation of an order stopping importation, transit, and exportation. \* \* \* We must demand that the German Civil Administration of Belgium should first of all look out for the protection of the interests of the German industry."

#### SEIZURE OF TRADE SECRETS.

In addition to securing the aid of the German Government in ruining Belgian industries which competed with them, German manufacturers have also been aided by the German Government in obtaining Belgian trade secrets. For example, Dr. Bronnert secured a permit from the War Ministry to visit the factory at Obourg for making artificial silk. He took full notes of all that he could learn when he visited it, on December 9, 1916, and carried away designs and parts of the machinery. Dr. Bronnert is a director of a German factory for making artificial silk which competes with the Belgian factory. (From the *Informations Belges*, No. 307.)

## GERMAN EXPLANATION OF POLICY IN BELGIUM.

Because of the attitude of the German manufacturers the German authorities in Belgium were in a very difficult situation. For it was necessary to allow the Belgians to carry on some manufacturing and commerce so that they could pay the huge sums demanded month after month by the German authorities. The German Government felt that they must make an explanation to the German public and accordingly the following "inspired" article was published in a paper:

"We have received the following from Brussels from a well-informed quarter:

"While in the east our armies are advancing invincibly and in the west the splendid spirit of the army is being proved afresh every day in the stubborn struggle, a work is being accomplished behind the front in conquered and occupied Belgium which is of no less importance for the ultimate issue of the war. For it is essential in the interests of the army to maintain quietness and order in its rear, to restore orderly conditions in this country which has been sorely visited by the war, and to create foundations for the future upon which there can be further building after the conclusion of peace.

"The opinion seems to be wide-spread in many circles at home that the scepter was wielded too mildly in the conquered country; voices have been heard which cry, 'Become harsh,' which raise the reproach that the enemy's country is being treated as if it were our own; voices which blame the German Government in Belgium for troubling itself about the revival of trade and demand for industry, instead of decimating the whole country death blow to economically and giving the death-blow to its Belgian competition. Such criticisms exhibit

a short-sighted judgment of the tasks which are to be carried out in Belgium and of what has been accomplished hitherto. Justice must hold sway, even in our dealings with the enemy who is fighting us; how much more in those with the inhabitants of the conquered country! A strong hand and a just hand must meet in order to govern a country under such circumstances. All exaggerated mildness, all sentimentality, must be avoided and are being avoided, but true strength will always be just; severe at need, but not unnecessarily harsh. With such a principle the conqueror only pursues his own deepest interests. Or should he, perchance, by vexatious and arbitrary treatment, drive the already grievously-incensed nation, in the rear of his own army, to despair? The German Government in Belgium does all it possibly can to set trade and traffic going again and to provide earnings and bread for the working classes, not in order to pay

Belgium loving services thereby, but in order to prevent famine and disease behind the front of our army from endangering their safety and health. It has therefore willingly lent its hand to the procuring of food for the distressed population from neutral countries in order to spare our home supplies and to save our own troops from privations. It has permitted Only enough for the needful supplies of coal to be forwarded. "bare needs." Competition against our home production cannot arise thereby, for only so much can be forwarded to Belgium as is necessary for the bare needs of its freezing people and of its industry, which is prolonging a painful existence. With farsighted understanding the Government is also endeavoring to introduce institutions for social amelioration, which the Belgian Government—perhaps out of regard for the increase of the costs of production which would have resulted therefrom—had hitherto neglected. If the labor and productivity in the country is thus gradually increased again by this means, then the occupying troops, as well as the country, get the advantage of this, for they also have to resort to the products of the country for their needs. And then, how is Belgium to provide the financial payments which are imposed upon her, if her vital energy is sapped?" (From the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 29, 1914.)

In addition, reassuring statements were published in another paper:

"We shall be able to provide the raw materials and other necessities for our manufactures, as well as food. \* \* \*

"But at the outbreak of the war we had large supplies of the most important. In Antwerp we found and seized very large stocks; in the industrial centers of Belgium and northern France we were able to requisition very large supplies of wool and metals. \* \* \*

"And from the very beginning we have created a far-reaching organization which was to find the essential materials needed under the conditions of war. This Raw Stuffs Bureau [of Rathenau] has been established in the War Ministry and in connection with the auxiliary organizations for each branch of industry has rapidly grown into a great official bureau. \* \* \* By this the conduct of the war itself, as well as the maintenance of our industrial life, has been assured. The old saying that war must support war has come into honor again in a changed sense." (From the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, January 1, 1915.)

"From now on the [woolen] industry will be entirely dependent upon the raw materials which will be supplied by the stocks of wool which have been seized in the enemy country or which the *Kriegswollbedarfsgeschäft* under the authority of the War Ministry can supply. Consequently it is very satisfactory to be

able to state that the stocks which the State has secured are so large that one can no longer speak of a wool famine; at the very least the military needs are fully supplied for a long time." (From the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, January 2, 1915.)

"*Le Temps* of January 5, 1915, publishes the following extract from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*:

"The goods of different sorts seized in the enemies' territories are in such large quantities that the difficulty of knowing where to put them increases day by day. At the request of the Prussian Minister of War, all Chambers of Commerce have been asked to give all possible information with regard to storehouses, sheds, etc., which could be used temporarily to warehouse the spoil." (From S. S. McClure, *Obstacles to Peace*, Boston, 1917, p. 124.)

#### CONTEMPT FOR HAGUE REGULATIONS.

When some Belgians attempted to protest against the illegal requisitions and based their protest upon the violations of international law, and especially of the Hague Regulations, they received this brutal answer:

"(Read at Halluin, on the 30th June [1915], at 11.30 p.m., to the Municipal Council and notables of the Town of Halluin.)

"Gentlemen:

"What is happening is known to all these gentlemen. It is the conception and interpretation of Article 52 of the Hague Convention which has created difficulties between you and the German military authority. On which side is the right? It is not for us to discuss that, for we are not competent, and we shall never arrive at an understanding on this point. It will be the business of the diplomats and the representatives of the various States after the war.

"Today it is exclusively the interpretation of German military authority which is valid, and for that reason we intend that all that we shall need for the maintenance of our troops shall be made by the workers of the territory occupied. I can assure you that the German authority will not under any circumstances desist from demanding its rights, even if a town of 15,000 inhabitants should have to perish. The measures introduced up to the present are only a beginning, and every day severe measures will be taken until our object is obtained.

"This is the last word, and it is good advice I give you tonight. Return to reason, and arrange for the workers to resume work without delay; otherwise you will expose your town, your families, and your persons to the greatest misfortunes.

"Today, and perhaps for a long time yet, there is for Halluin

neither a prefecture nor a French Government. There is only one will, and that is the will of German authority.

“The Commandant of the Town,  
“SCHRANCK.””

(From Massart, *Belgians under the German Eagle*, New York, 1916, pp. 192-193.)

#### SUCCESS OF THE RATHENAU PLAN.

The success of the Rathenau Plan can also be seen in the following quotations from other papers:

“There have been great difficulties, as far as raw material, copper, tin, etc., are concerned, in keeping up manufacturing in the German shops for making machine tools. Thanks to the confiscations, the army administration is certain not to run out of the necessary metals before the end of the war.” (From *Der Praktische Maschinenkonstrukteur*, October 24, 1915; quoted in *Informations Belges*, No. 488.)

“After the war the French and the Belgian competition will no longer be dangerous because of the destruction brought about by the war.” (From *Exports*, December 28, 1915; quoted in *Informations Belges*, No. 488.)

#### GERMAN PROFITS FROM THE RATHENAU PLAN.

Most instructive is part of an article by Herr Ganghofer, containing some frank statements which he was not allowed to reprint in his book, *Journey to the German Front*, which he published later:

“For two weeks I was on my feet every day in order to get a rough idea of what is being done within the jurisdiction of a single army corps by the German military machine which is so carefully organized and does its work so quietly and irresistibly. What I saw done there on a limited scale is repeated all along the Western Front, to the great profit of Germany.

“All the work is done there on the principle that as little as possible of what the army needs is to be brought from Germany, that as much as possible is to be got from the conquered enemy country, and that everything that is necessary for the army or useful to Germany is to be taken to Germany. For three months about four-fifths of the army's needs were supplied by the conquered country. Even now, although the exhausted sources

in the land occupied by us are beginning to yield less abundantly, the conquered territory is still supplying two-thirds of the needs of the German army in the West. Because of this, for the last four months the German Empire has saved an average of 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 marks a day. This profit which the Germans have secured by their victory is very greatly increased by another means. That is the economic war which, in accordance with the rules of international law, is being carried on against the conquered land by the exhaustion of the goods which belong to the State, which are being carried to Germany from Belgium and Northern France. These are in enormous quantities and consist of war-booty, fortress-supplies, grain, wool, metal, expensive hard wood, and other things, not including all private property which cannot be requisitioned. In case of necessity this private property will, of course, be secured to increase the German supply, but it will also be paid for at its full value. What Germany saves and gains by this economic war, carried on in a business-like way, can be reckoned at a further 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 marks a day. Thus the entire profit which the German Empire has made behind its Western Front since the beginning of the war can be estimated at about 2,000,000,000 marks. For Germany this is a tremendous victory through the sparing and increase in her economic power; for the enemy, it is a crushing defeat through the exhaustion of all of the auxiliary financial sources in those portions of his territory which have been lost to us.

"Of the branches and management of this economic war I shall have more to say. Then people will learn to banish to the lumber-room of the past the catch phrase about 'the unpractical German.' A German officer of high rank at St. Quentin characterized this happy change which has taken place in our favor in these half serious, half humorous words: 'It is extraordinary how much a man learns! Although in reality I am an officer of the Potsdam Guard, now I am in the wool and lumber business. And successful, too!' " (From the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, February 26, 1915.)

#### VIEWS OF VON BISSING.

Finally, as to the advantages secured by Germany in Belgium through the Rathenau Plan, we have von Bissing's own words. These are from a statement which he wrote for his own use, to formulate his policy and the advantages which he thought could be gained from the occupation of Belgium. After his death this statement was given to the German press by his friends. It has been translated into English under the title of *General von Bissing's Testament*:

"Before leaving the sphere of military strategy, I must also refer to the fact that the Belgian industrial districts are of great value, not only in peace, but also in the event of war. A neutral Belgium, or a Belgium made subject to Anglo-French influence, with her munition factories, her metal industry and her coal, strengthens the fighting force and power of resistance of the country in the same way as our industrial districts do for us. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to prevent Belgian industry from serving the armament policy of our enemies. The advantages which we have been able during the present war to obtain from Belgian industry, by the removal of machinery and so on, are as important as the disadvantages which our enemies have suffered through lack of this addition to their fighting strength." (From *General von Bissing's Testament: a Study in German Ideals*, p. 17.)

