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Every
Monday
Wednesday
Friday

The Continental Times

Special War Edition

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1914.

ROTTERDAM LUCERNE BERLIN GENEVA VIENNA ROME

No. 1064. Vol. XX. No. 72.

War News.

W.T.B. December 18th. The situation at Nieuport is favourable for the Germans. French attacks between La Basse and Arras and on both sides of the Somme have been repulsed. The French loss at the Somme alone is at least 1800 men killed and 1200 men taken prisoners. German losses number less than 200 men. The German forces in the Argonne made 750 prisoners men and captured some war material.

W.T.B. December 19th. Fighting is in progress at Nieuport, Bixschote and La Basse. French attacks have been beaten off at Lens, Albert and Noyon. A Russian Cavalry force was checked at Pikkallen (East Prussian frontier). The pursuit of the retreating Russians in Poland continues.

W.T.B. December 20th. The enemy stopped his futile attacks as Nieuport and Bixschote. 200 prisoners (natives and English) were made at La Basse. French and English had heavy casualties. German losses are only slight. Some progress was made in the Argonne. The Russians in Poland try to make a new stand at the Rawka and Nida Rivers.

Vienna, December 18th. The defeated Russian armies are followed along the whole front of 250 miles by the Germans and Austro-Hungarians. The enemy has been driven from his positions between Krosno and Zakliczyn in the district adjoining the Carpathians. Fighting is in progress on the lower Dunajetz. Petrikau in Southern Poland was taken by assault by the Infantry Regiments William I, German Emperor No. 34 and Regiment Hermannstadt No. 31.

Vienna, December 19th. The Russian rear-guards opposed the Austrians again north of Krosno-Zakliczyn and on the Dunajetz. Austrian cavalry in Poland reached Jedrzew and Nida. The allied troops farther north crossed the Pilica River. The garrison of Przemyśl returned from a sortie with several hundred prisoners.

Vienna, December 20th. The enemy was thrown back at Latorcza (Carpathians). New fights are developing at the Lupkow Pass. The Russians in Galicia oppose our advance with strong reinforcements.

Constantinople, December 17th. The Russians tried under cover of their artillery to cross the Tschoruk River in the Batum district. The attempt failed after five hours' severe fighting. Turkish troops occupied Serai in the Caucasus and defeated a Russian detachment at Kotur.

Amsterdam, December 19th. The losses of the allies on the Yser up to December 1st are estimated as under: Belgians 60000 men, English 80000, French 75000, Total 215 000 men killed, wounded and taken prisoners.

Capetown, December 20th. Fighting has taken place between an English detachment commanded by Sir Duncan Mackenzie and German Colonial troops at Garub (German South-West-Africa). The English were defeated.

A Scandinavian Convoy?

The meeting of the three Scandinavian Kings is said to have not led to any discussion of details as to how the three countries will guard their interests. But it is added that a Scandinavian Convoy will probably be initiated. Scandinavian merchantmen will have the protection of a warship and will then be freed from being stopped and searched by warships of the belligerents (read: England).

Reign of Terror in Ireland.

From our own Correspondent.

Rotterdam, December 17th Reports from London leave no doubt that another black period of Irish History has been entered upon. All nationalist papers have been suppressed and many Irishmen arrested. Public meetings may only be held in the presence of a Government representative. Instead of drawing troops from Ireland, most of the garrisons had to be increased. The anti-English agitation is growing under these latest acts of oppression.

America's Future in Case of a British Victory.

The *Erie Daily Times* writes: "There is only one important waterway not under British control, the Panama Canal; let us hope it will escape confiscation by England. Should England win, she will then, true to her history, line up against the United States as the country threatening most her supremacy on the ocean, Russia, possibly China and Mexico and with the thorn in her side of not controlling the Panama Canal, will try to put the United States where, in England's opinion, she belongs."

Is the Irish Question an International Problem?

Translated from the German of Theodor Schiemann, with grateful acknowledgements to the Editor of "Das Grössere Deutschland".

How Ireland became the victim of England's tyranny and corruption.

Erin's Parliament quashed.

Unscrupulous exploitation. Irish ever renowned as soldiers fought for Britain.

Sacrifice of Parnell.

Home Rule given in principle but so far fiction. Redmond goes over to the enemy.

