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Antwerp before the Fall.

Aniwerp in Flames.

The Germans have during the last few days gained such advantage over the Belgian and English troops that they were able to direct the fire of their heavy mortars on Antwerp itself. The town is burning in several places and the terrified population flees across the Dutch frontier. The Commander will not be able to hold the town for long. He might only try to provide for the escape of the Army.

The largest Batile to Come.

The Russian forces have now taken position with their centre along the Vistula in Poland, their right wing near East Prussia, their left wing in Galicia. According to English reports the Russians number about 100 divisions, the allied German and Austrian Armies 88 divisions. In the battle, which may start at any moment there will be about $2^{1/2}$ million men fighting against each other.

Will Portugal fight?

It is reported that under the pressure of the British Government Portugal will declare war on Germany. There is every probability for Englands action being influenced by Ex-king Manoel, who wants to take this chance of re-estab-lishing himself again on the Portuguese Throne. Though what Portugal has to win by a war is difficult to understand. She cannot burden herself with more Colonies. Is it Money?

Holland's Neutrality.

His Excellency Rudolph von Rappard, the Dutch Ambassador in Washington, declared that his Governments intention was to strictly remain neutral. Holland has mobilized 300,000 men of her Army for the defence of her frontiers. The Ambassador declared all reports of breaches of Dutch neutrality by German troops for untrue. No German soldier has during the advance of the German Armies touched Dutch soil. The German respect for Dutch neutrality went so far laid through that new roads have been swampy districts, as His Excellency himself had occasion to observe. The Ambassador further expressed his fear of the war becoming a long drawn-out struggle.

Wilson's Answer to the German | Splendid Flight of Austrian Airman. | A German Official communication. Emperor.

President Wilson's answer to the German Emperor's telegram has now been published. The President says: I have received Your Imperial Majesty s

important communication of September, 7th and have read it with greatest in-terest and sympathy. I feel honoured by your resolve to turn to me as the representative of a nation, which is truly disinterested in this war, but has the ardent desire to know and to consider the truth.

You will, I am sure, not expect me to say more. I pray to God that this war may be finished soon. The day of reckoning will come-as I am surewhen the nations of Europe will meet to end their feud. Where wrong has been done, the consequences will not fail to come and the guilty will have to bear the responsibility. Happily, the the nations of the world have agreed that such reckoning must take place. As far as such plan is not fully sufficient, the opinion of mankind, the last tribunal for all such things, will step in. It would be unwise, it would be too rash for a single Government, even if they should be in the favourable position of standing afar from this present struggle - it would even be not in accordance with the neutral position of a nation, which as this one does not participate in the war, to form a definite judgment now or to express it.

I am speaking frankly, because I know you expect me and desire me to speak as a friend to a friend and because I am sure that a reservation of judgment until the end of the war, when all events and circumstances in their full light and in their true relation may be seen, will recommend itself to you as the true expression of honest neu-(signed) Woodrow Wilson. trality.

Eleanor Spencer's Views. Miss Eleanor Spencer, the wellknown

An Austrian officer with passenger made a flight from Headquarters to the fortress of Przemysl, which is closed in by the Russians. When nearing the Russian lines, the aeroplane came under shrapnel fire from the Russian batteries and the planes were pierced in three places. The officers, however succeeded in reaching Przer where they had to land in an extremely steep angle. The return-flight was even more dangerous, as the small space available for getting up, was in the Russian fire-zone. The aeroplane was hit by eight pieces of shrapnel. After passing the Russian lines, a snow-storm drove the machine several times out of its course and as a last accident the benziñe-tube broke and had to be closed by the passenger with his hand. The return-journey took 4 hours to accomplish.

A comparison.

