

justified, that Austria desired to annex [Serbia itself. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina are largely Serbian in population and sympathy. Their forcible annexation by Austria has been attributed to the initiative of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and the fact that the Archduke met his death in the Capital of Bosnia and that the crime was committed by Slavs, who admitted after their arrest that the bomb had come from Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, and that arms and explosives had been supplied by the connivance of Servian officers and functionaries, gave ground for the belief, which was undoubtedly the truth, that the murder of the heir to the Austrian throne was in reality an act of revenge for the annexation by Austria of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this way the assassination of the Crown Prince became the occasion, though it was not the cause of the war.

### Austria's Ultimatum to Serbia

The assassination occurred, as has been mentioned, on Sunday, June 28th. On the night of Thursday, July 23rd, the Servian Government received a note from the Austro-Hungarian Government bearing on the relations between the two countries and dealing directly with the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne. It was couched in a tone of almost unprecedented severity, and fastened on the Servian Government and people responsibility for the assassination of Francis Ferdinand and his wife.

The note reviewed the relations with Serbia since 1909, and complained that although the Servian Government had promised loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian Government it had failed to suppress subversive movements, and that this tolerance had incited the Servian people to hatred of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and contempt for its institutions, which had culminated in the Sarajevo assassinations.

"The Austro-Hungarian Government," continued the note, "is unable longer to pursue an attitude of forbearance, and sees the duty imposed upon it to put an end to the intrigues which form a perpetual menace to the monarchy's tranquility. It, therefore, demands from the Servian Government formal assurance that it condemns the dangerous propaganda whose aim is to detach from the monarchy a portion of its territory, and also that the Servian Government shall no longer permit these machinations and this criminal, perverse propaganda."

The note demanded satisfaction within 48 hours and the Austrian Minister in Belgrade was instructed to leave there with his staff if, by Saturday evening, Serbia failed to yield to Austria's terms. This peremptory proceeding rendered the note, the equivalent of an ultimatum to be followed should its terms not be complied with to the liking of Austria by an immediate declaration of war.

The Servian Government withheld publication of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum throughout the evening of the 23rd of July and the whole of the day following, but on the night of the 24th, its contents became known in Belgrade through an Austrian newspaper report. The almost universal opinion in the European Capitals was that the Servians could not comply with the humiliating terms of the ultimatum, since compliance would have been tantamount to an

admission of Serbia's guilt. Nevertheless, Serbia humbled herself abjectly, and with one exception, assented to all the demands made upon her by the Austrian Government.

### Servia's Reply to Austria's Ultimatum

Servia's reply to the Austrian ultimatum may be summarized as follows:—

Servia agreed to the publication in its official journal, on the front page, of the formal declaration submitted by the Austrian Government condemning the subversive propaganda and deploring its fatal consequences, regretting the participation of Servian officers in this propaganda, repudiating any further interference with Austro-Hungarian interests, and warning all Servians that rigorous proceedings would be taken in the future against any persons guilty of such machinations. Servia further agreed to communicate this declaration to the army in the form of an order of the day, and promised to dissolve those societies which might be considered capable of conducting intrigues against Austria. She promised revision of laws governing the press, and to dismiss from the army and navy officers, and to remove civilian officials, whose participation in an anti-Austrian propaganda might be proved. The Servian Government, however, protested against Austrian officials taking any part in this inquiry and asked for an explanation as to just what part the Austrian officials were to be called upon to take in the inquiry into the Sarajevo plot. She said that Servia could only admit such participation as would be in accordance with international law and good neighborly relations, but was prepared, if the Austrian Government found this reply inadequate, to appeal to The Hague tribunal and to the powers which signed the declaration of 1909 relative to Bosnia and Herzegovina. To sum up, Servia accepted all the conditions and all the demands of Austria, and made reservations only regarding the participation of Austrian officials in the inquiry. She did not give her formal refusal on this point, but confined herself to asking explanations.

It might be remarked that acquiescence in the demand that Austro-Hungarian officials should sit upon a board of enquiry regarding acts of conspiracy by Servians against Austria, permitting, as this would have, officers of a foreign government to sit in the courts of another, would have been equivalent to the surrender of Servian self-respect, and even of Servian autonomy. Notwithstanding Servia's readiness to accede to Austria's demands on every point save in this one qualified particular, Austria expressed dissatisfaction and promptly declared war.

### Aggression, Not Justice, Austria's Aim

Austria is a country with a population of fifty millions, and a fighting force of about one million men. Servia has a population of three millions and an army of ten hundred thousand. With a preponderance of strength so overwhelming on the part of Austria, and an attitude so abject on the part of Servia, can it be doubted that Austria was resolved on war from the first, that she deliberately formulated excessive demands with a view to their rejection, and restricted the time of possible consideration with a view to pre-