Ever since England under the Tudors made herself Mistress of Ireland, the history of the Celtic population of that isle so richly endowed by nature, has been a long tale of woe, which appears doubly pathetic for the fact that the sufferings have been undeserved. Henry VII already subjected the Irish Parliament to the resolutions of the English Parliament; Henry VIII usurped the title of King of Ireland; Elisabeth had the country devastated by Essex and Montjoy; James I, started confiscating the big Irish estates and excluded the Catholics — all the Irish were Catholics — from the public offices; next the harsh reign of Charles I and his Stafford followed, and after that the policy of annihilation pursued by Cromwell. After James II's attempt to recover his crown on Irish soil with French assistance the complete subjugation of the country was continued by William of Orange, and from that time onward the oppression and exploitation of Ireland has been the policy of all Kings of England and of all English Cabinets and Parliaments. How much Irish blood has been shed in the constantly renewed attempts to shake off the harsh yoke of the English tyrants!

Temporary concessions.

First the Wars of Independence of England's American colonies and after that the French revolution seemed to offer opportunities. The fear of a French invasion actually induced England to make some temporary concessions to the Irish. In the year 1793 the Penal Laws were abolished and the Irish were given the right to participate in the Elections for the Dublin Parliament, but in such fashion that they could only vote for Protestant Englishmen, without being eligible themselves. This Irish Parliament appointed, as it was, to the task of guarding to a very modest extent, the special interests of Ireland, or rather those of Ireland's Protestant English and Scotch inhabitants, by a system of shameless corruption actually became a tool of British tyranny, and eventually corruption also secured the Dublin Parliament's signature of its own death warrant by passing a vote for the union of the Irish Representation with the Westminster Parliament.

Ireland's Parliament.

Since 1801 there has never again been an Irish Parliament. From that date the inscrupulous exploitation of Ireland waxed merciless. The Irish ports became deserted. The ground had completely passed into English hands, the land-owning Irish nobility were merely a painful recollection, the Irish were degraded to the caste of small holders and farm hands, and as Catholic excluded entirely from government service. In one direction an exception was made. The Irish were in eager demand as soldiers and sailors. In the Napoleonic period they took a conspicuous part in England's battles on water and land. They fought at Aboukir under Nelson, in Spain and at Waterloo under Wellington, who by the way was a renegade of Irish extraction and as such was rigorously opposed to any concessions being granted to Ireland. A slight theoretical amelioration of the position was produced by the emancipation of Catholics in 1829, but in reality the unfortunate condition of Ireland was not changed.

The Liberator.

It was then that the great Irish patriot O'Connell raised the cry which alone might have procured salvation. O'Connell demanded the repeal of the Union between Ireland and England and an independent Dublin Parliament. That he did not achieve his purpose goes without saying. The coercion bill (1833) was the answer, and after that, calm prevailed again on the Emerald Isle, until the frightful famine (which since 1845 has depopulated Ireland) led to hunger revolts and further oppression. A bad harvest of potatoes, on which

alone the Irish were living brought matters to a head and it is a notable fact that while the Irish were dying of starvation the excellent wheat crop of the country was sent from Ireland to England under military escort. At that time the wholesale emigration, of Irish to North America took place, a movement which called to life across the ocean, a new Ireland under American civic protection, which is said to number about 20 millions today. It was there that the Fenian agitation was born which during the sixties and seventies kept all England in terror.

The great incrowned.

Its leader was the Ireland-born Englishman Parnell who made the opposition discard its terrorist weapons in favour of Parliamentary methods. There is no need to recite again the story of his struggle for justice to the Irish people. Parnell has compelled England to grant to the Irish reforms and a national representation in the Parliament of Westminster, and those Irish members were destined to turn the scales one way or the other in the struggle between the Liberals and Conservatives. Eventually Parnell was disarmed politically by means of an adultery case. But the watchword of Home Rule for Ireland given out by him has survived his case and him too and the revived national instinct of the Irish could no longer be stifled. Liberal England under Gladstone's guidance endeavoured to do justice to it but failed through the opposition of the House of Lords and the obstinate resistance of the Conservatives, who with brief interruptions were the governing party for 20 years. Only when the Liberals returned to office towards the end of 1905 the cabinets of Campbell Bannerman and Asquith gave serious thought to Home Rule for Ireland. Despite the passionate opposition met with in the House of Lords they actually succeeded in the end in getting a Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book. That, however, was only achieved, under pressure of the fact, that England had already decided to meddle in the world war which she had organised against Germany. Besides the Bill was only passed with a reserve. Amendments of the Bill may be discussed and passed in the British Parliament; in all matters appertaining to the collective interests of Great Britain decision rests with the Westminster Parliament as heretofore and also the introduction of Home Rule for Ireland has been postponed until after the war.

