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The Continental Times

Special War Edition

No. 1037. Vol. XX. No. 45. BERLIN, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1914.

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All Belgium in German Hands.

All Belgium in German Hands.

The German advance towards the Belgian coast is taking place under continuous fighting with the Belgian rearguard. The town of Ypern, where Belgian and English troops tried to stop their pursuers, has been surrounded. The Belgians go on board English ships at Ostende as they arrive there. Though the Belgian Government have left for Havre to retain freedom of action, there will be nothing for them to govern. It is reported that the German Governor General of Belgium intends to call Parliament together so that the representatives may utter special wishes.

Political Attentate at Bucharest.

When the brothers Buxton were driving to the funeral of King Carol, a young Turkish journalist, Paschil Hassan, fired four revolver-shots and wounded Charles Buxton seriously in the chest, Noel Buxton at the chin. The son of the former Bulgarian Prime Minister Geschoff was also wounded. The two brothers Buxton are wellknown in all Capitals of the Balkan-peninsula. Their propaganda is considered the direct cause of the first Balkan war for they always worked towards the liberation of the Balkan Christians from Turkish Rule. They were at present in the Balkans to stir up political opinion against Germany and Austria and draw over Bulgaria and Rumania to the Triple-Entente.

Austrians and Germans before Warsaw.

The proud Capital of Russian Poland already hears Austrian and German guns from the South and West. The Russians have apparently not yet decided whether to defend Warsaw or not. German airmen are continually throwing proclamations into the town, which have to be handed to the next policeman by order of the Governor. The authorities almost suspect a spy in every civilian and arrests have taken place en masse. Hunger revolts and revolution are expected to break out at any moment. Burglars and robbers have the time of their life. Eight Russian Army Corps from Ivangorod and Warsaw have been defeated and are in flight across the Vistula and the Austro-German advance is continuing.

The Situation in Vienna.

False reports which have been published abroad about the state of affairs in Vienna, have caused the Municipal Authorities to issue weekly reports about the true economic situation in the Capital. The first of these reports says that of the stress of war not much is felt and unemployment is not of exceptionally large extent. The Municipality has decided to keep not only all previous orders going but to give out new contracts and orders. As to the relief of families of soldiers it is stated that over 80000 families receive a total monthly payment of nearly 7 Million Crowns. The deposits in Savings Banks have increased. Provision of food is by far sufficient; retail prices have only risen in a slight degree. The health of the population is satisfactory and schools continue their lessons. The report declares the population is united in the will to keep the economic life going.

Austrian Successes in October.

The new offensive in Galicia was ordered on September 30th and its successful results are already noticeable. The Russian invasions through the passes of the Carpathian Mountains have been repulsed and the enemy was also thrown back on October 5th from Opatow and Klimontow. On the next day the important bridge fortifications at Sandomierz were taken by assault and a successful engagement took also place at Tarnobrzeg. The 9th of October saw the relief of the fortress of Przemyśl from which the Russians are now retreating. In all towns and villages which had been occupied by the Russians, the Austrian authorities have taken up their regular work again. The Russians have been driven out of about 80 Galician places and have evacuated 160 others.

American citizens who are still in Germany are requested to send their names and addresses to the nearest American Consulate stating the number of children with them and when they intend returning to the United States.

Lord Haldane.

There were many Germans in England—I regret to say I was one of them—who were convinced that England would not declare war on Germany for the cause of Belgian neutrality. And they were further convinced that, conversations between the two Governments having led to agreements on outstanding differences, no possible cause for war could present itself to the British Cabinet. They also knew Germany to have a staunch friend at Westminster, a man who holds the highest office in the Government. This man was the Lord High Chancellor, the Right Honourable Viscount Haldane of Cloan. His personality alone seemed a guarantee for England remaining neutral, for his countrymen speak of him as the "apostle of clear-thinking" and his influence reaches far amongst scholars and educationists, amongst military circles and politicians.