In the financial periodical "Bankarchiy" Dr. Helfferich, Director of the Deutsche Bank, has a few interesting things to say regarding the 41/2 milliards marks of Imperial German War Loan subscribed:

"The 41/2 milliards marks are a record amount of all financial transactions ever as yet carried out anywhere in the world, the previous record being been cosily held by the war contribution of 4 milli ards marks levied on France (in 1871) The 4 milliards marks of the French war contribution took¹ 2¹/₂ years to collect, whereas the German war loan, which is bigger by 1/2 milliard will have been paid up by the German people in as mony months. Furthermore France only had to find the 4 milliards after peace bad been reestablished whereas the German war loan is issued in the thick of the war. To wind up, the subscription of the French 4 milliards was strongly supported by foreign countries, particu-larly by the Erich market, whereas the German $4^{1/2}$ milliards marks represent the exclusive effort of the German people. an appeal to even neutral countries having been studiously avoided. Talking of the present war only, Germany's enemies cannot show anything even remotely approaching the above feat. England has found so far 900 million marks. France in hoping to find money is meeting with great difficulties, negotiations with American Houses have failed and as yet a mere 40 million marks have been secured in England, while on the other hand the authorities could not make up their minds to issue an Internal Loan in view of the failure of the Issue of 800 million Francs of 3¹/₂⁰/₀ Rente floated just before the war. For a war lasting until the spring the German Empire's monetary needs are therefore covered, whereas in England the anxiety as to the finding of the financial means of war still lasts and in France such anxiety grows more serious every day. If the English Chancellor of the Exchequer with true British conceit has crowed that not the first but the last milliard — which of course is held by England! — would decide the war, he at any note has to be satiesfied that Germany leads to day by over three milliards and over 4 milliards, as compared with England and France respectively. Let England and France try to make up that lead. Next to that we shall be able to watch with equanimity who finds the putting up of ony further necessary milliards the toughest job. The launch of our war loan has not been demonstrated to us by any one in the world, and neither will anyone find

The Copenhagen paper "Nationalti-dende" publishes the following observations by the Secretary of State of the German Foreign Office, Herr von Jagow, which are intended as a reply to the recently published conversation with the English Foreign Undersecretary of State Mr. Acland:

Undersecretary of State Acland asserts that Englands intervention in the war is due to Germany having violated the neutrality of Belgium. I cannot think that high official of the Foreign Office should be unaware of the declaration by Sir E. Grey in his speech in the House of Commons on August 3d, that he had guaranteed to the French Ambassador on the previous afternoon already (viz. August 2nd.) the fullest support by the English fleet in the event of the German fleet acting against the French coast or French shipping, though Belgian neutrality was broken by German troops in the night from August 3nd. to 4th. only Neither can the Undersecretary have forgotten that Sir E. Grey in his conversation with Prince Lichnowsky on August 1st expressly declined to let Germany have a guarantee of the neutrality of England upon the basis of Germany respecting Belgiums neutrality. So it is all just a fresh attempt, not even a particularly clever one, to mislead the world with regard to the motives at the bottom of English participation in the war. Those motives are not altruistic solicitude for the independence and integrity of Belgium. That integrity was not threatened. We expressly assured England of it. But it is palpoble that a country which has built its colonial Empire upon the debris of other states, a country, which, as it did quite recently in Egypt, has frequently ignored promises and international treaties should not trust to such an assurance. As a German proverb has it: "One does not suspect others behind a bush, unless one has been behind it oneself". That is how the booby of German troops laying hold on Antwerp turned up in the imagination of English politicians, and in just the same way as Sir E. Grey had promised English help to France in the event of Calais or Cherbourg being threatened by German Channel might be torn from Belgiums weakly hands and become a basis of operations for the German fleet caused England not only to join in the war, but to commit the fearful crime of encouraging poor Belgium to resist the German entry. So the attitude of England has solely been caused by the unscrupled English egotism, which is responsible for the whole terrible war. If to-day on the battle fields of the Continent the sons of Germany, Austria, France and Russia must give their blood for their countries, the moral responsibility for it all rests first and foremost with the English line of politics, which by relying on the formula of the preservation of the European balance kept on encouraging the jingoistic currents in France and Russia against Germany and thereby conjured up a state each other, in order to be able herself

troops, the fear that part of the South of tension on the continent, which has seen its discharge in the present war. It has always been the English policy to set the Continental nations against to rule the world undisturbed.