Fooled by Sir Edward Grey.

On the 4th August Sir Edward Grey made a great speech in Parliament, in order to bamboozle that assembly into the belief that they were at absolute liberty to decide whether there was to be peace or war. In that speech he asserted that in the menacing universal situation Ireland was the "only bright spot". For England, such monstrous delusion is explained by the fact that he had succeeded in drawing over to his side the parliamentary group of Irish nationalists under their leader, Redmond. But even when uttering his confident declaration he no longer was master of the situation. To be sure Redmond had already succeeded in inducing the Irish Nationalists of the great isle to allow themselves to be disarmed, and like in former years an appreciable part of the English army consisted of Irish soldiers. Yet disaffection was rife in Ireland. For months past the Irish press in America had been referring to the imminent world war and demanding that the Irish should not in any case fight for England. A number of Irish papers now began to take up the watchword given out from America. An agitation was organised throughout all counties in order to undermine Redmond's influence and paralyse England's efforts at recruiting. On the 27th September a convention

of Irish volunteers assembled at Dublin, in which all the districts of Ireland were represented by delegates. With Professor Evin Mac-Neill in the Chair a provisional scheme was arranged which primarily provided again for the formation of Irish corps of volunteers. A month later, say on the 28th October, the "Organisation of Irish Volunteers" was duly constituted. This body includes all the 32 counties of Ireland and its members have taken the oath to maintain and protect the rights and liberties of Ireland. Redmond traitor.

In opposition to the policy of Redmond who is striving both personally and by agents, to lure the young men of Ireland into the ranks of the English army, the above Organisation will fight for Irish interests only. Will that object in view it has decided to arm, to form military companies, brigades and corps, to levy taxes and to create a representative body with a central executive, which is to form the nucleus of a provisional government of Ireland. This movement has been taken up by the Irish of America, who made it their first task to collect the cash required.

A true Irishman.

The leader of the entire Anti-English movement, Sir Roger Casement, is now staying at Berlin. He entered into communication with our Foreign Office and received the important official declaration that Germany wishes for nothing but the welfare of the Irish people, its country and institutions. The German government also declared quite formally that (contrary to the assertions contained in the inspired British press) Germany would never invade Ireland with the intention of conquest or of the destruction of any Irish institutions. Should, in the course of the war which is not of Germany's seeking, fortune of arms ever bring German troops to the coast of Ireland, they will land there not as an army of invaders to rob and destroy, but as the forces of a government which means well towards a country and a people, whose national prosperity and national liberty Germany has at heart.

Since this portentous declaration was issued the "Organisation of Irish Volunteers", who do not wish to be the henchmen of England has become a reality. It has caught on in America, where large sums of money have already been collected amongst the Irish living there and all endeavours of Redmond's, who stands unmasked as England's bribed agent, are powerless to hem in this great national movement. The leader of the labour party, Larkin, has also joined it. The English government has already found itself obliged to suppress a number of newspapers and periodicals in Ireland and to order arrests. Homes were searched and arms confiscated and yet we feel that we are only in the first stages of this Irish movement for freedom. There cannot be any doubt: **The flood is rising.**

Therefore the Irish question has indeed become an international problem; its solution will depend on the perseverance of the Irish patriots and the victory of the German arms on land and sea.

New Passport Regulations.

New Passport regulations will come into force in Germany on January 1st, 1915. Everybody leaving or entering German territory will be required to produce a passport. Every foreigner, living in Germany, must also be in possession of a passport. Other official documents will be deemed sufficient in certain cases, where it is not possible to procure a passport. The passport must contain a description of the holder and his photograph with his own signature, witnessed by a Government authority. Foreign passports, to be available when entering Germany must have the visé of a German diplomatic or consular agent. Exceptions are permitted for certain frontiers and limited time.

What America Thinks of the War.

The Washington Correspondent of the London *Morning Post* writes: The meeting of Congress makes it possible to estimate the feeling in America towards the war. The members are fresh from their constituencies; many business men and politicians, interested in the work of the Congress, are gathered here and are in direct touch with their home. The feeling in New York is decidedly in favour of the allies, but not unanimously and New York is not America. The result of the German propaganda may be seen in the Bills, laid before both Houses, which intend to prohibit the sale of war materials to the allies; also in the gains of the Republican Party, for the Germans voted against the Democrats except when the Candidate was a German himself.

