

THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

Vol. 1. No. 12.

OTTAWA, AUGUST, 1914.

Ten Cents

THE LIBERAL ATTITUDE



"I have often declared that if the Mother Country were ever in danger, or if danger even threatened, Canada would render assistance to the full extent of her power. In view of the critical nature of the situation I have cancelled all my meetings. Pending such grave questions there should be a truce to party strife."—*From statement issued by Sir Wilfrid Laurier on August 4th, prior to the declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany.*

THE LIBERAL ATTITUDE

IN a Statement given to the press on the day of the declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany, but before war had been declared, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal Leader, emphasized the necessity, in the presence of so grave a crisis, of calling "a truce to party strife." In full sympathy with this attitude the Canadian Liberal Monthly refrains, in its present issue, from publishing any matter calculated to excite partisan discussion, or to embarrass the Government in any way at this hour of supreme moment to Canada, and to the world. It must not be assumed that, in adopting this course, Liberalism in Canada is abandoning, in any particular, any of the policies whether of trade, tariff, or defence which it sought to enforce while in power, and for which it has strenuously contended in Opposition. On the contrary, existing conditions have, it is believed, shewn as nothing else could possibly have done, the wisdom and patriotism of these policies, and may yet lead to their general acceptance. Neither is it to be assumed that the Administration has so improved as to render its conduct above criticism in its present management of the country's affairs. It is simply that it is thought fair-minded Canadians everywhere, recognize this is not the time for party divisions, party debate and party struggle, and will agree that comment which might otherwise very properly be made may with propriety and without loss, be withheld until a later time.

Believing that irrespective of party, its readers at this time are mostly interested in the present war, the Liberal Monthly devotes its entire issue to a review which it is hoped may help to an intelligent appreciation of its significance as part of the world struggle between the contending forces of freedom and oppression.

THE EUROPEAN WAR

PART I.

CAUSES, INFLUENCES AND FORCES

ON Sunday, June 28th, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian-Hungarian throne and his consort, the Princess Hohenburg, while on a visit to the Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were shot dead in the main street of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia by a student named Gavrio Prinzip, a lad but 18 years of age. Only an hour before, a young compositor, named Nedelgo Gabrinovics, 21 years of age, had attempted the assassination of the Archduke by throwing a bomb at the royal automobile as it was proceeding from the station at Sarajevo to the City Hall, where a public reception was to be held and an address of welcome presented. The Archduke saw the deadly missile thrown and warded it off with his arm. It exploded behind the automobile wounding members of his suite, but not killing anyone. The injured were taken to the hospital and the Archduke proceeded to the City Hall. After participating in the official ceremonies he left with the Princess to visit the wounded members of his suite, and it was while driving through the streets of Sarajevo on the way to the hospital that the Archduke and the Princess were killed by a fusillade of bullets fired from an automatic pistol in Gavrio Prinzip's hand.

The Relations of Austria and Servia

To understand how this incident, grave as it was, could have led to a war between Austria and Servia which has set all Europe aflame, it is necessary to study racial influences, and to view the relations between Austria and Servia as these have found expression in the changed political conditions of the two countries.

For several centuries during the occupation of the Balkan Peninsula by Turkey, Servia was a Turkish Province, but she never lost her racial consciousness or her national aspirations. In 1878, she was declared independent of Turkey by the treaty of Berlin. By the same treaty Turkey's suzerainty was recognized over the Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but these provinces were turned over to Austria for administration on the pledge that she would respect their independence. The treaty of Berlin contemplated the evacuation of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the restoration or "order and prosperity", following their occupation by Austria; but instead of "order and prosperity" insurrection and fighting did not cease until 1882, and instead of evacuation, the provinces were formerly annexed by Austria on October 7th, 1908.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina nearly brought on a European war. Russia protested, and Germany at once sent Russia an ultimatum to keep quiet or accept war. Russia had not recovered from her defeat by Japan in 1904, and was in no condition to begin a new war, so she subsided. But Servia has never forgotten Austria's piracy, and Russia has never forgiven Germany her rebuke.

The Northern boundary of Servia touches the Southern boundary of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the Danube. For some time Servia has felt the encroaching pressure of Austria. The extension of Austrian territory by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was felt by Servia to be at the expense of her country, and helped to justify the fear long entertained by the Servians, and which events have

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-

venting successful intervention by other powers prior to the declaration of war? Whatever justification might have been found in a general case against Serbian ingratitude, hatred or design, the submission of Serbia to the Austrian ultimatum was a circumstance which paved the way to ample redress through diplomatic channels. The summary rejection of the Serbian reply, involving, as it did, immediate recourse to arms on the part of Austria and Serbia, with the certainty of other European nations being brought into the conflict, can not be explained on any theory of fear on the part of Austria that ample reparation for wrongs committed could not be found by means fraught with less hazard to the security of the nations of Europe, and the peace of the World. The rejection points only too plainly to a determination to win by arms, by force of Might, and not because of Right, ends and purposes far beyond those disclosed, and the accomplishment of a design vastly more aggressive than the subjugation of an inferior, though troublesome people. To understand Austria's purpose it is necessary to look at the geography of the Balkan Peninsula.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, which consists of a political union between the Kingdom of Hungary and Austria, was established in its present dual form in 1867. The policy of the Empire is, however, dictated by Austrian statesmen, and Austria as a state has existed for a thousand years. From the earliest time Austria has been both reactionary and despotic. She has opposed political liberty and national freedom. Italy suffered under this despotism until freed from it by Cavour, the founder of Italian unity. Russia has been Austria's hereditary enemy on the North, and the Balkan situation has found its significance for European powers, in the desire of these two nations to reach the Mediterranean, and be in a position of strategic control of its commerce, of the Suez Canal and of a possible future all-railway route through Persia, to India and China.

The Balkan States, of which Serbia is the pivot, are in a direct line between Europe and the Orient. Salonika, on the Aegean Sea, now in Greek territory, is one of the finest harbours on the Mediterranean. A railway through Serbia connects this splendid port with Austria and Germany. A canal might unite the Danube and Salonika. Austria's commercial and manufacturing interests are growing. She once tried to reach the Mediterranean through Italy and failed; the conquest of Serbia would bring her where, without difficulty, she might reach it through Salonika. Therefore, while racial hatred, intensified by aggression, and the fear of further aggression explains, on Serbia's part, outrages committed and plots conceived, the Teuton's hatred of the Slav, and a determination upon further conquest, for which an atrocious crime gave cover of an excuse, explains Austria's eagerness for war.

Austria's Action Inconceivable apart from Germany's Support

But neither racial hatred, political ambition or commercial greed could have tempted Austria to such a course, had she not had, as her ally, the powerful Empire of Germany, and had she not secured from the German Emperor assurances that, no matter what the consequences or cost, the German arms

would be one with the Austrian in any struggle that might ensue. Austria well knew that Russia, her hereditary foe, could never be indifferent to the conquest of Serbia, and Austria's approach to the Aegean. Motives racial, political and commercial would all render that impossible. Russia's population is Slavic, and her racial sympathies are naturally with the Slavic peoples of the Balkan States and certain parts of Hungary. For years Russia has been trying to get a foothold on the Mediterranean. Russia's ships can now reach the Atlantic only through the ice-bound Baltic Sea, or through the Dardanelles out of the Black Sea, and the latter passage is forbidden to her warships by International agreement. The Crimean war ended, for the time-being at least, Russia's hope to obtain territory on the Mediterranean, to occupy Constantinople and establish a position from which Great Britain's Indian and Oriental possessions might be menaced. To expect Russia to remain indifferent to a conquest which would gain for her political enemy and commercial rival, an advantage which she herself, through force of arms was obliged to forego, is something Austria could never have dreamed. Austria knew full well that war on Serbia meant war on Russia also, and this she would never have attempted but for the assurances of her powerful ally. Germany, too, understood the situation, understood it perhaps even better than Austria. Germany knew that war between Austria and Serbia meant war between herself and Russia, that war between herself and Russia meant war with France as well, and that war with France might lead to war with Britain, must inevitably so lead, if it meant, as appears from the first to have been deliberately planned, the violation of Belgian neutrality. An international conflict so gigantic could never have been faced by Austria had her ally not been prepared to share the cost, and even urged her towards the fatal step. In a word, then, as has been not less eloquently, than truly, said "Austria's invasion of Serbia was the Teuton's defiance of the Slav, and Germany's support of her ally is the Teuton's defiance of the rest of the world."