Lord Haldane has to thank Germany for his reputation. For it is rooted in his university-training at Heidelberg and Goettingen. He would not have become the "apostle of clear-thinking" without his intimate study of Goethe, Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer, whose names may be found in almost any of his public lectures. His profound knowledge of German conditions and particularly of German Public Administration enabled him also to thoroughly reorganise the English Army during the time he held the office of Secretary for War in the Asquith Cabinet.

All this and certain facts in connection with his last visit to Germany which came to my knowledge, strengthened my conviction that Lord Haldane would be the first to raise his voice in protest against this senseless war. I was sure, he would resign his office like Lord Morley, Trevelyan and Burns, his colleagues. I was waiting day by day to hear of his resignation—until I heard he had taken over the War-Office during Lord Kitchener's absence.

The helplessness with which Sir Edward Grey dances to the tune, played by his Under-Secretary Arthur Nicholson, King Edward's Trustee, leaves me cold. So does the picture of Winston Churchill trying to satisfy his limitless vanity by aspiring to the laurels of a second Nelson, or of Asquith seeking to escape through this war from the manifold political difficulties into which the weakness of his character has entangled him. But to see Haldane order British mercenaries against Germany, his intellectual mother-country, makes my blood boil with rage. No more despicable act was ever committed by a political renegade.

Lord Haldane went to America and Canada last year. Only once before in History has a Keeper of the High Seal of England left the country during his time of office. Lord Haldane also had to have special permission and we may presume that this permission was only given because of the great importance of his mission to the American Continent.

Well, he made a speech before American and Canadian lawyers at Toronto. And in this speech he preached a new gospel of international politics, for which he used the German word "Sittlichkeit". This word was in England translated as "national good form" and we will acknowledge this translation as the nearest approach to the real meaning of "Sittlichkeit" in international relations, possible in the English language. The tenor of Lord Haldane's speech was given in the plea for a closer union of all those nations, which are related to each other by common traditions of History, Religion and Culture. And this was to be the policy of the English Government, as Lord Haldane was authorised to declare.

Hardly twelve months have passed since this declaration and England is engaged in a war against Germany; against a nation which was professed by Englishmen to belong to those nations having common traditions of History, Religion and Culture with England. And all "national good form" has in England gone to the Devil—beg your pardon, but can it have gone anywhere else? And Lord Haldane was one of the first to renounce his gospel of "Sittlichkeit", for he became Chairman of a Committee, which inquires into ways and means to destroy German industry and commerce and drive them out of the world's markets.

This is Lord Haldane, the Englishman. The thin cover of German culture has

fallen off his true character, which is savagely English to the core. He seems to feel the necessity of justifying himself, for he spoke at Newcastle about what England is fighting for. The old cant about German Militarism, which is killing all the good in the German character. He wants to destroy that Militarism, to liberate German Culture from its yoke. He ought to know better—and he does know better. For would he otherwise have imitated German military organization in England? A task, which, as he said himself, he would not lay down for any office in the State? He must know that he cannot destroy "German Militarism" without destroying the German Nation. All the others may wine about our Militarism, because it prevented them from attacking us before we became a great nation. But words fail me to characterize, what the germanophile Lord Haldane has done in joining our enemies. I have the right to despise him, for I have believed in him. H. A. Walter.

German "Militarism".

Germany's enemies assert that German Militarism is the cause of the war.

We hear it and read daily everywhere in the germanophile Press and Botha, for instance, declared only lately "he will not fight the German Nation, but German Militarism."

But what have we to understand by "German Militarism"?