Mighty England.

By an Authority.

An alliance with England is a very expensive matter. History shows this axiom to be true, the present war as well. Poor Belgium had occasion to be the first sufferer, being the first country to bear the brunt of England's "friendship." Whoever leaves his affairs to strangers, should not complain, that he is the chief sufferer. M. de Broqueville, a secret agent of the three allied powers, was supreme in his Belgian field of action and consequently the Belgians were driven like a flock of sheep into the fold of Anglo-French interests. All self-government was excluded since the appearance of this native Frenchman. Baron de Greindl warned in vain! Since the day of Waterloo, England considered Belgium's forces and territory as an English outpost. As early as the battle upon the fields of Waterloo, foreseeing English diplomats took into consideration, that Germany would become united and from that day it was the chief endeavour, to keep Germany away from the Channel, no matter at what price.

However, England not alone stops progress when its interest demands it, but also considers possibilities. Belgium was created in 1830 — at first as a buffer state against Prussia — while a united Germany was founded only 41 years after 1830. France, situated upon the other side of the "moat" could be tolerated. With the French, England always had come out on top, from the day, when — Talbot had burned Joan of Arc at the stake —, up to two years ago, when France was imprisoned into the Mediterranean without a sword thrust. The heavy burden, to protect the long French coastline, was gracefully undertaken by John Bull, the "unselfish" one.

A fine looking moral-gesture, indeed! England was well aware, that since the day of Fashoda, it could act towards France at her own pleasure! Before 1870, that was not the case but the "Franco-Prussian" war occurred at the appropriate time, as far as England's interests were concerned. However, it was a disagreeable surprise, that this war ended as a "German-French" War!

The New Carthage.

Since that day, the 18th of January 1871, the English-German discord may be recorded. Every penny, the Germans made, every ship, the Germans built, enhanced this discord. To-day, we have become the "Carthage" for the modern "Roman Empire" and the soul of Cato still speaks, at first low, now with all his might: "Germaniam esse delendam!" England demands, that the whole world should second this motion. The battle-cry "against militarism", which is so transparent, that England herself now concedes its barrenness, all "civilized" countries are expected to take up. The truth however, lies in the fact, that England counts upon their help, in order to take away from Germany its markets. Poor simple "Michael" was well aware, that England did not like him, but he did not know, that he was the first one on the list of "Morituri"!

It suffices however, that now we are aware of the fact. We also know, that England alone, did not have the courage to throw down the gauntlet. In order to destroy us and our Allies, Austria-Hungary, England at first created the Triple-Entente and now it hires Tom, Dick and Harry, to finish a task, which it either would, or could not do alone. Well and good, we know where we stand.

England's old Trick — kingfisher Poincaré.

That Russia has its own interest at heart in this game, is a well-known fact. Ambassador Bunsen has spoken freely on this subject and once said, that the interests of England did not allow, that any one of that Continental Power should be defeated in a decided manner. The intention of England was, to preserve her forces, as far as possible, through the armies and navies of Belgium and France. The other participants in this gigantic struggle, were to receive a good bleeding incidentally, in order to enable England to continue the old adage: "divide et impera" with more chances of success. It is marvellous, that England was able to dupe the whole world, in spite of the fact, that all know this old trick of hers! Even France! M. Felix Faure possessed too much intelligence, to be beguiled by the voices of the Sirens. Consequently, he was not "persona grata" at the Court of St. James, and it is regrettable, that he died just at the moment, when the relations between France and Germany where at the point of becoming better.

p. l. o.

Mighty England.

(Continued.)

mysterious circumstances of his death are not yet forgotten. Messrs. Loubet, Fallières and Poincaré are men of a different grain. That applies especially to M. Poincaré. He is the type, called a "Kronkraxler" in Austria, or "Kingfisher" in America. In principle he and those about him, were congenial to the English plot. Perhaps he dreamt to become a sort of "Lord-Protector" of a Greater France, after the war. At any rate there is no doubt, that the French people, in opposition to their chosen President, did not desire the war. However, being good patriots, the unavoidable facts were taken up in a philosophical manner. There existed not the least difference between the German Government and the German People.