Germany's Influence Over Austria

But how account for such a willingness on Germany's part? The answer is not to be given in a single phrase. Historic tradition, racial influence, economic necessity, political aggrandizement, military organization and imperialist sentiment, combine to afford the explanation. The creation of the German Empire was the work of Bismarck. It was effected, not by diplomacy, but by the strength of the Prussian army, which, in Bismarck's day, had become the most perfect fighting engine in the world. "It is neither with parliamentary oratory", Bismarck told the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, "nor by the votes of majorities, that the great questions of the hour can be solved. It is only by blood and with the sword," With this engine, he wrenched the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark in 1864, imposed by degrees Prussian leadership on the German speaking world, and in 1871 made the French province of Alsace-Lorraine, a part of the German Empire. The genius of Bismarck has given to Germans their faith in "Prussian methods," his spirit has bequeathed to Germany, the completion of the task he began. Ten

million Germans are even now subjects of the Austrian Emperor, but within Austrian boundaries are also ten million Hungarians, twenty million Slavs, and several million representatives of the Latin races. Austria, as a political unit, stands on shaky foundations. The political intrigues of Serbia gain added significance when viewed in this light. Austria has naturally turned to Germany for support, and the result has been Austria's complete dependence on Germany for over a generation. Every move undertaken by Austria is suggested by the managers of Germany's foreign policy. Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, her determination to prevent Serbia from obtaining a seaport on the Adriatic, and this last act of aggression against Serbia, are unquestionably to be interpreted as part of a policy outlined at Berlin. The Germans confidently expect Austria to become part of their country. Austria's territorial acquisitions are looked upon as ultimately destined to increase Germany's own domain, therefore, Austria's ultimatum to Serbia had Germany's full support.

Why Germany was not Averse to War

The Bismarckian dream of German expansion and power has been widened by force of economic necessity; the belief in Prussian methods of settling great questions by "blood and the sword" has grown with it. The Prussian army, the efficient fighting machine of the middle of last century, has developed into the vast army and powerful navy of the German Empire of to-day. Germany's expansion is a natural phenomenon. The country is overpopulated, it must expand. The line of least resistance points to the East. Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, abound with raw materials needed by Germany's increasing industries. Asia Minor is a land marvellously rich in minerals and susceptible of great agricultural growth. Further west lies the fertile valley between the Euphrates and the Tigris, once the granary of the civilized world. This is the vision which seems to have presented itself to the minds of German and Austrian statesmen, marching hand in hand, Austria, paving the way in the Balkans, Germany, getting control of Asia Minor, which to-day is a German colony in all but name. By their joint efforts the Teuton brothers are seeking to lay the foundations of an empire whose Northern shores will be washed by the Baltic, and whose Southern boundary will be formed by the Persian Gulf. A Germanic Empire which would extend from the North Sea to the Mediterranean would bring all Europe under its domination.

The one obstacle to this scheme of German expansion is constituted by the neighborhood of Russia, and the preponderance of the Slavic element in the population of the Balkan Peninsula. Russia's expansion, on the other hand, lies athwart this coveted path. Though occupying one-sixth of the entire land surface of the globe, Russia cannot boast a single mile of ice-free coast. Her efforts are all likely to tend in the direction of breaking through barriers which prevent her economic development. At the end of the Balkan war, Russia had scored heavily against Germany. An enlarged Serbia had been constituted directly in the path of Teutonic advance. The new lease of life to the Balkan States, obtained by Greeks, Servians and Bulgarians, through the recog-

niton of national aspirations after the Balkan war, has been viewed with despair by the Germans and Austrians, for it is calculated to retard the south easterly strides of the Germanic race. Germany considers a free right-of-way for her southeasterly expansion as her most pressing need. It is the pivotal point of her entire foreign policy. Hence Germany's acquiescence in Austria's Act of aggression and readiness to embark upon a European war.

Why Germany Was Ready To Defy Europe

Germany's alliance with Austria, Russia's protection of Serbia are easily understood, the struggle between Teuton and Slav was almost sure to come, sooner or later, but how explain Germany's readiness to precipitate a conflict which she knew would make war with other European nations, all but inevitable? Her alliance with Italy may have added to her confidence, the critical political conditions in the British isles, may have caused her to assume that Britain had domestic troubles which she might plead as an excuse for neutrality, if indeed they might not constitute a grave danger to her own security. The temporary absence of the President of France may have suggested the moment as opportune. These and many other circumstances undoubtedly presented themselves to her thought. But they are not sufficient to afford an explanation. The answer can alone be found in an overweening confidence on Germany's part in the strength of her arms, and an overmastering passion for war,—a passion engendered by jealousies and hatreds secretly and even openly fostered for years, a passion that became unrestrained once the war party had gained the ascendancy for an hour.

A German prisoner, on his way through France, is reported to have said, "This is not a people's war, but an Officers' war". There may be room for doubt, as to whether the remark owes its origin to the source mentioned, but there can be no doubt that it expresses the truth, and sums up the whole situation. Every move that has taken place proves this. The peremptory demands, the rapid mobilization, the refusal to join with other powers in mediation, the challenges thrown to right and left, the wanton disregard of the guarantees of neutral nations, and the flagrant violation of treaty obligations, these are not the methods of a people seeking justice in a great cause and striving to rally to their support, the confidence and respect of other men and nations, they are the brutally aggressive acts of an official bureaucracy, wielding a mighty engine of destruction with unbridled license, and with a megalomania that is prepared to challenge the world. Against the burden of an ever-growing Militarism, and a power more and more absolute and autocratic enthroning itself in a sort of deified Imperialism, industrial democracy in Germany has battled in vain. Like the aggressors and oppressors of all ages, the bureaucrats of Germany have fostered the delusion that their Emperor is the elect instrument of destiny which, by a natural predilection towards a belief in the divine right of kings, the Emperor himself has taken to mean, the elect instrument of God? "What", in the words of one of the world's greatest lovers of liberty, "is their 'destiny' or their 'God' but the shadow of their own rapacity projected on the clouds!"

The Guardians of Liberty

German democracy has struggled in vain, Might and Power recognizing this liberating influence within their own domain, have seized the hour to avert revolt by forcing international strife. Oppression, without further aggression, could not long endure, and so German autocracy has thrown its challenge in the world's face, and it has been left to peace-loving England and liberty-loving France to unite with Russia, in an effort to spare the rights of lesser powers, and protect mankind from the aggressor's heel.

Belgium, silent, innocent, the repository of the honour of nations now at war, seeking only to guard inviolate the trust by which her liberties were

guaranteed, has become by a strange irony of fate the scene of conflict in the opening chapter of this, the greatest tragedy the world's history may ever record. Her valor, her chivalry in the maintenance of her integrity and the defence of France have shone over the bewildering chaos like a radiant star in a storm-swept sky, an inspiration to nations and to all mankind. For, she

"hath taught us by this splendid deed,
That under all the brutish mask of life
And dulled intention of ignoble ends,
Man's soul is not all sordid, that behind
This tragedy of ills and hates that seem,
There lurks a godlike impulse in the world,
And men are greater than they idly dream."

PART II.