Germany, situated in the heart of Europe, with extended landfrontiers which offer no natural protection, needs of course, a strong army for the defence and preservation of her frontiers. Only hatred or stupidity can deny this. Germany saw herself surrounded by powerful enemies through the policy of "ententes" initiated by Edward VII. and continued by Edward Grey. Should Germany deem herself under these circumstances—Would you, when a gang of burglars surround your house, throw your revolver out of the window and put your hands in your pockets? Everybody if Germany has felt for years the monstrous, almost suffocating pressure, exerted on the country by the Triple Entente. Everybody knew for years the war would come and was to come, but—we are able to assure this from the most intimate knowledge of the German Nation and all its conditions—there was never a war-party of any importance and any influence. Least during the last few years. Germany would never have drawn the sword except in bitter need. Her warlike preparations were always destined to meet hostile attacks. They were a hard necessity laid upon the country by its geographical position and the policy of its enemies.

But what do you think of the military party in Serbia, which has their own as well as foreign princes assassinated, tears the power from the hands of the Civil Government and causes one war after the other?

What do you think of Japan having a far stronger force on land and water than is consistent with her territorial size, with the number of her population, and with her financial strength—only to drive Europe and America with these forces out of Asia and the Pacific?

What do you think of France having as large an army as Germany, though her population is less by one third than that of Germany and her position far more favourable—only to take revenge for 1870 as has been proclaimed again and again during more than 40 years?

What do you think of the Russian Pan Slavists, which have been preaching for years the extirpation of the Germanic race, keep up a much larger army than that of abused Germany, in spite of the bad state of finances in Russia, and are not ashamed of accepting the protectorate over the Servian assassins?

What do you think of England's claim to rule all Seas and thereby all Continents with a Navy far more than doubly as strong as that of any other naval power?

If you want to know what "Militarism" really means, look to Serbia, Japan, France, Russia and England "German Militarism" is humberg.

The true causes of the war are: the Slav desire for aggrandisement, the French "Revanche"-idea and—last, not least—English envy of German competition.

When England had succeeded in drawing almost all continental powers over to her side, she tried with the help of France

to press Germany against the wall; English and French diplomatists disposed of Morocco and Egypt without even communicating with Germany. The attempt failed, Germany could not remain quiet without losing her position as a great power for ever. She put her hand on Agadir, but was satisfied with a compensation of no value. She saved her honour and kept the peace. But her enemies realised that Germany would not yield to threats and that they were not able yet to act at their own discretion in the world without taking notice of Germany. It was then, that Germany's death-sentence was felled secretly, which was to be executed now. Cossacks, Tunguses, Kirgises, Tsherkeses, Japanese, Indians, Senegalese, Maroccans, negroes of every descriptions are led into the field in the name of civilization against the nation, which has produced Kant, Goethe and Bach. But worse than the barbaric hords, let loose upon the most cultured nation in Europa, are the lies which are used as weapon against her. Never, as long as the world exists has such a flood of shameless, mean lies been poured out over mankind, as has been done by Germany's enemies. We are sorry having to state England does more of this dirty work, than all her allies together. But truth and right will triumph through Germany's strong arm. The fact that Germany cannot be accused of anything else but her "Militarism," is her best justification.

Boer Rebellion in Cape-Colony.

Reuter publishes a cable from the Governor General of South Africa to the Colonial Secretary in London, in which unrest amongst the troops in the North West is reported. Colonel Maritz, who commands these troops is said to have sent an ultimatum to the Government at Capetown demanding a meeting with the Boer generals Hertzog, Dewet, Beyers, Kemp and Muller in his camp. If this be not conceded he intends to attack the troops under command of Colonel Britz and will invade the South. A loyal officer who was taken prisoner and then sent to deliver the ultimatum declared that Colonel Maritz had also under his command a contingent of German troops, and had made an agreement with the Governor of German South Africa, by which the latter guaranteed the independence of the South African Republic. Though it is asserted in London that this mutiny is only a local affair, state of war has been proclaimed throughout British South Africa.

Lloyds insure against Zeppelin-bombs.

Lloyds in London have issued insurance policies against Zeppelin-bombs at the rate of 3½ to 5 per Cent, for warehouses and bank-buildings.

England wants Money from America.

Sir Georges Paish and Mr. Banel Blackett, as representatives of the English Treasury have gone to New York for the purpose of obtaining a loan of 100 million Dollars. The result will be exceedingly interesting, whatever it may be.