Further on in his statement, he says:

"Germany's tasks are, of course, great and difficult, if Belgium submits and is incorporated. But Germany is strong enough, and it is to be hoped that, especially after this war, she will have plenty of efficient men to do in Belgium in a German sense, what unfortunately was not done in Alsace and Lorraine. Surely we shall have learnt from the mistakes that were made, and we shall never again have recourse to the vacillating policy of conciliation which was so disadvantageous not only in Alsace-Lorraine, but also in Poland. Of course, no people which has been appointed to play a creative part in the history of the world will find doves dropping already roasted into its mouth. A people which, during the war, has achieved such brilliant things in the trenches, in the Army Command, and in all branches of economic life, will have forces enough at its disposal to solve the difficult, but assuredly not insuperable, problems of peace." (From *General von Bissing's Testament*, pp. 24-25.)

The systematic exploitation and destruction in Flanders and Northern France were still going on in the fall of 1917, as is shown by the following despatch:

#### DESPATCH FROM MR. LANGHORNE.

"The Hague, Sept. 29, 1917.

"Secretary of State,  
"Washington.

"A person who has recently arrived here from Ghent gives the following information as to conditions in east and west Flanders and Northern France:

"The looms and machinery are being taken away from the

textile mills in Roubaix and Tourcoing and sent to Germany. Such machines as cannot be removed and transported have in some instances been dynamited and in others are being destroyed with hammers. In the neighborhood of Courtrai in Flanders all the mills have been ordered to furnish a list of their machinery. The measures which have been applied to the north of France will be carried out in Flanders. All textile fabrics have been requisitioned by the military authorities, even in small retail stores, and woolen blankets have been taken from private houses. There is also extensive requisitioning of wine. In the larger cities in the course of the past few weeks large numbers of children of from ten to fifteen years have been brought in for office work. There is a rapid increase in the number of women brought in for this purpose. A marked animation was observed in the *Etappen* inspection at Ghent last week. It is believed that at the meeting of the inspection something unusual was being discussed.

"LANGHORNE,  
"Chargé d'Affaires."

## II. PILLAGE AND ARSON

**Soldiers encouraged to pillage.** When the Belgian authorities refused to sacrifice the honor of Belgium by yielding to Germany's demand for an undisturbed march through its territory, the German military authorities determined to teach them a lesson.

In order to inspire terror in the inhabitants of the occupied country, and also in order to save expense to Germany, the soldiers were encouraged to pillage. They were allowed to drink to excess, and consequently many crimes were committed by the drunken soldiers.

It is clear that these acts could not have been done if the **Strict discipline.** military authorities had not willed it. Several diaries mention the participation of officers in looting, and this is confirmed by Mr. Hugh Gibson's statement below. (Compare also Part I, p. 32.) The German army has always been noted for its strict discipline, and German soldiers are never allowed to do anything contrary to the orders of their chiefs. Germans boast of the strict discipline as one of the best products of their army system. But in their advance into Belgium the soldiers were given full license in all that did not interfere with military discipline.

Moreover, when any resistance was attempted by the Belgians **Arson as part of policy.** the Germans burnt Belgian villages. This was in accordance with the frightful precepts of the

**Kriegsbrauch.** In addition, arson was often resorted to merely as a part of the policy of frightfulness. It is not necessary to go to the accounts written by the Belgians or French; the Germans themselves furnish ample testimony. Their naïve statements are especially enlightening. From the mass of testimony only a few typical selections will be given.

### TESTIMONY OF THE DIARIES.

"August 8th. At 10 o'clock crossed the Belgian frontier, then rested 1 kilometer from Salem where a country house was completely robbed of its wine, so that we got into a good humor. \* \* \*

**A good-humored soldier.** "August 9th. At 8 o'clock departed in a southerly direction towards Renny. Here the 2nd squadron had ravaged frightfully

as they had been shot at from all the houses. Many houses were burnt down.

"August 11th. [Liége.] We still stayed in the barracks and did not know what to do for sheer high spirits. Some played mouth-organs, others drummed on cooking pots, still others sang or whistled, and in addition there was always more wine and champagne.

"August 17th. We belong to the 7th Corps, 14th Infantry Division, Lieut.-General v. Fleck, Corps Commander v. Bülow.

"August 19th. Could not find regiment and remained with ammunition column. Then when we halted, plundered a villa; had a great deal of wine.

"August 22nd. Bivouac near Anderleus. Ravaged terribly, fed magnificently.

"August 26th. At 6 o'clock we went into bivouac. As always, the surrounding houses were immediately plundered. Found four rabbits, roasted. Dined magnificently. Plates, cups, knives and forks, glasses, etc.; eleven bottles champagne, four bottles wine, and six bottles liqueur were drunk.

"August 27. At 6:30 marched out. Everyone still provided with wine and champagne bottles.

"August 28th. Senkenteg [St. Quentin]. Had to bivouac in the market place. Emptied the houses; carried the beds on to the square and slept on them. Had our fill of coffee." (From diary of non-commissioned officer of the Reserve Kase, Second Regiment of Uhlans, Gardelegen, Altmark. Original German in Bryce, *Evidence and Documents*, p. 260.)

"August 24. A woman told me that the owner of the shop, a widow, had left the place yesterday, from fear Laying in a stock of clothes. *Eh bien!* Hinrichs and I set to work to smash a window at the back. We got into the kitchen and found there a round loaf. From there down into the cellar, where we took five bottles of wine and four bottles of beer along. Then finding all the communicating doors above locked, we broke down one after another. So we got into the shop. There we found practically everything we were looking for. Socks, shirts, trousers, cigars, and so on. At least 12 lbs. bonbons and 20 lbs. apple-cake, very fine stuff, we took to the company. \* \* \*

"In Blamont, we, Hinrichs and I, looted a villa, where, however, nothing usable fell into our hands except letter-paper and stamps.

"August 30th. We had permission to get underwear and eatables from the houses, and soon the *Chasseurs du Garde* appeared in faultless shirts, drawers, and socks. Also sausages, ham, crackers and preserved fruit were lugged out. Here we lived not at all badly, and everyone was glad to be quartered here." (From

the diary of Hans Georg Harwart, Battalion of the Jägers of the Guard, 4th Company. Address, Brandenburg. Original German in Bryce, *Evidence and Documents*, pp. 247-248.)

"It was given out at first that we would take up our quarters at Billy, where the entire civil population had already been expelled, and all household effects had been either taken or made useless. This method of making war is absolutely worse than barbarous. I wonder how we can rail about the Russians. conduct of the Russians; we are ravaging much worse in France, and at every chance, on one pretext or another, there is burning and looting. But God is just and sees everything. 'His mills grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small.'" (From the diary of Non-commissioned Officer Schultz, of the 46th Infantry Regiment. Original German, with facsimile, in *Les Violations des Lois de la Guerre par l'Allemagne*, Paris, 1915, p. 118.)

"Brussels, Oct. 10, 1914. A motor arrives at the hospital with booty, a piano, two sewing machines, a lot of albums and all sorts of other things." (From the diary of Private Johannes Thode, 4th Reserve-Ersatz Regiment. Original German in Bédier, *German Atrocities from German Evidence*, p. 23.)

#### LETTER OF A GERMAN SOLDIER.

"As a punishment the farm was burned, and this sad fate many villages—flourishing and rich villages—are said to have suffered. As a punishment it has been necessary in a general way to command many things which were an injury to the population and many times, too, unjustly; and it is unfortunately true that the worse elements feel themselves authorized to commit almost any enormities. This reproach applies above all to the employees in the regimental train and the wagon convoy, where all the unfit elements who cannot be used at the front are brought together. These soldiers pass their whole day in repose in the towns, where they often pillage the wine cellars, break into the houses which the frightened inhabitants have left, destroy and smear everything with filth, so that every man of upright mind must in truth be seized with horror at the misery of the war. As to the stories, probably invented in most cases or exaggerated, of the children with hands hacked off and of women who have been violated, these naturally do not concern the army as a whole, but when there is actually some truth in them, only a few criminals." (From a letter of Erwin Brasch, of the 1st Regiment of the Light Horse, division of the Bavarian Cavalry. Quoted in *Les Violations des Lois de la Guerre par l'Allemagne*, I, pp. 86-87.)

## VERNON KELLOGG'S EXPERIENCE.

"I used to ask my officer about these wrecked villages, as we ran through them, or stopped to inspect a local distributing center. \* \* \* He had a stereotyped reply: 'Punishment.'

"'Punishment for what?'

"'For a civilian's shooting at a soldier; or the village's harboring a spy; or a failure to meet a requisition or something or other.'

"He never knew exactly; nobody ever knew exactly. Not even with all the explanation from the captain-professor, who explained it on a basis of biological philosophy." (Vernon Kellogg, of the Belgian Relief Commission, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1917.)