THE RISE OF NATION AGAINST NATION

I. AUSTRIA AND SERVIA.

THE note from the Austro-Hungarian government of Serbia containing the demands of Austria upon Serbia was received at Belgrade, the Capital of Serbia on the night of Thursday, July 24th. Serbia's reply was given to the Austrian Ambassador on Saturday, July 25th at 6 o'clock. In the interval the Servian Parliament had been summoned for an extraordinary session and an extension of time in which to reply to Austria's note asked for by Serbia. This, however, was not granted by Austria, and at 6 o'clock on Saturday night the Austrian minister, with his entire staff, left Belgrade. The withdrawal of the Austrian minister was taken by the Servians to mean a virtual declaration of war on the part of Austria and they immediately began preparations for defence. The formal declaration of war was not made by Austria until the afternoon of Tuesday, July 28th, when the following declaration appeared in the official gazette.

Text Of War Declaration.

"The Royal Government of Serbia not having replied in a satisfactory manner to the note remitted to it by the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade on July 23rd, 1914, the Imperial and Royal Government finds itself compelled to proceed itself to safeguard its rights and interests and to have recourse for this purpose to force of arms.

"Austria-Hungary considered itself therefore from this moment in a state of war with Serbia.

(Signed) "COUNT BERCHHOLD,
"Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary."

On the afternoon of the same day, the Emperor Francis Joseph issued a rescript and manifesto to the Austrian people in which he said: "The intrigues of a malevolent opponent compels me, in the defence of the honor of my Monarchy, for the protection of its dignity and its position as a Power, and for the security of its possessions, to grasp the sword after

long years of peace."

Immediately war was declared, the Servians destroyed the bridge at Semlin, which crosses the Save, a tributary of the Danube, at a point separating Hungary from Belgrade, and the Austrians began the bombardment of the Servian capital. The troops having withdrawn from Belgrade, the Capital was left undefended, but the bombardment continued. Engagements between Austrian and Servian forces became general from that time.

II. GERMANY AND RUSSIA.

AUSTRIA'S declaration of war was in the late afternoon of Tuesday, July 28th. A council of state was held in St. Petersburg, the Capital of Russia, on the following day, and on receipt of the news of the bombardment of Belgrade an ukase ordering a partial mobilization confined to the Army Corps stationed on the borders of Austria-Hungary was signed.

What are known in diplomatic circles as "Conversations" were frequent between the Ambassadors of Germany and Russia in the Capitals of these two countries prior to Austria's declaration of war; they continued with added significance and gravity after the declaration. Their exact terms are not known, but in substance they appear to have been to the effect, on the part of Russia, that she could not be indifferent to an attack by Austria upon Serbia, and on the part of Germany that she would take no part in the Austrian-Servian quarrel unless some other Powers interfered to prevent Austria from obtaining satisfaction for the murder of Francis Ferdinand and his wife. If any other Power interfered Germany would do her duty by her Austrian ally. Both the Austrian and German Ambassadors are understood to have maintained the view that the Austro-Servian conflict was no concern of Russia's.

On July 29th the Russian Emperor telegraphed Emperor William to help in averting a European war by restraining his ally, Austria-Hungary, from going too far. It is alleged by the German Government that the Emperor took up the task of mediator,

OPPRESSION OR FREEDOM



FERGUS KYLE

but that as soon as diplomatic action was begun, news of Russian mobilization arrived in Berlin. On July 30th, the German Government sent a peremptory demand to St. Petersburg for an unqualified explanation of Russia's "menacing mobilization" on the German and Austrian frontiers, and Russia was given to understand that unless these movements were forthwith abandoned, Germany would respond in kind. On the evening of the same day the German Cabinet, presided over by the Emperor, sat at Potsdam until midnight. A censorship over the telegraph lines was imposed at Berlin on the following morning. This was interpreted as implying preparation for German mobilization.

Speaking in the House of Commons, in London, Friday, July 31st, Premier Asquith said: "We have just heard, not from St. Petersburg, but from Germany, that Russia has proclaimed the general mobilization of her army and her fleet and that in consequence of this martial law is to be proclaimed in Germany.

"We understand this to mean that mobilization will follow in Germany if the Russian mobilization is general and is proceeded with."

On Saturday, August 1st, Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia, asking her to suspend her mobilization within twelve hours, and Germany became openly active in mobilization. The Emperor, Francis Joseph, of Austria, ordered general mobilization of all Austrian forces and called all reserves to the colors. Russia having refused Germany's demand to cease mobilization, the German Ambassador sent to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs at 7:30 o'clock a declaration of war,

Germany's Explanation Of Her Attitude.

Germany's explanation of her action as set forth in an official communication published in the North German Gazette, on the day war was declared upon Russia, was as follows:—

The Russian Emperor on July 29th, telegraphed the Emperor William urgently requesting him to help in averting the misfortune of a European war and to try to restrain his ally Austria-Hungary from going too far.

Emperor William replied that he would willingly take up the task of mediator and, accordingly, diplomatic action was initiated in Vienna. While this was in progress the news that Russia was mobilizing arrived in Berlin and Emperor William telegraphed to the Emperor of Russia that his role as mediator was by this endangered, if not made impossible.

The communication adds that a decision was to have been taken in Vienna that day in regard to the mediation proposals in which Great Britain had joined Germany, but that meanwhile Russia had ordered the mobilization of her forces, that upon this Emperor William addressed a last telegraph to Emperor Nicholas, emphatically declaring that his own responsibility for the safety of the German Empire had forced him to take defensive measures.

On Friday afternoon, July 31, a demonstration took place before the Kaiser's palace in Berlin, and Emperor William addressed his subjects as follows:

"A fateful hour has befallen Germany. En-

vious peoples everywhere are compelling us to our just defence. The sword has been forced into our hands.

"I hope that, if my efforts at the last hour do not succeed in bringing our opponents to see eye to eye with us and in maintaining the peace, we shall, with God's help, so wield the sword that we shall restore it to its sheath again with honor.

"War would demand of us an enormous sacrifice in property and life, but we should show our enemies what it means to provoke Germany. And now I commend you to God. Go to church and kneel before God and pray for His help for our gallant army."

On the afternoon of the following day, Saturday, August 1, the German Imperial Chancellor addressed a procession of demonstrators from the window of his official residence. He said:—

"At this serious hour, in order to give expression to your feelings for your fatherland, you have come to the House of Bismarck, who, with Emperor William the Great, and Field Marshall Von Moltke, welded the German Empire for us.

"We wished to go on living in peace in the Empire which we have developed in forty-four years of peaceful labor.

"The whole work of Emperor William has been devoted to the maintenance of peace. To the last hour he has worked for peace in Europe, and he is still working for it. Should all his efforts prove vain, and should the sword prevail, we will take the field with a clear conscience in the knowledge that we did not seek war. We shall then wage war for our existence and for the national honor to the very last drop of our blood.

"In the gravity of this hour, I remind you of the words of Prince Frederick Charles to the men of Brandenburg: "Let your hearts beat for God and your fists on the enemy."

How quickly these foreshadowings of war were followed by war from every side is all too well known today.

III. GERMANY AND FRANCE.

ONCE it became apparent in Europe that Russia and Germany were mobilizing their forces, military preparations increased in activity in practically all of the countries. It was known in Germany that an alliance existed between France and Russia which in the event of war between Germany and Russia would necessitate joint action on the part of the French and Russian forces. Accordingly, when Germany on the morning of Saturday, August 1, sent an ultimatum to Russia asking her to suspend her mobilization within twelve hours, she simultaneously sent a demand to France to the effect that the government at Berlin required France to say within eighteen hours whether, in case of war between Germany and Russia, France would remain neutral. Later in the day it was announced from Paris that by common agreement the time limit of Germany's ultimatum to France had been extended for forty-eight hours, which meant until noon, Monday, August 3.

France appears to have been kept fully inform-

ed of the military preparations going on in Germany and to have taken immediate steps to prepare for possible emergencies. Events transpired on Sunday so serious in their nature, that France felt compelled to hasten the mobilization of her forces and on Monday, before the hour mentioned by Germany as that by which France's reply should be received, the German Ambassador informed the French Government that a state of war existed between Germany and France.