Antwerp as a port.

In the event of Antwerp definitely becoming a German port great benefits should thereby be bestowed on Germany in national economic respect. The tonnage of shipping annually entering and leaving the port is quite as big, if not bigger, as that of the greatest German port, Hamburg and about three times bigger than that of the next largest German shipping emporium, viz. Bremen. Although Antwerp is geographically speaking, a Belgian port, the great bulk of its shipping has for a long time been supplied by German sources, especially by the West German mining industry, while a fair proportions of goods imported in Germany also takes its route via Antwerp. As a matter of fact the Belgian commercial fleet is relatively of very small volume, its total only amounting to a fifth of one single German line, viz. the Hamburg-America line. Altogether it is evident, that in spite of Belgium's abundant prosperity as an industrial country, its great port, Antwerp has been thriving mainly on foreign shipping; especially German. The great German lines all use Antwerp as a port of call for their freight steamers, and beautiful extensive wharves are owned by those companies. The Antwerp transatlantic passenger traffic is mainly in the hands of the Red Star Line, which is of course a company belonging to the Morgan Trust.

We publish with great pleasure the following

Letter of an American Lady on the Situation.

It is a continual and very disagreeable surprise to Americans in Germany when they glance upon our home newspapers. At first glance we are indignant, later disgusted at the entirely one-sided account we read of the war which Germany is so valiantly and capably waging against such a multiplicity of foes.

Why this sudden friendship for England? Is there really so much English capital behind our press? England has certainly no love for us, she regards us rather with disdainful tolerance but she knows how to use us. Her great skill in diplomacy, in clever words and subtlety she has directed to winning American sympathy; but fearing failure in words she had recourse to an action brilliantly planned and executed but despicable in its motives. Why did England open war on Germany by cutting the cable to America, a neutral land? Because she could not afford that German truths should reach American ears and win American approval. Her diplomatists know how much easier it is to make an impression than to clear away one already made, so they preferred to leave the latter disagreeable task to the enemy. England wants big gains easily won. She counts on her geographical position and the fear inspired by her navy to ensure her comparatively small discomfort in the war. In which case she is willing with superb magnanimity to sacrifice her ally France in order to weaken her business rival Germany. But she is clever enough to hide her real motives and ambition under the becoming guise of altruism, when she gives as her reason for participation in the war, not loyalty to her contract with France, but the barbaric invasion of neutral Belgium by German forces. England knows what Belgium neutrality meant. It meant closed doors to Germany and an unfilled place of entrance for French troops into Germany. In case of such a war Belgium is and always will be, while she exists, like a beautiful seductive woman between two lovers, to one of whom she holds out inviting arms. We have proof that France, the favored lover had encroached upon his mistress's leniency, before Germany's transgression.

I sailed from New York, August first on the ill fated S. S. Oceanic to reach my husband before his departure to war and as I came into Germany I saw and talked to the German refugees from Belgium. Poor distracted people telling broken rending tales of Belgian treatment to themselves and children. The innocent sufferers of the world crime war! Then when I reached my home in Berlin I heard of the brave young German officers and soldiers found "on the field of honour" with their eyes and their tongues cut out. This seemed to be the particular pleasure of the Belgian folk after a battle. A gruesome and cowardly revenge for their failure in arms! And so with my mind and heart disturbed by what the German soldiers were enduring, I was deeply surprised on opening the first American papers to find my misfortune to receive, to see them represented to the American public as devastating barbarians. The only thing approaching this charge in absurdity is the universal representation of Germany's enemies in such a mild Christian light. I think a comparative study, from the standpoint of cruelty and barbarism, reveal the Germans in a very favorable light. The burning of Belgian towns was not barbarism, but the necessity of self-defence. That German soldiers surviving a hard, plucky and successful encounter, should meet death through the unfair tricky ingenuity of private citizens could not be tolerated. Fortunately such drastic measures in the beginning had the required effect in tending to efface this unfair side of warfare.