political future; they kept their opinions to themselves. The fact that Caillaux had concluded the Congo treaty, and favoured coöperation with Germany, damaged him more than his income-tax bill. The extreme hate which pursued him affected the shrewd politician, who had seen that the salvation of France lay in a friendly relation to Germany. The heat rose to the boiling point, Millerand, as war minister, introduced the public military tattoo to arouse the warlike feeling of the populace. Every Saturday evening regimental bands, accompanied by soldiers carrying lanterns, paraded through the streets of Paris; before them marched an association of old and young simpletons, who called themselves the "friends of the tattoo", and who were accustomed at the close to do homage to the statue of the city of Strassburg. In almost all theatres chauvinistic pieces were produced; in all music halls and variety shows scenes were brought on and verses sung exhibiting hostility to Germany. I recall especially the "Servir" by Lavedan and the "Alsace" played by Rejane. The propaganda carried on by the Alsacians Wetterlé, Preiss and Hackspil through public speeches, and by Blumenthal, who constantly held in Paris, secret meetings with leading personages, was criminal; Herr Waltz, called Hansi (in France named: (le bon oncle Hansi) mounted the first rounds of the ladder of fame in France, which has brought him this year, as is known, a prize from the French Academy. Then came the journey of the English and Russian generals to the Eastern frontier of France. The visit of the grand duke Nicholas Nicholajewitch and his duchess to Nancy was especially dilated upon in the newspapers. The roll which the grand duke played, as leader of the war party in Russia, is well known, and in this he has been ably seconded in France by his duchess. In the illustrated French journals and in the kinematograph theatres a picture was shown, in which the grand du hess was represented as standing on a height in Lorraine, waving a handkerchief towards the towers of Metz. In the nationalist-clerical "Echo de Paris' Herbette, the nephew of the former ambassador, published his articles on foreign politics, which always closed with the words: "Germaniam esse delenda n". The midday newspaper "Paris-Midi" exhibited a grotesque hatred to-wards Germany. This sheet belongs, with several others, to the above mentioned Bérenger, who became the proprietor of a number of newspapers all of which, with the exception of "Paris-Midi", met with little success-only that he might be in the position to become "interested" for each one of his publications, when a Russian or other loan was to be placed on the market. The editor, a Belgian by the name of Karteuffel, who called himself however Maurice de Valeffe, had demanded, several weeks before Jaurès was assassinated, when the latter expressed himself at the socialist congress against the participation of the social democracy in a Franco-German war, that the socialist leader should be murdered. The "Echo de Paris", with Karteuffel and the extremely influential and privileged Tardieu, had the fear that a possible radical ministry could bring France to an understanding with Germany, a result which they dreaded, because it would put a stop to their Russian subsidies. They therefore fought such an idea most vehemently. The "danger" of an understanding with Germany was indeed no longer present, for the Lothringian Poincaré had in the meantime become the Premier. The intimate friends of Poincaré knew that his ambition was above all directed to bringing, by force of arms, Alsace-Lorraine again into the possession of France; it is no wonder that under his administration the influence of Iswolsky was yet more strongly noticeable. The Balkan war was politically and journalistically arranged for by Iswolsky and his French vassals, among the latter being especially Tardieu. One could read every evening in the "Temps" the articles of Tardieu which furnished its readers with the warmed-over lucubrations of Iswolsky. To be continued.

English Reports of French Atrocities.

English papers have been filled lately with stories of alleged atrocities committed by Germans. The London "Globe" at least publishes reports also of deeds of barbarism by the allied black troops of France. The war correspondent of the "Globe" has met a Senegalese riflemen, who wore a necklet of ears, cut off the heads of German soldiers. Another Senegalese showed the blood-covered head of a German Ulan. A Turco was put with 4 wounded Germans in a compartment of a Red Cross train. When the surgeon in command looked through the window some time afterwards, the savage had strangled the four Germans. Will moral England protest against such atrocities, which are proved by an Englishman?

Dr. Sven Hedin at the Front.

Dr. Sven Hedin, the famous explorer stays as guest of the Kaiser at the Headquarters of the German Armies in the West. Dr. Hedin has received permission to inquire into all reported cases of "German atrocities" and to write impartial reports on the military situation.

The assassin-major Tancosic.

Major Tancosic, who was one of the originators of the plot against Archduke Francis Ferdinand has taken part at the head of a band of Komitatijs in the fighting along the Drina; he was killed by a bullet in the same battle, in which Prince George of Servia was wounded.