## TESTIMONY OF MINISTER BRAND WHITLOCK.

The following passages are taken from Mr. Whitlock's despatch of September 12, 1917, to the Secretary of State:

"Over all this area, that is in the country lying about Visé, Liège, Dinant, Namur, Louvain, Vilverde, Malines, and Aerschot, a rich agricultural region dotted with innumerable towns, villages and hamlets, a land of contented peace and plenty, during all that month of August there were inflicted on the civilian population by the hordes that overran it deeds of such ruthless cruelty and unspeakable outrage that one must search history in vain for others like them committed on such a prodigious scale. Towns were sacked and burned, homes were pillaged; in many places portions of the population, men, women, and children, were massed in public squares and mowed down by mitrailleuses, and there were countless individual instances of an amazing and shameless brutality. The stories of these deeds gradually filtered into Brussels in ever increasing numbers as the days went by, brought by the refugees, who, in crowds, fled the stricken region in terror. It was difficult at first to believe them; but the stories persisted, and were told with such detail and on such authority that one could no longer doubt their essential truth. They became a matter of common knowledge and public notoriety; and they saturated the general mind with their horror. \* \* \*

"Battice is in the province of Liège, about five kilometers from Bligny; it was pillaged and burned on the 6th of August by Germans who had been repulsed before the forts of Liège. Thirty-six persons, including three women, were massacred, the village methodically burned, and the church destroyed. \* \* \*

"The Germans entered Aerschot on the 19th August. The greater part of the inhabitants who had remained in the town were shut up in the church for several days, receiving hardly any nourishment. On August 28th they

were marched to Louvain. Upon their arrival there they were let loose and were fired upon by German soldiers. The following day they were marched back to Aerschot, the men being again shut up in the church and the women were put in a building belonging to a Mr. Fontaine. Many women and young girls, it is said, were raped by the German soldiers. Upon one occasion seventy-eight men were taken outside the town and were made to pass before German gendarmes who struck them with the butts of their revolvers. Of these seventy-eight men only three escaped death. At another time a number of men were put in rows of three, the Germans shooting the third man in each row. The Germans killed over one hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of Aerschot, and among this number were eight women and several children. The pillage and firing of houses continued for several days, and a great quantity of furniture and objects of art were sent to Germany. On the 6th of September, three hundred of the inhabitants were carted off in wagons to Germany. In the seven small villages surrounding Aerschot, forty-two persons were killed, four hundred and sixty-two were sent to Germany, one hundred and fifteen houses were burned and eight hundred and twenty-three were pillaged. \* \* \*

"Monceau-sur-Sambre (Charleroi) was pillaged and sacked on the 22nd of August. Twelve inhabitants were shot by firing squads and twenty-eight as they emerged from their burning houses. Thirty of **Murder after check from French.** all ages and both sexes were wounded under similar conditions. Sixty-two houses were looted and two hundred and fifty burned. French soldiers were holding a bridge on the Sambre with machine guns and rifles and had received the Germans with a short but spirited fusillade. \* \* \*

"Gougnies, in the province of Hainaut, was sacked on the 23rd of August. No fighting had taken place there and the first troops had passed through quietly. On Sunday the 23rd, claiming that civilians had fired on their troops, the Germans set fire to various parts of the village. Seventeen houses were burned, and among those one in which Mr. Piret, provincial councillor for the Hainaut, had established a hospital. Ten wounded French soldiers therein were burned alive. Mr. Piret in spite of his great age was taken out and shot the next day at Le Roux. Two other inhabitants of Gougnies, Messrs. Thiry, aged 83, and Gre-goire, 56, were also shot. \* \* \*

"It is interesting to note that near Louvain at Heverle is the chateau of the Duc d'Arenberg, a German; **German-owned houses spared.** many of the houses in the village belonged to him; on these houses there were posted little cards, one of which I attach to this report; they read:

*'Dieses Haus ist zu Schützen. Es ist streng verboten, ohne Genehmigung der Kommandantur, Häuser zu betreten oder in Brand zu setzen.'*      *'Die Ettappen-Commandantur.'*

(“This house must be protected. It is strictly forbidden to enter the houses or to burn them without the consent of the Kommandantur.”)

“Certain houses were marked, in chalk: ‘*Nicht plündern.*’ (‘Do not pillage.’)

“During the whole of that terrible month of August [1914], and during a part of September; eastern Belgium was the scene of such happenings, from the deliberate and systematic organized massacres of civil populations, with isolated murders and outrages, violations of women, and those nameless deeds one cannot bring oneself to mention and yet somehow hears; down to the sack of wine cellars by drunken soldiers. \* \* \*

“There is little doubt that the German soldiers often fired ‘*Man hat ge-* because of the fear of francs-tireurs, but there *schossen.*’ is no convincing evidence that they were actually fired upon; indeed, no serious effort seems to have been made judicially to establish the fact. As, to have a town given over to fire and sword, it sufficed simply for a German soldier to cry: ‘*Man hat geschossen,*’ so it seems now to suffice, when justification is attempted, to say: ‘The Belgians fired on us.’ \* \* \*

“The Bishop of Namur writes to the Governor-General in Belgium, subjecting the [German] *White Book* to an examination that is without mercy in its logic. After having gone over the different charges of the Germans concerning the firing by civilians, he points out to the Governor-General that, in the *White Book*, there is not a word concerning the tragedy at Tamines, not a word about Surice, not a word about Spontin, not a word about Namur, not a word about Fehe, not a word about Gommeries, not a word about Latour, not a word, in short, about sixty-five other places where there was pillage and massacre and incendiарism.

“The Bishop shows, in the appendix devoted to Dinant, that almost three hundred times the [German] *No proofs of German charges.* *White Book* contented itself with repeating the unsupported allegation, ‘They have fired on us’; and he adds, with perfect comprehension of the German psychology, when this is denied, when the Germans are challenged to produce proof—proof, they reply, simply: ‘You cannot deny this; a German soldier said so.’

“It may be that there were instances where Belgian housewives *Not enough boiling water to justify slaying.* threw boiling water on the soldiers, it would not have been surprising if they had, though it seems somewhat less likely in the case of boiling tar, as housewives are not generally in the habit of keeping boiling tar available as means of defense, and it is not

stated how the German soldiers were roasted. But it would seem that there could not have been enough boiling water in all Belgium, even had it all been flung at German soldiers, to make it a military necessity to burn, to slay, to sack and to pillage on such a scale."

#### LOOTING BY A GERMAN "PRINCELING."

"Count and Countess de X had an interesting story to tell of their experiences when the first army went through. When the war broke out they were at their château and were caught by the first onrush of troops. Their fine cellars were emptied for the benefit of the invaders, but nothing more serious happened to them until the second wave came along. Then there was a demand for more wine. As all the wine had been carried away they could not comply. The Germans were convinced that they were being fooled, and searched the place very carefully. Finally they imprisoned the X's for three days in the cellar, and then brought them forth and stood them up before a firing squad and threatened to shoot them unless they told where the wine was hidden. At the critical moment a big gray military car rolled up, and to their considerable relief they saw that one of the occupants was a German princeling, who had formerly been their guest on several occasions. They called out to him, and by his orders were immediately released. After expressing their thanks to him they went into the château, to find that the soldiers were engaged in packing up their fine collection of enamels and porcelains to ship them to Germany. Another appeal to the Prince, who was most sympathetic. He was a practical and resourceful man, and said: 'Of course I'll stop this, but you will understand that our men would like to keep some little souvenirs of the war in Belgium. That would be hard to prevent. But I would suggest that you pick out all the pieces that you value most and pack them away in that large wardrobe. Then I'll do the rest.'

"Madame de X was, of course, delighted with this, and scurried about gathering together the finest pieces and packing them carefully into the big wardrobe. She kept it up as long as there was a nook or cranny where odd pieces could be put, and then reported progress to the Prince.

"'Are you sure that all the best pieces are there?' says he.

"'All that could be packed there,' answers Madame de X.

"'Good,' says the Prince, and then turning to his orderly: 'Have the wardrobe sent to Berlin for me.'" (Hugh Gibson, *A Journal from our Legation in Belgium*, pp. 194-196.)

#### OFFICERS FOLLOW EXAMPLE OF "PRINCELING."

"In the course of a recent session of the Reichstag the socialist deputy Herr Strucklen, while pointing out some injustices in the granting of leaves of absence in the army, declared:

"It is demoralizing for the soldiers at the front to see the mounted orderlies of certain officers leave the territory occupied by our armies in France, Belgium and Russia, in order to return to Germany, heavily loaded with baggage sent to the families of these officers. These orderlies, laden with booty torn by force from the unfortunate peoples of the invaded lands, obtain leave of absence six, eight, ten and even twelve times a year, while thousands of soldiers who have been at the front for two years have never had a single day of leave." (From *Le XXe Siècle*, May 30, 1917.)

### III. DESTRUCTION OF LOUVAIN

The destruction of Louvain aroused universal horror. Many accounts of it have been written, and the facts are well known. The German authorities felt it necessary to attempt some justification of their deeds. The first document in this section is their official explanation to the Secretary of State of the United States, in which they caluminate the Belgian women, express regret at the devastation which they had wrought, and incidentally extol "the conciliatory character of the German soldier." Next comes the telegram giving the Belgian version of what happened. This is corroborated by extracts from our own minister to Belgium, Mr. Brand Whitlock. All of these documents are taken from the archives of the State Department. Lastly, two short extracts are given from the account by Hugh Gibson, Secretary of our legation to Belgium, who visited Louvain in the midst of its destruction.

#### AN OFFICIAL GERMAN EXPLANATION.

"Long ago the Belgian Government had organized an insurrection of the people against the invasion of the enemy. Some stores of arms had been established, and upon each gun was the name of the citizen who was to use it.\* Since the Hague Conference it has been recognized, at the request of the little powers, that an insurrection of the people is in conformity with international law, if weapons are carried openly and the laws of war respected. Such an insurrection, however, could be organized only to combat an enemy who invaded the country. At Louvain, on the other hand, the city had already surrendered and the population had then abandoned all resistance. The city was occupied by German troops. Nevertheless the "Traitorous" population attacked from all sides the German attack." garrison and the troops who were in the act of entering the city, by opening upon them a murderous fire. Because the attitude of the population was obviously pacific these troops arrived at Louvain by railroad and autos. In the present case, then, there is no question of a measure of defense in con-

\*Belgian authorities claim in refutation of this charge that these arms had been handed in by the civil population in response to disarmament proclamations, and that the names were those of the owners who had surrendered the guns.

formity with international law, nor an admissible ruse of war; but it was a traitorous attack on the part of the civilian population. This attack is the more unjustifiable because it has been proved that it had been planned long before and was to have taken place at the same time as the sortie from Antwerp. The weapons were not carried openly. Some women and young girls took part in the combat, and gouged out the eyes of the wounded. The

**Belgian women accused of atrocities.** barbarous acts of the Belgian people in almost all the territories occupied by the German troops have not only justified the most severe reprisals on the part of the German military authorities

but have even compelled the latter to order them for safeguarding the troops. The intensity of the resistance of the population is proved by the fact that it took our troops twenty-four hours to overcome the attacks by the inhabitants of Louvain. In the course of these combats the city of Louvain has been destroyed in large part by a conflagration which broke out after the explosion of a convoy of benzine, and this explosion was occasioned by shots fired during the battle. The Imperial Government is the first to deplore this unfortunate result, which was in no way

**"Conciliatory character of the German soldier."** intentional. Nevertheless, because of the acts of the francs-tireurs it was impossible to avoid such an outcome. Moreover, anyone who knows

the conciliatory character of the German soldier could not seriously assert that he has been led to act in such a manner without serious provocation. Under these circumstances the Belgian people, who respect neither right nor law, bears all the responsibility, in conjunction with the Belgian Government, which, with a criminal nonchalance, has given to the people orders contrary to international law by inciting them to resistance, and which, in spite of reiterated warnings by the German authorities, has done nothing, after the capture of Liège, to induce the people to take a pacific attitude."