We saw ourselves set upon by Russia, ordered to go ahead by England,—while France was dragged into the war on account of the treaty. We were compelled therefore to draw the sword and now we fight, in order to keep up our position as a world Power. There lies the difference between us and France, where many demand to know: "Why?" The strict censorship however, prevents these many voices to be heard.

The Panama Canal a Factor in the War.

We may safely say, that England calculated in the following manner: "The Panama-Canal is now ready, but its usefulness has not yet been proven beyond the shadow of a doubt. The Americans—a few enlightened ones excepted—have not realized yet, that this waterway possesses importance enough for attaining the sovereignty of the sea. The American flag is seen only in few spots on the Pacific, while Mexico, lying close before the door of Uncle Sam, crowds out all the other questions at present. If America wakes up with a certain goal in view, completing his fleet and recognizing our Jamaica as another "Malta" situated not far from the Channel, it will draw its conclusions and realise its claims upon the Pacific. From that moment it also will realize, that "Blood is not thicker, than water." American Neutrality will disappear, while Japan is fettered, failing to perform the services of an executioner against Germany. Therefore, quick action is imperative! France is not ready, in spite of Senator Humbert's allegations, but having Russia, Japan, Serbia and the Hottentots on our side, the matter may be pulled off.

Antwerp never shall be German!
The entire game is too transparent for anybody to be in doubt about. The interests of England are paramount! Brave Belgium as well as General Joffre have had their experiences in this respect. The latter's plan—well calculated—to attack at first at the line of Dijon—Nevers, never was executed. The territory mentioned was too far away for England's interests, too far from the coast and Antwerp. Let us recapitulate the words of the Daily Telegraph, written during the first week of October: England never will concede, that Antwerp will become German. Should the enemy take this fortress, he also will possess the control of the Scheldt and the Coast. He furthermore would be able to place mines and mount his heavy guns in such a way, as to damage British interests. "The consequence was, that General Joffre had to stop at the banks of the Marne, turn about and give battle at this river. However, the German leaders of the army prevented a decisive battle. We took the Aisne-positions and kept them, until the siege of Antwerp was inaugurated and brought to a lucky finish. The rest is known. It was repeatedly avowed, that the German right wing, finally should be surrounded, and the English Government had induced its French Allies, to throw strong forces in a north-western direction, towards the coast, where the English troops also had concentrated. They acted according to their proverb: "Cut your coat according to your cloth"! It was expected from the French, that they should feel in a similar way, and they were to strengthen the watch at the Coast.

Useful Rumours.
After Antwerp had fallen, England emphasized again and more urgently, that the plan of the Germans "to surround the allies" was to be prevented at all costs and that it was necessary to reconquer Belgium! Pretence! The truth was, that the English Expedition should be placed nearer to the home shore, because the public opinion of England was in a paroxysm of fear about an invasion! The most absurd rumours were spreading. Enormous submarine transports, Zeppelin attacks by night, chains of mines, guns of incredible caliber, having a carrying power of enormous distance—in short, the greatest nonsense was spread from mouth to mouth and believed, even "officially"! It was intended to make use of these rumours, simply in order to enable the English Commander to place his troops upon the left wing and to give a reason for this "necessity!"

What British Promises are worth.
The English press shows a good many facts, which can be read between the lines and many attempts were made, to calm the pangs of conscience, by pretending in a childish way, that the ne-

gligence of the allies was due to us. "Si tacuisses!" We may well be able to leave the judgment of this mistake to the Belgians and the French perhaps also to the Russians. The Allies of Albion know now, what British promises are worth. The longer this war will last the more the French and the Belgians will realize, that they only can lose in this sanguinary war, that they have lost so far, and will lose in this sanguinary war, that they have lost so far, and will lose in the future. After that—too late—the traditional phrase will sound, this time justly: "Nous sommes trahis!"

The "smaller States."

England has claimed continually and stubbornly that it wages this war only, in order to protect the "smaller" States. How generous! It is a pity, that the term: "smaller States" contains in itself a certain contempt, which surely must hurt. Belgium, not neutral, but an ally of England since a number of years, was shamefully left to shift for itself and this state is one of the "smaller" ones. Strategical reasons very likely were the reasons for this act of the English Allies. How about the other "small" ones? Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland, did not need "protection"! They all were better off, if they remained peaceful, for according to English conception, they did not need anything better. However, let us consider, how the "smaller" States fared during the war, as far as consideration on the part of England is concerned? What is England doing, in order to protect neutral shipping? Those bad "German" mines, the English allege, disturb faithful and true English protection. It is "necessary" therefore, that Great Britain takes further measures, in order to be a humane protector. This necessity is emphasized by declaring the entire German Sea as "Seat of War" and neutral powers are shown other, "surfer" ways. "Surfer ways"? What irony! They lead through the dangerous waters of the Channel up to near Edinburgh, through fogs, currents and hidden rocks, along the unsafe waters of the English coast. That proves, that these routes are less "safe" than, more easily to control! That is the point, for the German submarine boats, which are "the pest" of the open waters there, making control too uncomfortable.