The Catholic Albanians for Austria.

Inspite of the cutting off of the Austrian News Service, the Catholic Albanians side with Austria and her German Ally. Divine Service is held in the churches, at which prayers are offered and Holy Communion taken for the victory of the Austrian troops.

English Women praise Treatment in Germany.

About 400 English, Australian, Canadian and South-African women and girls, who returned to England testify the polite and civil treatment they have met with during their seven weeks involuntary stay in Germany. They especially acknowledge the friendly advice and help given by the American Ambassador in Berlin.

American artist in New York, says about the war:

"I am shocked at the attitude of the American newspapers towards Germany. As you know I lived in Germany continuously for ten years, and I think I have come to know the German people pretty well. They have always been peace - loving, and their armament for many years was due alone to their position geographically. The Germans did not want war. But the spirit of defending the Fatherland has arisen and now they will fight to the last to keep intact the German Unity established by Bismarck. Perhaps when we get the real facts of the struggle there will be a more generous and sympathetic attitude shown by our newspapers.'

Americas Advice to England.

American business men have been extremely annoyed about the way, in which England dealt with neutral shipping. A friendly hint is given in the New York "World" which says, it would be a good policy on Englands part to stop capturing neutral ships near the American 3-mile limit, sometimes so near that English officers are really within that limit The practice of arresting passengers, going to New York, under the pretence, they might try to find a chance for returning to Germany from the United States, is also condemned. It has become known that this article was inspired from Washington, as the American Government would not like to take diplomatic steps in London for this reason.

160 000 Japanese to help the Entente Powers.

Official reports have been received in New York, according to which 40000 Japanese have been landed at Danij on the Yellow Sea waiting to be transported to the German and Austrian frontiers via Siberia. 20000 men are on the way to India to take the place of Indian troops which have been sent to France. They may also be used against Turkey, if this State should join Germany and Austria. Another 100000 Japanese are held in readiness to be used partly in Russia and partly in France.

American Red Cross Missions in the Field.

30 Surgeons and 120 Nurses have arrived from New-York to work in 5 detachements with the German, French, Belgian, English and Russian Armies during the war. All Surgeons are officers of the American Army.

it easy to copy us. So far Dr. Helfferich. If Germany's foes relied on any financial weakness on her part they have clearly made a grievous error.

America wants to develop her Shipping.

Mr. Howe, the Commissioner of Immigration, proposes in "The Journal of Commerce" the establishment of Ame-rican Free Ports, to support the development of Foreign sea traffic. One of these ports should be situated in the Gulf, one in Panama and one or two on the Pacific Coast.

Notice to Americans.

The steamer "Red Cross" leaves Rotterdam for New York on October 12th. Thirty bertlis I. class (300 to 400 Marks) may still be booked through the American Consulate-General, Friedrichstr. 61.

Who are the Guilly Ones? (Continuation.)

The "Matin" organised a prize contest for aviators to the German frontier, and emphasised that it wished to prepare the French aviators in this way for an attack on Germany. When the "Journal" wished to arrange for a competitive flight to Germany, and in connection with this, spoke strongly of its peaceable character, an unprecedented agitation started up against the proposal of the 'Journal", the result of which was, that the flight was not undertaken. The "Journal" stated that it had received letters, in which there were threats that all aviators flying to Germany would be shot.

Whatever may be thought of Agadir and its sequels, the agitation of the "Matin" and that of Tardieu in the "Temps", which was more dangerous because carried on in a finer tone, preceded the Agadir affair. The agitation soon found a footing among the people; it became popular. Cool-headed persons were not wanting, but they were cried down. If they were anxious for their

The Austrian Point of View.

We draw the attention of our readers to the back-page of to-days "Continental Times," which contains an article by Count Albert Apponyi, on this question, published by special permission.

Kindly read our Advertisement Page. The Continental Times can be obtained at all Kiosks and Railway Stations.