#### TELEGRAM FROM THE BELGIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AUGUST 28, 1914.

**No examination; destruction ordered.** "On Tuesday evening a body of German troops who had been driven back retired in disorder upon the town of Louvain. Germans who were guarding the town thought that the retiring troops were Belgians and fired upon them. In order to excuse this mistake the Germans in spite of the most energetic denials on the part of the authorities pretended that Belgians had fired on the Germans, although all the inhabitants including policemen had been disarmed for more than a week. Without any examination and without listening to any protest the commanding officer announced that the town would be immediately destroyed. All

inhabitants had to leave their homes at once; some were made prisoners; women and children were put into a train of which the destination was unknown; soldiers with fire bombs set fire to the different quarters of the town; the splendid Church of St. Pierre, the markets, the university and its scientific establishments, were given to the flames, and it is probable that the Hotel de Ville, this celebrated jewel of Gothic art, will also have disappeared in the disaster. Several notabilities were shot at sight. Thus a town of 40,000 inhabitants, which since the fifteenth century has been the intellectual and scientific capital of the Low Countries, is a heap of ashes. Americans, many of whom have followed the course at this illustrious *alma mater* and have there received such cordial hospitality, cannot remain insensible to this outrage on the rights of humanity and civilization which is unprecedented in history."

#### MINISTER WHITLOCK'S REPORT.

"A violent fusillade broke out simultaneously at various points in the city [Louvain], notably at the Porte de Bruxelles, Porte de Tirlemont, rue Leopold, rue Marie-Thérèse, rue des Joyeuses Entrées. German soldiers were firing at random in every street and in every direction. Later fires broke out everywhere, notably in the University building, the Library, in the old church of St. Peter, in the Place du Peuple, in the rue de la Station, in the boulevard de Tirlemont, and in the chaussée de Tirlemont. On the orders of their chiefs, German soldiers would break open the houses and set fire to them, shooting on the inhabitants who tried to leave their dwellings. Many persons who took refuge in their cellars were burned to death. The German soldiers were equipped with apparatus for the purpose of firing dwellings, incendiary pastels, machines for spraying petroleum, etc. \* \* \*

"Major von Manteuffel detained his three visitors and sent Hostages. for Alderman Schmidt. Upon the latter's arrival the major declared that they were to be held as hostages as sedition had just broken out. He asked Father Parijs, Mr. Schmidt, and Mgr. Coenraedts, First Vice-Rector of the University, who was being held as a hostage, to make proclamations to the inhabitants exhorting them to be calm and menacing them with a fine of twenty million francs, the destruction of the city, and the hanging of the hostages, if they created disturbance. Surrounded by about thirty soldiers and a few officers, Major Manteuffel, Father Parijs, Mr. Schmidt, and Mgr. Coenraedts left in the direction of the station, and the alderman, in French, and the priest, in Flemish, made proclamations at the street corners. \* \* \*

"Near the statue of Juste-Lipse, a Dr. Berghausen, a German surgeon, in a highly excited condition ran to meet the delegation. He shouted that a German soldier had just been killed by a shot fired from the house of Mr. David Fishbach. Addressing the soldiers, Dr. Berghausen said: 'The blood of the entire population of Louvain is not worth a drop of the blood of a German soldier!' Then one of the soldiers threw into the interior of the house of Mr. Fishbach one of the pastilles which the German soldiers carried and immediately the house flared up. It contained paintings of a high value. The old coachman, Joseph Vandermosten, who had re-entered the house to try to save the life of his master, did not return. His body was found the next day amidst the ruins. \*\*\*

"The Germans made the usual claim that the civil population had fired upon them and that it was necessary to take these measures, i.e., burn the churches, the library and other public monuments, burn and pillage houses, driving out and murdering the inhabitants, sacking the city in order to punish and to spread terror among the people, and General von Luttwitz had told me that it was reported that the son of the Burgomaster had shot one of their generals. But the Burgomaster of Louvain had no son, and no officer was shot at Louvain. The story of a general shot by the son of a burgomaster was a repetition of a tragedy that had occurred at Aerschot, on the 19th, where the fifteen year old son of the Burgomaster had been killed by a firing squad, not

**The touching story of the mother.** because he had shot a general, but because an officer had been shot, probably by Belgian soldiers retreating through the town. The story of this tragedy is told by the boy's mother, under oath, before the Belgian Commission and is so simple, so touching, so convincing, in its verisimilitude, that I attach a copy of it *in extenso* to this report. It seems to afford an altogether typical example of what went on all over the stricken land during those days of terror. (In other places it was the daughter of the Burgomaster who was said to have shot a general.)

"The following facts may be noted: From the avowal of Some alleged Prussian officers themselves, there was not one shooting could single victim among their men at the barracks not have taken of St. Martin, Louvain, where it was claimed place. that the first shot had been fired from a house situated in front of the Caserne. This would appear to be impossible had the civilians fired upon them point blank from across the street. It was said that when certain houses near the barracks were burning, numerous explosions occurred, revealing the presence of cartridges; but these houses were drinking houses much frequented by German soldiers. It was said that Spanish students shot from the schools in the Rue de la Station, but

Father Catala, rector of the school, affirms that the schools were empty. \* \* \*

"If it was necessary, for whatever reason, to do what was done at Visé, at Dinant, at Aerschot, at Louvain, and in a hundred other towns that were sacked, pillaged and burned, where masses were shot down by machine-guns, where children were murdered and women raped, because civilians had fired on German troops, and if it was necessary to do this on a scale never before witnessed in history, one might not unreasonably assume that the alleged firing by civilians was done on a scale, if not so thoroughly organized, at least somewhat in proportion to the rage of destruction that punished it. And hence it would seem to be a simple matter to produce at least convincing evidence that civilians had fired on the soldiers; but there is no testimony to that effect beyond that of soldiers who merely assert it: *Man hat geschossen.*

**No evidence of francs-tireurs to warrant the destruction of one small town.** If there were no more firing on soldiers by civilians in Belgium than is proved by the German testimony, it was not enough to justify the burning of the smallest of the towns that was overtaken by that fate. And there is not a scintilla of evidence of organized bands of francs-tireurs, such as were found in the war of 1870.

"And yet the *White Book* even makes the suggestion that the 'popular warfare,' as it calls it (*des Belgischen Volkskrieg*) was, if not ordered, at least tolerated by the Belgian Government, and this in face of the fact that the 4th August, 1914, the Belgian Minister of the Interior, Mr. Berryer, issued a proclamation to all the communal authorities instructing them as to the rules of civilized warfare, and calling their attention to the fact that the civil population should remain calm and not oppose any resistance, but leave to the Belgian organized army the task of defending the invaded soil, and that in all the communes notices were posted by the mayors asking the citizens to surrender their weapons and that, as every one in Belgium knows, in every *hôtel de ville* or *maison communale* in the land, there were piles of old weapons surrendered in consequence, weapons of all sorts, fowling pieces, revolvers, even ancient muskets, swords and sabers, taken from the walls where they had hung as trophies.

**Lack of evidence in White Book.** "I am quite sure that any lawyer, reading the record, would conclude that in the *German White Book* scarcely enough evidence is adduced to raise a presumption that civilians had fired, to say nothing of meeting the burden of proof which is imposed on German officialdom when self-defense is pleaded. The testimony adduced in the *German White Book* is that of soldiers who were under the direction, control, and iron discipline of those who were making the investigation. The inquiry at Louvain, for instance, was

conducted by a German *Feldkriegsgerichtsrat*, which seems to be a kind of Judge-Advocate, Dr. Ivers. His report finds that the Germans were in no wise to blame for what occurred at Louvain and that they were wholly justified in doing what they did.

"The inquiry at Louvain was wholly unilateral. No Belgians and no neutrals were allowed to follow the progress of the hearing. Certain Belgians volunteered to testify, among the notabilities of the city of Louvain, but their testimony, even when heard, was not published in the *White Book*, in short, the report in our American phrase was a whitewash.

"The *ad hominem* argument is a fallacy, and a repugnant weapon besides, but it is not wholly uninteresting in this connection to know that *Feldkriegsgerichtsrat* Ivers has since been tried and convicted before the Criminal Courts of Berlin on a charge of attempted blackmail and of having used his legal

*Character of German Judge-Advocate.* functions for the purpose of extorting money from the mother of a man then serving in the army, whose wife was suing him for divorce, that for this he has been sent to prison, and that in sentencing him the judge who presided at the trial said that from the evidence it had been shown that the accused Ivers was without moral sense or judgment."

#### TESTIMONY OF HUGH GIBSON, WHO WAS PRESENT.

"The houses on both sides were either partially destroyed or smouldering. Soldiers were systematically removing what was to be found in the way of destruction. "Businesslike" destruction. valuables, food, and wine, and then setting fire to the furniture and hangings. It was all most businesslike. The houses are substantial stone buildings, and fire will not spread from one to another. Therefore the procedure was to batter down the door of each house, clean out what was to be saved, then pile furniture and hangings in the middle of the room, set them afire, and move on to the next house." (From Hugh Gibson, *A Journal from Our Legation in Belgium*, p. 159.)

"With a hard glint in his eye he told us the purpose of his work; he came back to it over and over, but the burden of what he had to say was something like this:

"'We shall make this place a desert. We shall wipe it out so that it will be hard to find where Louvain used to stand. For generations people will come here to see what we have done, and it will teach them to respect Germany and think twice before they resist her. Not one stone on another, I tell you—*kein Stein auf einander!*'" (From Hugh Gibson, *A Journal from Our Legation in Belgium*, p. 162.)