In reply to the ambassador's declaration that a state of war existed, Premier Viviani asked the German government to hand to the French Ambassador in Berlin his passports. The French Ambassador, Jules Cambon, was instructed before leaving Berlin to protest to the German government against its violation of territory of Luxemburg and against the presentation of a German ultimatum to Belgium.

The announcement of war having broken out between France and Germany was made by the French Minister of War in a note issued in the following words:—

"The German Ambassador has demanded his passports and diplomatic relations between France and Germany have broken off. War is declared."

The events which precipitated war between Germany and France were the invasion of the neutral territory of Luxemburg and the presentation of a German ultimatum to Belgium respecting Belgium's attitude towards the movement of German troops across her territory; also the invasion of French territory by German troops, which crossed the French frontier at one or two points. In a declaration issued by the French Ambassador at London on the morning of Monday, August 3, before the German Ambassador had asked for his passports, the French Ambassador said:—

"French territory has been invaded at Cirey and German troops are marching on the fort at Cirey. This act has been committed without a declaration of war. The German Ambassador is at present in Paris."

IV. GERMANY AND BELGIUM.

ON Sunday, August 2, before war had been formally declared by Germany on France, the German government delivered to the Belgian Government a note proposing friendly neutrality pending a free passage of German troops through Belgium and promising to maintain the independence and integrity of the Kingdom and its possessions on the conclusion of peace. The Belgian Government refused to allow its neutrality to be violated in this way, and so informed the German Government, whereupon, late on Sunday night, Germany sent a second communication in the nature of an ultimatum, as the reply of Germany to the refusal of Belgium to accept Germany's request. This ultimatum threatened to treat Belgium as an enemy and carried the implied intention of Germany to seize the Belgian Congo in the event of a refusal to permit the passing of the German forces through Belgium. The Kaiser demanded that Belgium should consent to German forces using the railways to cross

to France, and stated if this demand were refused war would be declared against Belgium. King Albert, of Belgium, replied that under no circumstances would Belgium consent to the violation of her neutrality, and announced that the Belgian army would oppose Germany's passage so long as a man was alive.

On the following morning, Monday, August 4, the Belgian Senate and Chamber met in joint session in Brussels, King Albert presiding. He was dressed in the uniform of a commanding general of the Belgian forces and addressed the united gathering as follows:—

"Not since 1830 has the Fatherland been exposed to so grave a danger as that which now confronts it. It is a time when a united Belgium must stand shoulder to shoulder against a common foe. Every Belgian must accept every possible way of serving his country. No sacrifice is too great for our beloved Fatherland. I will accept the responsibility laid upon me. Our country has been invaded. Belgium has proclaimed her neutrality and she will maintain it with her last drop of blood."

"Our Fatherland is in danger. Let me make an appeal to you, my brothers. At this supreme hour the entire nation must be of one mind. I have called together the two Houses of Parliament so that they may help the government in declaring that we will maintain untarnished the sacred patriotism of our fathers. Long live Independent Belgium."

Premier de Broqueville then made a statement as to Germany's ultimatum to Belgium and Belgium's reply declaring that the government would not sacrifice the country's honor and that the nation would resist by every means in its power all encroachment on its rights. He added: "The word is, therefore, 'to arms.' Upon this land of ours we shall not weaken, and even if we are conquered we never shall submit. Belgium supported by the united energy of her sons will not perish."

Later in the day Mons. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, joined the Belgian Cabinet, so that all political parties might be represented in the Government. The Belgian Parliament immediately voted the war credits suggested by the King. As His Majesty left the Chamber the entire assemblage arose to its feet and with right hand uplifted, cried as one man, "Belgium will do her duty."

The Violation of Belgium's Neutrality.

The German troops, violating the treaty guaranteeing the independence of Belgium, are alleged to have crossed the Belgian frontier at different points on August 3, while communications were passing between Brussels and Berlin. Anticipating a further advance of the German army the Belgians immediately began active preparations for war. On Wednesday, August 5, the first outstanding engagement took place at Liege, where through the splendid resistance of the Belgians the German troops were repulsed and the city held. Later, being strongly reinforced, the Germans succeeded in capturing the City of Liege, but not the forts which surround it. Pending the resistance of the Belgians a concentration of the armed forces of the different powers was effected along the Belgian frontier, and

EUROPEAN WAR MAP



the way prepared for the mightiest conflict of contending forces the world has known.

Too much significance cannot be attached to the invasion of Belgium and the Duchy of Luxemburg by the German troops since both involved the direct violation of treaty obligations and the ruthless disregard of national guarantees. Both were a direct violation of the rights of neutrals and doubly criminal in that resting its security in the honor of other nations, Belgium was devoid of means of defence, which but for the guarantees given by the great Powers of Europe, she would have found it prudent and necessary to provide.

By the Treaties of 1839 and 1870, the neutrality of Luxemburg and Belgium were guaranteed, Germany, France and Great Britain being the chief Powers parties to the guarantee. Hostile action against Belgium by any foe would have compelled one and all of these countries to have stood by Belgium in the defence of her nationality. The violation of this neutrality by one of the Powers by which it was guaranteed is so flagrant a violation of all honor and international obligation that no excuse can be invented in mitigation of it. Germany, it is alleged, declared that the occupation of Luxemburg railways, which were a part of the Prussian State system, was not a hostile act, but merely a measure of precaution. She found it impossible, however, to make any explanation of her violation of Belgian neutrality other than that it was a course demanded by military necessity. As a matter of fact, as all the nations of the world now know, it was an act of war determined upon without regard to honor or any consideration, other than that it afforded the least difficult means of invading the territory of France.

V. GERMANY AND ENGLAND.

BRITAIN'S policy as respects the European situation has long been one of endeavoring by every possible means to maintain friendly relations between the different powers, and where not possible to prevent actual hostilities, to localize their area, insofar as a wise diplomacy could attain this end. In her Foreign Office, Great Britain has been fortunate in having had a line of illustrious statesmen who in matters of foreign policy have been splendidly disinterested and actuated only by the highest and noblest motives. No man in British history has more deservedly won the respect of political opponents, as well as friends, or, to a greater degree, commanded the confidence of other countries than Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Ministries of Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith. Few Cabinets have ever existed of which the members were more genuinely devoted to the cause of social reform and to international peace than the one constituting the Asquith Government. If, under the guiding control of Sir Edward Grey and Premier Asquith and their colleagues, Britain has been drawn into war, it is safe to say that no Ministry conceivable could have spared the United Kingdom and the British Empire this terrible fate. How true this is will be apparent the moment thought is given to the sagacious and earnest en-

deavors of Sir Edward Grey to avert hostilities in the first instance, and to localize its area once the conflict had commenced, and to the forbearance and caution evident in the course pursued by the Asquith Ministry at every stage of its momentous proceedings.

Sir Edward Grey's Efforts At Mediation.

Diplomacy is carried on in secret, but it is an open secret that long before the relations between Austria and Servia had reached the point of a threatened declaration of war, the British Foreign Office was exercising its influence to the utmost to compose the tempers of these nations and avert an open rupture. When the Austrian ultimatum was presented to Servia, and Servia's reply became known, Sir Edward Grey, recognizing in this exchange of notes, the latent possibilities of an European conflict, openly proposed to the Powers of Europe a scheme for joint mediation. In the House of Commons, on July 27, he explained to the members the plan he had proposed, which was that the Powers—Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy—should co-operate in an endeavor to arrange the dispute between Austria and Servia on the basis of Servia's reply to the Austrian ultimatum. This reply Sir Edward regarded as a foundation on which friendly and impartial Powers should be able to arrange an acceptable settlement. France and Italy accepted this proposal, but Germany's reply was evasive. It was suggested that the cause of peace would be better advanced if "mediatory negotiations which have been already commenced with the best of success were continued between different European Governments."

It added: "This Government is of the opinion that if the efforts of the Powers are concentrated at the points of chief importance, the end desired will be attained in the quickest possible manner."