Sacrificed to English Hegemony.

Is the great English country really simple-minded enough, to imagine, that the "smaller Nations" would believe that? These "smaller" ones, whose neutrality, only recently again was emphasized by the English Government, should therefore, if they desire to remain in good standing in Downing Street, cheerfully bear the pangs of hunger? Certainly not! In spite of the growing English propaganda, they soon will recognize, that this war was brought about by England, solely for the purpose, of strengthening English Hegemony and of enriching English purses.
The Allies of Great Britain will soon be made to feel, that she can use willing servants only, who are ready to sacrifice everything, in order to let the British attain their selfish ends, those ends, for which innumerable foul deeds have been done, since several centuries. The Boers were assimilated only a few years ago, Indians and Chinese are kept in brutish stupor since a good many years, even to—day.

The goal is always the same, namely: "in majorem Britanniae gloriam!"
H. W. v. H.

England Asks for Greek Volunteers.

Athens. December 18th. The British Government has asked permission from the Greek Government for the recruiting of volunteers, needed for the defence of Egypt. The Greek Government could only give permission for the recruiting of men over 45, as the younger men are called up to serve in Greece. English recruiting-offices have now been established at Crete and Cephalonia. Permission for the instalment of a British wireless station on the island of Corfu has been refused.

American Officers in Berlin

A number of American officers, Lieut. Col. J. E. Kuhn, Major Dugled E. Aultman, Major C. C. Williams, Capt. Wilson B. Burt, Capt. S. G. Shartie and Capt. S. D. Rockenbach, from Washington, have arrived here and have taken rooms at the Hotel Adlon.

America for the Americans.

The legislature of Arizona has recently passed a bill demanding from employers that at least 80 per cent of their employees shall be American citizens. The British and Italian ambassadors at Washington pointed out that this measure implies differential treatment. The President and Mr. Bryan, however, hold differential treatment not to be proved and no treaty to be violated. The Union Government will not interfere even in the case of a British or Italian protest.

Rooms, Flats, etc.

Furnished apartments 2 or 3 rooms, convenient for musicians, for rent at moderate terms. Babelsberger Strasse 50, Fr. Rau.

To let
from now until April 1st 1 1/2 apartment, 5 rooms and kitchen with furniture. Near Bayerischer Platz; lift, warm-water, steam-heat, moderate terms. Apply to Dr. C. H. Aubot, Berlin W. 8, Königgrätzer Strasse 140.

A Letter to Lord Northcliffe.
"The Daily News," the "Daily Mail," and the War.

My Lord,
This is not a time when I should wish to write to you or about you, for there is something indecent at such a moment in inflicting the old battle-cries on the public. But you have chosen to issue a book of newspaper scraps the object of which is to cover yourself and the "Daily Mail" with honour as the true prophets of the war and "The Daily News" and other representatives of Liberalism with odium as the false prophets of peace. To let such a challenge pass would be a wrong to the cause which this journal holds sacred, and therefore, unwillingly, I address you.
Your claim to be the true prophet of the war does not call for dispute. It has always been your part to prophesy war and cultivate hate. There is nothing more tempting to the journalist than to be an incendiary. It is the short cut to success, for it is always easier to appeal to the lower passions of men than to their better instincts. There is a larger crowd to address, and you have never deserted the larger crowd. The student of your career will find it difficult to point to anything that you have done and to say "Here Lord Northcliffe sacrificed his journalistic interests for the common good, for the cause of peace, for some great human ideal that brought no grist to his mill; here he used his enormous power not to enrich himself but to enrich the world." But he will have no difficulty in pointing to the wars you have fomented, the hatreds you have cultivated, the causes you have deserted, the sensations, from the Pekin fal-ehood to the Amiens falsehood about the defeat of the British Army, that you have spread broadcast. You have done these things, not because of any faith that was in you, not because of any principle you cherished. You have done them because they were the short cut to success which is the only thing you reverence amidst all the mysteries and sanctities of life.