#### IV. WANTON DESTRUCTION

An old German proverb runs: "No grass ever grew where the horse of Attila, king of the Huns, had trodden." This proverb may have been in the minds of the modern *Huns* (the epithet is Emperor William's) when they were compelled to retreat from Northern France during the spring of 1917. The statements of those who were present and saw the condition in which they left the country tell the story more vividly than any second-hand account could do. One of the German newspaper correspondents in an enthusiastic report, which was published in the *Lokal Anzeiger*, March 18, 1917, tells what the Germans were planning to do:

##### GERMAN ACCOUNT OF THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SOMME (SPRING, 1917).

"In the course of these last few months great stretches of French territory have been turned by us into a 'An Empire of dead country. It varies in width from 10 to 12 or Death.' 15 kilometers [6 $\frac{1}{4}$  to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  or 8 miles] and extends along the whole of our new position, presenting a terrible barrier of desolation to any enemy hardy enough to advance against our new lines. No village or farm was left standing on this glacis, no road was left passable, no railway track or embankment was left in being. Where once were woods there are gaunt rows of stumps; the wells have been blown up, wires, cables, and pipelines destroyed. In front of our new position runs, like a gigantic ribbon, an empire of death." (Quoted in *Frightfulness in Retreat*, London, 1917, p. 5.)

"Between St. Quentin and Brissay-Choigny," wrote a German soldier of the thirty-ninth Infantry Regiment in his diary, "we are blowing up or burning all the runs into villages. Scandalous! It is called constructing millions." Our own positions. All non-commissioned officers are forced to work. The inhabitants are forced to leave. They are allowed seventy kilograms of luggage. Germany for ever! On March 21st, company marches to la Fère and goes into billets there. The rooms are empty; we collect the beds and mattresses. Excellent billets, but how long are we going to be so well off? The destruction we are doing runs into millions. It is an eternal

disgrace to Germany." (Quoted in *Frightfulness in Retreat*, p. 10. The diary was captured, and the extract here quoted was originally published in the Belgian journal *Les Nouvelles*, of Maestricht, Holland, April 13, 1917.)

"And here we came upon the Empire of Death—a Death which lays the shrivelled hands of destruction upon all the works of men and all the bloom of Nature. \* \* \* We are in that broad zone of devastation which stretches from the Scarpe to the Aisne. \* \* \*

"A year back and earlier I was so often in this country—and I do not know it again. The war has set its mark upon it. Old giant trees that once stood here on either side of the road—they are no more. There were houses by the road and farms. There is nothing left of all that, and nothing of the bloom and prosperity of the country-side. As far as the eye can see, the land is bare and desert, a uniform, forbidding, open field of fire, through which the ribbon of road we are following runs as a last remnant of extinct civilization. And even the road will only give passage for a few days longer across the desert. At the crossways it is mined. \* \* \*

"Troops meet us on the march and wagons piled high with the men's kits and properties. They have packed up Nothing left. at the front and have left those who will succeed them in the abandoned places nothing, nothing whatever, not a tub, not a bench. And what they could not take with them they have burnt or smashed. They have blown up behind them the shelter in which they had lodged. They have filled up or made undrinkable the wells that gave them water; they have destroyed the lighting and set the barracks on fire.

"We push on further into the undulating distance caught in the paralysis of death, and its horror knows no end. Here there once stood villages on either hand, estates, chateaux, all gone. Burnt out ruins with a spark glowing here and there are the only vestiges left of the past that has been swept away—and in the air a sharp, pungent smoke from green wood, beds, dung-heaps, still smouldering. Occasionally, in the distance, the fires still flicker on into the light of day—yellow flames, which now and then veil themselves completely in murky smoke, and then shoot up again, hungry yet almost colorless in the bright light. Any piece of wall that still stands after the burning, is blown up or battered down by engineers. The enemy, when systematic destruction for months. they come, shall not find here so much as a miserable half-burnt wall to shelter them from the wind. Even the cellars have been blown up.

But all this is not the work of a few days; it was carried out systematically for weeks and months on end—it had to take months, if it was to pass unnoticed by the enemy. A zone of burning villages would have shown the enemy airmen in a flash

what was afoot. No, one village was burnt somewhere one day, and the next day, if the weather was hazy and there was low visibility, two more somewhere else went up in smoke and flames. For the final days nothing was left but what was needed up to the last moment for the accommodation of the troops. And now the sorry remnant goes to ruin, that this stern work of destruction may be complete." (Quoted in *Frightfulness in Retreat*, pp. 21-24, from *Lokal Anzeiger*, March 27, 1917.)

#### ANOTHER GERMAN WITNESS.

"It looked like a house-moving of humble folk; mattresses and chairs, with an occasional sewing-machine or hen-coop, and then a fine array of dismantled doors and windows and anything else that seemed worth carrying away from the houses that a few hours later were to go up in smoke and flames. And they sawed away tree trunks—fine, sound, solid wood. \* \* \*

"And the desert, a pitiful desert leagues wide, bare of trees and undergrowth and houses! They sawed and hacked; trees fell and bushes sank; it was days and days before they had cleared the ground. In this war zone there was to be no shelter, no cover. The enemy's mouth must stay dry, his eyes turn in vain to the wells—they are buried in rubble. No four walls for him to settle down into; all levelled and burnt out, the villages turned into dumps of rubbish, churches and church towers laid out in ruins athwart the roads.

"Smouldering fires and smoke and stench; a rumble spreading from village to village—the mine charges are still doing their final work, which leaves nothing more to do.

"It is not so easy to scatter a whole village into brick-dust. There are hundreds of villages out there which were under fire for weeks on end, yet still showed a wall or two and an occasional roof. \* \* \* But when our engineers get to work on a village, our engineers! Then it goes into the air as if a mighty earthquake had caught it, it crumbles and breaks up and falls, and the last pitiful houses are knocked out by the coup de grace. And what a rubbish-heap there lies spread—bricks and clay and stones and timbers licked by the flames. Poor devil of a war-zone, seek you habitation elsewhere. Old-time farms with massive walls, vaulting, and any amount of resisting power—their walls were drilled scientifically, and the charges fired. Then the whole farm crumpled up, just as it was intended to do—half over the road which it was its business to bury, and the other half into the cracking cellars.

"Rubble, nothing but rubble, all this ancient village history, all these future prospects of modern peasant life. The fine broad

yard sinks away with the cottage; the cottage burns quietly to ashes, and the remains of its clay walls yield to the first serious stroke of the battering-ram. The great farm buildings put up a defence—only to fly into the air, rain down again, and mingle themselves with their neighbors' misery in a field of ruins which once bore a name and paid a rent.

"Let them see it over there! Let them see it over there!" This fearful naked war should be reflected in all "Desert full of wretchedness." the shop windows of the Boulevards. We have put distance between us and our enemies. It is a desert full of wretchedness. \* \* \*

"Farewell, comrades of the Somme! The earth which drank your blood is upheaved and torn asunder. It is made unfruitful, it is turned into a desert, and your graves are made free from the dwellings of men. Those who tread it, your desert, will be greeted by our shells." (Quoted in *Frightfulness in Retreat*, pp. 24-26, from *Berliner Tageblatt*, March 26, 1917.)

These statements were not at all exaggerated, and the German correspondents' accounts of the plans of the military authorities are fully corroborated by the reports of Ambassador Sharp, Ambassador Penfield and Mr. Hoover.

#### AMBASSADOR SHARP'S FIRST REPORT.

"Paris, April 1, 1917.

"Secretary of State,  
"Washington.

"Accepting an invitation, kindly extended to me several days ago, I yesterday visited many of the French towns recently retaken in the invaded territory, making the trip in a military automobile. I was accompanied by military attaché Boyd. I regret to say that I found the various reports in circulation here, and doubtless forwarded to American newspapers, of the deplorable conditions in those towns are in no way exaggerated. With very few exceptions the places visited by me, though few in comparison, numbering upwards of thirty, had been quite destroyed by the Germans before evacuating them. The destruction wrought in the larger towns of Roye, Ham, and particularly the once thriving and attractive city Chauny, was complete. In many of the other smaller villages scarcely a house remains with its roof intact. A scene of desolation reigns everywhere over the reconquered territory. This is true not alone where the possibly excusable military operations carried out by the Germans protected their retreat, by the blowing up of all the bridges and the destruction of the means of telegraphic and telephonic connections, including

portions of railway lines, and the blocking of highways by the felling of many trees, but also where, as far as the eye could see, nearly all the fruit trees had either been cut down or exploded so as to completely ruin them. Not only were the towns destroyed for no seeming military reason, but every private house along the country highways, including some of the most beautiful chateaus of great value, had been completely gutted by explosives or by fires systematically planned. I am told that

Agricultural implements destroyed. before the retreat commenced the agricultural implements found on the farms were also destroyed. Blackened walls of what must have

been extensive manufacturing establishments were to be seen in many places, the salvage of which, including likewise that of most of all the other structures destroyed, would scarcely pay for the removal of the (?) . The churches and cathedrals in some of the towns had been reduced to a mass of ruins by the Germans either by heavy charges of explosives or by fires.

"At Ham I was told by the mother of six children that her The mother's husband and two daughters, one of the age of alternative. fifteen and the other eighteen, had been carried away by the Germans at the time of their evacuating the town, and upon her remonstrating she had been told that as an alternative she might find their bodies in the canal in the rear of her home. The same woman informed me that out of that town's total population several hundred people had been compelled to accompany the Germans, nearly half of whom were women and girls above fifteen years of age. There is the belief that a large number of French people in the evacuated towns and surrounding country were forced by the Germans to go with them in their retreat, from the fact that so comparatively few are now to be found.

"After traversing a distance of more than one hundred miles in this invaded territory, I left with the conviction that history records no parallel in the thoroughness of destruction wrought either by a victorious or a vanquished army.

"SHARP."

#### AMBASSADOR SHARP'S SECOND REPORT.

"Paris, April 16, 1917.

"Secretary of State,

"Washington.

"No despatch giving additional details of my trip through the invaded districts was sent because, with the desire that the Department be promptly acquainted with the general character and extent of the destruction, I made my telegram of April 1st rather full.