On Wednesday, July 29, Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, made the following statement in the House of Commons:—

"As the House is aware a formal declaration of war was issued yesterday by Austria against Servia. The situation at this moment is one of extreme gravity, and I can only say—only usefully say—that **His Majesty's Government are not relaxing their efforts to do everything in their power to circumscribe the area of possible conflict.**"

Speaking again in Parliament on Thursday, July 30, two days after war had been declared by Austria upon Servia, but two days before war had been declared by Germany on Russia, Sir Edward Grey in reply to a question from the Leader of the Opposition.

"There is little I can say. I regret that I cannot say that the situation is less grave than it was yesterday. The outstanding features are much the same. Austria has begun war against Servia; Russia has ordered a partial mobilization. This has not hitherto led to any corresponding steps by other Powers so far as our information goes. We continue to pursue the one great object of preserving European peace, and for this purpose we are keeping closely in touch with other powers. In thus keeping in touch we have, I am glad to say, found

no difficulty so far, though it has not been thought possible for the Powers to unite in joint diplomatic action as was proposed on Monday."

The British Parliament Warned.

Premier Asquith also spoke of the extreme gravity of the situation. He and Mr. Bonar Law, the Leader of the Opposition, had driven together that morning to the office of the Foreign Secretary, and an agreement had been reached that in the light of the serious situation of Europe, domestic differences would, for the time being, be forgotten, and to this end a postponement made of the second reading of the bill to amend the Irish Home Rule Bill, which was to have come up that afternoon. In announcing this decision Mr. Asquith said:—

"We meet today under conditions of gravity which are almost unparalleled in the experience of any one of us.

"The issues of peace and war are hanging in the balance, and with us is the risk of a catastrophe of which it is impossible to measure either the dimensions or the effects.

"In these circumstances it is of vital importance to the interests of the whole world that this country, which has no interests of its own directly at stake, should present a united front and be able to speak and to act with authority as an undivided nation.

"If we were to proceed today with the amending bill we should inevitably—unless the debate were conducted in an artificial tone—be involved in acute controversies in regard to domestic differences whose importance to ourselves none is disposed to belittle.

"I need not say more than that such a use of our time at such a moment, might have an injurious and lasting effect on the international situation.

"Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition, shares to the full the views I have expressed. We, therefore, propose to postpone for the present the second reading of the amending bill without prejudice to its future, in the hope that by the postponement of this discussion the patriotism of all parties will contribute to what lies in our power, if not to avert, at least to circumscribe the calamity which threatens the whole world."

The next day, Friday, July 31, Premier Asquith was even more guarded in the information he gave the British Parliament. His statement was as follows:—

"We have just heard, not from St. Petersburg, but from Germany, that Russia has proclaimed the general mobilization of her army and her fleet, and that in consequence of this martial law is to be proclaimed in Germany.

"We understand this to mean that mobilization will follow in Germany if the Russian mobilization is general and is proceeded with.

"In these circumstances I prefer not to answer any further questions till Monday."

Sir Edward Grey's Statement of Britain's Position.

When the British Parliament re-assembled on Monday, August 3, happenings the most significant perhaps in the history of the world had taken place in the interval of adjournment. Formal declaration

of war had been made by Germany on Russia and a state of war existed with France and Belgium as well. The Commons and the Lords were there to learn of the actions of the Ministry during the adjournment and to determine Britain's position in the European crisis. What this action was can best be told in the words of the Ministers themselves. It was Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who informed the House of Britain's action and policy. He did so in the following words:

"As I said last week, Great Britain was urgently moving to preserve the peace of Europe. Events today, however, move so rapidly that it is exceedingly difficult to state the actual position of affairs. It is now clear that the peace of Europe cannot be preserved. Russia and Germany have declared war against each other.

"I should like to make clear the situation in order that the House may realize exactly under what obligation Great Britain lies so that the House may be fully informed before coming to a decision.

"Let me say very shortly that we have persistently and with earnestness worked with all our power to preserve peace. The House may be satisfied upon that point. Throughout the Balkan crisis we worked for peace; the co-operation of the great Powers was successful then. It is true that some of the Powers had great difficulty in adjusting their points of view, and took much time, labor and discussion before they could settle their differences. But peace was secured because peace was our main object.

"In the presence of this crisis it has not, unhappily, been possible to secure the peace of Europe, because there has been little time and there has been a disposition in some quarters to force things rapidly to an issue to the great risk of peace. The result, we now know, is that the policy of peace so far as the great Powers are concerned, has failed. I do not desire to dwell upon this nor to say where the blame lies, because I should like the house to approach this crisis from the point of view of British interest, British honor and British obligations.

"As to why peace has not been preserved we shall publish papers as soon as we can regarding what took place last week when we were working towards peace and when the papers are published we have no doubt that they will make it clear how strenuous, genuine and whole-hearted were our efforts, and they will enable the people to form their own judgment as to the forces operating against peace.

The Point of View of British Obligations.

"I come now to the question of British obligation. I have assured the House and the Prime Minister has assured the House that if any crisis arose we could come before the House of Commons and be able to say that it was free for us to decide what the British attitude should be; that we would have no secret engagement. There have been in Europe two diplomatic groups—the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. The latter was not an alliance.

"The House will remember that in 1908 there was a crisis originating in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Russian Minister happened to come to London. I told him definitely that this be-

ing a Balkan affair I did not consider that public opinion would justify us in promising anything more than diplomatic support. More was never asked, more was never given, more was never promised; and up till yesterday we have given no promise of more than diplomatic support.

"I must make this question of obligation clear. The House must go back to the Morocco crisis of 1906. The time of the Algeiras conference was a very difficult time for the Government, as a general election was in progress. I was asked if that crisis developed into a war between France and Germany would we give armed support. I said that I could promise nothing to any foreign Power unless that Power was subsequently to receive the whole-hearted support of public opinion here when the occasion arose. I said that in my opinion if war were forced upon France on the question of Morocco, which had just been the subject of an agreement between Britain and France, Great Britain would rally to the support of France.

"But I made no promise and I used no threat. I expressed that opinion and the position was accepted by the French Government. But they said at the time "if you think it possible that public opinion in Great Britain might, when a sudden question arose, justify you in giving France the armed support which you cannot promise in advance, unless between military and naval experts some conversations have taken place you will not be able to give that support even if you wish it when the time comes."

"The Agadir crisis came and throughout that crisis I took precisely the same line as I took in 1906. Subsequently, in 1912, it was decided that we ought to have a definite understanding in writing that these conversations were not binding upon either Government, and on the 22nd of November, 1912, I wrote a letter to the French Ambassador and received from him a reply. That letter will be known to the public now as a record that whatever took place between the military and naval experts, nothing was done binding upon this Government.

"The situation in the present crisis is not precisely the same as in the Morocco question. The

latter was primarily a dispute which concerned France—a dispute fastened upon France out of an agreement existing between us and France under which we engaged to give France diplomatic support. No doubt we were pledged to nothing but diplomatic support.

"The present crisis originated differently. It has not originated with regard to Morocco; it has not originated as regards anything about which we have a special agreement with France. It did not originate with anything primarily concerning France. It originated in a dispute between Austria and Serbia.

The Point of View of British Honor.

"No Government, no Country, has less desire to be involved in war or in the dispute between Austria and Serbia than the Government and the Country of France. They are involved because their obligation is one of honor, under a definite alliance with Russia. That obligation cannot apply in the same way to us. We are not parties to the French or Russian alliance. We don't even know the terms of their alliance.

"I come now to what we think the present situation requires. We have had many years of long standing friendship with France. I remember well when the agreement was made, the warm and cordial feeling resulting from the fact that these two nations had cleared away their perpetual differences and had become friends. How far that friendship entails obligations as between two nations let every man look into his own heart and construe the extent of obligation to himself.

"Speaking for myself, I say that the French fleet is now in the Mediterranean; the northern and western coasts of France are absolutely undefended. With the French fleet concentrating in the Mediterranean, the situation is very different from what it used to be before the friendship which grew between the two countries gave them a sense of security.