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PRICE: Germany 20 Pfgs. Austria 20 Heller BERLIN, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1914. No. 1034. Vol. XX. No. 42. **Austrian Point of**

conflict between Austria and Servia. Much what was quite off the mark has been said in the foreign press about Austria's attitude; "The Continental Times" therefore gives an explanation of the Austrian point of view in the following article by Count Albert Apponyi, the Hungarian Statesman, which is published by special permission:

I consider it as highly important that the case for Austria-Hungary in the pre-sent conflict of nations should be stated before American public opinion with minute precision. - We are all agreed in abhorring war and in deploring the outbreak of a catastrophe the like of which history has never witnessed. -Those who are responsible for it will for ever remain branded with a stigma of infamy which no amount of military or political success can wipe off their brows. Feeling as strongly as I do on that point, devoted as I am to the peace-ideal, I consider myself qualified to proclaim before the whole world that my country is free from guilt in the horrible contest which has been forced upon her and that she can face it with all the moral power of a pure conscience. -

This is what everybody feels in Austria-Hungary and in Germany; this is why not a single soul can be found in those countries who grumbles at the horrible sacrifice laid on his shoulders; this is why in Austria-Hungary up to one million and in Germany up to thirteen hundred thousand men more offered their services at the first call to arms, than are bidden by law to do it; this is why our mentality is one of absolute self-possession and quiet but unflinching resolve; this is why the strife of races, on which our enemies built such hopes, the division of creeds, the conflict of party and faction, everything that engenders division, is clean swept away, why millions feel of one mind in absolute devotion to the great aim of freeing themselves once for all from the gang of perfidious assailants who for the last years worked in the dark at our destruction, and whose infamy went as far as to organize assassination besides political conspiracy. If we can do that work of lawful self-protection thoroughly humanity will enjoy an almost limitless epoch of peace and tranquility; if we cannot, the world will remain under constant menace of war, unless it submits to the dictates of muscovite tyranny and to all the misery therein implied. Our cause, so we feel, is the cause of humanity, of liberty, of peace, of progress, of everything that men deserving the name of man, value more than their lives.-Now I am perfectly aware that foreigners cannot be expected to accept our feelings as a base for their judgment, that they want facts and reasons to lean upon. That is what I am going to pro-vide them with presently. But I may put down the perfect unity of feeling, suddenly arisen in countries generally torn by dissension, as one of the facts to be considered. There is at least a strong presumption in favour of a cause which works so powerfully on the psychology of the nations concerned and uplifts their minds above all that is petty and discordant.-

The present war has started with the | a feeling of nausea prevailed among the | of dark meaning, bidding, young men to | civilized nations. King Peter found it difficult to enter diplomatic relations with the governments of Europe. Russia alone did not scruple to take him for granted. The other powers had to follow: last of all England. Finally recognition became universal.