The theme next in popularity in our newspapers is the culpability of the German Emperor in this war. The Independent of Sept. 14th writes how difficult it is for us Americans "to get into the mental attitude of a populace, intelligent but powerless waiting to be told, by an owner whether his people are to be driven forth to slaughter or permitted to go on with peaceful pursuits". Yes it must be difficult for us to appreciate such a state of feeling, but why trouble to do so since it does not exist except perhaps in the heads of those who neither know German history, nor understand German state laws. Whether Germany goes to war or remains at peace does not depend, as they presume, on the whim of a god. It depends probably primarily on a very practical question, that is if the nation is willing to make a sacrifice of millions of dollars for the national defence. Money is as indispensable to war as soldiers or cannon; and as one war costs more money than the Emperor's yearly income, it does not look as though he could allow himself the privilege of individual decision. But putting aside the question of right. The German Emperor is to intelligent and wise a man to have taken advantage of his authority in such a momentous national question in which he risks more than anyone. Besides, as the American papers have entirely failed to appreciate, the Emperor put his strong dominant personality and power on the side of peace. It was Russia that decided for war. Then it was that the spirit of Germany awoke, a spirit so great, so courageous, so indomitable that only victory can result. I feel sure I am echoing the hopes of thousands of Americans whose views do not find expression in the press when I wish success to the German people in this great war which they with their Emperor and his sons at their head are waging against revengeful France on one side, profligate bellicose Russia on the other and jealous England on the seas.

Winifred Kavanagh.

America longs for Peace.

The United States are beginning to feel the economic stress of the war very severely. "New York Times" says: "Our exports are to a large extent destroyed, our home trade is depressed, our finances are disorganized, our exchanges closed. We protest seriously against such burdens laid upon us."

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Open Letter of the former Austrian Ambassador to the United States, Baron Hengelmüller, to Ex-President Roosevelt.

Abbazia, Sept. 28, 1914.

My dear Mr. Roosevelt,

Now I write to you at the time of a most momentous crisis in the world's history, and I do so impelled by the desire to talk with you about my country's cause and to win your just and fair appreciation for the same. I wish, I could address my appeal to the American people, but having no standing and no opportunity to do so I address it to you as to one of America's most illustrious citizens with whom it has been my privilege to entertain during many years the most friendly relations.

Since the outbreak of the war our communications with America are slow and irregular. In the beginning they were nil. From the end of July to the middle of August we received neither letters, telegrams nor papers. I suppose it was the same with you concerning direct news from us. Our adversaries had the field all for themselves, and they seem to have made the most of it. To judge from what I have learned since and from what I could glean in our papers, the New York press seems to have written about us and Germany very much in the same tone and spirit as they did about you during your last Presidential campaign. I have seen it stated that the Outlook published an article in which Austria-Hungary was accused of having brought about the war through her greed of conquest and the overbearing arrogance of her behaviour towards Serbia. I do not know whether I quote correctly as I have not seen the article, and I am aware that you have severed your connection with the Outlook after your return from Brazil. I only mention the statement as an illustration of what I have said above, for if a review of the standing of the Outlook opens its columns to such a glaringly false accusation, the daily papers have certainly not lagged behind.

It is natural that our adversaries should be anxious to win the sympathies of the American people. So are we. But it is not for this purpose that I now write to you. Sympathy is a sentiment, and as a rule not to be won by argument. What I want to discuss with you are the causes of this war and the issues at stake.