"Supplementary to that telegram, however, it might be desirable for the Department to learn in a few words of the great distress that prevails throughout those districts because of the very wantonness of the retreating army in destroying not only

**All means of livelihood destroyed.** everything that would contribute to the bare existence of the population but of the means of earning a livelihood. Every article of furniture in the houses was either destroyed or carried

away by the Germans. In many places where the buildings were not actually destroyed a systematic program of removing or destroying every door and every window frame in the house was carried out, so that even in some places where lack of time had not given opportunity to destroy the roof overhead, the houses were left wholly untenable in an unusually severe stress of weather. A local paper gives the following description of these scenes, written by a German correspondent, which appeared originally in the *Lokal Anzeiger*. From personal observation

**Vouches for accuracy of German report.** I can vouch for the entire accuracy of this picture: 'All is a desert, across which the road is the last vestige of a vanished civilization, and

the road itself will disappear in a few days. All

the cross roads are mined and the mine chambers charged. Motor driven plows are at work in the fields, rendering them impassable for the enemy's artillery and convoys. Troops on the march pass with wagons laden with provisions and utensils. They have left nothing in the positions evacuated. What has not been destroyed has been burned or smashed. The soldiers have blown up their shelters and rendered their wells and former quarters useless. The walls that remain standing after the fire will be destroyed with explosives. Even cellars have been blown up. All this was not done in a day. The work was carried out methodically, during weeks and months in order not to arouse the suspicion of the enemy.'

"The wife of the Mayor of Noyon told me that one of the most urgent needs at present confronting the people No tools left. of that town is that of tools with which to engage in the work of reconstruction, as they have been deprived of every implement which would enable them to repair or rebuild their homes. The farmer is in no way more favored because all agricultural implements have likewise been destroyed.

"While food is being supplied to the stricken inhabitants by the French Government, through the military organizations, yet

**"Widespread and needless ruin."** they are sorely in need, particularly of boots and shoes, bedding and blankets. An army officer accompanying me on the trip, who is also a

landed proprietor, told me that men were needed today quite as much for agricultural work in the fields as for the army service. In the devastated regions especially there is a great need as well for all kinds of farm implements. The wide-

spread and needless ruin wrought by the retreating enemy in so many ways upon this unhappy portion of France, even affecting the very landscape, in the denuding of forests, the cutting down of thousands of stately trees which lined for miles the country highways and constituted their charm, and the destruction of historic monuments, will not be effaced in a generation of time.

"SHARP."

#### AMBASSADOR PENFIELD'S REPORT.

"By invitation of Premier Ribot I went to the French front to witness the great drive slowly but surely forcing the German invaders from French soil, and to view the area recently evacuated by the Germans. Secretary Frazier of the American Embassy and I were sent in a military automobile in charge of a high official from the Foreign Office. We had been told much of the ruthless devastation, prompted by military necessity or custom, but no oral account could give more than a suggestion of what we saw that day.

"We traveled practically all over the Department of the Aisne, and approached to within eight miles of the lines of the German Crown Prince near St. Quentin. A terrific artillery battle was in progress. Many observation balloons were above us and military fliers seemed battling as fiercely in the sky as were the artillerists from their hidden positions. It was a sight never to be forgotten.

"We visited Noyon, Peronne, Ham, Coucy, Chauny—in fact practically every town between the British front on the west and Verdun on the east. Scores of towns and villages, isolated chateaux and factories were razed to the ground. The entire Aisne Department seemed destroyed beyond repair.

"The Germans appeared to have an antipathy to Catholic churches, for battering had reduced all to shapeless piles of debris. The destruction everywhere was complete, outrageous, fiendish. During the day we saw no living thing native to the land—no cow, sheep, or horse; no dog, cat, or fowl.

"We visited many stately chateaux that had been destroyed beyond man's ability to repair. At one place we found the private chapel of a historic family of France whose coffins had been opened by vandals searching for plunder. Everywhere French soldiers told us that it had been only five weeks earlier when the rout of the Germans had become so urgent that they hastened through villages plundering and burning as they went—but not until all art objects and furniture of value had been dispatched beyond the Rhine.

"Critics of Germany claim that one has but to visit the northern departments of France to learn that the refinement of barbarism." refinement of barbarism is not confined to Germany's program on the seas, for it is expressed in the invaded zone of France in a manner causing revulsion to witness. From every town and village men and women had been driven into Germany like animals by the infuriated and beaten Teutons.

"As I saw the destruction and thought of the generosity of my countrypeople, I wondered if liberal Americans would not be glad to rebuild or assist in restoring some of the ruined towns and villages of the Aisne and Champagne. There can be no form of charity half as useful at this time.

"The most ruthless and revolting thing that a visitor to the evacuated area perceives is the total destruction "Total destruction of all trees." of all trees, fruit-bearing and ornamental. Nearly every tree in the Aisne Department has been felled, and for what purpose? There can be but one—to cripple the restoration of Northern France to usefulness. Men and money can rebuild the homes and factories in a year or two, but to restore the orchards and other useful trees will call for a half century. What the Germans did to tree life in Northern France was the systematic murdering of Nature, nothing less.

"Our automobile broke a tire near a village that had been the appanage of a once splendid chateau, and when the chauffeur was making the repairs six or eight children gathered about the machine to witness the work. Two lads were better dressed than the others and wore neat suits of cotton corduroy. I engaged the elder of these brothers in conversation by asking where the garments came from and he promptly replied: 'From the American Relief Clearing House Committee, which has fed and clothed us since the Boches were driven away.'

"Have you any relatives?" I inquired. To this the boy answered: 'Yes, my poor mother lies sick in The boy's story. that cottage there,' pointing to a poor peasant house. 'Have you sisters?' I asked, and this was the reply: 'Two, aged 19 and 21. Both were outraged by the Germans and carried off by the retreating army. Our poor father, who tried to protect our sisters, was shot dead by the Boches, who said he was disobedient, and his body lies buried there by the roadside.'

"To me this incident in an Aisne village was more convincing of the barbarity and fiendishness of the men of "Barbary and military Germany than all the books and newspaper exposures I had ever read. I returned that night to Paris and decided in my belief that God would never permit the ferocious Kaiser William to succeed in his mad assault upon civilization. As an illustration of German *Kultur*, Belgium may present brutal instances in excess of those of the evacuated

regions in France, but not many, I am sure. The deportations have been fewer from France, but fully as cruel in character." (Statement given *The New York Times*, May 18, 1917, by Frederic Courtland Penfield, Ambassador to Austria-Hungary.)

#### MR. HOOVER'S STATEMENT.

"About the end of March the retreat of the German army over a small area opened up to the world a vision of what had really happened to the three millions. It was but a little parcel in France that was recovered, with a population of only 30,000 people.

"I had visited that area from behind the lines and again visited it from the Allies' side. I found that every village, with the exception of two small areas, had been totally destroyed.

"The Germans had erected battering rams, had destroyed and burned villages, had leveled everything to the ground, had gathered up all the agricultural implements in open squares and burned them, had taken all the animals, and had removed all the male portion of the population between the ages of 18 and 65 years.

"Even the fruit trees have been destroyed, and that entire section, of probably 60 miles in length and over 20 or 25 miles in depth, has been devastated to such an extent that those people cannot get back onto their feet without an entire replacement of all the engines by which production is carried on.

"This is but a sample of what we have to expect from practically the entire area. The cost of the rehabilitation runs into figures which should startle all except Americans, and perhaps Americans even in the larger figures in which we have begun to think.

"I made a rough estimate of the immediate amount of money required to rehabilitate that little parcel of population and to support them for one year; "Damage runs into billions." to provide them with their implements, to give them the roughest kind of housing, to get them back to the point where they may get the land into cultivation and get into self-support, would run somewhere from seven to ten millions of dollars.

"Altogether the north of France is probably faced with a total expenditure for rehabilitation which will reach a billion and a half dollars. (Herbert C. Hoover, in the *National Geographic Magazine*, May, 1917, p. 441.)

#### PROFESSOR HULETT'S STATEMENT.

The wanton destruction of the trees especially impressed many observers. Particularly noteworthy is the strictly impartial,

judicial statement by a scientific observer, Professor George C. Hulett:

“Princeton, N. J., Sept. 25, 1917.

“In May, 1917, I was returning from the British front to Paris with a French officer. We stopped at Amiens for the night of May 14th, and the next morning motored to Peronne, thence east and south via Ham and Campiegne. This route took us, for a good part of the day, through a region which was given up by the Germans after the battle of the Somme. The destruction of homes, private property and whole villages was complete, the exceptions were the noticeable things, and it was frequently difficult to discover any military purpose. One particularly

**Destruction of trees.** striking example was in connection with the destruction of trees. We saw the fruit trees had

been pretty generally destroyed as has been frequently reported. Also the fine trees which line the roads and are so characteristic of this part of France, were cut down and destroyed, but these trees were excellent ‘markers’ for enemy artillery, and for a retreat there could be no serious complaint to the destruction of these trees on the main lines of transportation and this was generally done; however, we passed at times kilometers of road where the trees were still standing but had been cut two-thirds of the way through and this killed the trees but did not remove them as markers or utilize the wood. If the object was to destroy the trees this method required less time and labor and the trees would not be in the way. Many isolated trees and fruit trees were similarly treated and the absence of any discernible military purpose was characteristic of many things we saw.

“(Signed) GEO. C. HULETT,  
“Member of the American Scientific Mission.”

Of minor importance as “atrocities” are the deeds mentioned by Minister Whitlock and Mr. Gibson, but these are peculiarly illustrative of the thoroughness of the German system:

#### A COMMENT BY MINISTER WHITLOCK.

“Of the same nature although not so atrocious in consequence was the conduct of soldiers and even officers quartered in remote ‘Abominations’ residences in the country. Abominations were and ‘foul inscrip- committed in the salons and bed chambers of the tions.’ chateaux of gentlefolk, and many, after the first fury had passed, returned to their homes to find the walls and furniture scribbled with foul inscriptions.” (From Minister Whitlock’s report of September 12, 1917.)

## A COMMENT BY HUGH GIBSON.

"We walked about the streets for a time, and stopped in a shop to ask for a drink of water. After giving it to us, the proprietor asked if we would like to see the state the Germans had left things in. He led us back into his living quarters, opened a door bearing an inscription to the effect that it was an officers' mess, and let us in. I never have seen a more complete mess. Everything in the place was smashed, and the whole room was filthy. The officers had left only a few days before and they had taken pains to break everything before they "Obscene re- marks." went. Obscene remarks were chalked on the walls, and the pictures were improved with heavy attempts at fun. I always used to think that the term 'officer and gentleman' was redundant, but now I begin to understand the need for it." (From Hugh Gibson, *A Journal from Our Legation in Belgium*, pp. 298-299.)