"NOTHING."
If one could find in you some ultimate purpose, even some wholesome and honest hate, you would present a less pitiful spectacle to the world. You would at least be a reality. But you are nothing. In all this great and moving drama of humanity you represent no idea, no passion, no policy, no disinterested enthusiasm. Like Mr. Lowell's candidate you scent wick pays the best and then go into it baldheaded.

When you preached war against the Boers it was not because you hated the Boers or loved England: it was only that you understood how to sell your papers. When you preached war against France, told her that we would roll her in "mud and blood" and give her colonies to Germany, it was not that you had any rooted antagonism to France, but that you knew how to exploit the momentary passions of the British mob. When you called for reprisals against Russia over the North Sea incident it was not that you did not know that there had been a mistake, but that you knew that a cry for war was a good newspaper thrill. When last spring you set all your papers from *The Times* downwards prophesying "civil war" and went to Ulster to organise your brigade of war correspondents and triumphantly announced that hostilities were about to begin, it was not that you cared for Unionism or hated Home Rule. You care for neither and have coquetted with both. It was only that you thought that Parliament was going to be beaten and that you could be the prophet of red ruin and the breaking up of laws. Even your loves are rooted in hates as meaningless as your loves. When you covered the Kaiser with adulation, called him "Our friend in need," and pleaded for an alliance with Germany, it was only to make your gospel of war with France more effective. In a word, you have been the incendiary of journalism for twenty years—a man ever ready to set the world in a blaze to make a newspaper placard.

MR. F. E. SMITH'S TRIBUTE.

And as you have been the preacher of war abroad so you have been the preacher of discord and hate at home. There is not a movement of our time to which you have contributed one idea, one peaceful influence, one constant loyalty. When you thought the Insurance Bill was popular you supported it; when you thought it was going to be unpopular you travestied it, misrepresented it, and organised the servant girls and the duchesses to resist it. When the Progressives were assured of victory in 1904 you were their champion; when you saw the tide had turned in 1907 you turned a stream of virulent slander against them and headed the most infamous campaign in all annals of our public life.

Do you say that this is malice dictated by party feeling? You are mistaken. I am conscious of no feeling for you except scorn, and, I think, a little pity, for indeed a life like yours is a thing for pity. But lest anyone should think that I am prejudiced let me call Mr. F. E. Smith as a witness. This is what he said of you on August 5, 1911:—
I remember, a few years ago, when Mr. Chamberlain introduced his Tarif

Reform proposals the "Daily Mail" said it was opposed to them because they constituted a stomach tax. Well, being at that time very young and simple, I thought they must be right. A few days later I opened the "Daily Mail" and read "Mr. Chamberlain's great campaign. Triumph of Tariff Reform. Necessity of taxes on corn to cement the Empire." Well, I, like the "Daily Mail," have always had a mind open to conviction. So I said "Certainly," and I spent four or five years in backing up the "Daily Mail" over that. Well, I opened the "Daily Mail" about three months ago and I read the leading article, and it said "Tariff Reform is dead." Where are we? . . . No one has followed them more faithfully than I have. When they said to me "Don't buy Trust soap," I didn't. When they told me there had been a massacre in Pekin I bought crepe. I think it is rather hard lines that in the middle of my political life I should be left with only two subjects on which I can give them ungrudging support—"Standard" bread and sweet peas. I can understand and even admire their desire to preserve an ancient barony from contamination.
That is what your friends think of you. What is there left for your foes to say? Indeed, the late Lord Salisbury said the final word about you long ago. The "Daily Mail," he said, was "written by office boys for office boys," and though you have soared to "The Times" since then, you have only succeeded in dyeing it with the colours of the office boy's mind. For just as it was the "Daily Mail" which proclaimed the massacre of Pekin, so it was "The Times" that proclaimed the rout of the British Army. And you charge "Mr. Cadbury's 'Daily News'" with "horrible commercialism." Mr. George Cadbury has ceased his connection with "The Daily News" for years past, and you know it, but it pleases you to strew the pages of the "Daily Mail" and the "Evening News" with venomous allusions to his name. In the abysses of your mind you discover that that name appeals to some poor prejudice or some vulgar ignorance. Perhaps you are right. But the record of George Cadbury can be left to the judgment of his countrymen. His work is known. Your work, too, is known. I think I know on which side the scales of judgment will fall.