Undoubtedly the war broke out over our conflict with Serbia, but this conflict was not of our seeking. We had no wish of aggrandizement or extension of power at the expense of Serbia, but Serbia covets territory which belongs to us, and for years has pursued her ends by the most nefarious and criminal means. The assassination of the heir to our crown and his consort was not an isolated fact but only the most glaring link in a long chain of plotting and agitating against us. This attitude of Serbia towards us dates back to the day when the gang of officers who murdered their own king came to power, and when it became their policy to keep a hold over their own people by exciting their ambitions against us. This policy reached its first climax when we declared the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina which we had occupied and developed for 30 years. You were in office then, and the events of the time are familiar to you. The crisis ended then by Serbia's formal acknowledgement that our annexation violated none of her rights and by her promise to cultivate henceforth correct and friendly relations. This promise was not kept. The plotting continued, lies were disseminated about a pretended oppression of our South Slav population and associations were formed for the purpose of stirring them to discontent and if possible to treason. Things came to a second climax with the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand. The plot for this crime was hatched in Serbia, the bombs and revolvers for its execution furnished there and Serbian officers instructed the murder candidates in their use. At last we could stand it no longer. What we wanted from Serbia was the punishment of the plotters and accomplices and a guarantee for normal relations in the future.

This was the object of our ultimatum. Serbia made a show of complying with some of our demands, but in reality her answer was evasive.

These facts are exposed and authenticated in the note which we sent to the powers after having presented our ultimatum in Belgrade and in the memorandum which accompanied the same. I do not know whether the American papers have published these documents at the time. Today they are outstripped by greater events, but for the just appre-

ciation of our proceedings in regard to Serbia they remain indispensable.

Russia is an aggressive power. Since 200 years she has extended her dominions at the cost of Sweden first, of Poland and Turkey afterwards. Now she thinks our turn has come. Finding us to be in the way of her ultimate aims in the Balkan peninsula she began to regard us as her enemy. For years the propaganda for undermining the bases of our empire has been carried on in the name of Pan-Slavism. It seems that now the time has come to draw the consequences and to bring things to a final issue. With what result remains to be seen.

In reality however our conflict with Serbia was not the cause of the great war now raging, but only the spark which brought the overloaded powder barrel to explosion. Who talks of Serbia to-day? and who believes that France, England and Japan are making war on Germany and on us because of Serbia? The war broke out because Russia decided to shield Serbia against the consequences of her provocations and because owing to preconcerted arrangements the situation in Europe was such that the action of great power was bound to bring all or nearly all the others into the field. And again those preconcerted arrangements were the outcome of a mass of pent-up passions, of hatred, envy, and jealousy the like of which — all Hague conferences and pacific unions notwithstanding — the world has never seen before.

We were fully aware of the danger which threatened us from Russia when we formulated our demands in Belgrade. Russia's population is three times as large as ours and it was not with a light heart that our Emperor-King took his final resolution. But our national honor and our very existence as a self-respecting power were at stake. We could not hesitate. Now we are in a struggle for life or death, and we mean to carry it through with full confidence in the rightfulness of our cause and the force of our arms. In one respect events have already belied the calculations of our enemies who counted on internal dissensions within our own borders. I am happy to say that Croats, Slovenes, and a large majority of our own Serbians are fighting in our ranks with the same valour and enthusiasm as Czechs, Roumanians, Poles, Magyars and Germans.

But why did Russia decide to assail us? During the whole last century she has shown herself a very shifty and unreliable protectress of Serbia. She made use of the smaller country when it suited her aggressive purposes against others, and she dropped it whenever it served her ends. It was so at the time of the Turkish war of 1877 and of the Berlin Congress and it remained so until with the advent of the present dynasty Serbia offered a sure prospect of becoming and remaining a permanent tool in Russian hands and a thorn in our flesh.

By the terms of our treaty of alliance Germany was bound to come to our assistance if we were attacked by Russia. There was no secrecy about that treaty. Its text had been made public long ago and its purely defensive character brought to the knowledge of the world. No more than we did Germany entertain hostile intentions or nourish hostile feelings against Russia. There were no clashing interests to excite the first, no historical reminiscences to justify the second. If it is otherwise in Russia, it is because her present leaders find German power in the way of their conquering aspirations against us. Germany true to her obligations hastened to our side when she saw us menaced, and when she declared war she did it because she had positive information that in spite of formal and solemn assurances to the contrary Russian mobilization was proceeding.