"My own feeling is that if a foreign fleet, engaged in a war with France which she did not seek and in which she was not an aggressor come down the English channel and bombarded and battered the undefended coast of France we could not stand aside. The time would come when we would be



Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

forced to fight ourselves. What would be the position in the Mediterranean then when trade routes vital to this country might be interrupted? Nobody can say that in the course of the next few weeks there is any particular trade route, the opening of which might not be vital to this country. What would be our position then?

"The thing is going on practically within the sight of our eyes. Our arms are folded and we are looking on dispassionately; doing nothing, but I believe the feeling in this country is that if circumstances actually did arise that feeling would spread irresistibly.

The Point of View of British Interest.

"But I want to look at this thing also without sentiment. From the viewpoint of British interest I am going to justify what I propose to say to the House.

"Let us assume that unforeseen consequences arise which make it necessary at a sudden moment that in the defence of vital British interest we should go to war; and let me assume, what is quite possible, that Italy, which is now neutral, legitimately consulting her own interests, may depart from her attitude of neutrality.

"We have not kept in the Mediterranean a fleet which is equal to deal with a combination of the other fleets there; and at this very moment, when we could not detach more ships for the Mediterranean, we might expose this country through our negative attitude to most appalling risks.

"I say that, from the point of view of British interest, we felt strongly that France was entitled to know at once whether or not, in the event of an attack upon her unprotected northern and western coasts, she could depend upon British support. Under these compelling circumstances, yesterday afternoon I gave the French Ambassador the following statement:

"I am authorized to give assurance that if the German fleet comes into the German Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts and French shipping, the British fleet will give all protection in its power."

"This assurance is subject to the support of Parliament, and must not be taken as binding upon the Government until the contingency of action by the German fleet takes place.

"Things move so rapidly that I cannot give this in more than an informal way, but I understand that the German fleet will not attack the northern coast of France. I only heard that shortly before I came to the House; but it is far too narrow an engagement for us.

Germany's Effort to Barter Belgium's Neutrality.

"There is a more serious consideration, and one which is coming more serious every hour, namely, that of the neutrality of Belgium. The governing factor in this is the treaty of 1839 and that of 1870. Bismarck gave the assurance that the neutrality of Belgium would be respected, which is a valuable recognition on Germany's part of the sacredness of

treaty rights. That treaty is old, but we cannot take a less serious view of our obligation than did the Gladstone government in 1870.

"When the mobilization was beginning last week I knew that this question would be the most important element of our policy. I therefore telegraphed to Paris and Berlin saying that it was essential to know whether the French and German Governments were prepared to undertake an engagement in respect to the neutrality of Belgium. The French Government replied that it was resolved to respect the neutrality and would only in the event of some other power violating that neutrality find herself under the necessity of acting otherwise.

"Germany replied that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs could not possibly answer before consulting the Emperor. Chancellor Goschen said he hoped that an answer would not be long delayed. The Secretary of State gave Goschen to understand that he rather doubted whether he could answer at all, as any reply could not fail, in the event of a war, to have an undesirable effect in disclosing a part of their plan of campaign.

"We were sounded last week as to whether, if Belgian integrity were guaranteed at the conclusion of war, that would content us. We replied that we could not bargain away whatever interest and obligation we had in Belgian neutrality.

"King George received the following telegram from the King of the Belgians:

"Remembering the numerous proofs of Your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of friendship she has just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of Your Majesty's Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium."

"We intervened diplomatically last week; what can diplomatic intervention do now?"

"Great Britain could not proclaim unconditional neutrality. We made a commitment to France which prevents us doing that. We have to take into consideration also our obligation to Belgium, which prevents us also from any unconditional neutrality. We are bound not to shrink from proceeding to use all our force and all our powers.

"The intervention with Germany in regard to the independence of Belgium was carried out by England last night. If the independence of Belgium should be destroyed, the independence of Holland also would be gone.

"The one bright spot in this whole terrible condition is Ireland. The general feeling throughout Ireland, and I would like this to be thoroughly understood abroad does not make that a consideration which we have to take into account."

"With our tremendous responsibilities in India and other parts of the Empire, we must take very carefully into consideration the use which we make in sending an expeditionary force out of the country until we know how we stand.

Britain's Obvious Duty.

"It is said we might stand aside and husband our reserves in order to intervene in the end and put things right.

"If in a crisis of this kind we ran away from our obligations of honor and interest with regard to the Belgian treaty, I doubt whatever material force we might possess at the end will be of much value in face of the respect we shall have lost.

"Do not imagine that if a great power stands aside in a war like this it is going to be in a position to exert its influence at the end. I am not quite sure whether the facts regarding Belgium are as they reached this Government, but there is an obligation on this country to do its utmost to prevent the consequences to which those facts would lead if they were not opposed.

"I do not for a moment conceal that we must be prepared for the consequences of having to use all the strength we have at any moment, we know not how soon, to defend ourselves and to take our part. I have announced no final decision until I shall have the whole case before me.

"If we engage in war we shall suffer but little more than if we stood aside. We are going to suffer terribly in this war, whether this country is at peace or war, for foreign trade is going to stop. We have as yet made no engagement for sending an expeditionary force out of this country, but we have mobilized our fleet and the mobilization of our army is taking place. So far as the forces of the Crown are concerned the Premier and the First Lord of the Admiralty have no doubt whatever of their readiness and their efficiency. They never were at a higher mark of readiness. There never was a time when confidence was more justified in their ability to protect our shores and our commerce.

"If the situation develops as it seems probable it will develop, we shall face it. I believe when the country realizes what is at stake, it will support the Government with determination, with resolution and with endurance.

Later in the day Sir Edward Grey made a second appearance in the House of Commons. On this occasion he said:—

"A message has been received by the Belgian Legation here stating that Germany sent to Belgium at 7 o'clock last night a note proposing to Belgium friendly neutrality coupled with the free passage through Belgian territory of German troops, promising the maintenance of Belgian independence at the conclusion of peace, and threatening in case of refusal to treat Belgium as an enemy. The time limit of twelve hours was fixed for the reply.

"Belgium answered that an attack on her neutrality would be a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, that to accept the German proposal would be to sacrifice her honor, and, being conscious of her duty, Belgium was firmly resolved to repel aggression by all possible means.

"The British Government is taking into grave consideration the information received, and I will make no further comments."

Protection of Belgian Neutrality Makes War Inevitable.

When Parliament assembled on Tuesday, August 4, Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, informed the House of Commons that in conformity with the statement made by Sir Edward Grey the day before, a telegram had been sent early Tuesday morning to Sir Edward Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin, to the following effect:—

"The King of the Belgians has appealed to his Britannic Majesty's Government for diplomatic intervention on behalf of Belgium. The British Government is also informed that the German Government has delivered to the Belgian Government a note proposing friendly neutrality pending a free passage of German troops through Belgium, and promising to maintain the independence and integrity of the Kingdom and its possessions on the conclusion of peace, threatening in case of refusal to treat Belgium as an enemy. We understand that Belgium categorically refused to assent to a flagrant violation of the law of nations.

"His Majesty's Government was bound to protest against this violation of a treaty to which Germany was a party in common with Britain, and must request an assurance that the demand made upon Belgium by Germany be not proceeded with, and that Belgium's neutrality be respected by Germany, and we have asked for an immediate reply.

"We have received this morning from our Minister in Brussels the following telegram:—"The German Minister has this morning addressed a note to the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating that as the Belgian Government has declined a well-intentioned proposal submitted to it by the Imperial German Government, the latter deeply to its regret will be compelled to carry out, if necessary by force of arms, the measures considered indispensable in view of the French menace."

"Immediately after this we received from the Belgian Legation here the following telegram from the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs:—"The Belgian General Staff announces that Belgian territory has been violated at Verviere, near Aix-la-Chapelle."

"Subsequent information tends to show that a German force has penetrated still farther into Belgian territory.