From that time Servia has been the seat of a permanent conspiracy against Austria - Hungary. Associations were formed for the "liberation of the southslavonic brethren" in Austria-Hungary; agents were sent, to undermine among our fellow-citizens of south-slavonic race the feelings of allegiance to their country; wherever a traitor could be found among them, his services were enlisted: Bosnia and Hercegovina were almost openly claimed. These two turkish provinces had been trusted to Austria-Hungary's care by the Berlin treaty of 1878, because only the impartial rule of a western power could secure peace and liberty in a country inhabited by mahometans, greek-orthodox and romancatholic christians. As a matter of fact they throve and developed under the enlightened government of Austria-Hungary to a degree of welfare unknown in any other part of the Balcanic peninsula. Nevertheless Servia took hardly any pains to hide covetousness concerning these provinces, where under her rule twothirds of the population would be submitted to the same tyranny of racial and religious intolerance, which the unhappy Bulgarians of Macedonia are experiencing at her hands. It was this covetousness which brought us to the verge of war in 1908 when Bosnia and Hercegovina became formally annexed to Austria-Hungary. That was done precisely to shut the door against intrigues feeding on their ambiguous juridical situation, a situation which maintained the Sultan's nominal sovereignty over them, while the whole power and the responsibilities of sovereignty belonged to Austria-Hungary. From the standpoint of international law the annexation was certainly not exceptionable. Turkey, whose nominal rights were set aside had a right to protest and so had the signatory powers of the Berlin treaty: but Servia had absolutely no voice in the matter. No right of hers was invaded, no legitimate interest of hers damaged; ma pretentions were thwarted and unfair opportunities lessened, still it was Servia whose outcries, echoed by Russia, endangered the peace of Europe.-Everybody knows how that first outbreak ended, Russia, Servia's patron and inspirer recoiled at that time from the conflict with Germany, which aggression against Austria-Hungary would have implied; so Servia had to declare herself disinterested in the arrangements concerning Bosnia and willing properly to fulfil towards Austria-Hungary the duties of good neighbourhood.-It was largely due to the exertions of the Hungarian Government, to which I belonged at that time, that Austria-Hungary accepted these verbal apologies and pledges and that peace, or rather the semblance of peace, was preserved for some years more.--I almost regret this our decision. Should Servia's impudent behaviour have been chastized then, as it deserved to be, the present general conflict might have been averted .- On the other hand Austria-Hungary would not have shown that almost supperhuman forbearance, in which lies her clearest vindication. Anyhow it is important to bear in mind that Servia's pretensions and designs brought matters to a crisis six years ago and that she escaped punishment only through a solemn promise of correct behaviour. How was that promise kept? By doing worse from year to year, by developing with more energy still the propaganda of high-treason among Austria and Hungary's south-slavonic citizens; and, since the results of such merely political work ripened too slowly, the pace was mended by setting up an additional organization of political assassination, headed by military and non-military officials of the Servian Kingdom. - The thing would seem almost incredible, but for the fact that the present Servian king's rule is based on murder and that murderers are or were among his chief advisers.-A Government boasting of an origine like this, must be expected to take a lenient view of political assassination.- The matter was brought to light by archdukeFranzFerdinands assassination This dreadful crime, as has been established by the judicial inquiry, was not the work of a single fanatic's craze; it was the carefully prepared result of a wide-spread conspiracy, centred in a great Servian national organization the Narodna Obrana whose chairman is a general in active service and whose rules, besides an almost open confession of criminal

prepare for "some big deed on behalf of the national cause", well, archduke Franz Ferdinand's murderers, all of them affiliated to the aforesaid organization, were prepared for the "big deed" and they also achieved it successfully. All the implements of their murderous deed came from Servian army-stores; bombs of the same origin were found hidden in many places; not a single accomplice of the crime could be laid hand upon on Servian ground; they found protection there instead of prosecution.

If circumstancial evidence has any meaning, the case against official Servia duke's assassination was not the first, but, within 2 years, the fourth attempt organised by the same gang of murderers, against the lives of faithful public servants in the southern parts of Austria and Hungary. - Now, in the name of all that is human and just and fair, for how many years more should we have submitted to this? How many more assassinations should we have left unprevented, unpunished? What nation, big or small, can tolerate the setting up in her neighbourhood of a whole machinery of treason and destruction, the organization of a permanent conspiracy against her moral cohesion, with murder lurking at every street's corner, threatening the individual safety of her most valued citizens? Austria-Hungary has tolerated it long enough to feel her strength shaken, to see her power disbelieved, her destruction discounted and her future ruler murdered. A little more of this, and our fellow citizens of south-slavonic race would have learned to doubt the mo-narchy's capacity for defending the loyal and punishing the traitors, for making herself respected, even by small neighbors. — In the face of such weakness on one side and such unscrupulous daring on the other, they might have wavered in their allegiance to a state unable to protect them. It was high time to drag our treacherous assailants from the dark recesses of conspiracy into the broad daylight of plain speeking and open-doing Wood to exact from official Servia, whose moral complicity ablished bevor pledges, not word s, which in the case of confirmed liars are valueles - but measures, guaranteeing our tranquility as a nation and the individual safety of our faithful public servants.-Such pledges Servia would not give; she evaded the summons in her habitual manner of double dealing, granting a profusion of words, professions and promises, the mendacity of which is warranted by experience, but recoiling from every measure really efficient. She was clearly resolved to go on with her work of sneaking agression and to cultivate further on her well -tried methods of conspiracy. Austria-Hungary would have been the laughing-stock not of her enemies only, but of her own citizens, should she have feigned to believe, where bad faith was manifest. There was no help for it; we had to set aside our extreme unwillingness to adopt violent measures. We had to strike, or to resign our right to live. The case was not arbitrable, nor fit to be submitted to an international inquiry. Before giving my support in any warlike step I examined with the utmost care this side of the question and, devoted though I am to the international peace-Institutions and to a constant expansion of their activity, I had to own that they were no use in the present case. Their applicability supposes good faith and a wish to do the right thing on both sides; failing this honesty plays the part of a dupe. What could have been the result of international proceedings against Servia? A verdict establishing her malpractices and bidding her to desist from them. Servia of course would have professed to submit, just as she professed to be a good neighbour after the crisis of 1908. - In fact she would have persisted in her dark work, somewhat cautiously perhaps at the beginning, more daringly afterwards. And in a couple of years, may be after another series of attempted and successful assassinations matters would again have ripened to a crisis. Should we then again have begun that parody of an international procedure, which settles nothing, because the adverse party hypocritically accepts and barefacedly evades every decision running against it? Should we have gone on rotting all the while and hastening towards dissolution? Really we could not do that; international institutions must not be converted into traps where honesty is caught and dishonesty enjoys good fun; they are meant to insure justice, not to derers. For a short time the conscience | propagandisme among the neighboring | further the designs of cheats. In the face | horrible war, universal war, since neither of Europe seemed to wake, or at least | power's citizens, contains a paragraph | of God and man do I proclaim: if ever | the political bodies concerned will sub-