## STATEMENT BY A GERMAN GENERAL.

In view of what has been related it seems fitting to quote the "hope" of a German major-general:

"Major-General von Disfurth (retired), in an article contributed to the Hamburg *Nachrichten*, writes as follows:

"Germany stands the supreme arbiter of her own methods. It is of no consequence whatever if all the monuments ever created, all the pictures ever painted, all the buildings ever erected by the great architects of the world be destroyed, if by their destruction we promoted Germany's victory. War is war. The ugliest stone placed to mark the burial of a German grenadier is a more glorious monument than all the cathedrals of Europe put together. They call us 'barbarians.' What of it? We scorn them and their abuse.

"For my part, I hope that in this war we have merited the title, "barbarians." Let neutral peoples and our enemies cease their empty chatter, which may well be compared to the twitter of birds. Let them cease to talk of the Cathedral of Rheims, and of all the churches and all the castles in France which have shared its fate. Our troops must achieve victory. What else matters?"" (Quoted by S. S. McClure, in *Obstacles to Peace*, 1917, pp. 340-341.)

## STATEMENTS BY GRACE ELLERY CHANNING.

This section may well end with some of the vivid passages from the account of a well-known American writer, Grace Ellery

Channing, and with the conclusion of Minister Whitlock's report to the State Department:

"All is destroyed. There no longer exist routes or paths or bridges. There are no longer any trees or hedges or plants. The fields and the pastures have been blown up and made shapeless.

**Quoting a German man.** There are no villages, no houses, no cellars; no shelter of any sort whatever. There is no

longer a single spring or fountain; all human works, all cables, all electric wires, all rails, every railway station is annihilated. It is literally a kingdom of death. It is very fortunate that we are making war in the enemy's country. Our chiefs have thereby a free hand.' \* \* \*

"At this moment our crying need is for knives and forks. There is hardly a knife or fork in Noyon; and the villages are yet worse off. These, and a few tins to cook with, a few plates and a few glasses.

\* \* \* To steal linen and knives and forks, after stealing young girls, may seem an offense too trivial to mention. But those who will stop to think what it means to strip a country systematically, even to its knives and forks, after you have ravished its women, deported its men, and laid waste its fertility, will have a better understanding of that singular psychology which makes the larger transgression possible. It is sometimes, also, by reducing the too great to terms of the extremely simple that we can best grasp it; housewives of America who will visualize the feeding of a whole population without the simplest utensils, the nourishing of a depleted people without dishes to warm food or plates to put it on, will understand something of the problems of hardship, extending to every department of life, against which the invaded regions have to fight." (Grace Ellery Channing, in *Saturday Evening Post*, September 8, 1917, p. 101.)

"But even we have at least perceived vaguely that with the victory or defeat of what we call Prussian militarism stands or falls our old familiar world." (*Ibid.*, p. 18.)

"But hard or easy matters nothing now—we are all alike convinced that it is better that not only the German race but the entire human race should disappear from the planet in a final affirmation of man's will to freedom than to drag on in Prussian chains.

**Effects of Prussian system.** "Those who think otherwise are those who have not looked on at that Prussian system at work and who lack imagination to conceive it. They have not seen the people of the liberated regions arrive in groups, dumb and terrible, like hunted animals, almost de-humanized by misery. Of mothers whose young daughters have

been torn from them, the tongue lacks language to speak. One wonders, as one listens, that there is a woman left sane where the German army has passed.

"There is no need to exaggerate. Only a fool imagines all the atrocities in this war will have been German atrocities; war begets atrocities in the atrocious exactly as peace does; but the atrocious system is a Prussian product—'made in Germany.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 102.)

#### MINISTER WHITLOCK'S DESPATCH OF SEPT. 12, 1917.

"As one studies the evidence at hand one is struck at the outset by the fact so general that it must exclude the hypothesis of coincidence, and that is that these wholesale massacres followed immediately upon some check, some reverse, that the German army had sustained. The German army was checked by the guns of the forts to the east of Liége, and the horrors of Visé, Verviers, Bligny, Battice, Herve and twenty villages follow. When they entered Liége they burned the houses along two streets and killed many persons, five or six Spaniards among them. Checked before Namur they sacked Andenne, Bouvignies and Champignon, and when they took Namur they burned one hundred and fifty houses. Compelled to give battle to the French army in the Belgian Ardennes they ravaged the beautiful valley of the Semois; the complete destruction of the village of Rossignol and the extermination of its entire male population took place there. Checked again by the French on the Meuse, the awful carnage of Dinant results. Held on the Sambre by the French, they burn one hundred houses at Charleroi and enact the appalling tragedy of Tamines. At Mons the English hold them, and after that all over the Borinage there is a systematic destruction, pillaging and murder. The Belgian army drive them back from Malines and Louvain is doomed. The Belgian army falling back and fighting in retreat took refuge in the forts of Antwerp, and the burning and sack of Hougouerde, Wavre, Ottignies, Grimde, Neerlinter, Weert, St. George, Shaffen and Aerschot follow. The Belgian troops inflicted serious losses on the Germans in the South of the province of Limbourg, and the towns of Lummen, Bilsen and Lanaken are partially destroyed. Antwerp held out for two months, and all about its outer line of fortifications there was blood and fire, numerous villages were sacked and burned and the whole town of Termonde was destroyed. During the battles of September the village of Boortmeerbeek near Malines occupied by the Germans was retaken by the Belgians, and when the Germans entered it again they burned forty houses. Three times occupied by the Belgians and retaken by the Germans, Boortmeerbeek was three times punished in the same way. That

is to say, everywhere the German army met with a defeat it took it out, as we say in America, on the civil population. And that is the explanation of the German atrocities in Belgium.

"This happened so many times and so precisely in the same way that its significance cannot be avoided; one Due to rage of German commanders. is led irresistibly to the conclusion that German commanders, exasperated by defeat or by the checks that their armies and their plans sustained, unable philosophically to accept defeat gracefully and without that sense of fair play that would have enabled them to be, if not generous at least calm in defeat, either ordered or permitted these atrocities on the civilian population. '*Man hat geschossen*,' a soldier cries, and the town is given over to sack and pillage and murder.

"There is no doubt that the German soldiers were in *fear* that civilians would fire upon them. The question is what had happened to create that state of mind in the German soldier? Was it the fact that civilians had actually fired upon them at the moment or was it produced by some anterior cause? There is no sufficient proof that this fear was created in the minds of German soldiers by civilians firing upon them, or not enough to justify the terrible reprisals, murders, pillage, burning, etc., that were the rule in Belgium. Nor can these things be explained on the ground of lack of discipline; no German would ever invoke that in excuse or palliation.

"What was the thing that happened?

"For forty years German military writers had been advocating Terrorism was taught. terrorism, they had been preaching the necessity not only of waging war on armies, but on civilian populations as well, which theretofore in all wars had been at least theoretically exempt from their horrors and desolations.

"The German army indeed came into Belgium provided with an equipment that no other army, I suppose, ever carried into the field before, and that was elaborate apparatus for setting houses on fire. The soldiers were provided with petroleum spraying machines, and they had various devices, among others incendiary pastels, of which I send a sample to the Department, which when lighted and thrown into a house, send out and continue to send out for a long time darting flames. \* \* \*

"Everywhere the Germans went, proclamations were posted saying that if the population committed any hostile acts the innocent would suffer with the guilty.

"The proclamation issued on September 2nd, 1914, by Field Marshal Baron von der Goltz Pasha when he assumed the duties of governor general in Belgium, is a model for all the others, for he announced a doctrine amazing in our western eyes:

"It is the harsh necessity of war, that the punishment for hostile acts fall not on the guilty but on the innocent as well.'"

\* \* \* \* \*

"These deeds then were not committed by undisciplined Deliberation and soldiers; they were not committed because there system of German frightfulness. were 'francs-tireurs,' they were not committed because any one had shot; they were committed as a result of a deliberate and systematic plan to spread terror among the civil population, and when one says this, one is but stating a theory that German military writers had been expounding for years. They were a part of a general policy. War had become a 'sacred thing' and a German's duty first of all was to the State, this duty came before conscience, before honor, before every moral consideration. A peculiar state of mysticism had been created, and men who in their private or personal capacity would not think of doing such deeds would commit any depredation, any wickedness, any atrocity, the moment they could say to themselves that it was being done for the State. In this mystical conception of the State the deed became a high and holy thing, and such a conception, once admitted, had infinite possibilities of evil. The uniform, too, seems to possess some magic quality for the German; there is no doubt that the moment they put it on they think they are something else than men.

"And so all these deliberate, organized massacres of civilians, all these murders and outrages, the violation of women, the killing of children, wanton destruction, burning, looting, and pillage and whole towns destroyed, were acts for which no possible military necessity can be pleaded. They were wilfully committed as part of a deliberately prepared and scientifically organized policy of terrorism.

"But that was not all. After having written this report and after having re-read it, when I think of all that was done to that people, I am almost ashamed of myself for having been able to write about it in the cold terms of an official despatch. But I have tried to do it fairly, without exaggeration, remaining always within the bounds of what can be proved by evidence that would be competent in our courts. But what I have reported is not half of what was done and it is not the worst.

"It was not the worst that after having repelled the advances of Germany, Belgium should be violated by force. The worst is, that after this the assailant should have tried to justify the deed by trying to ruin the reputation of the victim.

"(Signed) BRAND WHITLOCK."

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# WAR, LABOR AND PEACE



Mar. 1918

RED WHITE AND BLUE SERIES

No. 9

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# WAR LABOR AND PEACE

SOME RECENT ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS  
OF PRESIDENT WILSON



ISSUED BY  
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



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\* For other addresses of the President contained in the publications of the Committee on Public Information, see Red White and Blue Series, No. 1 (Address to the Senate, January 22, 1917; War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917; Flag Day address, June 14, 1917) and No. 4 (the Flag Day address, with annotations), and War Information Series No. 1 (the War Message annotated).



# Reply to the Pope's Peace Proposals

AUGUST 27, 1917.

*To His Holiness Benedictus XV, Pope:*

In acknowledgment of the communication of Your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply:

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of His Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the *status quo ante bellum*, and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland, be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

Summary of the  
Pope's proposals

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by His Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of

Peace should  
rest on rights  
of peoples

revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing government, on the one hand, and of a group of free peoples, on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world, to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants

Cannot take  
the word of  
present German  
rulers

to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitution of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation could now depend on. We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,

*Secretary of State of the United States of America.*

# Labor and the War

(ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, AT BUFFALO, N. Y.,  
NOVEMBER 12, 1917)

*Mr. President, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor,  
Ladies, and Gentlemen:*

I esteem it a great privilege and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public counsels. When your executive committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation, because it seems to me that this, above all other times in our history, is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the Nation. I thought that it was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the

Critical time in history      office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow citizens who has come here to speak,

not the words of authority, but the words of counsel; the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever yet known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception, and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind. I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom.