The terms of the Franco-Russian alliance have never been made public. Whether it was concluded merely for defensive or also for offensive purposes, and whether in the present case France was obliged by her treaty to draw the sword, remains therefore a matter of surmise. But there is no mystery about the feelings of France with regard to Germany and no doubt about the greed for revenge which during the last 44 years has swayed the overwhelming majority of her people and been the dominant factor of her foreign policy. It was for this object that she entered into her alliances and agreements and it is for this cause she is fighting now. It is simple hypocrisy to talk about German aggressiveness against France. France stood in no danger of being at-

tacked by Germany if she had chosen to remain neutral in the latter's war with Russia. Asked whether she would do so she replied that her actions would be guided by her interests. The meaning of this reply was clear and left Germany no choice. The formal declaration of war became then a mere matter of political and military convenience and has no bearing on the moral issue of the case.

But why has England plunged into this war? Officially and to the world at large she has explained her resolution by Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality and in the Royal message to Parliament it was solemnly declared that England could not stand by and passively tolerate such a breach of international law and obligations.

No Austrian or Hungarian can read this declaration otherwise than with a mournful smile. Its utility has been exposed by the question which Englishmen of standing and renown have put to their government, i. e. whether they would equally have declared war on France if that violation of neutrality had first come from her side. In face of this question having remained unanswered and in face of what has since come to light about French preparations in Belgium there is no need to expatiate on this subject. All that there is to be said about it has been said by the German chancellor in the open session of the Reichstag and all that may be added is the remark that considering England's history and what she did before Copenhagen in 1807, she of all nations should be the last to put on airs of moral indignation over the application of the principle that in time of war "salus rei publicae suprema lex esto".

The existence of a convention binding England to France in case of war has — as far as I know — never been admitted officially by England. As I see now from manifestations of Englishmen disapproving of their country's participation in the war the belief exists nevertheless that such a convention had been concluded. But whether England's declaration of war was the consequence of previously entered obligations or the outcome of present free initiative, the fact remains that in the last resort it sprang from jealousy of Germany's growing seapower and commercial prosperity. This feeling was the dominant factor in English foreign policy just as greed for revenge was in France. This feeling was the propelling force for the agreements which England has made and for others which she endeavoured but did not succeed to bring about.

England claims the dominion over the sea as her native right and what is more, she holds it. Her title to it is no better and no worse than that of the Romans when they conquered the world or of the Turkish sultans in the day's of their power. Like them she has succeeded in making good her claim. For 3 centuries the nations of Continental Europe have been hating, fighting, and devastating each other for the sake of strips of frontier land and a vague imaginary balance of power. These centuries were England's opportunity and she has made the most of it. That she should mean to keep what she has and hold to her maritime superiority as to the apple of her eye is natural. Whether it is for the benefit of mankind that it should be so and whether the world in general would not be better off if there existed a balance of power on sea as well as on land, does not enter into the present discussion. What is more to the purpose is that in reality England's seapower stood in no danger at all. To any thinking and fairminded observer it must be clear that Germany hemmed in by hostile neighbors in the East and West and obliged therefore to keep up her armaments on land would not have been able to threaten England's

maritime superiority for generations to come. If the issue has been thrown into the balance it has been done so by England's own doing.

But it is not only the nascent German navy that excited the distrust and envy of England. German colonies and every trading German vessel seem equally to have become thorns in English eyes. The wish to sweep those vessels off the seas, to destroy all German ports, in one word to down Germany has long been nourished and lately openly avowed in England. Mr. Norman Angell's theories about the great illusion of the profitability of modern warfare seem to have made mighty small impression on his countrymen.

Russian lust of conquest, French greed of revenge and English envy were the forces at work in the European powder magazine. The Servian spark ignited it, but the explosion was bound to come sooner or later. What alone could have stopped it would have been England's stepping out of the conspiracy. That she did not do so, in fact became its really directing power, will for ever remain a blot on her history.