WHY WE WORKED FOR PEACE.

But you say that we prophesied peace. Yes, we not only prophesied peace, but we worked for peace, just as you prophesied war and worked for war. We lost and you won. And you rejoice in the victory that has made Europe a shambles. Is it really a matter for rejoicing? A million men have died on the battlefields of Europe already and a million more will die. Millions of lives are being broken, millions of poor homes darkened by death and suffering. Is this really a subject for a newspaper advertisement? Do not suppose that we could not have preached war too. It is the easiest thing in the world. It makes you popular, it brings you readers—as you know. It is so much simpler to burn down than to build up, any fool can light a powder barrel. The crowd will run to a fire, but it will never run to see the builder add stone to stone. No, we did not work for peace because it paid. It does not pay to go against the popular tide. No one knows that so well as you who talk of the "horrible commercialism" of "The Daily News," and who have spent your life in an infamous servitude to the changing passions of the hour. We worked for peace because we believed that that was the duty of a responsible journal. We worked for peace because we wanted to see a better and a juster world, because we believed that the fulcrum of human society is international co-operation, and not international enmity, that civilisation cannot co-exist with barbarism, that war would ruin all the hopes of that social readjustment, that alleviation of the lot of the poor, that was the purpose for which "The Daily News" was founded and for which, whatever its failures, it has lived.
WAS IT A LOST CAUSE?
And who shall say that in working for peace we were working for a lost cause. Did Mr. Bonar Law believe it was a lost cause when he made that memorable speech in November, 1911, in which he repudiated the doctrine of the inevitable war, recalled how in past years there had been prophecies of "inevitable" wars with Russia which had not taken place, showed how the perspective of the world was constantly changing, and declared that if war took place it would be due not to any irresistible natural laws, but to the want of human wisdom? Were we wrong in working to strengthen that human wisdom or were you wrong in working to destroy it? You yourself had moments of penitence. Only last year you published in the "Evening News" a eulogium of the Kaiser far more extravagant than anything that ever appeared in these columns—a eulogium in which you spoke of that "gallant gentleman's" efforts for the peaceful development of

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his country, of his just ambitions, of his word "which was better than many another's bond," and of the respect in which this country held him. If you believed that war was inevitable what was the motive for that extravagant praise? But, most conclusive of all, on this question of whether peace was a lost cause, turn to the French Yellow Book published this week. There you will find the King of the Belgians and the French Ambassador at Berlin recording only last year a change in the attitude of the Kaiser. Till then, they agreed, he had stood for peace and had resisted the warlike influences about him as he had resisted them for a quarter of a century. Now at last they saw he had yielded. Only a year ago.
Why had he yielded? Why was the cause of peace lost? Can you doubt that among the factors that finally delivered the Kaiser into the hands of the militarists (??) was the ten years of bitter newspaper war carried on between the incendiary Press of this country and the equally incendiary Press of Germany? Can you absolve yourself from any share in bringing this calamity upon the world? Nay, do you wish to absolve yourself? Are you not rather claiming this war as a tribute to your prescience and your power?
1815-1915.

But even if, in working for peace, we were working for a lost cause is that a fact for which we need to apologise? What is the case of this country before the world? Is it not this, that we have had no designs against Germany, that we desired to live at peace with her, that we strove to live at peace with her, that we were driven to war regretfully and by compulsion? If that is our case, then to have worked for peace is to have worked for the good name of this country, for its honour and for its freedom from complicity in this vast crime. But you deny this case. You proclaim to all the world that the most powerful Press in this country worked steadily not for peace but for war. And to that extent you have made us partners with the guilty. That is your claim. That is your boast. And you think to shame us because we do not share your guilt!

You are mistaken. We are without shame and without regret. When this nightmare passes away we shall still work to bring the nations together and you will still work to keep them asunder. You will discover some new foe with whom to play upon the fears of the public and through whom to stimulate your sales. But you will work in vain. In this war you have reached your zenith. The world that will emerge from this calamity will be a world that will belong to the democracy. And the democracy knows you as the poisoner of the streams of human intercourse, the fomenter of war, the preacher of hate, the unscrupulous enemy of human society. It will make an end of many things, and among them it will make an end of the most sinister influence that has ever corrupted the soul of English journalism.
I am, my lord, yours, etc.,
A. G. G.

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