there was a case of lawful self-defense, here you have it.

But what about the universal war which grew out of a local conflict? Who is responsible for its horrors, for its calamities? The answer to this question is perfectly clear.-Since Austria-Hungary was in a state of lawful self-defense against servian aggression, those are responsible for the greater evil, who espaused the cause of that aggression. And this was what Russia did. She is the great culprit. Her policy is the mainfountain whence torrents of blood and of tears will flow. Her allies have been drawn by her into the concern. Not that I wish to attenuate the guilt and the disgrace of highly cultured nations like France and England, who became in some way the patrons and the associates of a gang of murderers. But on Russia rests the chief responsibility; on her head falls the great sin against humanity implied in this war. From her face the mask has fallen, unveiling the lust of power and expansion which inspires her policy and which is the real source of every unrest in Europe.

In her war-manifesto Russia tries to personate the chivalrous defender of a weak country against a strong one. That may appeal to the ignorant; in truth it is barefaced humbugging. When Austria-Hungary had to coerce Servia, she solemnly declared that her only aim was to win those guarantees of her own tranquility, which Servia would not grant but that neither Servia's territory, nor Servia's independence would suffer any permanent mutilation. - After that solemn declaration, made in the most binding form by a power whose word is as good as any deed, there remained not the smallest pretext for honest interference. -Still Russia did interfere. On whose behalf? On Servia's? Afther the pledges freely given by Austria-Hungary Servia as a nation needed no protection; Austria-Hungary's coercive action was not directed against Servia, but only against the system of treacherous conspiracies and murderous attemps fostered by her present rulers.-It is these dark forces alone that were threatened by our action in Servia .- It is therefore on behalf of these, not of the weaker nation, which was perfectly safe, that Russia interfered. Servia to he Russia does not wish a decent country and a loyal neighbour: Russia draws her sword to make it possible that the conspiracies against Austria-Hungary's safety and the plots of murder implied in them should go on undisturbed: Russia's stands behind that dark work with all her might and power; it is part of her policy; through it should Austria-Hungary be kept in a state of constant unrest, economic difficulties and moral decomposition, till she became ripe for receiving the final blow. Because Austria-Hungary must disappear, to make room for the programme now openly proclaimed by the Tsar: The Union of all Slavs under Russian rule. So the mask has fallen, Servia is a simple outpost; behind her stands the policy of Russia, supporting those treacherous and abominable acts which compelled unwilling Austro-Hungary to make a stand for her dignity and safety. Before the tribunal of human conscience stands muscovitism unveiled, as responsible for the horrors of universal war and for the permanent unrest that consumes Europe's forces. - The power of muscovitism must be broken before peace can be enjoyed with any amount of safety, before peace-institutions can work with any degree of efficiency.-Well, since providence puts its burden on our shoulders, that work will be done with God's help thoroughly. The greatness of the task is felt by every soul throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary and absolute confidence reigns everywhere that our joined forces are able to fulfil it. Even in Germany there is no peculiar animosity against France. There is more of it against England, whose intervention is considered as a piece of revolting cynicism; but the object of popular resentment is Russia, which only shows the unerring instinct of the masses. And, what I hear at home from simple-minded but honest and straight-forward people like the day-labourers on my own estate, is a passionate desire to have it out once for all with Russia. It is clear not from facts only, but from the Tsar's explicit confession that the policy of Russia pursues aims which can be obtained only through universal war. The union of all Slavs under Russian dominion can be effected only after the disintegration of existing political bodies, Austria-Hungary to begin with, and by subjecting the non-slav races uncompassed between Slavs, such as the Hungarians and the Rumanians. Doesn't that mean war,