About Japan's motives and methods I do not think it necessary to write. American public opinion will hardly need any enlightenment on this subject. England forced Japan out of the isolation in which she had lived for centuries. I hope the day may not come when she will wish she had not done so.

The issues of the war stand in relation to its causes and the same attempts have been made to distort and falsify them in the eyes of the American public. I have seen it stated in a New York paper that this war is a fight between civilisation and barbarism, and I have seen a member of the present English cabinet quoted as having said that the issue was one between militarism and freedom, civilisation and freedom standing of courses in both cases on the side of our enemies.

More idiotic rot — excuse the expression — I have never read in my life. What has civilisation to do with Serbia's murderous plots against us? what with Russia's desire to shield her from the consequences of her aggressions and to demonstrate to the world that we are of no account on the Balkan and to establish her own more or less veiled protectorate there? And if the case of civilisation is advanced by Japan ousting Germany from Kiatchao, why should it not be equally furthered if Japan did the same thing to England in Hongkong, Singapore or, if the opportunity offered, in India itself? And a person must be indeed at their wits' end for arguments to proclaim Russia as a standard bearer of freedom in her war against us. Compare her treatment of Poles, Finns, Ukrainians and Hebrews with the freedom which the different nationalities enjoy in our empire? And England herself! Is it for freedoms sake that she holds Gibraltar? and that she subjugated the Boers?

No. Civilisation and freedom have nothing whatever to do with the issues at stake now, least of all in the sense as if our enemies had drawn the sword for their sake. It is a war for conquest and supremacy, stirred up by all the hateful passions in human nature, fully as much as any war that has ever been waged before. But we did not stir it up. We are fighting for our existence, right and justice are on our side, and so we trust will victory be.

The causes of the war are clear. To make its issues still clearer, imagine for a moment and merely for argument's sake the consequences of our adversaries being successful. Russia, England, and Japan would remain masters of the field. Is this a consummation any thinking American can wish for?

These are the considerations I wished to lay before you.

Who are the Guilty Ones? (Conclusion.)

The encircling ring was to be drawn closer about the Germans; the date for the attack of the three bandits was to be fixed. It has indeed turned out differently from the way Poincaré arranged it in Russia. The war broke out somewhat earlier, and the good "Uncle Hansi," who shortly before the beginning of hostilities published a cartoon in French newspapers, in which the three powerful cats of the triple-entente were represented playing with the German mouse, has in the meantime been better informed.

In conclusion: The war has been wished and craftily arranged for in France by Iswolsky and his obedient servants, Poincaré, Delcassé and a press cabal, whose representatives have been pointed out above by name; about this there exists no doubt for anyone who has had a glimpse behind the scenes of French politics. Even if the whole French press has not sounded the same note, yet that part of it inclined to peace has not had, with two exceptions, the courage to oppose the war party. The two exceptions are the "Bonnet-rouge", founded two months ago by the Caillaux party, and which has never wearied in holding up before Poincaré and Viviani their humiliating position with respect to Russia (a sketch published in this paper at the time of the journey of Poincaré, named the two, Poincaré and Vivianoff respectively) and above all the "Humanité" of Jaurès, who, because of his love of peace, was pursued with deadly hatred, that ended in assassination, by the incitatory press. Jaurès, named derisively by his enemies "Monsieur" Jaurès, was up to the last in favour of France going forward side by side with Germany, whose culture the highly cultivated man knew and valued, rather than with sinister Russia, which he, the protector of the persecuted, stigmatised as the disgrace of Europe. Because Jaurès to the very last sought to prevent war, he had to be struck down. His death did not come however opportunely even for a Monsieur Poincaré, for it could have led to a popular uprising, it was however opportune for that government, for whose diplomacy assassination has been a tradition. The French people may well demand, after the war is over, an account from Monsieur Iswolsky for the blood of the first victim of the conflict.



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