"We also received this note this morning from the German Ambassador here:—

"Please dispel any distrust that may subsist on the part of the British Government with regard to our intentions by repeating most positively the formal assurance that even in case of armed conflict with Belgium, Germany will under no pretensions whatever annex Belgian territory. The sincerity of this declaration is borne out by the fact that we have solemnly pledged our word to Holland strictly to respect her neutrality. It is obvious that we could not profitably annex Belgian territory without making territorial acquisition at the expense of Holland.

"Please impress upon Sir Edward Grey that the German army could not remain exposed to a French attack across Belgium, which was planned, according to absolutely unimpeachable information,

Germany has, as a consequence, disregarded Belgian neutrality to prevent what means to her a question of life and death—a French advance through Belgium.’ ”

Premier Asquith then said:—“I have to add this on behalf of his Majesty’s Government:

“We cannot regard this as in any sense a satisfactory communication. We have in reply repeated the request made last week to the German Government that it should give us the same assurance regarding Belgian neutrality as was given to us by France last week. We have asked that the German reply to that request and a satisfactory answer to our telegram of this morning should be given before midnight tonight.”

The Premier concluded his grave statement amid a great outburst of cheering from all parts of the House.

Britain’s Declaration of War.

Germany’s reply to Great Britain’s ultimatum was a summary rejection of the request that Belgium’s neutrality should be respected. The British Ambassador at Berlin thereupon received his passports, and the British Government notified Germany that a state of war existed between the two countries.

The momentous decision of the British Cabinet came before the expiration of the time limit set by Great Britain. The reason of this, as well as of the declaration of war, was set forth in the following statement issued by the British Foreign Office:

“Owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by His Britannic Majesty’s Government that the neutrality of Belgium should be respected, His Majesty’s Ambassador at Berlin has received his passports, and His Majesty’s Government has declared to the German Government that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany from 11 o’clock p.m. August 4.”

Earlier in the day the House of Commons voted \$525,000,000 for emergency purposes, and a proclamation by His Majesty King George commanding the mobilization of the British army was read from the steps of the Royal Exchange.

With the declaration of war by Great Britain on Germany, the five greatest powers in Europe were at war, Austria and Germany on the one side and Russia, France and Great Britain on the other. With the latter were also Serbia, whose independence at the outset was threatened by Austria, and Belgium, whose neutrality was violated by Germany. The small kingdom of Montenegro, in sympathy with Serbia, and to ensure her own security, was also with Serbia in common cause.

Britain’s declaration of war was followed by a reconstruction of the British Cabinet. Lord Kitchener was taken in as Minister of War, Sir Ian Hamilton was made Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces of the British Army and General French placed in Command of the Forces to go to

the Continent. Supreme command of the British home fleets was given to Vice-Admiral Sir John Jellicoe. It speedily left for the North Sea. Lord Kitchener, through the Prime Minister, asked Parliament for power to increase the British army to 500,000 men, and Mr. Asquith asked the House of Commons to vote a war credit of \$500,000,000. Both requests were promptly authorized. An expeditionary force was immediately got ready, and within a few days British regiments were landed on the continent of Europe, where, along with regiments of the French army, they went immediately to the support of the Belgian soldiers in their resistance of the attempted invasion of Belgian territory by the German troops.

VI. AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.

ON Monday, August 10, France formally declared war on Austria. This declaration followed the failure of the Austrian Government to make satisfactory explanation of the movement of Austrian troops from the Austrian Tyrol through Switzerland to the Alsatian border. The declaration of war had been expected for some days, inasmuch as it was known that Austria was coming to the assistance of Germany in her attack upon the French frontier. France, however, was determined that she would not act until something definite had taken place on which a declaration could be based. This was in order to prevent Italy being forced into conflict as an ally of Austria. The Austrian Ambassador to Paris, to whom was addressed a sharp note of enquiry as to what Austria planned to do, and requesting further explanation of the presence of Austrian troops on the frontier, announced that he had referred the whole matter to his Government, and that he was awaiting an answer.

In announcing the breaking off of relations with Austria, the French Foreign Office made the following statement:

“Contrary to assurances given by Austria to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that no Austrian troops were taking part in the Franco-German war, the French Government has ascertained, beyond any possible doubt, that certain Austrian troops are at present in Germany, outside the Austrian frontier.

“These troops, which have set free certain German troops destined to be employed in fighting the French, ought indubitably, de facto and de jure, to be considered as acting against France. In these circumstances, the French Ambassador was ordered to leave Vienna.

“The Austrian Ambassador at Paris on being informed of France’s decision, asked for his passports.”

The French Ambassador at Vienna on the same day asked for his passports, and left the Austrian capital.

VII. AUSTRIA AND ENGLAND.

ON Wednesday, August 12, the British Foreign Office announced that a state of war existed between Austro-Hungary and Britain as from midnight of that day, and that official arrangements had been made for the Austro-Hungarian ambassador to leave London on the day following. The Foreign Office stated that diplomatic relations between France and Austria being broken off, the French Government had requested His Majesty's Government to communicate to the Austro-Hun-

garian Ambassador at London a declaration outlining the steps which preceded the rupture with France. The Foreign Office statement continued:

“Communicating this declaration accordingly to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, His Majesty's Government have declared to His Excellency that the rupture with France having been brought about in this way, they feel themselves obliged to announce that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Austro-Hungary as from midnight.”

PART III.

ALLIANCES, NEUTRALS AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

The Triple Alliance and the Entente Cordiale.

FEAR of Russia was the cause of the Triple Alliance the formation of which was announced in 1882 and which was formally renewed in 1887, and has existed since. Strong as Germany had proved herself to be in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, Europe still looked upon Russia as the greatest land power and feared Russian aggression.

France was supposed to be nourishing intentions of attacking the Germans as soon as she dared in order to get back Alsace-Lorraine, and Germany in order to protect herself against the possible onslaught from Russia and France combined, sought an alliance with Austria and Italy.

Austria's reasons for meeting Germany half way were obviously fear of Russia, on the one hand, and a desire on the other to strengthen herself in the policy of aggression in the direction of the Balkans, which she has been pursuing. Italy's reason for joining the Alliance is not so clear. It is thought that she feared Russian conquest of Constantinople, which might mean the appearance of Russian fleets in the Mediterranean, with a menace to Italian interests there.

The formation of the Triple Alliance alarmed Russia and France, and though they had little in common save Germany as a common enemy, each concluded that its safety called for mutual help. No absolute alliance was declared, but they made it felt that they would act together if either were attacked. This understanding came to be known as the *entente cordiale*. Britain at first was not concerned.

The weakening of Russia from the defeat by Japan in 1904 and the tremendous effort inaugurated by Germany to build up in addition to the greatest army in the world, a navy able to cope with that of Great Britain, drove Britain inevitably into closer relations with France and Russia.

The position was simply that if the Triple Alliance displayed an arrogant and aggressive temper and overpowered France and Russia, an assault upon Great Britain was certain to follow. Accordingly Great Britain had to indicate that her sympathy would be with France and Russia should either or both be attacked.

Bearing on Present War.

From the speech made by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on August 3, it will be seen that while there was between France and Russia an agreement, the terms of which were not even known to Britain, there existed, so far as Great Britain was concerned, no binding engagement of any kind—simply an understanding in the nature of mutual good-will, and an obligation implying nothing more than the phrase “*entente cordiale*” expressed. It will be seen also from Sir Edward Grey's speech that when England took the position that she could not allow a foreign foe to attack the unprotected coasts of France on the north, it was not less from a realization of the necessity of safe-guarding British interests and ensuring British safety than from honorable obligations to France, that this attitude was taken by Britain. In withdrawing her fleet to the Mediterranean, France had relied on a security arising out of her friendship with Britain, just as in withdrawing some of her ships from the Mediterranean, the better to protect her own coasts, Britain had based the security of her ships and trade in those waters on her friendship with France. It will be observed, too, from the official statement given out by the British Foreign Office that it was not the obligation imposed by the *entente cordiale* so much as treaty obligations arising out of the guaranteed neutrality of Belgium and Germany's ruthless disregard of this neutrality, to respect which she was also pledged by treaty, that was the occasion of Britain's declaration of war against Germany. Self-preservation, not less than treaty obligation, would have necessitated Britain's course, for were Germany, by the violation of Belgian neutrality, to gain a foothold in Belgium or in France, the coasts of Britain across the Channel would immediately become exposed to the possible aggression of a Power which has shown itself so wanting in a sense of international duty as to threaten to destroy by force of arms a small nation whose neutrality it was pledged to guarantee.