mit to destruction, without making a desperate stand, nor the threatened races to subjection, without fighting to the last? And doesn't it imply another confession of complicity with Servia's conspiracies and crimes, which now appear quite distinctly for what they are: pioneerwork on behalf of Russia. But what would Russia's dominion over the whole mass of Slavs, the so called panslavist ideals mean from the stand-point of the great principles and ideals of progressive humanity? - What would it mean to the Slavs themselves? It would mean, if a bad pun is to be allowed here, their transformation into slaves; it would mean to those amongst them, who are now enjoying the bliss of civilized western government and liberty, a rolling down into the abyss of darkest tyranny, religious oppression to all those who do not conform to the orthodox creed; a wiping out of racial differences as wide as the difference between German and Dutch, Italian and Spaniard; loss of every guarantee of individual and political liberty; arbitrary police rule, which makes every man and woman liable to be arrested and transported without a trial, without a judicial verdict. - These and others similar blessings does muscovitism offer to those, who are so happy as to fall into its loving embrace. And to all whole mankind the grouping of all the forces of Slavism under Russia's despotic power would mean the most horrible menace to enlightement, progress, liberty and democracy; a peril of retrogression to several centuries backwards, a moral and social catastrophe.

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It is to be expected that Germany's and Austria-Hungary's joint forces will save our kind from the peril of falling so low, notwithstanding the damnable support which muscovitism gets from two blindfolded western powers, one of whom does not even scruple to draw the yellow race into a conflict of Europeans. We have not the smallest doubt concerning the superior value of our armies, even when outnumbered. And we feel able to lay our cause before God, the just, the omnicient.-We are conscious of having stood for peace as long as there was the smallest chance of preserving it with honour. We are fighting now the battle of righteous

But the crucial question, the one which decides the verdict, is the question how and by whose fault the conflict originated and spread.-This I have to elucidate by unexceptionable evidence.-

The direct cause of the outbreak is Servia's insane ambition to extend her dominion over those southern parts of Austria-Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina to begin with Croatia and the Slovene countries to follow, where South-Slavs live in great numbers. Never could a small country like Servia nourish such designs against a great power, unless it felt sure of being supported by some other great power. Recent developments have shown that Servia had good reasons to expect such support. On behalf of the mad ambitions not warranted even by the claims of racial kinship (since the roman catholic Croatians generally abhor Servia) a constant agitation was organized in the afore mentioned parts of Austria-and Hungary. The origin of this agitation can be traced as far back as the accession of the Karageorgevich dynasty to the Servian throne. Under the Obrenovich rule Servia cultivated relations of good neighbour-hood with Austria-Hungary, to whom she was largely indebted for the recognition of her independence by the Berlin treaty of 1878. Things took different shape when the last Obrenovitch king and his wife were murdered by military conspirators and the present king, Peter Karageorgevich unhesitatingly accepted the crown from the blood-stained hands of mur-

self-defense on the strongest compulsion ever undergone by any nation.-We fight the battle of mankinds highest ideals and we fight the battle of peace, which our victory will make secure for generations to come.

So we look forward to whatever is in store for us, with the serene fortitude of men who feel strong in the purity of their conscience.-

Budapest, 1914.

Albert Apponyi.

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