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the War started by Germany thing that needs to be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guaranty of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had a "place in the sun."

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We Germany's industrial growth show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the Government has not laid its hands, to direct it and, when necessity arose, control it; and you have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the Govern-

ment of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves they could get a subsidy from the Government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German Government itself.

But that did not satisfy the German Government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the future a political control which would enable Berlin-to-Bagdad railway it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway. The Berlin-Bagdad railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany in thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace talks, about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about Northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine. Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not talking about the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan States, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad—the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided—for I feel bound to put this proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German Government continue to control it. I believe that the spirit of freedom can

get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

You know how many intimations come to us from one of the Central Powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief

**Insidious peace intrigues**      Central Power; and you know that it means that the people in that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands they will in effect themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill-informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German Government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America or anywhere else that supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Col. House, to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I didn't send him on a peace mission yet. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom of our own or anybody else's, **Production must be increased** we will see that the power of this country and the productivity of this country is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way I do not mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the Government, but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be—the greatest hope and energy of the world—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished.

While we are fighting for freedom we must see, among other things, that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do **Labor must be free** what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your president, Mr. Gompers; and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in corral.

Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: **Conciliation must rule labor disputes** Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted. And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same; and I believe that I am speaking, not from my own experience only, but from the experience of others, when I say that you are reasonable in a larger

number of cases than the capitalists. I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I have not had a chance; but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them, and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of the past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a little bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was not present. One of his friends said: "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you knew so and so." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't h-h-hate a m-m-man I-I know." There is a great deal of human nature, of very pleasant human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate a man you know. I may admit, parenthetically, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in, but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics I would love to be with them.

So it is all along the line, in serious matters and things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get

No sympathy with mob spirit together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of de-

mocracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands; and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purposes as much as any man, but I respect the ancient processes of justice; and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are.

So I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause. Why,

gentlemen, look what it means. We claim to be

**Must obey common counsel** the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means first of all that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to co-operate in any formation or development of law and institutions, and some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare it with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations in this manifestation of the unwillingness to co-operate, and that the fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must not only take common counsel, but that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all of the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on ought not to go on. There

are various processes of the dilution of labor and

**Some reforms suggested** the unnecessary substitution of labor and the bidding in distant markets and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor which ought not to go on. I mean

now on the part of employers, and we must interject into this some instrumentality of co-operation by which the fair thing will be done all around. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have and upon every occasion where it is necessary have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

So, my fellow citizens, the reason I came away from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. There are so many people in Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about. I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real thing, and say to them, "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being with me is not to think about me personally at all, but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

# A Just and Generous Peace

(ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 4, 1917)

*Gentlemen of the Congress:*

Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to retail or even to summarize those events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties, and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.

I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with a very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action, and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war; and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a Nation we are united in spirit and intention. I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the

The Nation  
united in spirit

Nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the Nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for, and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable thing of which the masters of Germany have

**German system  
must be crushed** shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see so clearly as

the German power, a thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, that when this thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe, and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world—we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities." Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to right of plain men everywhere, it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray—and the people of every other country their agents could reach—in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson, and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of it. It ought

to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can Right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations. But when that has been done—as, God willing, it assuredly will be—we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside

from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved

The world wishes no vindictive settlement

For a just and generous peace

But first win the war

I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan States, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished.

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise we did not grudge or oppose, but admired, rather. She

**Must deliver  
Belgium and  
Northern France** had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were content to abide the rivalries of manufacture, science, and commerce that were involved for us in her success, and stand or fall as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw them away to establish in their stead what the world will no longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated. The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien dominion of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and for the peoples of the Turkish Empire the right and oppor-

**Problems of  
Austria-Hungary  
and the Balkans**

tunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice, and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties.

And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters, that

**German people deceived**      they are fighting for the very life and existence of their Empire, a war of desperate self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are in fact fighting for their emancipation from fear, along with our own—from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threatening the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over,

**Possible exclusion of German people from partnership of nations**      continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world—men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not

trust—it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments. It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself, by processes which would assuredly set in.

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war

will have to be righted. That of course. But they cannot and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies.

**No new Congress of Vienna** The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna. The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life. German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world either in thought or in purpose. They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its conclusions will run with those tides.

All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I cannot help thinking that, if they had

**Russian people poisoned by falsehoods** been made plain at the very outset, the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been once for all enlisted on the side of the Allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real and lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution, and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have recently marked the progress of their affairs toward an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided. The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the dark, and the

poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It cannot be uttered too plainly or too often.

From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude toward the settlement that must come when it is over. When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself, among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

What shall we do, then, to push this great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success, and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany but not with her allies. I there-

**Asks declaration  
of state of war  
with Austria-  
Hungary** fore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Does it seem strange to you that this should be the conclusion of the argument I have just addressed to you? It is not. It is, in fact, the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the vassal of the German Government. We must face the facts as they are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business. The Government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings

of its own peoples, but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration  
**But not with Turkey and Bulgaria** of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools, and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us and not heed any others.

The financial and military measures which must be adopted will suggest themselves as the war and its undertakings develop, but I will take the liberty of proposing to you certain other acts of legislation which seem to me to be needed for the support of the war and for the release of our whole force and energy.

It will be necessary to extend in certain particulars the legislation of the last session with regard to alien enemies;  
**Additional legislation as to alien enemies** and also necessary, I believe, to create a very definite and particular control over the entrance [and departure of all persons into and from the United States.

Legislation should be enacted defining as a criminal offense every willful violation of the presidential proclamations relating to alien enemies promulgated under section 4067 of the Revised Statutes, and providing appropriate punishments; and women as well as men should be included under the terms of the acts, placing restraints upon alien enemies. It is likely that as time goes on many alien enemies will be willing to be fed and housed at the expense of the Government in the detention camps, and it would be the purpose of the legislation I have suggested to confine offenders among them in penitentiaries and other similar institutions where they could be made to work as other criminals do.

Recent experience has convinced me that the Congress must go further in authorizing the Government to set limits to prices.

**Further limitations on prices, etc.** The law of supply and demand, I am sorry to say, has been replaced by the law of unrestrained selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering in several branches of industry it still runs impudently

rampant in others. The farmers, for example, complain with a great deal of justice that, while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase; and similar inequities obtain on all sides.

It is imperatively necessary that the consideration of the full use of the water power of the country, and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government, should be immediately resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious.

The legislation proposed at the last session with regard to regulated combinations among our exporters, in order to provide for our foreign trade a more effective organization and method of co-operation, ought by all means to be completed at this session.

And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.

Additional legislation may also become necessary before the present Congress again adjourns in order to effect the most efficient co-ordination and operation of the railway and other transportation systems of the country; but to that I shall, if circumstances should demand, call the attention of the Congress upon another occasion.

If I have overlooked anything that ought to be done for the more effective conduct of the war, your own counsels will supply the omission. What I am perfectly clear about is that in the

present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous, rapid, and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war.

We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoilation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. The purposes of the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and of knightly honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the Union of the States. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt, were we to permit their triumph. They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded together for

the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our Nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends. The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired.

I have spoken plainly because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle, and when our whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end, we have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations, and for which it has been [our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us. A supreme moment of history

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has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.

# Program of the World's Peace

(ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 8, 1918)

*Gentlemen of the Congress:*

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace.

**The Brest-Litovsk negotiations** Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which if much less definite seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation, until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders, who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Rus-

**Russian and German proposals contrasted**

sian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing?

**Minority vs. majority views of Central Empires** For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or

for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan States which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utter-

**American and Allied peace terms known** ances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war, and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd

George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statements of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure, unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling

Russians desire new statement and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people.

They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable, for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals, or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what if in anything our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace when they are begun shall be absolutely open, and that they shall

involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so Day of conquest and aggrandizement gone by is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments, and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people

Program of the world's peace impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence.

What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are, in effect, partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

*I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at; after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.*

*II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.*

*III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.*

*IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.*

*V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.*

*VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.*

*VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.*

*VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored; and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.*

*IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.*

*X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the*

*nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.*

*XI. Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.*

*XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.*

*XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.*

*XIV. A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.*

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight, and to continue to fight, until they are achieved; but only because

No jealousy of German greatness      we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German great-

ness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of specific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade, if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs

**Justice the principle of our program** through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

# Reply to Chancellor von Hertling and Count Czernin

(ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 11, 1918)

*Gentlemen of the Congress:*

On the 8th of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the 24th, and Count Czernin for Austria on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of view on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address of the 8th of January, is uttered in a very friendly

No private communication received from Austria tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them, but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads, it is not

German reply vague and unsatisfactory clear, where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes, the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk. His

discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international counsel. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined—at any rate in this case—to generalities; and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three States now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood.

He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without Summary of Hertling's views reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which [must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic Provinces; with no one but the Government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland. In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan States he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

It must be evident to everyone who understands what this war

has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of

Such a settlement impossible      tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of

Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is in fact living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between State and State.

The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent

World's peace depends on world's satisfaction      address to the Congress. I of course do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions

as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security, and the peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained. They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest in from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind; and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind; that all the awakened nations of the world

Self-determination an imperative principle      now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexa-

tions, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful States. All the parties of this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it; because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain, and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes.

**Must remove causes of war** She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles and of the way in which they should be applied. But she entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is entrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered as nearly as may be impossible.

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force **Safeguard political justice no less than economic** to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants

must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost. If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful Governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing, as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade. Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guaranty; but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way, as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field, without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that

*Count Czernin  
sees more clearly* an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern and must of course be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own Empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must of course be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much further had it not been for

the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

*Test of attitude simple and obvious* *First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;*

*Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that—*

*Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States; and—*

*Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.*

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative, except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a

course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly.

**The United States will not turn back** Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action, and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order, under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail, is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace, and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

I hope that it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America; that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words, but a passion which, once set in action, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.

**Its power a menace to no nation**



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Washington, D. C.

(Established by Order of the President, April 14, 1917)

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