The Position of Italy.

From the commencement of the war between Russia and Germany, the position of Italy as a member of the Triple Alliance became a subject of very special interest to all the Powers of Europe. By

some, it was thought that, as a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy would be compelled to render support to Austria and Germany, but by others the view was taken that Italy could never forget the oppression she had endured from Austria, nor the good offices of Britain and France at the time Italian unity was effected and that as a consequence nothing short of compulsion could bring her to a support of Austrian and German arms. Italy, however, was not long in removing doubt as to the position she intended to take. On August 1, the day of the declaration of war by Germany on Russia, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs formally notified the German Ambassador at Rome that Italy would remain neutral, her obligations under the Triple Alliance applying only to defensive war. The Italian Foreign Minister, in a formal statement informed Germany that Italy considered herself released from her engagements in as much as the war started by Austro-Hungary, supported by Germany, was essentially an offensive war. She maintained that as it was not a question of defensive war, Italy should confine herself to pointing out that her obligations in the Triple Alliance did not oblige her to take up arms.

The Position of Portugal.

At a special meeting of the Portuguese Parliament, held on August 9th, the declaration was made that Portugal would place herself unconditionally on the side of Britain, according to the terms of her ancient treaty. The declaration was received with enthusiastic cheering for France and Britain. It followed a demand from Germany as to Portugal's intentions.

Premier Machado, in announcing the attitude of the Government, said: "**According to our alliance we have duties which we in no way will fail to realize.**"

Portuguese warships were ordered to prepare for a cruise around the coast, and foreign shipping in Portuguese ports were notified to remove their wireless installation.

It was reported that the Portuguese War Office has ordered the mobilization of three military divisions.

The Position of Japan.

Similarly, Japan, from the moment Britain was drawn into the war, made it clear to the world that in the event of British interests being threatened in the Orient, she would come to the speedy assistance of Britain, in accordance with her obligations under the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Saving the necessity of participation on these grounds, she would maintain an attitude of neutrality.

In Tokio on Saturday, August 1, the Premier, Count Shigenobu Okuma, in a speech dealing with the gravity of the situation, said that to bring about

a great peace a great war was something unavoidable. He added that perhaps a general disturbance in Europe would resolve itself into the final war of the world, leading to permanent and industrial peace. The Japanese Government, he said, had postponed its proclamation of neutrality between Austria-Hungary and Servia, and was in constant communication with the British Government.

In London, England, on the same day the Japanese Ambassador said that as long as the warships belonging to the nations composing the Triple Alliance remained at Tsing-Tau, Japan would take no action against them, but should they attack British interests, or should Tsing-Tau be attacked, a situation would arise which would be dealt with by Japan in the spirit of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

A proclamation issued at Tokio on Monday, August 4, by the Japanese Government expressed anxiety as to the European situation, and hopes for the speedy restoration of peace. It pointed out Japan's desire to remain neutral during the war, which it hoped would not extend to other parts of the world. **However, it said, should England participate in the hostilities, and the purposes of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance be threatened, Japan might be compelled to take the necessary measures for the fulfillment of its obligations.**

The Japanese proclamation was issued after an extraordinary session of the Cabinet, and was generally interpreted as preparing the people of Japan for the action of the Japanese navy as soon as Great Britain's decision has been announced.

Subsequent official pronouncements have all tended to show that Japan regarded the attacks on British shipping and interests by German warships in the Orient as necessitating and justifying active participation in the conflict, and already it has been officially announced that unless certain conditions are complied with by Germany within a specified time, a declaration of war on behalf of her ally will be made by Japan against Germany.

The Position Of Other European Powers.

Holland and Switzerland, like Italy, have clearly declared their neutrality, as have also Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Spain, though all have mobilized their forces to a greater or less extent as a precautionary means of safeguarding their neutrality.

The attitude of the Balkan States, with the exception of Servia and Montenegro has been one of neutrality up to the present time. Their recent experience of war may possibly confirm them in the wisdom of maintaining that attitude. On the other hand the bellicose nature of the peoples comprising these countries make it highly probable that should the war, as appears likely, continue for any length of time, some, if not all, of these countries will be drawn into the conflict as well.

It would almost seem that in their desire to dominate the whole Balkan Peninsula, Austria and Germany had seized the moment when the Servians, the Bulgarians and the Greeks, were not only exhausted by recent war, but embittered one against the other, so that it is difficult for them to combine effectively in defence of their common interests. If Russia had not come to the support of the Servians the Balkan peoples might all have disappeared before the Austro-German combination, which seeks a Germanic Empire from the Baltic to the Adriatic.

The word that the allied Powers of France, Britain and Russia have found it necessary to address a sharp note to Turkey, for questionable transactions respecting the German warships, which have fled to the Dardenelles for safety, is ominous. It will be little short of a miracle if the present war does not yet witness Roumania, Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Turkey in the conflict, the three former siding with Servia against the aggression of Austria and Germany, the two latter inclining the other way. Whether they enter the conflict or not, the status of the Balkan States will continue to be the main source of controversy, let the war end however it may.

The British Dominions.

There remains only to consider the British Dominions. It did not require a formal declaration of war to arouse British citizens in all parts of the globe to a consciousness of their obligations to the Mother Country. Once the possibility of England being drawn into the conflict became apparent, the self-governing Dominions began to vie with each other in a desire to manifest their willingness to assist the Motherland to the utmost of their power. From Canada came the offer of contingents of men

and supplies of food; from Australia the offer of her fleet and the promise of an expeditionary force; from New Zealand the transfer of her naval forces to the control of the Admiralty and the calling out of her naval reserves; from Newfoundland the offer of men for land service and an increase in the number of naval reserves; from South Africa came declarations of loyalty and promises of assistance, and even from the dependency of India came offers from native princes of regiments of native soldiers prepared to leave their country to join with the forces of other parts of the British Empire in bringing to a successful issue the cause of Britain and her allies. Men, money and service, in whatever form required, are the gifts which with one accord all have come forward to offer, and while each has proffered assistance over and beyond the seas, each has been busier still in placing its own house in order and in bringing to a degree of efficiency not hitherto approached such military and naval forces as it commands.

While the Armageddon of Europe fills the thought of man with indescribable horror, the tragic vision is, even now, not without episodes which the world's memory would unwillingly forego. One is the common patriotism which cemented in an hour domestic differences that had brought the peoples of the British Isles to the brink of civil war; another is the sublime heroism of a neutral nation prepared to sacrifice its entire manhood rather than allow its honor to suffer a stain, or a sister country to endure a wrong; and a third is the spectacle of the young free nations of the British Empire rising with one accord, on all the continents of the globe, to strengthen with the vigor of youth, and even before the call of duty, the arm which has protected them through the years, and which at this moment is raised in self-defence at home, and stretches forth to deal a blow at arrogance and aggression abroad.

The Canadian Liberal Monthly

is issued by

The Central Information Office of the Canadian Liberal Party
Hope Chambers, Sparks St.. Ottawa

Subscription Rate \$1.00 per annum

Single Copies 10 cents

Volume I, comprising the 12 numbers, September 1913 to August 1914 is now complete, and bound copies, with index, are for sale at the rate of \$1.25 per volume.

Subscriptions or orders may be sent to the Secretary at the above address



Simmons Printing Company, operating job printing plant of Capital Press Limited, 225 Sparks St.